Pragmatics of social and cultural capital

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Editor

Hubert Kotarski

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Introduction

In recent years, the notion of social and cultural capital became one of the concepts most often used by social science. That trend results from the conviction, expressed by re-searchers, of the increasing role of non-material forms of capital as factors of social development. That interest impacted a rapid development of concepts of endogenous capitals. Alejandro Portes emphasizes that in recent years the notion of social capital became the starting point of one of the most popular sociological theories that was transferred into the com-mon language (Portes, 1998, p. 2).

Along with a vast interest in the theory of social capital, many various definitions of it were formulated. In the literature it is highlighted that three scientists: Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam were especially important for the development of that theory. According to Pierre Bourdieu, the social capital constitutes „the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an entity or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutional-ized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recogni-tion" (Bourdieu, Wacquant, Loic J. D., 2001, p. 105). That means that it is "the sum of capital and power, that such network can mobilize" (Bourdieu, Wacquant, Loic J. D., 2001, p. 105). Due to that concept, exploitation of the potential of social capital resources by an individual depends on the availa-bility and range of network of relationships he or she participates in. Ac-cording to Bourdieu, exploitation of resources depends on individual activi-ties of each human, on their ability and proficiency in development of social capital acquired by an entity. Another important concept of social capital, developed by James Coleman, is regarded as the classic concept used for complex, systematic approach to the social capital, defined as economic perspective (theory of rational action) (Trutkowski, Mandes, 2005). Cole-man defined the social capital as "ability of humans to cooperate within groups and organizations of common interests" (Fukuyama, 1997). Author of the third concept, that is to be mentioned in this place, is Robert Putnam. He is commonly regarded as the main inspirer of other researchers' inter-est in the notion of social capital and as its main exponent (Trutkowski, Mandes, 2005). In Putnam's view, social capital „consists of such qualities of social organization as networks, norms and trust – those features enable the members of a given community to increase the effectiveness of common

action and pursue in a more efficient way the objectives shared by them" (Putnam, Leonardi, Nanetti, 1995, p. 56). Noteworthy is also the fact, that Putnam's insights on social capital were made in Italy and based on observations concerning operation and the degree of development of Italian regions.

The term „cultural capital" was permanently incorporated into the theory of social sciences. Due to its meaning, defined by Pierre Bourdieu, in order to describe the whole social world, the concept of cultural capital is based on a metaphor or simply the notion of capital. Bourdieu came to the conclusion, that positions of an individual in a given society can be described by taking into account capitals owned by them, where, apart from the classical economic capital, parallel notions of social and cultural capital are used (Zarycki, 2009, p. 13).

Theories dealing with those two types of capital turned out to be especially useful in the attempt to explain the transformation taking place within the social structure of contemporary societies. That transformation can be regarded at the level of changes in attitudes and behavior in life of representatives of various social categories. You can also try to catch their aftermath at the level of general mechanisms and directions of vertical motions within particu-lar social classes, or horizontal movements within various segments of social structure (Bartoszek, 2003, p. 7).

In the work Pragmatics of social and cultural capital, which you are handed in, au-thors from different academic centers in Europe, North America, South America and Oceania investigate various aspects of the theory of social and cultural capital. Jan P. Gałkowski and Hubert Kotarski provide in their study a methodical confrontation of Pierre Bourdieu's cul-tural capital theory with social reality in regions of four countries of Central and Eastern Eu-rope: Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania with particular emphasis on the role played by intelligentsia in those societies. That confrontation includes both reflection of theoretical character focused on the problem of implementation of Bourdieu's theory for description of societies in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and an results of empirical research per-formed by students of public colleges and universities in those countries. The specific objective of the paper is the analysis of the notion of cultural capital as a factor impacting the building of identity, social and political position of the contemporary intelligentsia in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania based on the example of the youngest generation – college and university students.

Another author of this work – Javier Mato, uses the theory of cultural capital for the research conducted in the milieu of journalists from four Spanish press editorial offices. The paper written by the female authors

Liliana Mayer and Laura Schenquer focuses on the analy-sis of the role of Pierre Bourdieu's cultural and social capital in the formation process of Pes-talozzi School that was established in 1934 in Buenos Aires by a group of German immi-grants. Svetlana Sharonova concentrates in her study on the cultural capital and its connection with issues of morality and religion. Ianis Bucholtz uses in his study Social capital in the In-ternet community the social capital theory for the analysis of Latvian networking site Sviesta Ciba. In his research, the author referred to such indicators of social capital as trust, social networks and norms. The theses included in the paper sug-gest that Sviesta Ciba serves as a center of social interactions of its users. The website provides a space for exchange of infor-mation and emotional support for its users that are connected both in offline modus and by the ties created in the Internet. Those results are significant for understand-ing the Internet social networks in the context of social activities of indi-vidual persons nowadays. Littisha A. Bates and Ainsley Lambert, based on the theory of social and cultural capital, analyze in their study the impact of cultural and social capital on school performance and education pro-cess of American youth. Another author of this book, Davinia Thornley, used the theory of social and cultural capital for research conducted among New Zealand immigrants in London. The final study by Kinga Szabó-Tóth focuses on the role of acquisition, transfer and making use of Pierre Bourdieu's cultural capital in creation and shaping the identity of Roms in Hungary.

We hope that multifaceted look on the theories of non-material capitals will be a contribution to further research and discussions on those im-portant social issues.

<div align="right">Hubert Kotarski</div>

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Cultural capital of the young intelligentsia of Central and Eastern Europe

Abstract

Our paper aims at systematic confrontation of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital with social reality of the four countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania with particular emphasis on the role played by the intelligentsia in these societies. This confrontation will include both: a theoretical reflection, focusing on the problem of application of Bourdieu's theory to describe societies of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the presentation of results of empirical research conducted among the students of public universities in above mentioned countries. The particular objective of the empirical research was the analysis of the concept of cultural capital as a key factor in building the identity and social and political position of contemporary intelligentsia in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania, based on the example of the youngest generation – current students of public universities. The main hypothesis of the research is thesis that there are historical and social differences in the treatment of cultural capital as a symbolic resource among Polish, Slovak, Hungarian and Romanian students.

Introduction

The term „cultural capital" has been introduced as a key issue into the theory of social science. At the general theoretical level, this concept is used in the theory of reproduction of social structure published by Pierre Bourdieu. This theory was later developed by this sociologist in collaboration with Jean-Claude Passeron (Bartoszek, 2003). Bourdieu and Passeron define cultural capital as „cultural goods provided by various family pedagogical activities whose value, as cultural capital, is the function of the distance between the cultural arbitrariness imposed by the dominant pedagogical activities, and cultural arbitrariness implemented by family pedagogical activities in different groups or classes (Bourdieu, Passeron, Neyman, & Kłoskowska, 1990). According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is a system acquired by individuals, consisting of hierarchical and approved cultural contents, de-

fining legally valid values, knowledge, aspirations, lifestyles; which are pre-requisites for achievements while competing with others (Bartoszek, 2003).

In the world studies of the humanities, the origin of the concept of the intelligentsia is associated with Polish social thought. The term 'intelligent-sia' was used in 1844 by Charles Libelt while writing about its pedigree (Bokszański & Kojder, 1998). Libelt pointed out that the intelligentsia is made of „all those who after receiving the finest higher education can be at the forefront of the nation as scholars, government officials, teachers, cler-gy, industry workers; those who can lead it (the nation, people) as a result of their higher education" (Libelt & Walicki, 1967, p. 61). As noted by Joan-na Kurczewska, the concept of the intelligentsia has got richer and more complex tradition in Polish sociology than in the tradition of the sociology in the world, especially in the Anglo-Saxon culture. Many generations of Polish sociologists asked themselves whether people having mental and intellectual work were forming a social group. The second issue was wheth-er the intelligentsia was creating a community which was generating and disseminating certain values. Not only different definitions of the intelli-gentsia were accepted but also the relations between the intelligentsia and other social groups, as well as its internal divisions were presented in many ways (Bokszański & Kojder, 1998). The intelligentsia was also defined as a certain historical type of educated class, the basis of which was the inner consciousness that was involved in rational knowledge, having a universal character for the whole European civilization. In the social context, the par-ticular role of the intelligentsia was expressed through the creation of ap-propriate groups and classes and conceptualization of this phenomenon in the realm of symbolic culture. The intelligentsia had distinct binding stand-ards, a separate lifestyle going hand in hand with a network of social con-tacts and matrimonial policy (Sdvižkov, Górny, & Kożuchowski, 2011).

The concept of the intelligentsia, cultural capital and social sciences

Four concepts of the term 'intelligentsia' can be found in Polish socio-logical literature. According to the first formulation, the intelligentsia is a collectivity of people who distinguish from the others by their high intellec-tual, artistic and moral qualities, regardless of their social condition. In this case, the intelligentsia is a relatively small elite honoured in the society due to the outstanding features and outstanding merits. According to the second approach, the intelligentsia is a community of people engaged in profes-

sional intellectual or artistic work. In this case, the criterion of distinction is the type of professional activities together with related livelihood and historically specified level of education necessary to perform these activities. Comparing to the first approach, we are dealing with a much more numerous and more uniform group of the professional intelligentsia. We can say that the proponents of this approach focus on showing the intelligentsia as a complex and large meritocratically – professional group.

It is worth noticing, that in this case the importance is put on variable historical indicators of the adequate level of education. This concept can be illustrated with a following example – a man with secondary education could belong to the class of the intelligentsia in the interwar period in Poland, whereas after World War II some proponents of this approach claimed that only people with higher education belonged to the intelligentsia.

According to the third approach, the intelligentsia is a community of people who base their existence on mental work. By performing this kind of job, the people can find themselves in a particular place of the social structure and perform specific functions in society and in the state. Seen from this perspective, the intelligentsia is a social class between the upper and the lower classes, analogous to the Western middle class or bourgeoisie. The fourth approach can be described as cultural one. The intelligentsia is here a collectivity distinguished not so much because of their occupation or acquired and documented level of education, but due to the specific type of axiological orientation resulting from intellectual competences.

The fact that the community has a higher education than other groups, promotes the formation of a pro-social orientation consisting in the actions undertaken for the common good and limiting the power of group and private interests, while being socially more universal than other groups. Using the term after Florian Znaniecki, the possessed mental powers make the intelligentsia „cultural leaders" in a given national society, and their tasks towards other communities can be described as mission.

The intelligentsia acts, on behalf of and for other communities, in the realm of values as a guide: an umpire, a leader – universal or local – or a representative of other groups and values (Bokszański & Kojder, 1998). The concept of the intelligentsia evolved along with political, social and economic changes in Polish society. According to the general opinion, the intelligentsia as a social group played an important role in the radical transformation of the political system in Poland launched in mid–1989. Kurczewska claims that groups which came from the intelligentsia background played a significant role in shaping the economic, civil and cultural founda-

tions of the market economy and democracy. The author also emphasizes that in the theoretical studies or historical-cultural studies on the status of the intelligentsia in the new system, it is assumed that it is a social category (community of people with higher education engaged in intellectual work) or a social unity which is internally diverse but having a sense of inner identity and external distinctiveness, called rather a rank than a social class. It is also claimed to be an ideological construct, which consists of specific characteristics and group tasks. Typical of this approach is defining the intelligentsia by ethos: traditional or modified one (Bokszański & Kojder, 1998).

Contemporary Polish intelligentsia is increasingly characterized by the ethos typical for Western middle classes. Kurczewska stresses that freedom, individualism, self-reliance, and self-responsibility play key roles in the ethos of modern intelligentsia. During the 1980s – long before other social groups, the intelligentsia has acquired not only individualism in the private sphere of life but also instrumental collectivism in the professional field, and highly calculated life activity. In the early '90s, the intelligentsia was – apart from the business class – a major centre of life orientations assigned to the Western middle classes. The new individualism being formed by new rules was not able to eliminate the white-collar ethos of pro-social values, especially the values of national or group solidarity. Sticking to certain pro-social values impedes the conversion of the intelligentsia into a full middle-class in the new political system (Bokszański & Kojder, 1998). In the scientific literature, the concept of cultural capital is primarily used in reference to the theory of reproduction of the social structure by Pierre Bourdieu. The theory was developed in collaboration with Jean-Claude Passeron. Bourdieu's theory describes the reconstitution of distances and structural differences through the system of education. This occurs by means of the mechanisms of symbolic violence and social selection of individuals, determined by the discrepancy between the resources inherited from their home habitus and cultural habitus of the dominant classes. In this approach, the "cultural capital" is the system acquired by individuals, consisting of hierarchical and approved cultural contents, defining legally valid values, knowledge, aspirations, lifestyles; which are prerequisites for achievements while competing with others (Bartoszek, 2003). As the main component of this interpretation of cultural capital Bourdieu recognizes linguistic capital – the ability to use logically complex and conceptual structures, developed in the educational system and largely shaped by the language passed on in the family which is seen as the primary class group.

According to P. Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron, cultural capital of an individual is the most strongly determined by the level of education and profession of the father and it influences the individual's educational achievements (Bourdieu et al., 1990).

The cultural capital of students from higher social classes gives them a distinct advantage over students coming from the lower classes, not only during the social selection but it also favours them from the earliest levels of education. It results in getting into better academic departments and achieving higher educational results (Bourdieu et al., 1990).

It can be stated in conclusion, that the concept of cultural capital explicated in this way allows us to broaden our perception of parents' social status role with connection to higher positions obtained by their children (Bartoszek, 2003).

In Polish sociology the category of cultural capital was also used to investigate the changes in social structure. Henryk Domanski, in his book devoted to changes in the social structure of post-communist countries, studied the effect of the intergenerational transfer of cultural capital on educational attainment and labour market opportunities in Poland and five other post-communist countries.

In all the surveyed countries, the cultural capital of the family influences learning opportunities and determines professional careers and lifestyles (Domański, 1996).

Cultural Capital of the Young Intelligentsia

The study was conducted in the period from October to December 2012 in four countries – Poland, Romania, Hungary and Slovakia.

The research sample group was composed of students from 5 public universities: the University of Rzeszow, Rzeszow University of Technology (Poland), University of Oradea (Romania), Technical University in Kosice (Slovakia) and the University of Miskolc (Hungary).

The survey was carried out by means of an auditorium questionnaire technique conducted in randomly selected departments of these universities. The total number of students in the research sample was 1221. Two factors, treated as key measures of cultural capital received at home, were taken into consideration in this study: parents' education and number of books at homes. A synthetic indicator was developed on the basis of answers to these three questions. The indicator consisted of the father's education (weight 33.3%), the mother's education (weight 33.3%) and the number of books in the family home.

Table 1.

An indicator of Family Cultural Capital	Country							
	Poland		Slovakia		Hungary		Romania	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
low	196	56,3	90	29,3	49	16,3	134	50,4
medium	92	26,4	77	25,1	97	32,3	70	26,3
high	60	17,3	140	45,6	154	51,3	62	23,3
total	348	100,0	307	100,0	300	100,0	266	100,0

The differences in the level of education of students' parents in each country are clearly seen. The parents of students in Rzeszow seem to have the lowest level of education – only slightly more than 9 percent of fathers have higher education (9.4%) and the number of mothers with higher education is slightly higher – 15.5%.

In comparison with Oradea, the percentage of students' fathers with higher education is 16.9% and 20.5% of mothers. Regarding students from Miskolc, the numbers are as follows: 32.4% –fathers, mothers – 38.0%.

Parents of students from Kosice represent the highest level of education. The proportion of fathers with higher education is 33.3%, and 38.0% of mothers.

Table 2.

	Level of education – father			
	Poland	Slovakia	Hungary	Romania
Incomplete primary education	0	0	0	0,4
Primary education	8,2	0,3	2,0	3,9
Incomplete secondary education	4,3	0,7	0	8,2
Secondary or vocational education	66,9	51,7	48,1	46,8
Post-secondary education	9,7	9,9	15,7	19,0
Incomplete higher education	0,6	2,4	1,4	3,9
Higher vocational (Bachelor of Art)	2,1	1,7	10,9	11,3
Higher education (university degree, Master of Art)	7,0	27,9	19,8	4,3
PhD (Doctor of Philosophy)	0,3	3,7	1,7	1,3
No father / stepfather	0,9	1,7	0,3	0,9

Table 3.

	Level of education – mother			
	Poland	Slovakia	Hungary	Romania
Incomplete primary education	0,3%	0	0	0
Primary education	3,9%	0,7%	2,0%	3,8%
Incomplete secondary education	1,8%	1,7%	1,7%	8,5%
Secondary or vocational education	60,0%	44,7%	29,6%	44,0%
Post-secondary education	17,0%	13,9%	24,6%	19,7%
Incomplete higher education	1,5%	1,0%	3,7%	3,0%
Higher vocational (Bachelor of Art)	4,5%	4,1%	19,9%	11,5%
Higher education (university degree,	10,0%	28,1%	16,8%	6,0%
PhD (Doctor of Philosophy)	0,9%	5,8%	1,3%	3,0%
No mother / stepmother	0	0	0,3%	0,4%

A clear differentiation of the students' cultural capital is also seen in the case of the second component – the number of books in respondents' home libraries.

It turned out that students from Rzeszow had the fewest number of books in their home libraries. Two thirds of Polish students did not have more than 10 books in their own collections (66.9%). In the case of students from Miskolc, the percentage was twice lower (23.8%). Slightly more than half of the students from Oradea had no more than a hundred books in their households (57.1%). The value of the rate for Slovak students was 45.3%.

In addition to that, one out of four Hungarian students owned more than five hundred books in their home collections (24.8%).

This number of books was possessed at homes by one ninth of Slovak students (11.1%) and by one out of ten Romanian students (9.8%). Only one in twenty Polish students (4.8%) had over five hundred books in his/her house.

Table 4.

How many books are there in your home library?	Country				total
	Poland	Slovakia	Hungary	Roma-	
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
Parents do not have any books	1,8	0	0,3	1,6	0,9
up to 50 books	32,2	12,7	6,7	28,7	20,1
50 – 100 books	32,8	32,6	16,8	26,8	27,5
101 – 300 books	19,8	30,0	31,9	21,7	25,8
301 – 500 books	8,6	13,7	19,5	10,6	13,0

1	2	3	4	5	6
501 – 1000 books	3,6	8,8	17,1	4,7	8,5
more than 1000 books	1,2	2,3	7,7	5,1	3,9
I was brought up in an orphanage	0	0	0	0,8	0,2

Significant differences between students from Rzeszow, Kosice, Miskolc and Oradea appear again when we look at the place where they lived at the time of starting primary school. We can find out that students from Rzeszow who at the beginning of their primary education lived in rural areas or towns of 20 thousand inhabitants are nearly double in number comparing to the analogous group in Kosice (81.1% – Rzeszow; 47.5% – Kosice).

There are minor differences in this case when we compare Rzeszow students with their Hungarian and Romanian colleagues. Students from Miskolc who lived in villages and small towns make up 52.4% of the total. The percentage for the analogous group of students from Oradea was 60.2%. We can state that only one out of ten students from Rzeszow lived in a big city (over one hundred thousand of inhabitants) at the time of beginning primary level of education. One quarter of the Romanian research sample group (23.2%) and more than one third of the Slovak and Hungarian ones (37.0% and 36.3%) were students from big cities.

It can be written that the popularization of higher education caused a situation in which young inhabitants of rural areas and small towns in the southeast of Poland chose to continue their higher education in the largest academic centre in the region.

Residents of the largest cities in the region, including Rzeszow in particular, were choosing bigger university centres – Cracow, Warsaw or Wroclaw as the places where they wanted to continue their studies.

Table 5.

Where did you live at the time when you began your primary education?	Country				total
	Poland	Slovakia	Hungary	Romania	
in rural areas	69,5	31,7	42,8	39,0	46,8
in a town (up to 20 000 inhabitants)	11,5	15,8	9,6	21,3	14,2
in a town (between 20 000 and 100 000 inhabitants)	9,5	15,5	10,3	14,2	12,2
in a city (between 100 000 and 500 000 inhabitants)	8,9	34,0	31,5	22,4	23,8
in a big city (between 500 000 and 1 mln inhabitants)	0,6	3,0	4,8	0,8	2,3
in a big city (over 1 mln inhabitants)	0	0	1,0	2,4	0,8

The students' belonging to the three categories of family cultural capital resources is also taken into account in the tables showing the identification with different types of families (6–9). It can be observed that in the categories referring to students from Rzeszow, only working-class families were characterized by lower than average rates of belonging to the highest category of cultural capital. Statistically, peasant families proved to be at the level closest to average cultural capital resources. Officials and especially the intelligentsia make the elite of cultural capital in Poland.

It also turned out that working-class and peasant families in Slovakia had the lowest level of cultural capital resources. A similar trend was observed in the case of students from Miskolc where, in contrast to Kosice, working-class families were characterized by lower level of family cultural capital. The fact worth noticing is that the highest level of cultural capital was recorded in Hungarian families of noble and aristocratic origins.

In Romania, similarly to Hungary and Slovakia, the lowest values of family cultural capital rates, significantly lower average ones, were observed among working-class and peasant families. The highest level of cultural capital was the quality of the intelligentsia and, which was a distinctive feature while comparing with other surveyed countries, of entrepreneurs' families.

Table 6.

Poland Type of family	Total in the sample group	Family Cultural Capital Rate			
		low	medi-um	high	total
The intelligentsia	10,3	29,2	12,5	58,3	100,0
Peasant family	10,3	45,8	37,5	16,7	100,0
Working-class family	44,6	70,2	25,0	4,8	100,0
Family of noble / aristocratic origin	3,4	62,5	12,5	25,0	100,0
Family of officials	5,2	33,3	41,7	25,0	100,0
Family of entrepreneurs	13,3	35,5	41,9	22,6	100,0
Middle-class family	9,4	59,1	18,2	22,7	100,0
Family of craftsmen	1,3	33,3	66,7	0	100,0
Other	2,1	60,0	20,0	20,0	100,0
Total	100,0	56,3	26,4	17,3	100,0

Table 7.

Slovakia Type of family	Total in the sample group	Family Cultural Capital Rate			
		low	medi-um	high	total
The intelligentsia	25,6	9,7	19,3	71,0	100,0
Peasant family	0,8	50,0	50,0	0	100,0
Working-class family	26,4	51,5	29,7	18,8	100,0
Family of noble / aristocratic origin	1,7	0	25,0	75,0	100,0
Family of officials	8,3	15,0	20,0	65,0	100,0
Family of entrepreneurs	18,2	31,8	20,5	47,7	100,0
Middle-class family	9,5	26,1	43,5	30,4	100,0
Family of craftsmen	3,3	50,0	25,0	25,0	100,0
Other	6,2	26,7	13,3	60,0	100,0
Total	100,0	29,3	25,1	45,6	100,0

Table 8.

Hungary Type of family	Total in the sample group	Family Cultural Capital Rate			
		low	medi-um	high	total
The intelligentsia	33,7	7,4	11,7	80,9	100,0
Peasant family	1,8	40,0	40,0	20,0	100,0
Working-class family	23,7	34,8	50,0	15,2	100,0
Family of noble / aristocratic origin	3,2	0	11,1	88,9	100,0
Family of officials	12,9	13,9	36,1	50,0	100,0
Family of entrepreneurs	16,8	12,8	34,0	53,2	100,0
Middle-class family	7,2	5,0	65,0	30,0	100,0
Other	0,7	50,0	50,0	0	100,0
Total	100,0	16,3	32,3	51,3	100,0

Table 9.

Romania Type of family	Total in the sample group	Family Cultural Capital Rate			
		low	medi-um	high	total
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
The intelligentsia	10,4	24,0	8,0	68,0	100,0
Peasant family	7,9	52,6	36,8	10,4	100,0
Working-class family	69,2	56,0	29,5	14,5	100,0

1	2	3	4	5	6
Family of officials	7,1	23,5	29,4	47,1	100,0
Family of entrepreneurs	4,6	27,3	9,1	63,6	100,0
Middle-class family	0,4	0	0	100,0	100,0
I was brought up in an orphanage	0,4	100,0	0	0	100,0
Total	100,0	50,4	26,3	23,3	100,0

During the analysis, one of the elements was an assessment of the students' subjective identity from the point of view of their identification with traditional intelligentsia and its ideology. Responses 'absolutely yes' and 'rather yes' as well as 'definitely not' and 'probably not' were combined in two separate categories: 'yes – no' to facilitate the interpretation of the data in the table. As can be seen from the data presented in Table 10, respondents from Rzeszow and Kosice most often identified themselves as Europeans. Students from Miskolc and Oradea most frequently indicated that they perceive themselves as members of the intelligentsia. Interestingly, students from Oradea three times more often than students from Rzeszow and Miskolc, and twice as often as students from Kosice, indicated that they perceived themselves as socialists.

Table 10.

Do you perceive yourself as a/an:		Country			
		Poland	Slovakia	Hungary	Romania
1	2	3	4	5	6
Socialist	yes	20,5	30,5	21,2	68,6
	no	79,5	69,5	78,8	31,4
Alterglobalist	yes	14,4	40,6	17,0	29,4
	no	85,6	59,4	83,0	70,6
Conservative	yes	39,0	34,1	27,9	41,5
	no	61,0	65,9	72,1	58,5
Statesman	yes	21,5	7,8	17,1	23,3
	no	78,5	92,2	82,9	76,7
Marxist	yes	9,6	8,2	8,2	19,0
	no	90,4	91,8	91,8	81,0
European	yes	82,4	88,8	63,2	81,5
	no	17,6	11,2	36,8	18,5
Liberal	yes	35,8	60,4	48,2	74,7
	no	64,2	39,6	51,8	25,3
Educated person	yes	72,5	83,5	81,9	91,0
	no	27,5	16,5	18,1	9,0

1	2	3	4	5	6
Intellectual	yes	75,2	68,3	69,3	76,8
	no	24,8	31,7	30,7	23,2
Representative of middle-class	yes	75,0	74,5	61,4	72,8
	no	25,0	25,5	38,6	27,2

Summary

Studies have shown differences in the level of cultural capital resources of students from Rzeszow, Kosice, Miskolc and Oradea. Inheritance of cultural capital in the form of parents' education was most evident in the case of Slovak and Hungarian students. In the case of students from Oradea, it was observed to a smaller degree, while students from Rzeszow are characterized by the smallest degree of this phenomenon.

We can also notice significant differences in the students' cultural capital when it comes to the second component of family cultural capital indicator, namely, the number of books in respondents' home collections. Students from Rzeszow had the fewest number of books, whereas students from Hungary and Slovakia can be placed at the other end of the scale.

Studies have also shown differences between students from Rzeszow, Kosice, Miskolc and Oradea when their place of residence at the time of starting primary school was taken into consideration. It is indicated that students from Rzeszow at the beginning of their education lived in rural areas and towns of 20 thousand inhabitants. Minor differences appear while comparing students from Hungary, Slovakia and Romania. In the case of Slovak and Hungarian research population, the results are very much alike. At this point it is worth emphasizing that spreading of the higher education among the masses meant that young people from rural areas and small towns in the southeast of Poland chose the largest academic centre in the region to continue their studies. On the other hand, young inhabitants of big cities in the area, especially those from Rzeszow, chose larger universities in Krakow, Warsaw and Wroclaw.

The researches into the issue have proved that there are differences in the level of family cultural capital resources as opposed to students' identification with particular types of families. Polish part of the study has showed that respondents claiming that they were born in the families of officials or in the class of intelligentsia, make up the elite of cultural capital.

Peasant families and working-class families from Slovakia were characterized by the lowest level of cultural capital resources. A similar trend is observed in the case of working-class families of students from Miskolc who, in contrast to students from Kosice, represent a lower level of family

cultural capital. A noteworthy fact is that the highest level of cultural capital was recorded in Hungarian families of noble and aristocratic origins.

In Romania, as in Hungary and Slovakia, the lowest values of family cultural capital, significantly lower average values, were observed in the case of peasant families and working-class families. Families of the intelligentsia reflect the highest level of cultural capital. The same fact is observed among families of entrepreneurs, which is a difference when compared with other surveyed countries. Moreover, the analysis was made of the students' subjective identity from the point of view of their identification with traditional intelligentsia and its ideology. The results provide a basis for establishing a typology of students' self-identification. Polish students indicate that they consider themselves mostly as Europeans, intellectuals and well-educated people. On the other hand, they rarely identify themselves with the middle class. Students from Kosice primarily define themselves as Europeans and intellectuals but to a lesser extent as the middle class or intellectuals. Hungarian students, unlike their peers from Poland and Slovakia, pointed out the strongest self-identification with belonging to the intelligentsia and not so much to being representatives of intellectuals, Europeans or the middle-class. Students from Oradea mostly self-identified with the representatives of the intelligentsia and European citizens, while they showed lesser perception of themselves as intellectuals and liberals.

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Cultural Journalists:
Fifteen years and still unacquainted
with the net. *How (the lack of) capital determines the professional behaviour in four Spanish online media*

Abstract

In Western democracies, journalism has traditionally been the main mediator between the governing elites and the masses. Its role has been considered key in promoting a healthy public sphere, where ideas can be nurtured freely, which is a basic condition for democracies. In this context, journalism became a well rooted profession, managing a sort of mediated public forum for these ideas. These professionals formed what Pierre Bourdieu called a 'field', a part of the society where actors compete for the same sort of capital, sharing rules and having a similar understanding of their function. Bourdieu devoted some study to this field, especially to remark on its struggles with other competing groups, such as politics and economics. The emerging digital culture implies that producers and consumers of media contents are now the same actors, blurring formerly established boundaries. This challenges the traditional role of some professions, journalism being one of them. This field is now under unexpected pressure, having to move away from their traditionally rooted values to new emerging ones that often stand in conflicting with established ideals. Ethnographic research developed at the same time in four relevant Spanish media newsrooms, each of them at a different stage in the process of adopting these new behaviours, describes and analyses the journalistic transition from the classical approach to a new, not yet well-defined one, where each actor and every behaviour must fit a new set to build renewed *doxas, habitus* and capital. This is not a fast and easy journey; what has been shaped through decades demands time in order to change and to establish new sets of values. Such change generates resistance, opposition and criticism, while a game of internal interests balance the process. As technology and economy have exerted pressure on the traditional journalistic field, its members have reacted in different ways: those away from the most privileged positions take more risks, make arrangements to accept new values as far as they can make them compatible with traditional ones and assume the risk of defending new practices; those at the core of the field – despite the realization that the Internet is changing their profession – are more reluctant. This study describes how journalism as a field defends its place among other fields while evolving towards a new set of values. Additionally, it addresses a transformed *habitus* and a new consensus concerning how the traditional profession would fare in the new emerging online environment. One newsroom, very powerful in their mar-

ket, although realizing that change may be unavoidable, may choose to adhere to old values and practices; others may internally experience the division between those who want to profit from these changes – to gain more power in their field – and those who defend their traditional position. Other groups, who may have been underdogs in the market, are likely more prone to negotiate their traditional values with new ones while looking for recognition and remark that social and cultural capital remains in flux and therefore evolves. This resisted transformation highlights how Bourdieu's sociology works, offering resources to for understanding its dynamics, especially concerning *habitus*, its rigidity, how it intersects with personal histories and how field members struggle to establish a new sort of capital or take advantage of the situation to overtake colleagues. It is Bourdieu's theory that those who risk their historical *habitus* find meaning in their professional endeavours.

Introduction

About four o'clock every afternoon, roughly two dozen reporters arrive at the newsroom at *Diario de Mallorca* to write their stories for the next edition of the newspaper, which will be published and delivered the following morning. They have spent the morning collecting data, interviewing newsmakers and checking their sources, and will dedicate the afternoon to putting their stories down on paper. The following day, dozens of vans will deliver the printed paper at their readers' homes. This is the way it has been for decades, even centuries. Felipe Armendáriz is one of these journalists: "I spend the morning at Courts, where I find my stories. Then I come to the newsroom, and write them"[1].

This deeply rooted routine is being challenged by the Internet; quite often, while journalists are putting together the pieces that will eventually be their stories, they may see on their screens the same information on a news website, describing roughly the same events, probably with similar interviews, often with identical headlines. Sometimes these stories appear even on their own newspaper's online site. While Armendáriz and his colleagues are still making the final touches to their reports, citizens are already commenting on the events, sometimes giving unexpected details about what happened but more often stating their opinions about what has transpired. "We do see what is happening on the Net, but we do not care, it does not influence us," says Armendáriz. They are obviously aware that their stories will not be original, but they continue working as they always have. "I know that what I know is right, because [my information comes from] the original source [which no-one else has][2]." Armendáriz's only problem is that his

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[1] Personal interview with the author, on February, the 17th, 2010.
[2] Personal interview with the author, on February, the 17th, 2010.

story will be read tomorrow, usually more than ten hours after it was made public on the Internet.

Armendáriz and *Diario de Mallorca* were producing this overdue journalism in 2010[3], fully aware that for most readers, what they would be publishing the next day would be of little interest, because it will have been delivered too late. It seems a contradiction, but journalism nowadays is riddled with incongruous behaviour, as this research found in four different newsrooms. What is more surprising is that journalists themselves are readers of media, deeply informed about the implications and consequences of what the Internet means for the profession; yet despite this, they remain attached to past behaviours, to values that today, in theory, can arguably be viewed as worthless. In some cases in this research, I found professionals that feared their colleagues' reactions (the "friendly fire") if they modified their behaviour to adopt the Internet[4], while others reckon that they somehow behave in an 'arrogant' manner[5].

Through an ethnological analysis, this study explores the declared and concealed reasons for these types of behaviours and examines them within the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology. From this point of view, a clear picture emerges where a game of powers within the journalistic field has a relevant function in the development of this new type of journalism. It relates the adoption of the Net and the adaptation of this profession to the new technology, to the sort and amount of capital that players can obtain, to the relation between journalists with authority in the field and the new environment and to the standardization and routinization of the required new practices, thereby ascribing a wider and explanatory role to these internal struggles.

Journalism matters

For decades, many authors have considered journalism a key aspect of democracy. James Carey (1969) equated it with democracy and highlighted its crucial political function. Walter Lippmann (1922), stated that journalism was a prerequisite for a healthy public life in an open country, thereby

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[3] They are still proceeding in the same way in 2013, as the author checked with Joan Riera, deputy editor of the newspaper, on October, the 27th, 2013.

[4] Marta Cerame, a section editor at *Efe*, in a personal interview with the author on February, the 2nd, 2011.

[5] Fernando Gualdoni, section editor at *El País*, in a personal interview with the author on February, the 11th, 2011.

underlining his deep concern with the commercial needs of newspapers. Jürgen Habermas (1974), who had in the seventies defined the 'public sphere' as a virtual place where all social ideas and opinions could run freely considered journalism an essential player. Other authors remarked that journalism has an enormous social responsibility, because it is "the most powerful knowledge-producing institution" (Ekström, 2002, p. 259).

Consistent with such crucial a role, journalists for decades experienced a "golden age", a time when the social influence of journalism was extreme and politics were under its constant scrutiny. Herbert Gans, who studied journalism in the 1970s, thirty years later described this time in the following terms:

> The journalists themselves were believed [in those days] to be freer from competitive pressures and interferences from politicians and advertisers. In addition, they were perceived as possessing more influence and prestige in their firms (then all headed by journalists) and with politicians and the nation. Needless to say ... they were living through a golden age. (Gans, 2004, p. xv)

At the same time, print journalism has remained static, as if its shape, values and practices were to remain unchanged forever (Gans, 2004; Westerstäl & Johansson, 1986). The following is Meyer's description of journalism: „For most of this century [the] the newspaper business changed so slowly that at any given moment it appeared to its participants to be in a steady state... [T]he skills needed to produce the editorial product did not change"(Meyer, 1996).

Domingo (2008) et al., studying the clash of this type of journalism with the emergent one associated with the Internet, confirm that "the working routines and values of journalistic culture had remained highly stable for almost a century" (p. 326). In general, journalists seemed attached to these *de facto* rulet (Usher, 2010).

For the purpose of this investigation, it is important to stress the following two characteristics of journalism: (1) highly influential, powerful and steady; (2) stable, with a well fixed set of routines and values.

Values to struggle for

A group of scholars researched professional journalists across 18 countries and found that they mostly shared the following values:
- detachment and non-involvement in the reality they have to inform about

- consider providing political information and monitoring the government as essential
- impartiality
- reliability/factualness of information
- adherence to universal ethical principles

With more remarkable differences among countries and cultures, this study also found interventionism (in the sense of freely searching for stories), objectivism and separating facts from opinions as common traits amongst journalists.

Thomas Hanisztch (2011) had previously made a summary of this "particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists, consciously and unconsciously, legitimize their role in society" and accordingly, identified some groups of values: a) an interventionist attitude, b) a necessity to oppose power [ratified by Cassidy (2005), in a separate work]; c) the necessity for being autonomous and independent from other powers (Deuze, 2005); d) submission to market rules; a commitment to objectivism, mostly seen as a ritual (Karlsson, 2010), as a strategy (Lau, 2004) or as a formality (Broersma, 2010)[6]; e) empiricism as opposed to speculation in researching the truth; f) relevance to the context and a special concern for the truth (Hanisztch, 2007).[7]

Other authors also mention values such as the originality of news (Keeble, 1994, p. 56; Downie and Schudson, 2009), which play a crucial role in the new online media and the newsworthiness of stores (Singer, 2003).

These are the values that journalists consider central to their profession; the ones that differentiate what real journalism is and what it is not. These practices should not be seen as isolated and ethereal elements, but as real players in the daily dynamics of a social group, horizontally affecting all newsrooms in a determined area; they are the elements that practitioners should master and as a result, they generate appreciation, recognition and prestige. The prestige translates into higher posts, admiration, and better salaries for those who hold it. All of these are forms of capital.

Authors such as Jane Singer (2003) describe how journalism, values and prestige are related, enlightening what is at stake and how the internal dynamics work:

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[6] Broersma states that „[t]o enforce its claim on truth and overcome its limitations, journalism has developed discursive strategies to make stories as persuasive as possible" (Broersma, 2010, p. 27), with a language and rules that „ensure the effect of authenticity and truthfulness" (2010, p. 27).

[7] Many other scholars studied the matter with roughly similar conclusions: Mark Deuze (2005) summarizes in five points this journalistic „ideology": a sense of public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics (2005, pp.445-447). Deuze (2005) also mentions authors such as Hallin, Kovach and Rosenstiel, Reese and Soloski.

> The professional community – rather than the society or the client – defines the nature of professional service and claims to be the only legitimate arbiter of improper behavior. It does so primarily by controlling the recruitment and certification of members and by setting standards of adequate practice. Moreover, every profession has an ideology explaining that autonomy is desired not because of individual benefits but because it best serves the public interest. (p. 141)

Note that the society and the client ⬜ the reader, the audience in our case ⬜ play a minor role in defining professional values.

The Net, welcomed

The arrival of the Net was first seen only as the emergence of a new platform for conducting traditional journalism, but in a faster and further reaching manner. In fact, media companies were among those actively looking for a more efficient way to deliver their news than on paper. Consequently, after many failed experiments[8], when by the end of 1993 the Mosaic browser was made available to the general public, media rushed to adopt the Internet (Boczkowski, 2004).

Andrew Hearst, a *Columbia Journalism Review* editorial/production assistant with a prose style that today may seem naïve, in 1995 stated that, "I've been spending a lot of time lately on the World Wide Web. If you haven't heard much about it yet, you will soon. Hundreds of newspapers … are racing to establish presences on this rapidly growing, multimedia-ready section of the Internet" (Hearst, 1995, p. 63). He also describes the website of the *San Jose Mercury News* as "impressively large and up-to-date".

Pablo Boczkowski (2004), studying this period when media first began getting in touch with the new platform, mentions that J. Stewart Bryan III, the Chief Executive Officer of Richmond Newspapers, told his company's shareholders in 1995 that the Internet was "doing for the communications industry what the industrial revolution did for manufacturing 200 years ago" (p. 37). It is therefore consistent with this vision that by the end of 1995, 175 US papers had an online edition and in 1997, 702 dailies had opened on the Net (Jackson and Paul, 1998); in 1999, all but two of the 100 most important American newspapers had an online site (Dotinga, 1999).

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[8] From teletext to facsimile, newspapers developed many experiments to deliver their information in an electronic format. Not all of them were failed businesses, but when the Internet appeared, all of them were rapidly left aside. The Net was extremely alluring to media managers (Boczkowski, 2004).

This rush to embrace the Net was also experienced in Spain. The magazine *El Temps* was online in 1994. In 1995 and 1996, the most important national newspapers such as *La Vanguardia, Abc, El País, El Mundo* and the regional ones such as *El Diario Vasco, El Periódico de Catalunya, Avui* and *El Comercio* had opened their online editions (Díaz Noci, 2005).

> By the end of the Nineties, about 60 Spanish dailies had an online edition, including all media from Madrid and Catalonia… It is important to remember that in 1999, a handful of relevant regional dailies, such as *La Voz de Galicia* from Corunna or *Las Provincias* from *Valencia* were not yet online. In 2006, very few newspapers were not online in Spain. (Caminos et al. 2006, n.p.)

From the very beginning, what most media used to do online was upload their print edition, with minor or no changes. For some years, the Net was seen by many media companies as a way to reach bigger audiences, but not as the platform for a new type of product, with new rules, new interactions and a new internal logic. What journalists wrote about the new culture associated with the Net, about the radical transformation of the relationship with the audience, was ironically ignored by the journalists themselves (Nguyen, 2008).

Despite this reluctant attitude towards change, when Spain's press editors were surveyed about what they thought would be the most common way for accessing media in ten years, they overwhelmingly declared that laptops and mobile devices would be the devices used for staying in touch with their audiences rather than paper (Paniagua y Gómez, 2008). Nevertheless, news-media editors devoted few resources because "they [were] afraid that digital editions may be damaging [to] their main source of income, [that is], the print business" (Larrañaga, 2009, p. 62).

Four leading media

The four newsrooms selected for this investigation are representative of some key typologies of media: *Diario de Mallorca* (2003), as an example of a local or regional newspaper common in Spain and also in countries like Germany, France and Italy; *Efe,* as one of the most important news-agencies in the world, leader in the Spanish-speaking journalistic arena (Olmos, 1997); *El País*, the print paper with the highest circulation in Spain; finally, *El Mundo,* the online journalistic medium with the highest number of monthly users in the Spanish language (OJD, 2011, 2012).

Below are the circulation figures for the above publications for 2011.

Circulation of selected media in 2011 and their evolution since 2007 (OJD, 2012)

	Circulation 2011	Variation 2011/2007 (in %)	Main market
El País	365,117	-17.04	Spain
El Mundo	252,770	-23.05	Spain
Diario de Mallorca	19,145	-15.85	Majorc

Diario de Mallorca

Diario de Mallorca is a very influential regional newspaper published in Majorca. Its print circulation is second highest in the region, behind *Ultima Hora,* a more tabloid-like competitor.[9] Like most of the regional Spanish press, *Diario de Mallorca* belongs to a chain of newspapers. Prensa Ibérica is a conglomerate of 17 Spanish newspapers. The newspaper went online in 1996. As was standard practice, it offered online the full print edition. Soon afterwards, the site added fresh stories from news-agencies. In 2011, *Diario de Mallorca* was still offering the same content: their print edition in full – for free – plus some news wires. Soon after the current research had been completed, *Diario de Mallorca* stopped reproducing online their entire print edition, instead offering only a selection of stories. Much later, the full print edition became available for iPad for a monthly fee (Diario de Mallorca, 2003). From 1996 till now, there are minimal differences in its online product. Prensa Ibérica, the owner of the newspaper, applies the same policy in all the group's online editions as its main national competitor, Vocento, another Spanish press group with more than 20 important publications in the country: they offer online what is in the print edition, plus news-wires[10].

El Mundo

By 2011, when this research was being conducted*, El Mundo* had the biggest online audience in Spanish (OJD, 2012), although the circulation of their print edition was significantly less than that of *El País,* its main competitor. Despite its online successes, the newspaper's actual business performance is concerning, having accumulated huge losses for its proprietors, the Italian conglomerate RSC, which also owns *Corriere della Sera*, the best-selling Italian newspaper[11].

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[9] Description of *Ultima Hora*, as made by Pedro Pablo Alonso, the editor-in-chief at *Diario de Mallorca*, in an interview held on 25 January 2010.

[10] As stated by Pedro Pablo Alonso, the editor-in-chief, to the author in a personal interview held on January, the 25th, 2010.

[11] Information given by Fernando Baeta, the editor-in-chief, to the author on January, the 31st, 2011. RCS, the Italian group that owns *El Mundo,* does not provide detailed information about the performance of their newspapers.

Most journalists working for the electronic edition were hired around 1996, when the news site first opened and have taken part in all key decisions about the product. Among the current staff, Fernando Mas, the deputy-editor, Sonia Aparicio, multimedia-features editor, José Luis Martín and Olalla Novoa, breaking-news editors, have all been journalists at the publication since then[12]. They claim that what they have learnt have come mostly from applying the 'trial and error' method: sometimes they were wrong and had to retreat; often they were right and their experiments were successful[13].

El País

El País has often been described by scholars as the most influential newspaper in Spain (Pini, 1999). It was the Spain's most profitable medium for years (Gámir, 2005); however, since 2006, it has experienced significant economic setbacks to the point that, at the time of this research, the loss of 2,500 jobs had just been announced, though no one knew exactly who would be affected.

The staff in the main newsroom had not been using the Net until 2010. They used to work as ever for the print paper; later, an external team belonging to a subsidiary company and based somewhere else in Madrid, uploaded *El País'* stories online. This is no longer the case; currently, the newspaper follows a new routine. "Now, as soon as we get a story, we have to phone up to inform [the] editors, then write a flash piece for the online edition, later the full story and much later another version for the print edition. And now we have to use the *eskup*[14] [and] operate an individual video blog [among other things]", explains Luis Doncel, a reporter from the business section.[15] Gumersindo Lafuente, the online manager, brought with him at the end of 2009 this revolution that has seen a transformation the internal practices and goals of the newspaper[16].

Efe

Efe is a wholesaler of news; a news-agency that does not deal with individual readers but with news companies as its only customers[17]. It is a

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[12] Gumersindo Lafuente, by 2011 the chief *El País* online editor, was for years at the frontline of the *El Mundo* online website.

[13] As when they introduced a failed daily afternoon online edition in pdf, downloadable as a print newspaper.

[14] Similar to Twitter, it uses 280 characters, which can be seen on the front online page of *El País* and which every reporter must take part in.

[15] Luis Doncel, in an interview with the author on 9 February 2011.

[16] Lafuente had spent part of his journalistic life as editor-in-chief of *El Mundo* online. A year and a half later he was dismissed.

[17] *Associated Press* (USA), *Reuters* (UK) and *AFP* (France) have an open service for the general public. *Efe* has a news site where only a few stories are available.

state-owned company, whose staff, mostly journalists, are among the best paid in Spain, the most experienced and well protected by legislation (Ol-mos, 1997). They do not depend on advertising or on the political envi-ronment and are therefore stricter in applying their professional rules. As a result, they deal with the online world from a very different perspective. *Efe* is the main news agency in Spanish. It employs almost a thousand journalists in 110 countries (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1996). Despite this, they have been affected by Internet-related changes, although from a different perspective. "For us, the Internet is good; we have more impact, more customers. Our crisis is related to the general economy more than to the Net", explains Javier Tovar, the general manager for Spanish news.[18] Despite their particular commercial model, their work is being affected by the Net in two ways: it is a new source for their stories and, as purveyors of most online media in Spanish, it has widened their market, because more and more online outlets rely on *Efe* to offer the public their product. It is a phenomenon widely described not only in Spain, but around the world[19].

This investigation is based on an ethnographical approach, a research methodology often considered a robust instrument for revealing not only facts, but the circumstances and attitudes beneath the surface of particular behaviour, in this case the journalistic transition from a print to an online-centred model (Cottle, 2007). Ethnographies at newsrooms are so popular that they may be seen as well-established traditions of research (Boyer & Hannerz, 2006). The eruption of the Internet in newsrooms, far from dimin-ishing the value of this classical tool, stressed its usefulness as a widely rec-ommended methodology (Howard, 2002; Cottle, 2007; Patterson, 2008).

The work-field for this investigation consisted of interviews and partic-ipant-observation sessions. Thirty-one journalists representing all levels of responsibility within four relevant Spanish news organizations, from edi-tors-in-chief, section-editors to reporters, were interviewed in depth[20]. This work was developed over five weeks, with 46 hours devoted to the tech-nique of participant observation. A number of additional interviews for cross-referencing information with journalists were also conducted. In all, the author spent almost 200 hours in Palma de Mallorca (*Diario de Mallor-ca*) between January and February 2010 and in Madrid (*Efe, El País* and *El Mundo*) between January and February, 2011.

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[18] Javier Tovar in an interview with the author on 31 January 2011.
[19] Online media rely heavily on news agencies, as many studies have shown (Gasher & Gabriele, 2004; Sancha, 2005).
[20] Only the most relevant interviews were used in this work.

Analytical framework

Journalistic companies first embraced the new technology, even rushed to adopt it, only to later become reluctant to apply it, as if they were having second thoughts about its practices. There are many reasons that may hint at why the adoption of these changes was much slower than what would have been expected. In my research, I collected many descriptions on how the Internet is changing the rules of journalism, the environment, the expectations and the perceptions. On the one hand, we have the traditional way of producing stories and newspapers, a well rooted tradition, that has been widely analysed, studied and even praised. This is a culture cemented years ago, well established, fixed and even "in a steady state", according to some authors (Meyer, 1996). On the other hand, there is the Net, with its practices, styles and internal logic, that is being embraced by ever more people, generating new behaviours, new patterns and new rules. Journalists are in the middle of these changes. In this research, I found much relevant information in order to understand not only how journalists behave, but their concealed reasons.

To make this analysis, a consistent theoretical framework was needed. This approach can be described as "the configuration of concepts which specifies the epistemological status of the other levels, and which hence assigns explanatory value to the specific rendition of the object of analysis that the methodology produces" (Jensen, 1991, pp. 5-6). This research employed Pierre Bourdieu's approach to sociology to frame these unfolding behaviours and unexpected reactions, in the same way that the French researcher for instance studied Kabilian peasants in Algeria (Reed-Danahy, 2004). It is not only a matter of describing what is happening, but of giving meaning to it and making sense of what at first glance may seem illogical.

Following Bourdieu, journalists, as most members of social groups, looked for different forms of capital – economic, social, symbolic and cultural, not only as individuals in relation to their colleagues, but also as a group struggling with other social groups. This capital is based on how well each player performs their professional role (*habitus*). The professional field is ruled by a particular set of mechanisms that attribute capital. Journalists, as members of this field, rate their colleagues' practices in relation to their *habitus*, i.e., their understanding of how to be a journalist. The present *habitus* has not been shaped in the online environment, but in the print one. Values associated with it have changed, but Bourdieu describes how resilient they are. More critical: actors in a particular field gain recognition mostly from their colleagues, getting capital in the form of prestige. Acquiring

the knowledge, experience and skills of the online environment may be a personal asset; but in this context, however, it is not the most profitable investment in order to generate capital. The members of the field who have the power to assign professional capital, those with the greater experience, prestige and recognition, are still overwhelmingly influenced by the traditional print practice. How fast is online journalism creating capital? This is the crucial question at the centre of this work.

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu devoted his entire life to analysing and describing how social groups create their particular sets of values, how they are internalized by those who belong to these groups and how the knowledge that shape these professions or activities is transmitted from the more experienced players to the less-trained newcomers and entrants.[21] Only in the final stages of his prolific life, in *On Television* (Bourdieu, 1996), did Bourdieu apply his model to the field of journalism with the goal of analysing its influence on other fields such as his own, i.e., academic knowledge.

Analysis

Power and Arrogance

"We thought that being who we are [influential journalists], we could charge for accessing our website. We were somehow arrogant", explains Fernando Gualdoni, remembering that when his newspaper in 2002 built a pay-wall into their site "we believed that only because we were *El País*, people would come and pay to read our stories[22]". The outcome was that readers left in droves; three years later they had to reopen their site for free. Gualdoni is an Argentinian journalist, in charge of International news, who offers the defence that they had overvalued their power in relation to the Net. Arrogance, power and lack of a self-criticism are attitudes that will be mentioned again by other professionals in this study.

To better understand Gualdoni's comments, it is worth keeping in mind how influential journalists at this newspaper were and still are. Javier Casqueiro, the editor for National News talks in familiar terms about prominent Spanish politicians[23]. At *El Mundo*, the editor-in-chief, Fernando Baeta,

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[21] Bourdieu studied not only professions, but also ordinary groups of workers. He dedicated many books to the production of culture and how this process works. Later in his life, he structured a theory around his findings, publishing many books explaining his model. (Bourdieu, 1972; 1979; 1986; 1980 and 1993).

[22] Personal interview with the author, on February, the 10th, 2011.

[23] Comments from a personal interview with the author held on February, the 8th, 2011.

reckons that the online medium is highly influential. "No one can imagine how [closely] politicians follow our edition and how often they phone us [in a bid] to change our point of view" he states, highlighting the nature of the relations between politicians and journalists[24].

Gumersindo Lafuente has been the online editor-in-chief at *El País* since 2009. He had previously been the editor of *El País'* main rival, *El Mundo.* Lafuente touches on what he thinks is the main reason for the present crisis, where print paper is fast losing readers while online services do not replace what is being missed, at least in terms of revenue. He gives a different approach to what Gualdoni called "arrogance":

> Journalists in this newspaper ... used to work in a quasi-monopolistic environment. When someone was good enough, then they could come to a newspaper like this one, but once here, they were shielded against criticism, against their readers. Readers could not interact with journalists. Media companies were giving their imagined readers what they wanted, but without accepting any criticism, without social control. This is why journalists nowadays need to claim their role as mediators. The media had become institutionalised, another political or business power, and they were more controlled and politically correct[25].

Both the editor-in-chief and the International editor of *El País* refer to the collective sense of power that this particular newsroom exerts. From a different angle, and of course not in reference to this particular newspaper, the German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas describes a journalistic situation similar to the one highlighted by Lafuente.

> Those who work in the politically relevant sectors of the media system (i.e., reporters, columnists, editors, directors, producers, and publishers) cannot but exert power, because they select and process politically relevant content and thus intervene in both the formation of public opinions and the distribution of influential interests.(Habermas, 2006, p. 419)

Lafuente's interpretation of why journalists became isolated from readers infers that they became part of the establishment and forgot their core role by focusing on their struggles with other social groups or amongst themselves. This vision connects with that of Bourdieu, who in *On Television* remarks that journalists tend to care more about what their colleagues think or value than about their real customers, i.e., readers and audiences, thereby creating a dangerous closure from the real world.

> Editorial staff spend a good deal of time talking about other newspapers, particularly about "what they did and we did not do" ("we really blew that one") and what should have been done (no discussion on that point) – since the other paper did it...This is the

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[24] Baeta, in two personal interviews with the author, held on January, the 24th, and the 26th, 2011.

[25] Personal interview with the author, held on February, the 7th, 2011.

way media success is produced, and sometimes as well (but not always) commercial success. This sort of game of mirrors reflecting one another produces a formidable effect of mental closure". (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 24)

This self-sufficient attitude also affected colleagues working at online newsrooms. Some scholars have studied how the first teams responsible for online editions had in fact been treated as if they were not part of the profession: they received very low salaries and poor or no training (Ianzito, 1996; López Hidalgo & Mellado, 2006), partly because media companies did not want to invest in them (Nguyen, 2008) and partly because print journalists looked down on their online colleagues. It was a clash of cultures, one especially felt by those at the new online outlets.

Online practitioners ignored

At the time of this research, at *Diario de Mallorca*, journalists working for the online edition, whose task is mostly adapting news-wires for their site and very rarely producing an original story, are not part of the newsroom; they are on a different level in the same building, do not take part in meetings and report to someone who lives somewhere in continental Spain. Most reporters from the print edition would not be able to identify who their online colleagues were.

Until 2010, the *El País*' online team used to work from a different building, under separate management and were paid much less by a different company, and despite consisting of trained journalists, they seldom produced original content. This changed for the worse a few months before my field-work took place, when they were dismissed and the main newsroom wholly assumed their functions and tasks.

At *El Mundo,* Sonia Aparicio[26] still remembers the days when their colleagues at the main print newsroom treated them as if they were second-class journalists, excluding them from journalistic decision-making. Fernando Baeta, the editor-in-chief, stresses that this is now in the past. "We used to be two separate teams. Not anymore. Now we are a unique newsroom, where everybody can be commissioned to produce a story for whatever platform"[27]. However, Aparicio still feels that "they [journalists working for the print paper] are welcomed to write [for] the online edition, but

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[26] Personal interview with the author held on January, the 27th, 2011. Aparicio's comments were shared by colleagues like José Luis Martín and Fernando Mas, who had also been with the online service from the beginning. They still remember that their salaries were lower, despite having similar qualifications.

[27] Baeta, in a personal interview with the author, on January, the 27th, 2011.

we [those initially writing for the online edition] have more problems to write [for print]". Baeta then reiterated that the division between the two newsrooms was now in the past, implying that they have overcome old tensions. Nevertheless, the day after he made this statement, he had to postpone a meeting with me because early in the morning a problem had arisen, again highlighting these old problems. In this case, the dysfunction occurred when it was established that *El Mundo*'s online paper had not been informed about an agreement between the Government and trade unions on pensions, an extremely controversial issue. It was a very relevant story and had been completely kept out of the electronic newspaper. Baeta disbelieved that no one in the main newsroom was behind the widely known negotiation. After many phone calls, he discovered that a journalist from the print edition had known everything, but had decided to keep the story to himself and run it the following day in the print edition. The newspaper's guidelines state that decisions about where to publish a story are only to be taken by editors and not by reporters.

José Luis Martín is an editor in charge of breaking-news at *El Mundo*. He explains that, according to the rules, if a story is exclusive and they are sure that no one else knows about it, it must be saved for the print paper. "[However], in case [there is any] doubt [about the facts involved], it [gets published in] the online edition"[28]. He relates how frustrated he and his team feel when, against their wishes, they have to save something for the following day. Even when "I see an approach to a story that is not obvious, I have to negotiate it with the print newsroom... We also have ideas" he told me, stressing that he is asked to ignore what could be best for his online newspaper edition.

At *El Mundo*, editors – not reporters –decide where a story will be published. The paper wants to make the best possible use of their stories: online when said stories may become public soon and on paper when they may have a bigger impact, but are still unknown by other news agencies. This policy collides with a rooted group's demand: journalists have to show their skills to their group by producing the kind of stories that generates recognition, i.e., capital. Everybody wants to associate a good story with his or her own name instead of giving it up for a better use, where it might not be associated with them. This struggle, despite the set guidelines, emerges again and again. Baeta and Martin are right: it is painful and frustrating, because there are important reasons for journalists to defend their stories.

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[28] Martín, in a personal interview with the author, held on January, the 26th, 2011.

Fear of "Friendly fire"

Everybody at *Efe* is aware of the changes associated with the Internet. In fact, most of them see this as a positive for the company and its journalists, because their stories now reach a much wider audience, thanks to hundreds of new online outlets bringing more customers. Nevertheless, this flow of new activity is not big enough to replace the shrinking traditional business of print media. In this sense, *Efe* faces two very different realities: on the one hand, the traditional written news-service, their core service, whose total number of customers is bigger than ever, while pressing to pay less and save money on a business that diminishes year on year and on the other hand, emerging opportunities such as television services, a much smaller part of the company, with a tiny proportion of the staff that is expanding quite fast. "We have to be flexible and adapt ourselves [to the new reality]"[29], explains Marta Cerame, who heads the television service. Their production had traditionally been restricted to Spain, because they lacked the means to reach international satellites and South America, their most important potential market. In 2008, they created a television online service that provides news footage on video through the Net, while competitors employing expensive satellites were trapped within this huge investment. This new business, cheaper and simpler, is expanding fast[30].

Nevertheless, success brings controversy. "We have problems: friendly fire; those in our own organization that do not want change... We have been the weakest area of the company", admits Cerame, and "our success is not always welcomed".[31] Tensions come from the all-powerful print sector, the most prestigious, influential and profitable branch of the company. Cerame feels that her area has been undervalued by her colleagues, despite its recent successes. Her deputy editor in chief, Lourdes Alvarez, reiterates that *Efe* Television has a much smaller staff than the print section. "And on the top of that we had to train our colleagues [across the company] on how to employ the mini-cameras that are now available[32]. But here in Madrid they

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[29] Cerame, in personal interview with the author, held on February, the 3rd, 2011.

[30] At the time, Cerame described their success, another area of *Efe* was publicly announcing that the television service had had a 120 per cent increase in sales in 2010. Its turnover rose from 26 to 872 thousand euros during the period 2007 to 2010. Some members of the staff rushed to post the press release on the windows.

[31] Cerame, in personal interview with the author, held on February, the 3rd, 2011.

[32]*Efe* decided that every reporter should be instructed and should always employ a mini-camera in order to produce footage from every event. Unions challenged the order in court, where the company won. This conflict produced deep divisions, especially because at *Efe*, the managing team is formed by journalists who had previously been part of the newsroom.

do not use this equipment. However, in our international offices they are widely used. When you are in a regional or international branch, you have to multi-task. Its journalists see where the world is going to and are fast in adapting to the emerging trends. Some of our offices, [like] those in Johannesburg, Tokyo or Bangkok, are using the cameras on a daily basis"[33]. This is the material in which *Efe* Television has founds its success. A feature about Thai wines, for example, is given to a team of translators who rush to edit the video and personalize it for their markets in American and European Spanish, English, Catalan and Arabic. "On demand, our team may produce the video for a particular customer", adds Alvarez.

"Friendly fire" is what Cerame fears most. Critiques about her section open attitude towards the new environment, coming from colleagues hurt the most. The main newsroom, comprising 400 journalists, is against any innovation involving cameras. Despite knowing that the online television business is expanding, they reject the new model associated with the Net.

Amaya Quincoces is the reporter in charge of scientific news at *Efe*.

> I remember when I began working at *Efe* … we had fax machines to send and receive press releases. Soon afterwards, the Net appeared and email added to our [communication] choices. I remember many of my colleagues rejecting it, saying that they [would] not use it. Today, everybody is using it and we are not able to imagine how our daily professional [lives] would be without it. It is a very useful tool from every point of view[34].

Quincoces expects that in the future, her colleagues will accept innovations, though they currently tend not to. "We had a very bitter conflict against the company [which is run only by journalists elected by the newsroom]. But in the end, only trainees use the mini-cameras. We still work as [we always] did."

The strongest area of *Efe* is their main newsroom, where the most experienced professionals work. Here, they are aware of changes, but seem to resist them. "While I take notes on my pad, I am not in a situation to film. I am not prepared" explains Raúl Casado, who adds that "I am [too] old for [these] changes"[35]. Of course, he is not old; he and most of his colleagues share a particular idea of how journalism should be and they stick to it. They are at the very centre of their professional field – the best paid, backed by a strong organization, a model for the profession ⬚, they have the best experience and work in a company backed by the Spanish state; in other

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[33] Alvarez in a personal interview with the author, held on February, the 3rd, 2011.

[34] Quincoces in personal interview with the author, held on February, the 1st, 2011.

[35] Raúl Casado, a section editor at *Efe*, in a personal interview with the author on February, the 3rd, 2011.

words, they have a well-defined *habitus.* They are those individuals who have somehow gained the right to approve what is or good or bad for the profession, what is consistent with their traditional practices and what is not, what may be considered crucial for the prestige of colleagues and how much this capital ranks. For them, the emerging demands related to the online environment are not yet acceptable. Their view is that, if this new approach *is* journalism, it must be of a lower rank.

Everywhere at *Efe*, I found some criticism about online media. Javier Lascurain, a senior editor, remembers the poor impression that online managers made on him when he had to visit Internet media to discover how they perceived and valued *Efe*'s services. "In our opinion, companies were not selecting the best professionals for their new business[es]"[36]. Luis Sanz confirms this opinion when he states that "some of our online customers are machines that automatically publish whatever story we deliver", in reference to news-aggregators that are not managed by journalists[37].

"Journalism with a burka"

Matías Vallés is a locally renowned columnist, based at *Diario de Mallorca*, but publishing in many regional newspapers across Spain. He is critical concerning what the Net means, especially in terms of identification issues. He explains that

> [O]nce I get over the self-censorship that all of us apply and write an article, I have to negotiate its contents, even its words, with my bosses and occasionally with our lawyers, to avoid libel. Then, once each word has been weighed, when many of my colleagues have authorized its publication, then the article goes online with my name and picture, fully identifiable. And then, once it is online, people coming from the dark, with their names hidden in the cyberspace, appear and insult and offend everyone, as if the Net was a lawless world. This is absolutely amazing. This is journalism with [a] burka, where no one knows who is behind these insults.[38]

We should not forget that in the real world, problems of identity also exist; however, print journalists have many more tools to deal with these issues: they know where the interlocutor physically is, how he performs his role, and the whole situation offers invaluable information for solving identification problems, which the Net lacks.

Antonio Ruiz, deputy-editor at *Diario de Mallorca*, believes that the Net is a realm where no one can trust what is on display. "We have to check

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[36] Comments made in a personal interview with the author, held on February, the 1st, 2011.

[37] Lascurain and Sanz, in two different personal interviews with the author held on February, the 1st and the 2nd, 2011.

[38] Personal interview with the author, held on January, the 28th, 2010.

every story that we find online. And most of them are not true, they are … urban legends with no author, with no link to reality". Ruiz even says that "journalism when [it] is produced to be online is not as reliable as [when it is in] print".[39] Why should this be the case, when it is being produced by trained professionals working for established companies? Ruiz explains that when journalists produce for print, they are aware that their stories will be there forever and as a result they are more careful about what they write. However, what is online can be changed from minute to minute; it is ephemeral, changeable and therefore deserves less trust.

Everyone at *Diario de Mallorca* claims that "print journalism is still what really matters". Joan Riera, another deputy-editor, told me,

> [T]he print paper still shape[s] the agenda. It is where those who count want to be … where you can find what is really important. What is not [in] the print paper does not exist. You will not find any politician saying on their blogs what they think, [or something else] relevant [to] the community. They reserve this for the print press.[40]

He remembers many stories that, despite having been on the Net for a while, become important only once they were included in the print paper.

Journalists at *Diario de Mallorca* informed me that other media in the region share this approach to the Net. "You will not find online any clue of what other print media will publish tomorrow, because when something is really important, they will keep [it] for the newspaper" Pedro Pablo Alonso reminded me, who is editor-in-chief at *Diario de Mallorca*. In fact, the next day, *Ultima Hora*, their main competitor, published a story about a crisis at the Palma de Mallorca's city council, which could not be found in their online paper the day before or on the same day. "What is important is [in] the print paper", said Alonso.[41] In broad terms, most journalists at *Diario de Mallorca* share a very similar vision about the Net and the journalism that can be developed online: they distrust what is online; they are very much concerned about how this online content is reliably identified and about where online stories come from. "I still like diving into traditional media" states Matías Vallés[42]. He posits that nowadays, when you look for any concept on Google "you get rubbish, coming from no one knows where. It is rubbish that we need to accept, because [it] is part of our lives, but no one knows what interests are behind it". For journalists at *Diario de Mallorca*, what adds value is the print edition. For this team, printed news is the plat-

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[39] In a personal interview with the author on January, the 29th, 2010.
[40] Comments made in a personal interview with the author, on January, the 25th, 2010.
[41] Personal interview with the author, on January, the 28th, 2010.
[42] In an interview with the author, on January, the 28th, 2010.

form where journalism exists that generates prestige and recognition, which in turn leads to capital in its different forms.

Getting in touch 15 years later

Today, things are different at *El País* and *El Mundo*. Both are hugely popular online news-sites. At the time this study was carried out, *El Mundo* had more than 28 million unique users per month, with *El País* the runner up, slightly behind, but trending towards to overtaking its competitor. Nevertheless, there are deep differences between the two. The most striking is that the *El País*' newsroom has been producing online journalism for less than a year, while at *El Mundo*, the team in charge of electronic news has been roughly the same since 1996.

Luis Doncel is a reporter working in business news at *El País.* He has come to realize the dimension of change in his daily life since working on the Net. He seemed stressed by the constant online deadlines. It is an important change that also alters the organisation of work. And the very nature of journalism. Doncel has recently realized that the Net is very different from the print practice: "I had [written] a story about [government economic policies]. It obviously did not please [the government], so they phoned us to press for change. What was absolutely unexpected was that in the past we [would have been able to] excuse any action because the print newspaper could not be [edited]. [This is no longer the case], now the pressure escalates because they know that if we [wanted to], we [can] modify the information. As a result, pressures are bigger. I [had not been] aware of this subtle and distressing new situation"[43].

Iker Seisdedos, the cultural editor at *El País* laments that "we used to arrive at 11 and leave at midnight, now we have to arrive before, about 8 or 9 in the morning, because the prime time online is much earlier, but we are still leaving [around] midnight"[44]. Seisdedos, on the other hand, is now realizing that "online, there [is] space to offer detailed coverage of exhibitions [and] niche music, with more [space for] pictures produced by specialists. On paper you do not have these choices. For us in [the] Culture [department], it is a new world of opportunities".

As their online experience grows, new conflicts unfold that are not always addressed. What should you do when you have a scoop? "The official policy is publishing everything immediately online" declares Javier Casquei-

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[43] Personal interview with the author held on February, the 9th, 2011.
[44] Personal interview with the author held on February, the 9th, 2011.

ro[45]. "There is no clear line", nuances Doncel, because "we decide case by case. It depends on many things"[46]; this is due to the need for producing eye-catching stories in the print paper. What about reporters' shifts, which are still being conceived according to the print timetable? Borja Echeverría, who was hired by Lafuente to lead a new project, reckons that reporters are still producing as they ever did, but that "[this will] soon ... change [as will] their shifts", because they are still arriving as ever, by midday.[47] Should stories be updated very often, to give readers the impression that something new has happened? Echeverría updates information very often, while Gualdoni is against this approach. "We should educate readers that if nothing happens, they must accept the same [online] front page."

Some of these debates have been already been overcome at *El Mundo*: for instance, they update the site very often; even when nothing happens, they reformulate stories to offer them under a new headline, from a different perspective. Although at *El Mundo* the team is more familiar with the Net, they still face challenges. Fernando Mas, deputy editor, and Baeta, editor-in-chief, are very clear about their attitudes toward audience participation: "This is our product. If you [want] citizen journalism, this is not where you [will find it]. This is our proposal; if you like it, [that is good]; if not, look online for other products"[48].

Someone else's fault

While conducting this research, although I did not find much criticism about how journalists are adopting the Net, I found that many attributed mistakes made to company managers.

At *Diario de Mallorca*, journalists were critical of the business model that the company developed, which translates into giving away for free online the same product that is sold at newsstands in hard copy. Vallés and Riera show their astonishment at managers' decision regarding this, which they somehow use as an explanation for their present misfortunes.

Meanwhile, at *El País*, Berna González Harbour, a senior editor, criticized her company's managers when explaining that the newsroom is only now realizing how the Internet works. She states that they would have been more literate about it had the company chosen to employ them to produce contents for it at an earlier stage. She suggested that journalists should have

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[45] Personal interview with the author, held on February, the 8th, 2011.
[46] Personal interview with the author, held on February, the 9th, 2011.
[47] Echeverría, in a personal interview with the author on February, the 7th, 2011.
[48] Mas, in a personal interview held on February, the 1st, 2011.

had bigger involvement with the Internet, something that *El País* did not realize until very recently.

At *Efe*, again, there was damaging industrial action against managers as a result of them demanding more flexibility. Nevertheless, in this case, there were two remarkable differences from what often happen at other newsrooms: firstly, the managing team was elected by the newsroom, because at *Efe*, managers may be chosen by journalists; secondly – and perhaps more important – all of them had already been working at the newsroom and were journalists themselves.

However, in all cases, regardless of their profession, managers seemed to be confronted with the newsroom, even when they are former members of it. How they forgotten their journalistic adscription? How was it possible that their behaviour was similar to that of people from other professions?

Juan Ramón Romero is a senior journalist working at *Efe.* He has held similar posts around the world. His function is currently at the front section of a group where every fact in every story is checked prior to being released. Due to the nature of his task, he is regularly on the Net, where he controls the newspaper's main stories. Romero admits that "we at *Efe* have not fully adopted the Net [and likely never will]. The next generation of journalists will, but we will be here for some years [to come]. I do not see us changing in the way that the Net demands. We do not produce shorter headlines, we do not produce interactive contents ... but it will take time because we are and we will here, holding our posts."[49]

Debate

What is the reason for journalists not adopting the Net and resisting the associated changes more than a decade after its arrival, when they initially seemed keen on its development? Why have newspapers been so fast in opening their online sites, but have since failed to develop them? Why, even in 2011, when this study was carried out, do journalists remain reluctant to apply most of the features of the Net, as we have seen in some of the researched newsrooms? Why does Romero not expect adaptation from colleagues?

Sifting the collected data with Bourdieu's analytical tools, the answer to these questions appears obvious and intimates a transition determined to be a steep journey. Online journalism appears to have required a long period of time to stabilize its procedures, styles and goals and then to determine

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[49] In an interview with the author, on February, the 9th, 2011.

the professional practices that qualify for creating capital in terms of requiring special skills. This will not happen automatically and certainly not within a field shaped by decades of being based around print newspapers. At least, not in a form that could be useful internally.

The problem becomes more complex when these new forms of capital have to be rubber-stamped by the group, by the field and especially by those who are more experienced, more trusted and who usually maintain central positions. As far as the transition from the traditional and well rooted model to the new one is concerned, it has become more open, is slowly evolving but remains uncertain and variable. The online practices that generate value will not be easily routinized. Eventually the process will begin again, demanding more time to take root.

Consider *El País,* one of the most important news outlets in Spain: at the time this research was being conducted in 2011, Doncel and Seisdedos believed that the online environment was still deeply altering their procedures, routines and values. At this point they were still learning how to proceed under the new rules, full of subtleties, each of them producing unexpected consequences. They needed to agree on how to deal with these emerging and unknown situations. Should they reformulate stories to attract readers? Should they, as Gualdoni believes, educate them to accept that nothing new is happening? It will take time for these practices to generate workable capital. The transition from a familiar model to a new one is painful because it is based on unknown values that will be fixed mostly by the "trial and error" method, as I was informed at *El Mundo*. Then, online newsrooms, populated mostly by junior practitioners, will have to introduce them to their collective *habitus* and reformulate other practices. Of course, not all of them will deserve the same volume of capital, i.e., they will not all be recognized as valuable and exchangeable.

A decade and a half after the arrival of the Internet, these are some of the ongoing debates:

- At *Diario de Mallorca*, they still seem to consider that the added value of their commentators and journalists is more important than speed. For this reason, they insist even now in producing for tomorrow what was widely known the day before. They are extremely concerned about the identification problem on the Net. This problem exists, but journalists with a longer relationship with the Net have solved it by introducing additional checks to certify identities and then proceed to dealing with the next issue. This factor will certainly not be a source of capital.

- At *Efe*, they are still dealing with multitasking, a problem arising from the fact that the Net implies the convergence of different platforms. Again,

newsrooms are now more used to the Internet, such as that of *El Mundo*, where they have found a way to deal with this problem: editors are able to deal with sound, written text, footage and graphics, but they also have teams trained in each technique.

- At *El País*, they are still realizing how the speed of the Internet alters the power of sources and the ways in which they can relate this to their practices.
- A few steps ahead, *El Mundo*, whose online newsroom seems to have dealt with more issues, struggles with citizen participation by fully rejecting it, thereby fixing a boundary between what they offer and what has been produced by the audience.

It is particularly revealing that *Efe*'s managers regulate the link between individuals and the group. The newsroom consists of journalists who have been elected by their colleagues to run the company. Nonetheless, they act as managers, as members of a different field, which causes friction with their former colleagues. Despite their pasts as journalists, they are now competing with managers at the *Associated Press, France Press* and *Europa Press* and in this sense they behave following the rules of their new field. What creates capital, what is valuable in a managerial post is quite different from what creates capital in journalism.

These common and collective behaviours cannot be deciphered simply by looking at its reasons for existing or at its consequences. They may instead be understood by considering the internal balance of power in the journalistic field into which they translate. In the past, these challenged practices developed into appreciated forms of capital, skills that journalists struggled hard to achieve. Unexpectedly, what has been the essence of their understanding of the profession has become irrelevant, or worse, a negative asset. The accumulated capital and skills needed to gain these assets has suddenly become useless. The process now appears similar to learning a new language (Raúl Casado, at *Efe*).

In this research, the confrontation between traditional values and what the Net implies have emerged clearly in statements such as the following: "I am [too] old to adopt these practices"; "I do not care about what is being said online because what I write is what must be read"; "What I am most afraid of is friendly fire, [critiques] from my own colleagues". Established journalistic values and new emergent ones are confronting one another, both struggling to become the dominant rule. I have seen journalists very proud of their online work, but also very conscious that their colleagues do not yet understand or value it. These journalists will therefore not convert their successes into capita, and as a result, their work may be seen as irrelevant. Producing attractive online stories is a skill that no one, or very few,

will accept as an exchangeable asset. Managers may value it, but they are not members of the field. Worse, they belong to an alien field that will always be opposed to journalists, because their focus is on money and profit and not the social journalistic mission.

For this transformation, being close to the field margins helps: Marta Cerame of *Efe* TV is proud of what her team is doing: producing stories for television with a different agenda and personalizing contents for online media. She is aware that she has niche audiences and as a result adapts the sound or text of her pieces to suit these audiences. Cerame is the editor-in-chief of a marginal area of the company, where risks are easier to assume, because she and her team are short of capital. She, too, is afraid of "friendly fire", as she calls her colleagues' critical attitudes, because her successes may put at stake those at the centre of the field, who are still attached to their traditional values and practices, who do not give recognition to her department and would perhaps like to see her fail.

Individual behaviour – more flexible when the expected gains are higher and more conservative when the position is more stable and central – is roughly repeated when we analyse newsrooms: the more conservative ones are those who are not challenged by other media, by competitors or even by colleagues. *Diario de Mallorca* does not recognize any immediate online risks, while *Efe* is, will likely continue to be, the most important Spanish news agency. Alternatively, *El País* and *El Mundo* are in serious trouble, losing money and fearing redundancies due to this hasty transition.

There is still a long journey ahead: journalists working for traditional media are not used to listening to their audiences, nor are they familiar with mixing formats, with the speed of the Internet environment or with competing with so many new actors that copy and paste contents from different sources, regardless of its reliability. They have been used to a certain criteria of authority – *who* states that something is key – or to the idea that 'what is in print is reliable'. On the Net, however, no one is more important than anyone else and reliability is a serious matter. The question about what role audiences play within the journalistic environment is not yet being addressed by most newsrooms. Perhaps the exception in this instance is *El Mundo,* who appears to have reflected on this conflict and produced a clear response: outright rejection.

In terms of field theory, *El Mundo*'s team proposes a model where their traditional ways of producing journalism could be adapted, taking into account speed and new formats, but preserving the idea of journalistic professional skills to understand and present reality. This proposition creates new forms of capital unknown in the print environment: dealing with speed;

reformulating stories in order to attract the public's attention; employing all the tools available online; developing new formats, but staying within professional boundaries, with no external interferences and with a clear sense of authorship, thereby preserving the field model of recognition, of professional values and of creating capital. Essentially, they offer a new way of doing journalism on the Net, but one that is compatible with their traditional approach as a field and as an experienced group in charge of connecting different parts of society.

The new online environment is characterized by the greater role of "those formerly known as the audience" (Rosen, 2006), who now produce contents and interact with journalists and other producers of stories. The journalistic role of intermediating between the ruling elites and masses is no longer a monopolized arena. With the Net, everybody can be in touch (sometimes even directly) with newsmakers, thereby avoiding journalists. The journalistic field now has to share its function with many newcomers and has to offer real value if they want to still reach audiences. As a result, those journalists who understand their profession through their personal experience, who analyse their profession through the *habitus* shaped by years of tradition, experience extraordinary difficulties in perceiving how different their role is nowadays.

Conclusion

This paper focused on a sociological perspective that has long been academically employed to study how well established professional fields work. This perspective, which gives a clear explanation of behaviours away from the most obvious approach, has been widely used to study newsrooms across the world. It has not, however, been used to investigate how journalists would respond in the process of adapting to the Internet when this technology first appeared at the end of the previous century. From the expectations yielded by the Net in the early Nineties, to the first uncertain proposals to offer online news information full of contradictions and wrong assumptions, to the subsequent painful process of shaping the new online journalism, the overwhelming majority of the research devoted to this transition has lacked the appropriate tools to see what was at stake behind the scenes – which forces were contending with one another, who cared about what and how feasible changes would be.

Against the initial expectations, online journalism is not *only* reaching faster and further; it is not *only* reproducing the already known practices

adding more accessibility. May be this was the idea that media companies had in mind when they rushed to adopt the Internet in the Nineties. They were wrong: online journalism is that, of course, but it is much more: it is a different way to produce contents, to relate with audiences, to construct the narrative. It is a new order of values and a new set of professional behaviours, because it employs a new and a previously unknown language, in a new relationship with sources and audiences. All these new practices require time to translate into rules that have to be discovered, defined, tested, introduced and, once known and experienced, accepted by the group, by professionals.

Nonetheless, this is not all: being journalism a field, being its members conscious and aware of their need for capital, prestige and recognition, practicing online journalism needs the groupal acceptance. It requires that actors in the center of the field, those who are seen as the authorities in the group, give value to these new model, to these new language. Then, excelling in it would generate capital, and the effort will be rewarded.

Along this investigation, the struggles to reach the situation where online journalism is seen as an accepted practice, able to generate capital, have been described. From this investigation, I can claim that very few media outlets in Spain were able to produce online journalism, because very often practitioners were not ready to assume the new language, to understand how it works, mainly because their colleagues still were thinking in terms of print journalism. Such a behaviour is evolving, but only the most competitive newsrooms, the ones who were underdogs in the market, the ones that were not in the center of their field, were in a situation to bridge the gap with the new environment.

Studying the transition from print to online journalism from the point of view of the internal struggle for prestige and recognition and relating this process to the security that more established actors have in the field offered a consistent approach to understanding why fifteen years later, neither the most influential newsrooms or the most marginal ones have completed the journey to practicing a new form of journalism; why some of them seem to react only when pressed with extinction and why, under the surface, this process has a different logic than the one behind the traditional print journalism.

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Europe outside Europe: developing a German Jewish citizenship in Argentina. The case of the *Pestalozzi schule*

Abstract

The Pestalozzi Primary School was created in 1934 in Buenos Aires by a group of German immigrants opposed to the national socialism, with the purpose of generating an educational alternative to the guidelines of the Nazi Germany, position that earned the school expulsion out of the Network of German schools in Argentina. Another consequence that had its ideological position was that it cooperated in the determination of a particular space for the German Jewish minority once in exile. Moreover, as it was a private educational proposal, it safeguarded the young people from the highly politicized education system, outlined by the government of President Juan D. Perón (1946–55), which for the Jews was usually identified with the national socialist education. The bond between the German Jewish immigrants and the institution was strengthened with the addition of the secondary level in 1958, while that year the school was reinserted again in the German Network. A merge of all these factors led the institution to form and area of socialization that was shared by the Jews in exile, that developed a specific identity, that was antinazi, German and Jewish. As Friedman states (2011), in the exile, nationality stopped being only an "imaginative community" (Anderson, 1993), to turn into a strong social fabric. While many studies (see Friedman, 2001) analyze the role of this school during its early years, few researches study the later period – known as the technicist education– from 1956 until the early seventies (Puiggros, 1991), when despite the reputation of Argentinean Educational System, the conclusion of the Nazi regime and that more years passed since the Jews were expelled from Germany, they continued to send their children to this German School. In this sense, it is relevant to study the Pestalozzi School as a sphere where the social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2000) of the German Jewish immigrants could be produced and reproduced, in relation to their homeland on the one hand and their religion on the other, generating a differentiated integration, committed to develop a specific type of student –and citizen– more closely linked to the homeland of their ancestors on one side and to their religion on the other, than to the students' national reality. To achieve an analysis of the ways in which social and cultural of this minority were produced and reproduced in this school, we will analyze interviews with students and graduates of the Pestalozzi who belong to German Jewish families, who carried out their studies between 1955 and the early seventies, to inquire their schooling and socialization process, to analyze how this school contributed to create and recreate social and cultural capital within this minority and its new generations.

Introduction

The *Pestalozzi Schule* (Pestalozzi School) was set up in 1934 by German immigrants opposed to National Socialism, which at the time was the ruling party in Germany. Those who founded the institution in Argentina proposed fomenting an alternative pedagogical line to the Germanophile position which, at this juncture, almost all the German institutions in the country had adopted[1]. As a consequence, the Pestalozzi School was withdrawn from the list of schools receiving grants from the German government[2].

In the 1930's and 40's, the Pestalozzi gave protection to recently arrived opposition supporters and refugees from Germany and other European countries; especially teachers expelled for their political beliefs, many of whom belonged to the *Das Andere Deutschland* (the other Germany)[3] faction found in this school a place of acceptance and work. But, if for somethimg the Pestalozzi School has a reputation for, is for having hosted the children of Jewish Germans or German Jews. The fact that we state two different ways of identifying this target group, demonstrates arguments and dilemmas about a definition of identity. Leaving these quandaries aside, the Pestalozzi hosted German Jews –or Jewish Germans– who emigrated in different waves: those who did it before 1930 and called themselves *old residents*, and those corresponding to inmigration waves that took place after that year directly related to the Nazi regime and the persecution suffered (Schwartz, 1991). They were children and teenagers who had found a place where they would not be singled out due to their religious or ethnic background as would happen in other German educational establishments (Groth, 1996). They were members of family units, who, in spite of everything wanted to form part of *Deutsch Kultur* (German Culture).

Year 1958 was clearly an important one in the school's history. Not only was the secondary school founded, signifying the continuity and strengthening of the Pestalozzi and its educational project, but also because more importantly

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[1] As was explicitly stated in the Pestalozzi Gessellschaft (Pestalozzi Association) of 1934, "the main objective was to found one or several schools based on the principle of tolerance of race, religion and rationality." The school opened its doors to 70 pupils on April 2nd that very year, reaching 300 by 1936. In 1938 the school acquired the building in the Belgrano neighbourhood which allowed it to cater for an ever growing number of students. (Friedmann, 2010: 30 y 46)

[2] We need to point out that the German educational system was well developed. At that time, there were approximately 176 educational establishments, all of which aligned themselves with the National Socialist government, apart from Pestalozzi, la Germania School(until 1931; then it merged with the Goethe School) and the Cangallo School (Schwarzstein, 1990).

[3] A left wing group who proclaimed themselves as the spokesmen of "the real Germany" (Friedman, 2011, p. 33).

the German government decided to reincorporate it into the country's network of German schools with the awarding of a grant. At the end of the 1950's in the framework of a democratic culture based on a condemnation of Nazism, the Pestalozzi School was decorated for its resistance to "infiltration"[4] and its opposition to the regime. In a book recently published by the German Embassy, the fact that it was the only institution of the approximately 200 German schools, clubs and associations in Argentina that showed an "open opposition to the National Socialist regime was highlighted" (AAVV, 2010, p. 99).

This article aims to investigate the children of Jewish and German immigrants' experience as pupils attending the Pestalozzi between the second half of the fifties up to the first half of the seventies. This period was chosen as we consider it has been little researched; other works, such as Friedman's (2011), concentrated on an analysis of the school in the period of opposition to the Nazi regime. In this paper, on the other hand, its later socializing role is investigated in a period when it is rebuilt and the establishment's anti-Nazi past is conjured up. In these circumstances we seek to analyse the reasons why Jewish- German chose the Pestalozzi to educate their children, during a period in which the extermination of the Jews of which Nazi Germany was capable acquired the status of crimes against humanity. In a similar vein, this paper goes into what the reasons for justifying the learning of German were; if it demonstrated a firm desire to return to Germany or if on the other hand it was a symptom of the defense of their German character despite suffering expulsion and rejection.

The notion of field and the use of oral sources

Consistent with other papers in this book, we intend to use Bourdieu's notion of "social field" (2000) to recognize the Argentine group of German schools, among which Pestalozzi can be found. Firstly, this term allows us to avoid using local concepts of "colonial" and/or "community" schools, which assumes the existence of a community based on ethnic ties, thereby denying the existence of a variety of differences and disputes.

Secondly, the notion of field for German schools in Argentina is useful in as far as it enables us to group together both the network of schools recognized by the German Embassy and those that make up the network of Jewish schools founded by Germans. The former and the latter are included in

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[4] This term was used by the German newspaper *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, printed in Argentina, and of liberal and anti-Nazi sentiment, which denounced local German groups which were affiliated to the Third Reich. For a deeper treatment of the subject see, Friedman (2011).

this field, in which you can find figures that argue and seek to hegemonize the concept of Jewish-German identity. This is not the only disputed point in this field, neither is it the principal one. We have chosen it as we consider it interesting and sufficiently appealing to be developed in this research. Therefore, our proposal is to analyze the way in which the composition of the Jewish- German identity arises, recurs and is disputed based on the participants' different social and cultural capital.

Finally, as regards the field notion, this analysis will focus on the Pestalozzi and the way the school's pupils construct a feeling about their belonging to a Jewish-German community, on some occasions with features in common and on others divergent. However, German schools and Jewish Schools will be regarded as inevitable points of reference. From this angle it is imperative to recognise these protagonists, their disposition or "habitus" and their resources, in other words, their volume of capital as defined by Bourdieu (Corvalán, 2012).

As far as the use of oral source is concerned, it is essential to make totally clear that the story built on the interviews is filtered by feelings with which we interpret the past from the standpoint of the present. Therefore, pursuing the dilemmas surrounding memory and history, in this paper we have used the testimonies as "social category" –narratives which exhibit memories and representations of the past– and not as a "theoretical-methodological tool" or sources to know how past events really took place (Jelin, 2001). In this way, we recognize that each individual account in some cases makes a contribution to, and in others distances itself from the official history or the account given by the Pestalozzi itself.

To be precise, ten interviews were carried out with those students who attended the institution between the second half of the 1950's and the first half of the 1970's. The main topics of interest, which the meetings with the interviewees revolved around, were based on a loosely structured form. It's important to point out that, following the line of Welzer, Moller y Tschuggnall (2012), each interview is regarded as a unique instant. We do not ignore the fact that the questions condition or "frame" the answers, so the accounts we obtained and analysed in this essay are considered as part of a joint elaboration of the past, which was questioned or reinforced by facts obtained in other consulted sources.

State and Private Education

According to Braslvasky (1985), the Argentine education system was created at the end of the 19th century by a state that developed a strong

and "high quality" free educative system[5], aiming to build the grounds for a common national identity. Based on a Liberal republican ethos at school, immigrants were forced to give up their dissimilar traditions and capital and by means of education to acquire the values with which the State wished to inculcate them. In those years of mass emigration to Argentina, the priority was to harmonize the divergent by means of the homogenization of its citizens. In this way, school was conceived as a socializing environment -integration and homogenization- for the new arrivals. It provided children and adolescents of different origins with the opportunity to learn the Argentine language, culture and history (Tenti Fanfani, 2001; Tiramonti, 2008; Mayer, 2012).

Although the importance of state education is indisputable, we should not dismiss private education, which has been in existence since the very beginnings of the Argentine education system. The Common Education Law No. 1420 passed in 1884, which gave the state an educational monopoly, regulated private school activity by determining its interference in and control of the basic content of the curriculum to be taught[6].

In the entire history of Argentina, there have been two very different periods in which you can compare enrolment in state and private primary schools. Between 1894 and 1955 it can be observed that enrolment in the private sector fell as that in the sector dependent on the state rose[7]. The enrollment in public schools especially rose during Juan D. Perón's presidency (1946–1955) as his government implemented a more technical rather than "encyclopaedic" or theoretical educational orientation, which had a great impact and increased the enrolment figures (Puiggros, 1998). In contrast, between 1955 and 1970 this process was reversed. As opposed to the first period, there was a greater increase in private sector enrolment than in the state sector. This "boom" continued especially between 1960 and 1970, which coincides with the period under investigation in this paper (CIPPEC, 2007). This growth can be explained by taking into account the

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[5] Law 1420, passed in 1884, was the legislation which permitted the development of the Argentine education system, by regulating compulsory schooling at state primary level

[6] Some years before Law 1420, in 1878, national Law 934 regulated the recognition of studies undertaken in institutes with a social non-state background , which later would be called under private management. In 1947 a state grant was created which encompassed many prívate schools and which required the state to become responsible for part of the teachers' and directors' salaries in the private education sector.

[7] In 1894, 28 percent of the total enrolment was from the prívate primary school sector. This percentage fell and in 1940 it only represented 7.2 per cent of the primary school population (CIPPEC, 2007).

reduction of the state's role in education. In this setting, privately managed schools began to gain prestige and stand out as an option for families who had previously dismissed them (Morduchowicz, 2001).

Besides being affected by government policy, other factors influence the variation in school enrolment; for example, the family and its preference at the moment of selecting an educational establishment for their children (Braslavsky, 1985). One of the issues to take into account is the availability or not of economic resources, though this matter is not always the decisive one. In many instances, the family's ideological position towards the role of the state in providing education and their recognition of it as a guarantee or subsidiary in the formation of its citizens turns out to be a more relevant factor (Morduchowicz, 2001).

One Language, One Identity

Having briefly summarized the history of education policy in Argentina and referred to the factors which influence family preferences, we should focus our analysis on the Pestalozzi. This school, located in Belgrano –a middle class and upper middle class neighborhood with a significant influx of Germans from the end of the 19th century– was established together with other prestigious schools of this immigrant group, among which is the Goethe School[8].

Belgrano was also the location chosen by Jewish-Germans, who re-baptised the neighbourhood "Schokorn" –"bello grano" in Spanish-[9]. This renaming, which eliminated the allusion to the Argentine historic figure, Juan Manuel Belgrano, was evidence of a vigorous process of translation from Spanish to German carried out by these immigrants and only comprehensible to their compatriots (Schwarzstein, 1990). In turn, the Jewish-Germans established a social network -synagogues, schools and the cooperative bank "Caja Popular de Belgrano" in this neighborhood, thereby differentiating themselves from Eastern European Jews settled in other areas of Buenos Aires. A sign of the challenge which starting again involved is to be found when perusing the names of the institutions founded in Belgrano; for example, the synagogue created in 1939 was called Nueva Comunidad Israelita –The New Israelite Community– (NCI).

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[8] When the Second World War ended, the Argentine Government confiscated the building in which the Goethe School functioned. It was returned in 1960 and the school functioned once again in these premises between 1961 and 1984.

[9] "Beautiful grain" in English

Without a doubt the most invaluable investment for the future was the education of new generations, and to this end they founded a religious school at the aforementioned NCI synagogue, which was added to the existing ones in the area; the David Wolfsohn School in Belgrano and the nearby Tarbut School in Olivos in Greater Buenos Aires. In the 1960's these establishments adapted themselves and developed professionally according to the model of "integral schools" in which Jewish subjects and the official compulsory national curriculum were taught (Zadoff, 1994).

However, many -German families, which we focus on in this study, chose to send their children to the Pestalozzi, despite having Jewish and state schools, such as "Escuela Juan Bautista Alberdi" and the "Escuela Nº 1 Casto Munita" in the neighbourhood. In the interviews they put forward different reasons to justify their choice. Among these is the esteem the school has for being a lay school, demanding, and fundamentally because it teaches German. As the following interviewee expressed:

"It can't have occurred to my parents to send me to a state school. The Pestalozzi had German, English and it was a highly prestigious school. I think they gave a great deal of importance to that." (Private interview conducted with Catalina H., August 1st, 2013).

In this way, she alludes to a positive family assessment of this school based on its bilingual nature and they dismiss the state managed institutions considering that there, foreign languages lack importance. In this way, the state school –whatever its real educative purpose might be– is depicted as conforming with the parameters set by the homogenizing socialization of liberal ethos established at the end of the 19th century.

The Pestalozzi gains these families' recognition by providing an education which values their pre-existing capital. One of the basic suppositions of analysis in Educative Sociology maintains that children enter a school fore-armed with "domestic habits and behavior" acquired or produced during their family upbringing. In line with this learning, the families choose schools and via an "educational pact" reach agreement on the basic principles of formation which govern the relationship between both parties – family and school-. In the case of the families which chose the Pestalozzi, the teaching of German was the main factor in the agreement established with the school. Going even further, for the interviewees, it was the only school with which their parents could constitute this educational pact. While the Jewish schools only offered Hebrew and English as second languages, the German institutions –the Goethe School and the Hölters School in Villa Ballester, a city suburb– were still held in disdain due to the memory which their pro-Nazi position in the 1930's and 40's provoked.

The effort to pursue and bolster the formation received at the school can be noted in the case of the following family:

"At home we spoke Spanish until I entered the Pestalozzi. Well, [from that moment on we started to speak German] to help me because I didn't know anything. My parents didn't use to speak German with me. In Rivera [the Jewish colony where she was born] *Yiddish*[10] was spoken. Whereas, there were no Germans" (Private interview conducted with Dora G, August 5th 2013)

Despite being the Argentine born interviewee's parents' mother tongue, German was not the language they used at home until she entered school. The change she mentions can be explained by taking into account two processes undergone by immigrant families: the necessity to adapt to local conditions and to preserve their traditions. As highlighted by Schwarzstein (1990), on settling in Buenos Aires, the Jewish-Germans considered it essential to learn Spanish for work and communication, and with time, the importance for their offspring to inherit their traditions and cultural codes began to gain ground. Without a doubt, the language was the vehicle to transmit to them this cultural package. It was the German homeland the Jewish- Germans brought with them and it was this that they wished their children to inherit.

The School: an educational-cultural proposition

Not only did the Pestalozzi teach a language, but it also pushed ahead with an educational proposition which fitted perfectly with the search for identity of the Jewish Germans. In the 1960's and 70's, the school provided a teaching curriculum based on humanism and on the ideas of Schiller and Goethe, the great representatives of the classic culture of the Weimar Republic. From this standpoint, not only was Germany's most recent history shunned, but also all the symbols of a nation: flag, national anthem and national days etc., were absent. We should consider that even in the period under research, these national emblems were difficult to recognise without the meaning that Nazi extreme nationalism had conferred on them.

As a result of the absence of the German flag, national anthem, etc some interviewees point out:

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[10] Language born in about the year 1000 in the Alsace-Lorraine region from the mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic expressions stemming from religious prayers and terms from the Italian peninsular, Gaul and Germany. *Yiddish* is the story of a language with no territory, which has been mutating throughout the centuries and the different regions-Eastern Europe, Russia, America etc-where it was spoken (Toker, 2003).

"[In the Pestalozzi] at no time did they put any emphasis on German things" (Private interview conducted with Dora. G., August 5th 2013)

At the same time another believes:

Question: How did Germany figure in the school? Were there any symbols?

Answer: No, in fact I do not recall any… except for the occasional ceremony when the German Ambassador came (Private interview conducted with Graciela F., August 7th 2013)

The absence of national emblems which are signs of the connection with contemporary Germany those days, led these ex-pupils to have doubts concerning what the German content of their education was. They were taught universal culture: classical and modern history, the history of art, literature, physics and even Latin were subjects taught in German, rather than education about the nation state concerned. The Pestalozzi perceived culture as a key to access an identity without territorial frontiers.

This proposal of identity allowed Jewish-German pupils –whether children of "the old residents" or the exiles after 1930– to feel they could embrace it, feel at ease and participate in a natural way, thereby overcoming the fact that their parents were survivors of the extermination carried out by the Germans. In this way, the Pestalozzi made a way to be German available to the Jews after the Holocaust.

In the years which correspond to the present research, the Pestalozzi's student body was mainly Jewish. One interviewee stated:

"In my course 99% were Jews… there were one or two who were Protestants" (Private interview conducted with Jorge M., August 10th 2013)

This is corroborated by another interviewee who points out:

"On Jewish holy days nobody used to go. The teachers had to, but we all were missing" (Private interview conducted with Daniel T., August 20th 2013).

It is inferred that besides education, the families valued the social experience provided by the school –the contact with those they perceived as their peers–:

"I suppose that they wanted me to socialize with people from the community [Jewish-German], and due to the atmosphere in the school, the tranquility that you were protected from a host of things which perhaps you weren't in a state school. The Pestalozzi was like the Tarbut (school) of today." (Interview conducted with Dora. G., August 5th 2013)

In this account she produces an "us" in relation to the Pestalozzi's pupils, which one assumes is closer –due to greater continuity and contact– to the groups at the Tarbut Jewish School rather than at a state school. This belief raises the Pestalozzi's esteem, and converts it into a site of production

and reproduction of this "us". In this way the school is no longer seen as just a period to learn German, but also as one which specifically forms the Jewish-German identity. What is clear is that outside the "ghetto" or Jewish community areas of socialization existed in which the Jews participated and built up a hybrid identity with Jews and non-Jews, Argentines, the newly arrived and the children of the earlier arrivals.

From the creation of a feeling to the entrance into the labour market: the acquisition and legitimization of a specific capital

The longing to "return" to Germany does not appear among the motivations of the families who sent their children to the Pestalozzi. The interviewees deny that their parents wanted them to learn German to facilitate a possible reinsertion into the country which had expelled them. Lacking this objective, Argentina emerges as the "destination community" (Anderson, 1993) or the territorial space which allows them to be Argentines as well as Jewish-Germans. In the same vein, the Pestalozzi teaches them to be part of this identifying group without reference to a specific territory:

"[the books we read] were stories of children who went to school, but unconnected to any city or anything German. This reading material in 6th and 7th grade was given by a teacher from the old Germany. He was a bonafide German" (Interview conducted with Dora. G., August 5th, 2013).

The allusion to stories which one supposes take place in some location in Germany, but in which the name of a real city is not specified, allows the Pestalozzi pupils to construct and participate in an imaginary social context of which they are a part; any of them could be the hero of these stories. In line with Augé's definition of "non-places"[11], we should point out that the Pestalozzi's textbooks produce this kind of place which are not found either in Germany or Argentina. Therefore, the interviewees' schooling was based on a fundamental cog whose outcome was the separation and emancipation from the practices of a concrete territorial materiality, thereby preserving the production and reproduction of cultural capital.

Although Jewish-German families may have been able to transmit this identifying non-territorial culture, the school was the only place capable of doing it and at the same time expanding opportunities in the labour market. That is to say that the school is the only institution able to certify the own-

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[11] As opposed to a "culture situated in time and space", Augé gives the name " non-places" to those locations where there is evidence of " processes of acceleration, delocalization and homogenization or mundialization of culture" (2000: 46).

ership of a collection of skills or cultural capital which distinguishes individuals who compete in the labour market. As Bourdieu highlighted (1997), the education system has a quasi monopolistic control over the distribution of institutionalized cultural capital by means of the diplomas and certificates it issues. In this case, for the parents, a language certificate meant giving to their children the opportunity to maintain or improve their social status and to aspire to a rising social mobility.

The Pestalozzi, by means of its process of accreditation, validated and certified the linguistic skills acquired there or which could be learnt at the pupil's family home. In this way, besides guaranteeing a socialization appropriate to family values and principles, the language would produce an advantage when entering the labour market and also in the social sphere, thereby giving them the chance to stand out from their rivals for a post:

"Before working here [referring to her current position, a family business], I've had several others. The first was in Swiss Bank. They hired me because I knew German" (Interview conducted with Graciela F., August 7th, 2013).

In this way, according to Bourdieu, Jewish-German families' investment in the Pestalozzi was also a choice based on the promise of the acquisition of an institutionalized cultural and economic capital. This investment allows us to catch a glimpse of a feature of Argentine social structure which has been identified by several writers (Braslavsky, 1985; Tiramonti, 2008; Mayer, 2012; Svampa, 2005; Wortman, 2010) who explain the mechanisms of differentiation that the social protagonists apply in the labour market.

Conclusion

Throughout this article it has been possible to recognize three important factors that explain Jewish-German families choice of the Pestalozzi School in the 1960's and 70's. Firstly, the language as a core element of the "pact" between families and the schools was highlighted, as this made it possible for the children of immigrants and German exiles to take part in the homeland transported by their parents. Secondly, it was mentioned that the school made it possible to learn a German culture perceived as an anchor or universal language which came from a pre-Nazi era. Finally, the adhesion to an imaginary non-territorial social context, which, on the one hand, allowed them to participate in that identity even outside Germany, and on the other hand, to legitimize skills acquired in the domestic sphere to achieve a favorable position in the labour market.

Although each one of these factors could have occupied different levels of importance in a family's choice of the Pestalozzi, each and every one of them involved the creation and recreation of a specific social and cultural capital, which would be reflected in a process of a particular naturalization that assumed an identity and identification with Argentina, but with a strong contribution of their German heritage. This particular combination of Argentine identity with a German cultural capital, but lacking an identification with another state, allowed them to steer clear of conflicts related to dual nationality which other examples of bilingual schooling might bring about[12].

In the same vein and going beyond the level of adhesion to each particular factor, the underlying basis for the choice of the Pestalozzi is the logic of practical sense (Bourdieu, 2000b), to be understood as a strategy without claiming to observe in it the product of a conscious, calculated and rational programme, rather as one which is absolutely subconscious, similar to chance. It is in this way that the displacement of the" paradigm of the rule" to that of the strategy links the inquiry about social uniformity to the methods by which the parties come down to earth, appear or reappear in different forms according to their development and social status (Wilkis, 2004). To sum up, the notion of a strategy based on these terms differentiates itself from the totally rational or conscious mechanisms which can establish themselves from environments of educational management, in order not to assume-even when the term can do so-the conception of rational agents who carry out coherent acts according to objectives which they or a superior authority have previously established. This notion distances itself from the other, as it takes into account the existence of a long term systematicity of a collection of practices which possess an objective direction or intention without being consciously embraced (Bourdieu, 2000). For this reason we can think of the integration of these youngsters in the Pestalozzi as if it were common sense, in which the creation and recreation of a social and cultural capital acquired prior to their exodus from Germany takes precedence. However, it is not something with set limits and calculated rationally, but it is like a sense of what one should be and one should do in order to prolong the production and reproduction of a particular social tie.

Additionally, if the Pestalozzi has been able to offer this kind of education it has been due to the fact that the Argentine state provided it with the authorization. As has already been highlighted, this has regulated private

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[12] For an analysis of the Italian chaos, refer to Mongiello, Elena(2012) véase (2012): Changes in the school-state relationship. Overseas Italian schools. Masters Thesis in Social Sciences FLACSO Argentina. Manuscript

schools' activities in such a way that they have been given a broad "freedom of action"[13]. This appraisal has paved the way for the adding of complexity to the homogenizing nature of the Argentine education system's liberal and republican ethos, and to make sure that in the private sector, immigrants and German Jewish exiles were able to acquire their parents' elements of identity and simultaneously learn to be Argentines.

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[13] Please refer to Morduchowicz's work (2001) which gives an account of the history of the process of the establishment of Argentina's privately managed education sector from the colonial period to the end of the 20th century.

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Spiritual capital as a fundamental element of cultural capital

Abstract

The concept of theoretical understanding of capital varieties was introduced by Bourdieu. He was interested in the convergence of social, cultural and economic capital. We propose to focus on cultural capital of society. The problem is that if cultural capital functions only as a funded system of values in a form of works of art and science, society degrades morally. Any cultural capital is based on traditional religious values. This does not mean broadcasting of religious themes in works of art, although it excludes, but rather a philosophical position of artists and researchers, through which the public receives interpretation of events, their assessment of certain value-regulatory system of coordinates. This element is spiritual capital of the company and is a fundamental element of cultural capital. Qualitative state of society and its morality depend on the amount of spiritual capital.

> *Unless the Lord builds the house,*
> *they labor in vain that build it.*
>
> (Psalm 126:1)

Introduction

Thoughts related to the study of turbulent processes revival of Orthodoxy in Russia, accompanied by formation and growth of the Orthodox community, led me to the need to distinguish the term "spiritual capital". Orthodox does not represent a class or a stratum, it is a community that lives by the same laws of morality, has its own history and rules of existence. This community does not differ by geographic allocation (Russian Orthodox Church is cosmopolitan), by nationality (Serbian, Georgian, etc.) or by social stratification belonging (i.e., in general, it is not an isolated strata, but a community that has a hierarchical structure). First, orthodoxy is a phenomenon of civilization. Second, it might seem that the Orthodox community is dissolved in society and Orthodox people that follow generally accepted norms and laws of behavior: they attend regular schools, graduate

from secular university, and work in all areas of employment. Third, Orthodox people have their distinctive features; perception of their own peculiarity makes them feel a sense of cautious attitude towards them. The entire Russian culture is riddled with Orthodox ethics and morality. Fourth, specificity of Orthodox thought and behavior norms has been a part of Russian nation mentality.

One of the key issues of this study is the following: What significance does Orthodoxy have in contemporary Russia?

Paradigmatic context of spiritual capital concept

Before we talk about the concept of spiritual capital it is necessary to determine methodological context of our discussion on the paradigmatic level. The spiritual component of society has always been associated with religion determining the boundaries of moral action. As a result of secularization processes that began in the depths of history with the disposal of the property of the Church (XV–XVI centuries) all spheres of public and private life were released from the influence of religion.

Secularization processes were accompanied by separation of religion from culture and isolation of secular culture (XVII–XVIII centuries), and a new state of mind of an individual, which has ceased to be religious, was formed due to them. Comprehension of this secular society is clearly illustrated in Emile Durkheim's social reality concept. Durkheim separates religion into a separate element of society, gives it the status of a social institution and endows this institution by certain features. It was a key moment in theoretical views of Durkheim, as his "social fact" (a thing that affects the individual from the outside) was based on the morality of a moral life, which consisted of two elements – the good and the duty. Thus, the good reflected intimate interests and needs of the individual, and the duty arose under the influence of social coercion and was obligatory. So, the moral or public conscience was formed from a number of sources of an institutional nature (see Fig. 1).

The influence of religion in society was so weakened that the problem of moral values of religion (non)acceptance had been transferred to the private sphere. Social project of the age of Enlightenment assumed natural death of religion due to the victory of reason, its erection on the pedestal of the Absolute, thereby replacing God. This principle position served as a basis for creating further social religions. In his work "Spiritual capital – the moral core of social and economic justice" Samuel Rima (2012) showed

how the Church itself had contributed to these secular processes, exploiting (Catholic Church in the Middle Ages) or justifying new economic forms of housekeeping, lined up on the principles of greed (Protestant labor ethic). Going away from Old and New Testament value guidelines in the area of social and economic justice led to spiritual depravity. John Wesley (1704–1791), British Evangelist and Methodism founder, attracted attention to this point two centuries later. With the deepening of society secularization processes, its spiritual impoverishment continued to grow and there appeared a necessity for spiritual revival, that J. Wesley mentioned before.
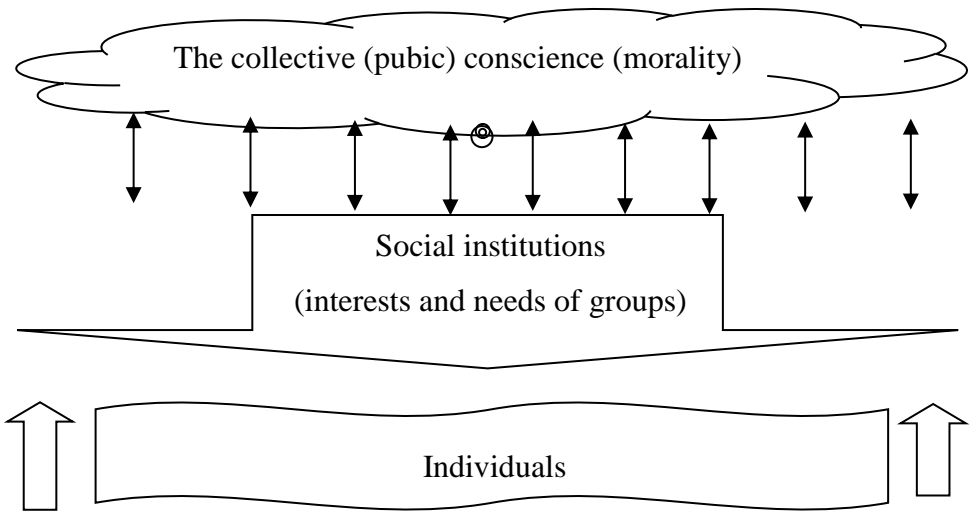

Fig. 1. The model of social reality according to Durkheim

J. Habermas called contemporary state of society 'post-secular'. At least three views on the phenomenon of 'post-secularizm' are known for today:
1. Post-secular society is a secular society development stage, where secular and religious values can coexist (Habermas).
2. Post-secular society is the end of secularism hegemony as anti-religious ideology, and the dawning of the age of spirituality that will reconcile faith and reason, religion and science (Joseph Ratzinger, Mike King).
3. Post-secular society is a defeat of secularism and in a way a kind of Christian hegemony restoration (John Milbank).

Common to all of these positions is that religion returns from the private sphere to the public and is no longer viewed as derivation from economic, psychological or social factors.

In contrast to European and American history, secularization process in Russia didn't have immanent character but coercive. After the revolution of

1917, new government pursued a policy to destroy the Church and kill all religiosity:

- Separation of the Church from the State (Decree 1918), confiscation of church valuables (1921–1922),
- Physical abolishment (by 1921 more than 12,000 innocent civilians, several thousands of Parish clergy and monastics, 28 bishops were killed; in bloody repressions of 1936–1937 thousands of priests and innocent civilians were executed over false charges, many of them died in the dungeons of NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs), in camps and in exiles),
- Closing of churches (to 1939 across there were about 100 open churches around the country).

Practically the Church had to change its existence and lose its full legacy. Formally churches existed but religious activity was prohibited, and religious manifestations among people were strongly punished. Stalin had to legalize activities of the Orthodox Church in 1943 (to renew the Council of Bishops, to open religious schools) but Soviet rulers' faith into the triumph of such secularization was great. In the era of "thaw" Khrushchev believed that the post-war generation of 'praying grandmothers' was the last generation. In this regard, he fulfilled policy of closing churches (the number of parishes reduced from 14,000 to 8,000 in the period of 1959–1961).

In such conditions, the Church was forced to focus on preservation of its spiritual, symbolic and material values. The Orthodox Church had not changed its attitude to the commandments of God for centuries, hadn't rewarded greed. The paradox of a relationship between the church and the state in the Soviet period was that this very commitment served as one of the bases for the creation of Socialist planned economy model, based on the principle of just distribution of public goods, on the one hand. And, on the other hand, it was a creation of a Moral Code of the Builder of Communism (according to Durkheim, it's concentration of certain collective conscience) in 1961. It was a document that was a kind of batch of doctrines of scientific communism and interpretations of God's commandments, the Orthodox virtues in the spirit of the virtues of the communist proclamations.

Thus, spiritual revival in Russia is not restoration of the status of the institute of religion, and acquisition of traditional spiritual values. We're talking about Orthodoxy as this denomination has always been fundamental in the state.

It would be more correct while contrasting Russian society to the western post-secular society to speak about traditional society of the post-secular period.

While determining traditional society we usually talk about pre-industrial, agrarian, not developed, primitive society. However, scientists have recently begun to pay attention to the fact that economic component, as a characteristic of traditional society, does not matter. The main actor here is a tradition, and a belief is of a fundamental meaning. The definition of traditional society rather lays in the socio-cultural differences, where traditional norms of behavior, thought are supported in strict accordance with the doctrine. According to this approach, traditional features are no longer judged as entirely negative, impeding social change and economic growth, and have been more often viewed as a resource for progressive change. For example, Japan, a prosperous country, is one of the leaders of global economic space, but reserves its traditional socio-cultural structure. Moreover, it managed to achieve top position owing to the wise combination of borrowed innovations and its own traditions. Japanese firm operates in the market as the owner, and at the same time is a kind of a traditional social corporation, based on the principle of paternalism and mutual support of the lower and the higher for the success of a common cause, i.e. for the sake of company's flourishing. Demilitarized descendants of Japanese samurais who got necessary training and skills took their place in the ranks of employees of those firms ("samurai with cases", as they are often called), and accordingly shifted their activity to constructive producing direction. Originating in many ways to traditional Confucian discipline, culture and labor ethic behavior of workers who much more tend to sincere cooperation with the firm, rather than to fight with its tip in order to defend their rights, makes a substantial contribution to the prosperity of the country too.

Speaking of Russia, we will use the term "traditional society" as a society existing in religious traditions. The return to Orthodox tradition is not automatic of course and indisputable, after a long dominance of "secular religion" which embodied the communist view. The church has lost the experience of an active subject of social life, so it had to solve many problems on the run. Those problems were connected with restoration of material objects, increase of the flock, growth of parishes, the number of priests, etc. However, the fact that leaders of the ruling political elite are always present at all festive liturgies, speaks for itself. Moreover, the President Vladimir Putin (2013) in his recent speeches showed concerns about spiritual component of the Russian state. In his opinion, "people will inevitably lose their human dignity without values and ethic norms embedded in Christianity and other religions of the world that have developed through thousands of years". Thus, to preserve national identity Russia as well as Japan chooses a

strategy combining borrowed innovations and traditions, the origin of which is religion.

If Durkheim's definition of a model of social reality (see Fig. 1) is quite logical for post-secular society, it is not acceptable for traditional society. Referring to the works of Russian philosophers, theologians of the late 19th - early 20th centuries, we can make a model of a different vision of social reality (see Fig. 2).
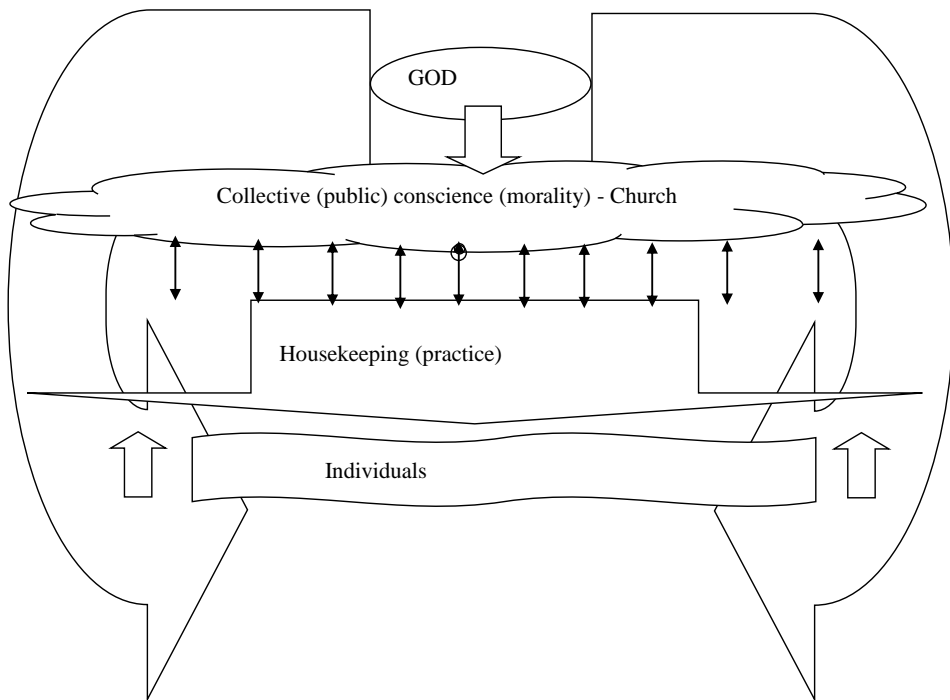

Fig. 2. The model of social reality based on the works of Russian philosophers.

The main difference of this vision of social reality is that morality is limited by religion. Divine beginning corrects collective consciousness through the activity of the Church and by spiritual purification and ascension of the personality itself. According to Vladimir Solovyov (2011), "religion, speaking generally and in the abstract, is a connection of a man and the world with the absolute beginning and with the focus of everything that exists. Obviously, if one accepts the validity of the absolute principle, it should determine everything and everything significant done, recognized and produced by the man should be related it".

The main value-normative Solovyov's (2011) dimension of a social fact is considered to be "a reunion", or religion. A mechanism of management of social processes "consists in bringing all elements of the human being, all private beginnings and humanity forces into the appropriate attitude towards absolute central beginning, and through it and in it to the right towards appropriate agreed relations between them".

The starting point of all processes of a social change is the human soul. Berdyaev wrote that "for the Christian consciousness human soul is of an absolute value, but mortal, empirical life of a man does not possess an absolute value. Value, shrine, spiritual reality is more important than mortal empirical life, than their good and satisfaction, than man's life itself. The triumph of the value of a personal well-being would lead to the fall of the individual. Only the point of view of a supra individual value leads to elevation of the individual" (Berdyaev).

The case that Durkheim referred to life morality as "collective conscience", was replaced by Russian philosophers by the Church as "the church is the soul World's soul and the soul of the world history" (Bulgakov, 1994).

The position of spiritual capital in Bourdieu's theory

Theoretical basis for creating of his own concept of capital for Bourdieu were Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim works. Expanding the boundaries of capital, Bourdieu retained class and social inequalities' positions that are broadcasted by cultural and social capitals. It was important for him to understand the mechanism of conversion of cultural and social capital into economic. According to Bourdieu (1986), economic capital "forms the basis for all other types of capital". As for religion, Bourdieu following Emile Durkheim views it as one of social institutions that possesses all varieties of capital (economic, cultural, symbolic and social). Since "secular culture" is separate from religion, all these types of capital are considered separately in every area of their formations. According to the theory of Niklas Luhmann, an «exchange» cooperation is possible in the best case. Bourdieu compares activity of the institution of religion with an ideological basis and draws analogies more with the institution of policy, than with the institution of culture.

Bourdieu distinguished boundaries between cultural, social and symbolic capitals rather unclear; nevertheless, the main differences are the following:

– Cultural capital is necessary for production of Good,
– Symbolic capital provides recognition or non-recognition of these Goods based on their knowledge in a specific social context,
– Social capital is defined by the presence of a social network and depends on cultural and symbolic capitals of this social network.

This concept missed the element responsible for morality, as different cultures and contemporary subcultures differ in the understanding of what is Good. This is due to the fact that the category of Good directly depends on ethical and moral standards, spread in the community. In this regard, spiritual capital is perceived as a "source of moral energy" [7].

The concept of "spiritual capital" appeared in a scientific discourse at the turn of 20–21 centuries. Among the first were B. Verter (2003), D. Zohar and I. Marshall (2004), H. Urban (2005). A certain polarity in the definition of the term appeared from the very first works. On the one hand, it is a sort of alternative economic model of society, which is based on religion (B. Verter), on the other hand, it is an economic tool based on the business culture, forming global public Good (Z. Danah, I. Marshall).

However, the era of worship to economic laws as guarantors of the existence and development of a human civilization has given way to critical understanding of consequences of the action of this concept, and there appeared a necessity to find new views on mechanisms supporting stable development of society's well-being. Toynbee considers "spiritual transformation" to be a leader in this new vision.

Spiritual capital as a theoretical concept

Conceptual vision of spiritual capital involves interpretation of the terms "spiritual capital" and "religious capital" and their interaction as social phenomena. Leaving aside the discrepancies in the definition of spiritual capital, we will try to find out what is the difference between spiritual and religious capital. Analyzing these two terms Chris Baker (2012) gives the following definitions of various authors:

• According to Robert Putnam (2000), religious capital is "practical contribution to local and national life made by groups of faith ". Spiritual capital is "the action of a religious capital by providing a theological identity and worshopping tradition, but also a value system, moral vision and the lives of individuals";
• Peter Berger and Robert Hefner (2003) describe spiritual capital as "referring to the power, influence, knowledge and dispositions created by participation in a particular religious tradition".

- Chris Baker and Jonathan Miles-Watson (2008) describe cyclical nature of relations between these two capitals:

    "spiritual capital and religious capital stand side by side locked in a symbiotic relationship, each strengthening the other and acting together to weave the fabric to the social world. From spiritual capital flows the ethos and the motivation for action in the world, and from religiosity capital comes both the realization of that ethos and the generator of the moods that sustain that ethos" (p. 443).

In our opinion, religious capital is a historical legacy of various denomination practices in a particular area of the region (the state, the world of space, etc.); the consequences of complex interactions of religion in the dynamics of the development of society, which are expressed in the mutual influence, or usurpation, or rejection of any creeds, etc. Religious capital is increasingly close to perception of religion as a social institution, because it has territorial and statistical characteristics, property, and social networks. An individual can use this capital or not depending on his/her own choice.

One of the examples of religious capital is a phenomenon of sacred relics' loss and gain. There were holy sources in the vicinity of Sergiev Posad (religious center of Russian Orthodoxy) where the faithful mass pilgrimaged. There was erected a cross near those sources, icons hang and there was a priest. It was believed that if you dip into the small river, which flowed down these sources, it was possible to cure the ills. You could be cross-headed in the same river. You could see endless string of people going into the forest to the holy sources in summer, especially on the Trinity, in spite of tough anti-religious policies pursued by the Soviet government. But in the middle 60s of the last century, it was decided to make a reservoir at this place. As a result, the sources were buried under a layer of water and the area had lost its sacred meaning.

Spiritual capital is a moral component of society where faith in a higher power is the guarantor of political stability, moral well-being and economic justice. As it was mentioned earlier spiritual capital in post-secular society, religion and secular culture emerged as two equal subjects. "Higher Power" in the context of secular culture spells out people that they can change their own set of virtues, depending on the situation and conditions. In any case, it is a kind of gurus technology, behind which interests of a certain group of people stand. In a religious context it's God as an absolute and Higher Power. According to Solovyov (2011), mechanism of management of social processes, "is to bring all the elements of the human being, all private beginnings and forces of the humanity into the right attitude to the unconditional central top, and through it and in it to the right interrelation".

Thus, spiritual capital in some extent is inherent to every individual. Qualitative characteristics of spiritual capital in a society depend on the strength of faith of actors. The power of faith in a secular culture requires public support. These beliefs are short-term and require a certain excitement that fuels its vital functions. It is always changing like fashion, comes and goes away, but it exploits one and the same functional set of value norms in a diverse combination. The power of faith for a religious community consists in the purity of faith itself. For example, social researches show that the number of Orthodox in modern Russia is from 75 % to 80 %. However, priests understand that the quantity of true believers is much fewer, but those are who really determine the force of the impact of spiritual capital of Orthodox Christianity on political, economic, social and cultural life of the country.

Our ideas do not contradict to the given definitions; they rather make a clarification of what we mean when we use terms "religious capital" and "spiritual capital". But at this level a more detailed dive into the concept, differences of the strategic are identified in the principles of formation and development of the society.

Both in secular and religious cases faith is a fundamental element of spiritual capital. Classic understanding of faith sounds in the mouth of Apostle Paul in the Holy Scripture: "Faith is the substance of things hoped and the certitude of things not seen" (Hebrews 11:1).

Cultural studies based on this determination justify the role of faith in the construction of culture: "... faith is associated with the assumption of a miracle, that the impact of the forces that we do not know, but whose existence can believe. On the other hand, faith is also the "substance of things hoped" and it reveals its temporal character. It is because of this belief plays an important role in the constitution of the time of culture. By faith the future can no longer be understood as a simple continuation of the past and the present, it can not and should not repeat the "visible" images, which are known in advance" (Encyclopedia of Cultural Studies). The interpretation of the concept of "faith" based on secular culture leads to the fact that faith is being interpreted so broadly that it loses all the sacredness and becomes one of the mundane elements of everyday life. In this case, belief is also used as one of the types of social technologies.

Alexander Men (1990) talks about fundamental role of faith in shaping the culture: "The spirituality of human, their conception of the word vision is the root of all culture, including art, literature, and the culture – it is the foliage and fruit. Therefore, it is wrong in principle to oppose faith and culture, to tear off one of the other" (p. 22). He also emphasized: "the relationship between faith and culture is organic, that this relationship dates back to ancient times, when a man appeared, and with him appeared art, and religion, and everything else. Everything in man's life is determined by

his/her relation to ultimate Reality. And because we are created as Christianity, the Bible tell us in the image and likeness of the Creator, the purpose of our existence is clear: to come closer to this archetype, everyone should approach, because there are no small, cast-off, abandoned" (Men, 1990, p. 24).

Russian scientists tend to perceive culture primarily as religious and spiritual experience of Mankind in contrast to Western scholars. The process of creating culture is faith for Orthodox Christians, the basis of which is personal spiritual experience. Gurevich P. (1996) wrote: "You can't buy holiness, can't rent it. You can acquire it only by suffering. In other words, a particular insight is confirmed by deep feelings, the whole practice of human life". For Orthodox people faith is both a way of life and a way of outlook, life loses its meaning without the phenomenon of sacredness".

Symbolic capital serves as an indication of faith. For secular culture symbolic capital contains stereotypes and normative patterns of individual well-being. As it has been already said the content of this set has been changed from time to time and such changes may occur during the lifetime of one generation few times. In religion symbolic capital means images of the verity (the truth), in search of which the individual spends his/her whole life. Images of truth in all religions are the same. The attitude of the Church to these shrines is of a great importance. Separation of the Catholic Church in 1054 happened because it introduced changes to the original Christian doctrine and added new ideas there. From the moment, symbolic capital of the Orthodox and the Catholic Church kept to be very different. It is most noticeable in iconography and spiritual music. In the Catholic Church images have more mortal features, materialize in a way and come closer to real life. Orthodox Church shows the principle of detachment from all mortal things. The icon is a symbol, not a copy of the reality. Even pictures of Russian canonized new martyrs and saints who lived in the Soviet era are traditionally performed in an abstract symbolic manner and have relative resemblance to portraits of people who actually lived. Looking at those icons people, who really knew, rather recognize features of their faces, than they see realistic portraits.

This principle of detachment and focus on the internal communion with God is manifested in all behavioral norms of Orthodox Christians and Church in social life. Political and economic laws are implemented in their form, if they do not conflict with the divine. Regulatory mechanism starts working on the mental level.

Convergence of spiritual capital into economic capital Russian philosophers and theologies view as a phenomenon of management in a broad sense of the word, that includes economic, social, and moral human activity.

For Russian philosophers labor is not an ideal way to reach excellence and well-being, but punishment for original sin. Bulgakov emphasizes that "work should maintain value only as means to decent life, and it's true measure is its religious ideal. This ideal and related with it ascetic self-regulation facilities determine the spirit of work which defines them from within without being confined to certain forms" [4]. They do not put forms of business that are created and offered by the human mind on the first place, but spiritual condition of a man in these forms.

The convergence of spiritual capital into social capital is fulfilled through principles of social and personal morality offered by the Orthodox Church to society. These principles, rules and regulations are not only those announced by priests during the liturgy or the performance of the Patriarch, but official documents adopted by the Council of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church (for example, "Bases of the Social Concept" of the Church, 2000).

The relationship between spiritual and cultural capital can not be called convergence as culture-aesthetic heritage of 1,000 years old Russian Orthodox Church has formed an authentic image of Russian culture and continues to exert considerable influence on its development.

In traditional society, spiritual capital is the basic core of defining the culture of the society in the depths of mentality. Spiritual capital affects all the other forms of social life through culture.

Conclusion

Modern Russian society, by no means, is much more complex than primitive traditional society. In its stable state society's spiritual capital is not homogeneous as in secular culture, so in the area of religion. At the same time in the period of transformation there are opportunities for invasion of alien practices models bearing other principles of spiritual capital. However, the hallmark of traditional society is its ability to absorb all positive practices without destroying their identity and integrity. Concerning spiritual capital on the example of Russia and Orthodoxy, we are trying to show that the thinking of scientists is also a product of culture based on spiritual capital of a certain religion.

To summarize, consider the following statements:

- Spiritual capital both in post-secular and traditional societies confirms Berger's (1999) "modern world is as furiously religious as ever".
- Conditionally spiritual capital may be either the value of secular culture, or values of religion. In this case, no matter whose values it represents spiritual capital is necessarily realized through faith.

- No matter how secular culture would demonstrate its independence in post-secular society, it still has deep roots in mental particular traditional religion, which dominated throughout the history of the development of the society and that is religious capital of the society.
- Level and nature of secularization determine how secular culture is separated from religion.
- Spiritual capital of traditional religion forms a fundamental core of the culture in any society.
- Empirical capital is an indicator of complex components of spiritual capital fulfilled in a certain historical time in a particular society.

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Social capital in an online community. Together with friends and 'friends': social capital in an online community

Abstract

This paper analyzes the manifestations of social capital in the Latvian online communi-ty/social networking site Sviesta ciba. Using data from a survey of Sviesta ciba users (N = 298) and semi-structured interviews, I analyze trust, social networks, and norms as the indicators of social capital on the site. Users of Sviesta ciba are able to engage in trust-based relationships; they exchange resources on a reciprocal basis; and their activities on the site are integrated within their wider social networks. The types of relationships that Sviesta ciba users have with their 'friends' is associated with a number of social activities on the site. However, weak-tie relationships and strong-tie relationships do not differ significantly regarding users' engagement in exchanges of emotional or informational support. These findings have implications for the understanding and conceptualization of social capital and interpersonal relationships in online networked environments.

Together with Friends and 'Friends': Social Capital in an Online Community

Online media play an increasingly large role in everyday communica-tion among individuals. People use these media not only to access and ex-change information but also to establish and maintain social ties. Thus, in online social environments, interpersonal and group relationships can de-velop. Online and offline social networking are closely related to the accu-mulation of social capital—"features of social organization [..] that can im-prove the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993, p. 167). The concept of social capital is also being applied to online communication analysis. In this paper, I evaluate relation-ships in the Latvian online community Sviesta ciba as a source for social capital of its users.

The Internet and Social Capital

Two general understandings of the concept of social capital, which has been developed and popularized, among others, by Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1993, 2000), exist: (1) social capital as civic engagement—the involvement of individuals in their communities by their participation in political events and organizations, clubs, and other social groups and movements; and (2) social capital as social contacts—interpersonal communication activities, which include meeting people in face-to-face settings or through mediated means of communication and taking part in social gatherings (Quan-Haase & Wellman, 2004). These two broad uses of the term are complementary. However, in this paper I explore the individuals' communication in the semi-private sphere. Thus, my emphasis is on the second meaning. I use the concept to analyze online interactions in order to describe how individuals communicate in a networked environment and how their interpersonal ties promote their access to social resources.

The characteristics of online communication have a significant impact on interpersonal communication processes and the accumulation of social capital. This fact has been illustrated, among others, by Resnick (2001). He used the term 'sociotechnical capital' to describe how 'affordances' of online communication facilitate access to social capital: communication barriers are lowered; individuals are able to maintain larger social networks; and obstacles to communication are curtailed. Research on online social capital suggests that uses of such communication platforms facilitate access to and accumulation of social capital. Best and Krueger (2006) state that the level of online social interactions is associated positively with indicators of social capital such as generalized trust. Ellison, Lampe, Steinfield, and Vitak (2011) have noted that individuals who make use of technical and social peculiarities of such online social networking sites as Facebook maintain and re-establish their social ties with others and develop diverse social networks. Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe (2010) have explored association between perceived social capital and social information-seeking behaviors on Facebook and concluded that the information users post in their Facebook profiles allow them to identify shared social contexts with others and thus convert latent, inactive ties into weak ones.

At the same time, researchers point to the complex nature of individuals' access to online social capital and stress that, in many cases, online sociability is closely related to offline social ties. Burke, Kraut, and Marlow (2011) have stressed that online social networking should not be treated as

a uniform phenomenon, and that all users of a social networking site are not equally 'social': different uses (such as exchanging information or passively following the news) are likely to have different outcomes regarding social capital. Valenzuela, Park, and Kee (2009) have found links between the intensity of students' Facebook use and such phenomena as *life satisfaction, trust, and civic engagement, but at the same time they stress that these associations are tiny. It means that online social networking is unlikely to be the most effective means of boosting civic engagement and social capital. Similarly,* Junghee and Hyunjoo *(2010) write that the formation of online social capital does not depend exclusively on engagement in an online community— offline contacts are essential for the formation of interpersonal ties. These results suggest that online communication platforms can be effective and are an important means of developing and maintaining social ties and accumulating social capital, if online communication is not segregated from offline social activities and if online communication platforms are indeed used to build social networks, not disengage from other individuals.*

Sociality in Online Communities

Much of the recent research on online social capital has focused on social networking sites (see: Steinfield, Ellison, Lampe & Vitak, 2012; Steinfield, Ellison & Lampe, 2008; Valenzuela, Park & Kee, 2009; Pfeil, Arjan & Zaphiris, 2009). However, online social networking sites can be used for many different purposes, such as self-expression; maintenance and establishment of friendship; professional, romantic or other kinds of ties; and following information sources— accordingly, these can lead to different outcomes. Thus, although social networking sites usually serve the purpose of facilitating and/or enabling connections among individuals, the definition of social networking sites (see boyd & Ellison, 2007) describes their technical features (user profiles which establish users' online presence, lists of 'friends' and a means of interaction with these 'friends') rather than relationships among users of such sites.

The architecture of a website can strongly influence the interactions that take place on it (Papacharissi, 2009). However, in this paper I take a different approach to studying online interpersonal interactions. Instead of a medium-centric analysis of a social networking site, I explore social capital in an online community. Online communities, unlike social networking sites, refer to the variety of social groups, not a type of website. Thus, they are not described in terms of features and elements of the architecture of

certain sites but instead are best characterized based on interpersonal ties and group activities. At the same time, online communities can also be formed in online social networking sites. Some researchers describe contemporary social networking sites, such as Facebook, as more advanced versions of online communities that became prominent in the 1990s (see, for example, Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007) but online communities and social networking sites are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts. Rather than being relics from an earlier time of online sociality means and practices, online communities actually are unjustifiably a 'forgotten' direction of research.

Online communities have five main characteristics: (1) participants perceive themselves as members of the group and identify with the community; (2) the group is able to engage in collective action; (3) participants have shared rituals; (4) they exchange information among themselves on a regular basis; and (5) participants in the community have mutual contacts and have developed an attachment to each other and the community (Parks, 2011). Members of online communities often have offline contacts with other participants as well (Rheingold, 2000; Kendall, 2002). Online interaction platforms thus act as 'communication routers,' which are used to maintain acquaintanceships and form new contacts. Individuals can transfer acquaintanceships from online to other environments; these acquaintanceships can also be parallel or complement each other. Interpersonal contacts in online communities can vary from intense, personal and intimate to phatic, short-lived, and relatively inessential. These communities themselves can be built around a certain activity or topic, or serve as general interest and social interaction nodes that are not characterized by unified activities or interests (Kozinets, 2010, p. 35).

Individuals who take part in online communities can form relationships with other participants and can gain access to diverse kinds of social resources. For example, Drentea and Moren-Cross (2005), who have analyzed social capital in a mothers' online forum, ascertained three distinct types of communication: emotional support, which was the dominating type; instrumental support; and community building. On the other hand, Fernback (2007) described a community in cyberspace as "one of convenient togetherness without real responsibility." According to the participants of her research project, a community means that support and cohesion are offered without true commitment and belonging. It should be noted, however, that a lower level of engagement does not prevent the formation of shared experiences, norms and culture in an online community. Such communities nevertheless can have a significant role in their participants' formation and

maintenance of social networks. The present research is an attempt to evaluate how social capital is manifested through interpersonal relationships among online community members.

Method

Established in 2002, Sviesta ciba (phonetic transcription: [sv'iestʌ 'tsibʌ]) is one of the oldest online communities in Latvia that still operates. Throughout these years, the community has attracted a stable, albeit relatively small, user base—it has about two thousand active participants (Sviesta ciba, 2013). Its small size can also serve as an advantage for the present study: it is more realistic for a researcher to oversee the whole community and the activities that take place there. Additionally, it is likely that the users of a smaller website have developed a sense of belonging to a distinct group regardless of their actual connections.

The Sviesta ciba website uses the engine of LiveJournal—a well-known international blogging and social networking service. Therefore, the operating principles and features of these two sites are similar, and technically Sviesta ciba is a social networking site: participants create their profiles and add to 'friends' other users in whose activities they are interested in. Social interaction on Sviesta ciba is based on maintaining online diaries and following 'friends' diary entries and commenting on them, and engaging in discussions initiated by the diary posts (Lindemann, 2005). Each diary post can be marked by its author as 'public' (accessible to everyone), 'friends-only' (accessible only to those whom the user has added to his or her 'friends'), and 'private' (accessible to no one except the owner of that particular diary account).

This research project uses data from an online survey of Sviesta ciba users (N = 298) and semi-structured interviews with them. In the survey, participants were asked to answer questions regarding their use of Sviesta ciba, their contacts with other users and trust towards them, and the reciprocity of exchanges of emotional, informational, and material support. The recruitment of participants in the survey was a combination of snowball sampling and self-selection: I directly contacted a number of Sviesta ciba users and asked them to fill out the survey and publish a link to it in their diary. Thus, although respondents were not selected based on representativity considerations of the sample, most of them were part of each other's social networks and more or less related to each other on the site.

Seventy percent of the respondents were female, which was somewhat consistent with the data the users had provided about themselves upon

registering at the site: according to the statistics section on Sviesta ciba website (2013), 65% of registered users are female. The average length of time since they registered on the site is four years, eight months, and 12 days. Most of the respondents lived in Latvia. The next most frequently mentioned countries of residence were Great Britain (3.4%), and Belgium, Estonia, and Spain (each 1%). Thirty-eight percent of respondents had not finished their higher education, 30% had bachelor's degree, 15 have master's degree, and for 10% the highest level of education acquired was that of high school. Forty-one percent of the respondents had full-time jobs, while 26% were students.

After surveying was completed, ten participants from the site were invited to take part in semi-structured interviews to discuss their experiences of building and maintaining social ties on Sviesta ciba and their relationships with other users. The main recruitment principle in this phase was to illustrate the diversity of the community—regarding themes and writing styles in their diaries, intensity of use, the number of users who were following their diary posts, and the like. Five of the interviewees were male and five were female. Results from the interviews provided additional insight into social relationships on Sviesta ciba and allowed a more detailed interpretation of the quantitative data.

Results and Discussion

In accordance with Putnam and his colleagues' (1993) conception, this paper employs trust, social networks, and norms as indicators of social capital in the Latvian online community Sviesta ciba. In the next sections, data from the survey and interviews are used to analyze these indicators. They, in turn, illustrate relationships that develop among the users of the site and how social resources are exchanged among community participants. In calculations, I use both descriptive statistics and correlational analysis. Since the survey data do not comply with the parameters of a normal distribution, I used Spearman's rank correlation coefficient r_s in my analysis.

Trust

Lack of trust is one of the three main sociability problems in online communities; the other two are 'free-riding' on community resources without reciprocating fairly and the changeability of community members (Matzat, 2010). Interactions among Sviesta ciba users are mostly based on sharing details and stories about a wide range of their private activities, views

and opinions ranging from everyday chores to challenging experiences to discussions about relationships and health; from mundane musings to rants about political and social issues to artistic expressions. Not all users engage in equally intimate discussions, but the disclosures of private lives and views nevertheless demand a certain level of trust towards others. Thus, the level of trust reported by respondents indicates how they feel about the social group and its possible behaviors—for example, how other participants may react to the information that is being shared and whether the information will not be used against the person that has shared it.

Trust on Sviesta ciba was measured by asking respondents to evaluate how much they agreed with the following statements: "I feel I can confide in my 'friends' on Sviesta ciba," "I can tell them intimate or personal things about myself," and "I have told them things about myself that they could not get from any other source." The results shown in Table 1 suggest fairly high levels of trust and self-disclosure on Sviesta ciba. Nearly 58% of the respondents said that they totally agree or somewhat agree that they can confide in their 'friends.' Slightly more than 50% either totally or somewhat concurred that they are able to reveal personal information about themselves on Sviesta ciba, and 75% totally or somewhat agree that the information they have provided about themselves they have not revealed anywhere else than on Sviesta ciba. Thus, at least half of the respondents to at least some extent agreed with all of these statements, which demonstrate that of the founding exist for the participants to engage in trust-based interactions. Individuals with higher levels of trust were more likely to engage in exchanges of emotional support and collaborate on shared tasks (Bucholtz, 2013).

Table 1. Indicators of Trust

Statement	Totally agree	Somewhat agree	Hard to say	Somewhat disagree	Disagree
I feel I can confide in my 'friends' on Sviesta ciba	10.1%	47.7%	20.5%	13.1%	8.7%
I can tell them intimate or personal things about myself	23.2%	27.2%	19.1%	23.8%	6.7%
I have told them things about myself that they could not get from any other source	39.6%	35.6%	11.7%	6.7%	6.4%

The results from the interviews suggest that trust is facilitated by the diversity and intensity of contacts that participants have with other users in the community. Media multiplexity, which means employing multiple media

channels for interpersonal connection and thus having stronger ties (Hay-thornthwaite, 2005), plays an important role in building trust in an online community. In many cases, participants have offline contacts with the other users of Sviesta ciba. It is not uncommon to become better acquainted in offline relationships or to develop them after online contacts have been established. The broader the user's network of connections on the site and the more intense his of her interactions on the site, the more likely it is that this person's trust in other users will be high.

Interviewees noted that the very social climate in the community en-courages self-disclosure. Some of the participants see trusting others—including strangers—and engaging in online intimacies as ways of getting help and receiving support in the site. One of the interviewees recounted the following story:

> Late last night I published a deeply intimate post. About twenty minutes later I hid it from public view but while the entry was visible I had conversations with three persons. When I posted it, I knew that someone definitely would be awake at that hour and would say something to me. It even didn't matter what they said exactly. The point is that someone will talk to me in a serious, considerate and humane manner, and I would not feel isolated from the rest of the world.

Not all participants engage in such disclosure-based relationships. A number of interviewees stated that they are reluctant to disclose personal details to an audience with whom they are not personally acquainted. At the same time, a recurring theme in the interviews was the difficulty of setting clear personal rules about self-disclosures:

> I have more trust in those whom I know personally. After I meet a person outside the Internet, I can trust him or her more on Sviesta ciba, too. However, I would not say that on Sviesta ciba I am constantly on guard about whom I tell what. It is not a conscious thought that I shouldn't trust users whom I haven't met.

In general, two distinct attitudinal trends emerged towards online trust and self-disclosures. On the one hand, participants view Sviesta ciba as a social space where they could talk about their intimacies, private issues and urgencies. They feel safe in the community; trusting others is their 'default' attitude, and they are willing to take risks associated with disclosing personal information about themselves to individuals with whom they might or might not be familiar. On the other hand, participants also evaluate other participants' trustworthiness on an individual basis. They ground their decisions on what they know about the particular person and are willing to discuss personal details only with those with whom they feel truly familiar.

Both approaches allow individuals to form relationships that include meaningful exchanges. However, the interview results suggest that those

users who are more open about their lives and willing to manage the uncertainty associated with such self-disclosure are more likely to develop and maintain diverse connections with others and, in particular, receive emotional support.

Social networks

Social networking sites allow individuals to maintain contact with a larger number of other people (Donath & Boyd, 2004): such networking tools aid communication and information exchange processes. It is possible to maintain connections with hundreds of other individuals, and to access these connections in case of need. The same applies to online communities—they also serve as a means of maintaining and forming interpersonal relationships.

Social resources that are available to an individual on a network depend on his or her position in it (Wellman, 1988), and also how many connections with others a given individual has, what kind of connections they are, and how such connections are employed. Many Sviesta ciba users have developed diverse networks of interpersonal connections; they use the site to communicate with others and make new acquaintances among their online and offline contacts. Writing an online diary and commenting on entries published by others allow participants to keep friends, relatives, acquaintances and others informed about their lives. They also serve as a means of self-representation that makes new connections easier to form.

Table 2. Intensity of Social Activities on Sviesta ciba

Statement	Often	Sometimes	Hard to say	Seldom	Never
I communicate with people I know in 'real' life	36.6%	34.6%	2.7%	18.5%	7.7%
I widen my circle of friends and acquaintances; I find people to meet in 'real' life	8.4%	26.8%	13.4%	27.5%	23.8%
I collaborate to complete a task or make an idea come to life	2.3%	23.8%	14.8%	26.8%	32.2%
I socialize	28.2%	42.6%	5.4%	16.1%	7.7%
I provide advice or information	18.1%	60.4%	2.7%	16.4%	2.3%
I receive advice or information	18.5%	60.7%	2.7%	15.4%	2.7%
I provide emotional support	13.8%	43.0%	10.7%	26.8%	5.7%
I receive emotional support	13.1%	40.6%	11.1%	25.5%	9.7%
I provide material (e. g. financial) support	0.7%	5.4%	4.0%	21.5%	68.5%
I receive material (e. g. financial) support	0.3%	4.4%	3.0%	10.7%	81.5%

In this section, I analyze how Sviesta ciba users have integrated the site into their social networks and in which activities their online contacts engage. The most popular social activity on Sviesta ciba is communicating with individuals who are familiar face-to-face—71% of the respondents said that they use Sviesta ciba for this purpose either often or sometimes (Table 2). Other popular uses are socializing (71%), providing and receiving information (79% in both cases), and providing and receiving emotional support (57% and 54%, respectively). These results suggest that Sviesta ciba serves important social functions for its users.

Next, I ran a correlational analysis between the aforementioned variables to describe the activities in which respondents took part on Sviesta ciba and the number of different relational ties they had with other participants of the community—close friendships, friendships, acquaintanceships, work relationships, or no clear relationships. Such calculations illustrate how users' activities on Sviesta ciba are linked with the number of different relationships they have with other users and which kinds of relationships were associated with which activities. In correlational analysis, the answer "hard to say" was coded as a missing value. To ensure that between the remaining answers in the scale distances would be similar, the data were recoded with assigned values ranging from 0 to 1 (1 = often, 0.66 = sometimes, 0.33 = seldom, and 0 = never).

As shown in Table 3, the number of close friendships, friendships, and/or acquaintanceships a user had was generally associated with various social activities on the site. For these three kinds of relationships, statistically significant correlations exist among all the activities that were measured. The fact that few statistically significant correlations existed between activities on the site and the variable "no clear relationships" can be seen as another piece of evidence that that social ties *perceived* as relationships (close friendships, friendships, acquaintanceship, or work-related relationships) are a crucial element in online social activities.

Table 3. Correlations Between Social Activities and Kinds of Acquaintances on Sviesta ciba

Statement	Close Friendship	Friendship	Acquaintances	Work Relationships	No Clear Relationships
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
I communicate with people I know offline	.377**	.400**	.421**	.110	.113
I find new people to meet offline	.213**	.239**	.351**	.237**	.149*
I collaborate to complete a task or make an idea come to life	.230**	.231**	.306**	.183**	.131*

1	2	3	4	5	6
I socialize	.193**	.265**	.402**	.145*	.119*
I provide information (or advice)	.228**	.293**	.254**	.179**	.075
I receive information (or advice)	.199**	.243**	.236**	.158**	.087
I provide emotional support	.290**	.265**	.230**	.039	.071
I receive emotional support	.230**	.232**	.265**	.076	.107
I provide material (e. g. financial) support	.120*	.200**	.278**	.122*	.057
I receive material (e. g. financial) support	.126*	.159**	.137*	.117*	.015
Note **p <.01, two tailed.					
*p < .05, two-tailed.					

However, these kinds of relationships did not have similar prominence with social activities on the site. Work relationships between 'friends' on the site did not correlate with exchanges of emotional support and, indicatively, communication with people the respondents knew in face-to-face situations. Additionally, statistically significant correlations between activities on the site and work-related activities were weaker than between these activities and close friendships, friendships, and acquaintanceships. Thus, although a segment of the participants in the community do have ties with other users with whom they are connected in work-related settings, such ties are unlikely to be as central in their online social activities as in more informal relationships.

A notable result was that the differences in the strength of correlations is relatively small between the number of close friendships, friendships, and acquaintanceships the respondents had with regard to a number of measured activities. For example, while those users who had the most *acquaintanceships* on Sviesta ciba were most likely to communicate with individuals they knew in face-to-face settings ($r_s = 0.421$, $p ≤ 0.01$), the correlation between the number of *close friendships* and the use of Sviesta ciba to communicate with people familiar in face-to-face settings was only slightly weaker ($r_s = 0. 377$, $p ≤ 0.01$). Also only small differences existed in these indices regarding the exchange of information and emotional support.

Traditionally, acquaintanceships usually are being associated with weak ties, and friendships imply strong ties. Granovetter (1973) prominently has discussed how acquaintanceships provide individuals with new information, while friendships are associated with the satisfaction of emo-

tional needs. Based on these assumptions, it could be expected that users who have more friends or close friends on Sviesta ciba are more likely to engage in exchanges of emotional support while those with more acquaintances would exchange information more. However, the correlational analysis suggests that this is not the case. Respondents who had the most *friendships* on Sviesta ciba actually reported receiving information on Sviesta ciba slightly more often than those with the most *acquaintances*. Similarly, respondents who had the most *acquaintances* reported receiving emotional support a bit more frequently than those with the most friends or *close friends*. These results show that exchanges of different kinds of resources are unlikely to be limited mainly to certain types of relationships. However, these results may be influenced by the fact that the number of close friendships correlates with the number of friendships and acquaintanceships (r_s = 0.418, p ≤ 0.01; r_s = 0.260, p ≤ 0.01, accordingly).

A Sviesta ciba user's online social network at the site usually consists of a mix of relatives, offline acquaintances and friends, online-only acquaintances and friends, work colleagues, classmates, and other people. Thus, the diversity of relationships the participants have in their Sviesta ciba networks can lead to situations where different social circles that exist separately in offline settings and have virtually no contact become more blurred once they were included as part of a person's online social network. Moreover, other people cannot always be effectively avoided even if they are not added as one's friends. On the one hand, such conditions stimulate uncertainty, and users have to be cautious about an invisible (and possibly unanticipated) audience (Boyd, 2011) for their activities on the site. On the other hand, in this way, the formation of new connections is facilitated and existing ones can become more stable and persistent. This complexity was explained by one interviewee:

> On Sviesta ciba, we are not random people that just happened to turn up there. Well, we used to be—but not anymore. One of the users once said—and I agree with her—that here at Sviesta ciba, users pretty often are also brothers, sisters, husbands, wives, former lovers, boyfriends, girlfriends to each other... Sometimes this layer of so many ties feels unpleasant, but I guess it also greatly influences how these people behave towards one another. I guess that the fact that we have been here at Ciba for so long means that we nevertheless appreciate each other as interesting persons.

The communicative uncertainties and risks such settings cause are being tackled by employing a mix of strategic activities. To hide their offline identities, avoid unwelcome encounters with some users or revealing of information that can be damaging if linked to the particular user's offline identity, participants make use of a range of available options. Most of them

use pseudonyms instead of real names, and depending on how important it is for them to hide their identities, they decide on how much private information they would share with whom and accordingly adjust privacy settings. It is a common practice in the community to create groups of 'friends' in order to show different diary entries to different people. Users can also 'ban' certain individuals from commenting on their diary entries. Some users maintain separate usernames, and some even delete their online accounts from time to time and start over with new names. Interview results suggest that many participants on Sviesta ciba are able to manage these communication challenges and connect with individuals from multiple social circles through their self-representations and self-disclosures.

The data from Sviesta ciba demonstrate that taking part in an online community has a potential for establishing connections between people who are not familiar in face-to-face settings. While people usually employ sites such as Facebook to re-create their extended offline social networks in online settings (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007), participation in an online community such as Sviesta ciba which is based on certain activity, such as diary-writing, can be engaging and fulfilling even if the person is not familiar with other participants there. At the same time, many users of Sviesta ciba report that on the site they also communicate with those whom they know offline. Thus, Sviesta ciba is an example of an online community/social networking site that facilitates both the development of new offline and online contacts while it also is being used to strengthen interpersonal connections that exist outside Sviesta ciba.

Norms

Social norms establish and sustain desirable behavior in the group; they reflect which actions are socially accepted and which are not (Fono & Raynes-Goldie, 2006). Norms regulate interpersonal relationships and impel participants of a group to engage in collective actions (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993). If relationships in a society or social group are dominated by suspicions or alienation, it indicates that the formation of norms is hampered or norms do not function properly. Such an environment may be more tolerant towards non-compliance with obligations, egoism, and other outcomes that are in conflict with the interests of the group (Radnitz, Wheatley & Zürcher, 2009). Conversely, the existence and functioning of norms is illustrated by how an individual contributes to the group and how the group is able to apply sanctions for uncooperative or anti-social behavior.

During the interviews, most of the participants agreed that social norms have been established and are being enforced on Sviesta ciba. One of the users explained it in this way:

> Desirable behavior exists—you can tell it in situations when people become upset because certain unwritten rules have not been respected. One such rule is not to quote in your diary posts that their author has published as 'friends- only.' Similarly, flooding and spamming are not tolerated. If someone starts to type rubbish with the intention to cause trouble, everyone will start yelling that he or she must be banned or something. Of course, even in such situations there will be someone who will claim that all this is normal and there is no need for any action. But this is understandable. Norms don't mean that there are no departures from them. Norms mean that most people agree about something.

Among some of the unwritten norms that exist on Sviesta ciba are respect towards the user who formed the website and was its administrator; consideration of other participants' privacy; and acting against those whose behavior disturbs other users activities on the site. At the same time, the interpretations of such norms and their applications vary greatly among the community members. Although from time to time users have a hard time agreeing on certain aspects of permissible behavior, the community in general is capable of self-regulation. Some interviewees also said that they feel personally responsible to act in order to stop undesirable activities or that they are willing to join forces if such steps against troublemakers are being made by others. At the same time, even more popular response among interviewees was that of tolerance towards all but the most extreme behaviors. The participants stressed that general attitude towards different kinds of self-expression is relaxed and pluralism of opinions and actions is something that others just have to deal with. Thus, the social environment at Sviesta ciba, on the one hand, is inclusive and allows a great degree of personal self-expressions but, on the other hand, certain level of expectations about desirable behavior exists that ensure the functioning of the community.

According to Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993), reciprocity is the most significant norm on which social trust is grounded. Reciprocity can be either generalized or particular. Particular reciprocity refers to a simultaneous exchange of resources of similar value; for example, giving and receiving of presents at an event. Generalized reciprocity is manifested when people help each other without an immediate reward: they expect that they will receive similar treatment from others if they need it. Generalized reciprocity is associated with continuing relationships and expectations with the possibility of counting on them in the future. For example, friendship nearly always encompasses elements of generalized reciprocity (Putnam,

Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993). Thus, generalized reciprocity is a telling indicator of norms in the context of social capital.

Participants in the Sviesta ciba survey were asked to specify how often they received and provided three kinds of resources: emotional, informational and material support. The correlations between providing and receiving these resources can be used to evaluate reciprocity of exchange in relationships among Sviesta ciba users. The questions that participants were asked to respond to implied generalized reciprocity: they were formulated in a way that described general exchange activities on Sviesta ciba rather than concrete reactions to providing or receiving resources from others. Again, during the correlational analysis the answer "hard to say" was coded as a missing value, and the remaining answers were recoded to have similar intervals between them (1 = often, 0.66 = sometimes, 0.33 = seldom, and 0 = never).

Table 4. Reciprocity of Exchange of Resources

Statement	I receive information (or advice)	I provide emotional support	I receive emotional support	I provide material (financial) support	I receive material (e.g. financial) support
I provide information (or advice)	.690[**]	.394[**]	.323[**]	.275[**]	.231[**]
I receive information (or advice)		.467[**]	.457[**]	.278[**]	.257[**]
I provide emotional support			.828[**]	.237[**]	.163[**]
I receive emotional support				.171[**]	.128[*]
I provide material (e.g. financial) support					.593[**]
Note **p <.01, two tailed.					
*p < .05, two-tailed.					

The results in Table 4 strongly suggest the existence of the norms of reciprocity: receiving resources correlates with providing them. The strongest correlation exists between the providing and receiving of emotional support (r_s = 0.828; p ≤ 0.01) but exchanges of informational and material support also exhibit medium to strong correlations (r_s = 0.690; p ≤ 0.01 and r_s = 0.593; p ≤ 0.01, respectively). Statistically significant correlations also exist between exchanges of different types of support (for example, providing and receiving of informational and emotional support).

Moreover, respondents stated that they provided support more often than they received it: correlations between providing different kinds of resources were stronger than those between providing and receiving them. For example, providing informational support correlated more strongly with providing emotional support than receiving it, and the same for providing material support than receiving it. These results indicate the widespread sense of giving to other participants in the community without demands for immediate compensation.

Conclusions

The current study has described social capital in interpersonal relationships among the users of Sviesta ciba. The results demonstrate that participants in this social group exchange a variety of resources as part of their communicative activities and many of them have developed mutually supportive relationships on the site. Unlike previous research, which also found strong evidence of social capital in online social environments (Best & Krueger, 2006; Ellison, Lampe, Steinfield & Vitak, 2010; Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2011), I have focused on the manifestations of social capital in a specific kind of social group—an online community—rather than selecting the research object by a type of website—such as a social networking site. My approach has allowed me to take a group-centric rather than a media-centric approach while studying online communication.

Trust, Social Networks, and Norms on Sviesta Ciba

The analysis of social capital on Sviesta ciba was based on measures of trust, social networks, and norms. For the participants in the community, their activities on this site can serve as a substantial source of social capital: social conditions have developed and appropriate functionality is available so that interpersonal communication is facilitated and exchanges of different kinds of support are possible. It should be noted, however, that the possibility of the development of social capital in online social environments does not necessarily lead to similar outcomes for all participants, including the accumulation of social capital. The actual consequences of online communication depend on a variety of factors. While the present paper supports previous research conclusions about the potential of online communication in the development of social capital and demonstrates the positive effects of online and offline relationships, some users get more from their online activities than others. Those users who have the most friends and

acquaintances are more likely to receive emotional and informational support, develop new contacts, and the like. Additionally, those users who tend to trust others and willing to engage in intimate discussions, even with participants with whom they are not familiar, have greater opportunities to receive emotional support.

Trust is an essential feature in relationships among individuals (Collins & Miller, 1994), which also applies to an online community: those who trust others more are more likely to engage in a variety of activities, especially the exchange of emotional support (Bucholtz, 2013). While the willingness of Sviesta ciba participants to disclose themselves to other users of the site varies, the results show that the general level of trust on the site is relatively high. Trust helps to create conditions for meaningful interactions and generalized reciprocity. Receiving emotional, informational, and material support is associated with providing these resources. These results suggest that Sviesta ciba users do not see free-riding, which is one of the common online sociability problems (Matzat, 2010), as a critical issue in the community.

The analysis of Sviesta ciba illustrates how online communication facilitates the formation of new connections, maintenance of existing ones, and exchanges of resources among familiar individuals or strangers. Similar to online communities studied by other researchers (Rheingold, 2000; Kendall, 2002), Sviesta ciba participants usually know at least some users in their online network personally—either they were familiar with them before joining Sviesta ciba or became acquainted due to their contacts on the site. In their personal networks at Sviesta ciba, participants include close friends, relatives, work colleagues, acquaintances, and also people whom they have never met in person. Sviesta ciba serves as a 'communication router' that extends and facilitates individuals' interpersonal contacts. The online community amalgamates participants' shared social connections, which have also come to establish the core of some of the participants' offline social lives. This observation corresponds with Junghee and Hyunjoo's *(2010) conclusion that the formation of online social capital also depends on individual's offline social activities.*

Having at least some offline acquaintanceships with other Sviesta ciba participants helps in online activities in the community. However, the lack of such connections does not impede a user's participation in the site as long as the user is able to take part in online discussions and other activities on the site. Interpersonal interactions in such communities take place based on shared interests or activities (Kozinets, 2010) rather than pre-existing acquaintanceships or belonging to pre-existing groups such as those of shared social status.

Online Sociability and Networked Individualism

Online social groups in general can be characterized by the principle of 'easy entry, easy exit (Norris, 2002), which refers to the low threshold of initiating and leaving interpersonal ties. Yet participants in such online communities as Sviesta ciba also are tied together by their shared past and experiences, shared online and offline relationship network, and communication platform. While individuals can delete and re-create their identities, exclude certain users from their lists of 'friends,' or choose not to interact with them, it can be complicated to discard certain connections altogether in such an intertwined social network. Such a mixture of current, former or transformed relationships both facilitates and restricts certain behaviors among the participants. The fact that online ties can be converted into offline ties, and vice versa, and many participants have relatively constant online identities lessens communicative uncertainty and thus facilitates the accumulation of social capital. At the same time, such circumstances also diminishes the effects of pseudonymity that otherwise would allow more freedom in their activities.

These characterizations of online sociability correspond with networked individualism, a concept Wellman (2002) employs to describe contemporary communities. Networked individualism refers to a social organization in which communities are loose, physical space is not crucial, and individuals are able to switch between diverse networks (as opposed to switching between connections in one network). The emergence of networked individualism in contemporary societies is supported by many factors. Prominent among them is the increasingly widespread adaptation of the means of computer-mediated communication to sustain person-to-person and role-to-role relationships. Wellman points out how the characteristics of computer-mediated communication promote individual's contacts with a greater diversity of other people. Asynchronous communication allows more deliberation about individual's communicative actions. The limited visibility of nonverbal cues facilitates connections that are based on shared interests—considerations of physical attractiveness, social status, and other characteristics irrelevant to the particular interaction are less important. Under such conditions, the formation of 'specialized relationships,' which are based on distinct roles of interests, becomes more probable (Wellman, 2002).

The conditions for networked individualized relationships are present in many online social networking sites. However, users of 'general interest' social networking sites, such as Facebook, usually use them to interact with

and add to their 'friends' those users whom they already know offline (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007). Conversely, online communities in which social interactions are based on shared activities or interests rather than pre-existing ties can be seen to be a more telling illustration of the communicative processes that surround the accumulation of online social capital.

Bridging and Bonding Social Capital

The analysis of quantitative data from Sviesta ciba produced some unexpected results regarding the distinction between strong and weak ties and wherewith the bonding and bridging of social capital. According to Putnam (2000), bonding social capital refers to relationships among individuals who are connected through strong ties: such groups are characterized by homogeneity, in-group oriented and exclusive relationships, and intensity of interactions. Bridging social capital, on the contrary, denotes inter-group relationships: it is characterized by weaker ties that inclusively connect distinct groups and heterogeneous individuals. While bonding social capital is associated with solidarity and support within the group, bridging social capital encompasses diffusion of information among social groups and spreading of ideas (Putnam, 2000). The strength of ties is determined by the amount of time spent on them, intimacy, intensity of emotional exchanges (Granovetter, 1973), and media multiplexity (Haythornthwaite, 2005).

However, exchanges of emotional support on Sviesta ciba also take place among participants who have the most *acquaintances*—relationships generally linked with weak ties. Thus, although bridging social capital, which relies on connections through weak ties, is said to be more suitable for accessing new information, and bonding social capital is believed to have more potential for exchanges of emotional support, data from Sviesta ciba demonstrate that borders between two types of social capital online are contingent. These outcomes can also be influenced by the fact that those users who have the most close friendships and friendship relationships also have the most acquaintances on the site. Further research should continue analysis of the characteristics of online strong and weak ties and activities that are associated with them as well as develop the conceptualization of the types of online social capital. Yet, these results and interviews with the site users also point to the significance of the lowered transaction costs of communication in online environments (Williams, 2006), which along with the participants' willingness to engage with others the dynamics of online interactions influence the interpersonal relationships in the community in a

direction where strong-tie and/or offline-based relationships and commitment which is a common characteristic of them are not prerequisite for intimate exchanges.

The seeming contradiction between casual, ad-hoc interactions on the one hand and personal engagement on the other is also discussed by Kendall (2002). She described online relationships as a combination of "degrees of both intimacy and aloofness" (p. 163). It is common for participants in online social environments to reveal personal information to others, while at the same time acknowledging the casual and contingent nature of their activities in the community. Online relationships can have a strong component of intimacy in communication, but online relationships in most cases still are not experienced to be as close as those that occur in offline settings. Despite the fact that the participants of the conversation may know each other by real name and even be acquainted in offline settings, online relationships are characterized by a stronger sense of distance and anonymity, which, in turn, facilitates self-disclosures among participants (Kendall, 2002). Thus, individuals are willing to engage in personal exchanges with others even though their relationships with them are not deep and intimate.

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Applying & deciding: students' differential access to social and cultural capital and the impact on the college enrollment process

Abstract

Drawing on social and cultural capital theories, this study examines the complex process in which both family and school-based factors influence the enrollment decisions of college-age youth. We add to current literature by examining students' perceptions of the role both parental and school capital play in the college enrollment decision-making process. This study draws on 19 in-depth interviews conducted in the spring of 2011 at one high school in a medium size city in the Mid South region of the U.S. We find that students differentially access capital related to the enrollment process based on social class differences. Students from lower income families were more likely to describe their parents as having lower expectations for their education, as well as being less involved at each step of the enrollment process. Findings suggest that future research should also examine students' utilization of both family and school capital during the college enrollment process.

Introduction

The economic benefit and importance of obtaining a college degree has increased substantially over the past quarter century (Turner, 2004). Since the 1970's, there has been a steady increase in college enrollment and completion rates for all groups; however, a closer inspection reveals that racial minorities and people who hail from lower socioeconomic status (SES) backgrounds, have been, and continue to be underrepresented in higher education institutions (National Center for Education Statistics, 2009). A recent article in the New York Times highlights that "most low income students who have top test scores and grades do not even apply to the nation's best colleges" (Leonhard, 2013, p.1). Instead, these students are more likely to attend community-colleges or local four-year colleges. This suggests that even when low income and minority students do enroll in college, they are more likely to attend less selective colleges (Roderick et al., 2011).

One hurdle to securing a college degree and the greater economic benefits associated with higher education is the college enrollment process. During this process, students must make decisions regarding which colleges they will apply to, determine how they will finance their education, complete all required forms, and ultimately, make a decision about where to enroll. Students without sufficient information tend to prepare less for college entrance exams, choose less viable college options, and are less likely to complete and send in their applications to colleges, as well as apply for financial assistance (Schneider, 2007). For students who do not successfully complete each step of the college enrollment process, this can mean missed opportunities, delayed enrollment, enrollment at less selective colleges, or no enrollment at all.

In conjunction with social and cultural capital theories and data from in-depth interviews with high school seniors, we examine the role that parents and schools play in students' decisions regarding their plans for college. This study also examines class differences in students' perceptions of their parents' involvement, as well as their perceptions and utilization of school resources. Studies of parental involvement in the college enrollment process are typically done from the perspective of parents and gauge what parents *believe* to be their role. While important, the student's perspective is particularly central for understanding exactly what parents and schools do that matters in the college enrollment process. Hence, this study adds to the literature by examining both the role of parents and schools in the college enrollment process from the perspective of students.

Background

The college enrollment process is labor intensive and a mandatory step in gaining access to higher education. In order to successfully enroll in college, students, parents, and schools must have some working knowledge of the enrollment process and/ or access to networks with knowledge of the process (i.e. capital). Therefore, social and cultural capital or lack thereof will have a substantial impact on the college enrollment process. It is important to note that although social capital and cultural capital are two distinct forms of capital they appear simultaneously in both the family and school context.

Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as the potential resources an individual can access and mobilize through his or her social networks. The amount of social capital a person has, therefore, depends on the size of the

network and the quantity and quality of the influence "...possessed by each person to whom he or she is connected" (Dika & Singh, 2002). Coleman (1998) builds on the work of Bourdieu (1986) emphasizing that social capital functions as conduits through which individuals receive information. In its application in educational research, scholars focus on how social capital "is related to SES...and accrues from membership in social networks that provides valuable information and resources to students" (Hallinan, 2001).

Cultural capital, on the other hand has been defined as "institutionalized, i.e. widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goals, and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion" (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). In an attempt to explain the relationship between social privilege and academic achievement, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) posit that higher class students do better academically because schools reflect and reward their elite cultural practices and dispositions; by the same token, lower class students are disadvantaged in school because they lack high status socialization.

Families and Capital

In contemporary education research, parental involvement in the education process is deemed a critical form of social capital (Dika & Singh, 2002), which gives students access to resources that may facilitate positive academic outcomes (Perna & Titus, 2005). Scholars have measured parental involvement in a number of different ways and on multiple levels. A large portion of studies on involvement focuses on parents' attitudes, expectations, and/or parents' behaviors in both the home and school context.

Parental expectations are often measured by asking parents how far they expect their child will go in school (Crosnoe et al., 2002). Studies examining parents' attitudes and expectations of their child's academic success have found that parents' expectations are influenced by socioeconomic status (SES), and further, that parents' expectations influence children's educational outcomes (Neuenschwander et al., 2007; Fan & Chen, 2001). Low income parents have more pessimistic outlooks on their children's academic futures (Crosnoe, et al., 2002) while high-income parents have higher expectations of their children's futures (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001). Based on these findings it is plausible that parents' expectations reflect the norms of the social environment in which they live. Therefore, we might expect lower SES parents to anticipate lower levels of education, whereas higher SES parents would be more likely to anticipate higher levels of education.

While prior studies on parental attitudes towards education have demonstrated negative effects of disadvantage on parents' expectations, studies have also found that these negative effects can be mediated by parents' behaviors in the home. Perna and Titus (2005) found that while disadvantaged African Americans possess fewer types of capital that promote college enrollment, African American parents displayed greater involvement than their white counterparts. Still, while lower socioeconomic status does not necessarily mean that parents *will be* less involved, SES does provide real constraints for *how* parents can be involved. This becomes especially clear when considering parental involvement at school.

Parent-school involvement is measured by accounting for the frequency of parental contact with the school, as well as how active parents are at the school site (Cooper & Crosnoe, 2007; Catsambis, 2001). Cooper and Crosnoe (2007) suggest that parent-school involvement gives parents insight into how schools operate, facilitates a flow of information, promotes school-related discussions with children, and conveys the importance of education to children. Moreover, parent-school involvement has been found to be positively associated with academic outcomes (Zellman & Waterman, 1998). Economically disadvantaged parents, unlike their higher SES counterparts must overcome time, energy, and access constraints which limit their ability to maintain high levels of involvement at school (Cooper & Crosnoe, 2007; Lareau, 2004). It is no surprise then, that parents' involvement at school decreases as economic disadvantage increases (Cooper & Crosnoe, 2007). This means that economically disadvantaged parents and children are more likely to miss out on the benefits associated with higher levels of parent-school involvement.

When examining parents' involvement in the college enrollment process specifically, the type and amount of resources parents are able to provide their children depend on parents' socioeconomic status. Higher SES parents are better equipped with cultural capital, such as knowledge about the college enrollment and financial aid process, and also have greater financial means to support enrollment (Freeman, 1997). Low income and racial minority students on the other hand, do not have access to the same levels of cultural capital and guidance from their parents that is needed to navigate the college enrollment process (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001; Perna & Titus, 2005). This lack of capital may impede low income and racial minorities from successfully navigating the college enrollment process. Studies have found that minorities and their families often do not fully understand college admission requirements (Kirst & Venezia, 2004) and that low income students are less likely than their high SES counterparts to complete

college applications (Freeman, 1997). Lastly, studies have shown that the inability of low income parents and parents of first-generation college students to pass on pertinent information or knowledge limits their children's ability to distinguish between the various types of colleges to which they can apply. This often results in low income and first-generation students applying to two-year colleges or colleges that are less selective, even when the students may be qualified to enter more selective colleges (McDonough, 1997).

Aside from filling out college application forms, the application process also involves a number of other steps. In compliance with admission requirements, students are expected to prepare for and sign up to complete appropriate entrance exams (i.e. the ACT or SAT). Students may also need to fill out financial aid forms, scholarship applications, or make college visits (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2001). First-generation students and students from disadvantaged families, who lack resources at home, often rely on their school to help them navigate the college application process and all that it entails. Some schools though, are more equipped to assist students with the process than others.

Schools, Families, and Capital

Contrary to the popular belief in the United States that the education system provides all with an opportunity for upward social mobility, cultural capital theory suggests that schools can also work to maintain the status quo (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Students receive differential educational advantages depending on the type of school they attend. In cities, the concentration of low income minorities often results in low quality schools that are staffed by teachers with lower qualifications and less experience (Desmond & Emirbayer, 2010). On the other hand, schools found in predominately white, economic advantaged neighborhoods have the ability to buy equipment that facilitates higher learning, as well as hire more qualified teachers with more experience (Desmond & Emirbayer, 2010). Generally, studies show that affluent schools encourage college attendance by engaging students with challenging curricula that prepare them for the academic demands of college, while schools in low income or working class neighborhoods provide students with a curriculum that prepares them for jobs that do not require a college education (Freeman, 1997).

For students from low income families, especially first-generation students, accessing capital related to college can be difficult at home. In these instances, students and their families must largely depend on teachers, fac-

ulty, and counselors within their school for pertinent information on the college enrollment process. Kim and Schneider (2005) find that students from disadvantaged families benefit more from institutional assistance with the college enrollment process than do families from advantaged groups. At the same time, these disadvantaged groups are less likely to seek out these resources from schools on their own (Hill, 2008). For this reason, the degree to which schools facilitate college enrollment is largely dependent upon the promotion of college-going norms and the amount and type of resources the school offers to assist students and their families in navigating the college enrollment process (Hill, 2008).

Hill (2008) identified four resources schools can offer that facilitate college enrollment: encouraging college visits, assisting with college applications, assisting with financial aid applications, and contacting college representatives on behalf of students. In addition to the types of support schools can offer, Hill (2008) also examined school-initiated outreach to families regarding the college planning process. Findings suggest that schools with many college-planning resources and personnel, who work to ensure access for all families and students, can strongly influence the college enrollment process for students of all races and ethnicities. Additionally, blacks and Latinos were significantly more likely to enroll at a four-year college as opposed to a two-year college when they attended schools with these resources. Other studies report similar findings regarding school strategies to facilitate college enrollment. For instance, Roderick, et al. (2011) found strong associations between students' reports of faculty guidance on filling out applications and financial aids forms with attending college. These findings affirm that schools, which provide resources related to the college application process, can counteract a lack of resources in the home based on parents' SES.

This study seeks to fill a gap in existing literature by examining students' perceptions of the role parents and schools play in the college enrollment process. Specifically we ask: How do students perceive parents' role in the college enrollment process? Is the school perceived as an alternative or supplemental source for information related to the college enrollment process? To what degree do students utilize resources offered through the school to navigate the enrollment process? Finally, we also examine whether any class differences exist in students' perceptions of their parents' involvement, as well as their perceptions and utilization of school resources. If the goal is to reduce racial and income inequality in higher education, understating the decision-making process as it relates to college enrollment is imperative.

Methods

In an effort to gain a more thorough understanding of what students believe they gain from interactions with both their parents and their school as they navigate the college enrollment process, we conducted 19 in-depth interviews with 17 students and two administrators. Administrators were interviewed in order to learn how the school operated and what college resources were available to students through the school. All interviews were conducted in the spring of the 2010-2011 academic year at Franklin High, a traditional high school located in Worthington, a medium sized city in the Mid South. Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant, the school, and the city to protect anonymity.

Student interviews focused on their plans for post-graduation and how they came to make decisions related to college choice and enrollment. Specifically, questions focused on the role that their parents and the school played in their decisions. Regardless of whether students planned to enroll in college or pursue some other endeavor (e.g., enter the labor market, join the military etc.), high school seniors in particular are an appropriate group for examining topics related to college enrollment because at this stage, students are consciously thinking about what they will do after high school.

Participants were recruited using a number of strategies. Flyers, which advertised the study, were hung in heavy traffic areas in the school (i.e., the cafeteria, the entrance/exit of the school, and the gymnasium). Students were also recruited during a senior assembly and in senior English classes. Because the school district required that all students (regardless of age) gain parental consent, the flyers that were distributed included an IRB-approved parental consent document. Students who were interested in participating were instructed to turn in their signed parental consent documents to their senior counselor.

Once students submitted the consent documents, the senior counselor compiled a list of students and, per our request, indicated whether or not each student qualified for free/reduced lunch. We use eligibility for free/reduced lunch as an indication of low income status (Condron & Roscigno, 2003).While over 100 students indicated interest in participating in the study, only 17 students turned in the required parental consent form. To protect anonymity, the senior counselor was not informed of the final sample size or which students were selected to participate (though all 17 students became a part of the final sample). Participation involved a semi-structured interview that lasted, on average, one hour. The major focus of interview questions was whether the student was planning to attend col-

lege, what factors had contributed to his or her decision, where the student received his or her information, and who had helped the student take steps towards making the final decision a reality. To gain some additional background information, students were also asked about their involvement in extracurricular activities, their employment status while in school, their parents' education and occupation, as well as a few general demographic questions (i.e., age, race, etc.).

Interviews with students were recorded (and later transcribed) and primarily conducted in a small conference room in the guidance office that also served as the school's "college resource room." Two student interviews took place in a vacant office and one in another conference room due to scheduling conflicts in the "college resource room." Interviews with the two administrators took place in each of their own offices. All participants were ensured confidentiality and were paid a small amount (five dollars) in the form of a gift card.

In our analysis, we coded for patterns in students' responses based on the structure of the interview. We also coded for other issues raised by participants. Keeping with the aims of this research, we particularly focused on students' perceptions of interactions with parents in relation to their schooling and plans for post-graduation, their perceptions of the resources available at the school, and how they described using the resources they perceived to be available. Along these lines, we looked for variations by social class in the perceived contributions of parents, as well as variations in what resources students felt were available and their use of those resources.

Findings

A little more than fifty percent of the students who were interviewed were female. Twelve of the students identified as white and five of the students identified as African American. Additionally, 47.06% qualified for free or reduced lunch. Based on local school board data these numbers are fairly reflective of the larger student population at Franklin High. In the section below we discuss lower verses higher income students' perceptions of the role that their parents and Franklin High play in the college decision-making process.

Lower Income Students

Of the eight lower income students in this study, all described having aspirations to obtain some form of higher education (although one student planned to postpone higher education and enlist in the marines). As for the

other seven students, one planned to attend an automotive technical school; one planned to enroll in an eighteen month program at a private university to obtain an Associate of Science in Baking and Pastry Arts; three planned to attend the local community college; and two planned to attend in-state, public, four-year universities. The interviews shed light on how students arrived at their decisions and what role they perceived parents and the school as playing. Lower income students perceived their parents as having expectations that they graduate high school and possibly attend college. The involvement of lower income parents described by the students varied. Some students described their parents as being minimally involved, while others described their parents as participating in student-initiated conversations in the home and/or attending college-related events at the high school, such as the college fairs. Despite this type of involvement, lower income students did not rely on their parents for college-related information. In fact, most students made decisions about their post high school plans and then discussed those plans after the fact with their parents. When it came to the resources at the school, lower income students demonstrated awareness of the array of resources available; however, most did not describe heavy use of those resources. Typically, students in this group indicated that they attended at least one of the college fairs, completed some ACT prep work in the classroom as directed by a teacher, or located a scholarship application in the guidance office. Few students perceived the resources as playing a significant role in the enrollment process, although at least one student indicated that the resources made a major difference in his college trajectory.

Perception of Parents' Expectations

"[My mom told me] just you know, to make up my mind if I really wanted to go [to college] and if I didn't then you know, that'll be fine as long as I pass high school. As long as I graduate from high school."

Keisha, Lower income Student

Scholars often measure parents' expectations for their children's education by asking parents to indicate how far they expect their child to go in school (Catsambis, 2001). Most lower income students in this study indicated that their parents did not necessarily expect them to go to college. In the above excerpt, it is clear that Keisha's mother expects her to graduate from high school, but it is not clear that she expects her to go to college. Other lower income students revealed that their parents held similar expectations. Brittany was excited to be the first person in her family to attend college, especially considering that many of her relatives did not graduate from

high school. Although she felt that her parents wanted her to attend college, when I asked whether her parents would approve if she decided not to go to college, she told me "I think they would be okay with it…if I was to not go [to college]…I think they'd be fine with it." This reflects a lack of firmness in Brittany's perception of her parents' expectations. These lower income students perceived their parents as having expectations of college attendance, but simultaneously, they also perceived that their parents would be equally supportive of the decision not to attend college. This is consistent with previous findings that parental expectations and definitions of success vary by social status—with lower SES parents being more likely to view a high school education as the norm (Walpole, 2003).

Perceptions of Parents' Involvement

Kim and Schneider (2005) conceptualize aligned action as goal-specific behavior through which parents channel information and resources outside the family and appropriate them for the purpose of helping their children achieve their goals. In the case of lower income students most parents were described as being present at college fairs and participating in conversations about college, however parents were not described as a source of information. Instead, most lower income students indicated that they selected which schools they planned to apply to and then discussed those specific institutions with their parents. Students in this group also indicated that their parents knew little about what other universities existed and were primarily concerned with the financial cost of college or how far the colleges were from home.

Keisha grew up in a single parent family, but felt that her mother was supportive of her plans to attend college. When I asked whether her mother had attended the college fairs at school, she told me "yeah, she came to all of 'em." She further explained that the college fairs were not only helpful to her, but that her mother got information for herself about colleges. This highlights a lack of cultural capital that Keisha can draw on in the home. Her access to capital is first limited by the fact that she has only one parent in the home, but further, the fact that her mother is accessing information for herself from the college fair is telling of how little college-related knowledge Keisha's mother has. When I asked about specific pieces of advice Keisha's mother had given her related to choosing a college, Keisha told me "She just goes along with what I'm saying and if you know, something isn't right, she'll speak up and say something. But like, I don't say any like outrageous

colleges that's like far, far, far away. But if I did then she'd be like you know, 'Don't you think that's too far to go?'" From this we learn that Keisha makes college-related decisions largely on her own with her mother's inputs coming after the fact focusing mainly on factors such as distance rather than school quality.

Matt, who was interested in becoming a pilot, told me "...you have to have a Bachelor's

degree to be a pilot." He explained that both of his parents, but particularly his dad expected him to attend college in order to avoid employment in low-paying jobs: "My dad told me my whole life that I was going to college...he's like 'you're goin' to college because you can't get anywhere without a degree these days'." However, Matt had enlisted in the Navy because he "heard the Navy has the highest pilot turn out." At the time of the interview though, Matt had not heard back from the Navy. He explained that he had enrolled in the community college instead. When I asked Matt if he ever talked with his parents about other colleges, he said no "they didn't want to like, persuade me to do anything...whatever I choose they'll be behind me on." When I pushed further about his parents' involvement, he told me that they had not attended the college fairs at school:

> "At college night like all different kinds of colleges and stuff...comes here and they talk to the parents and stuff like that...my parents didn't come with me last year cause I already knew what I wanted to do. So they were just like, 'why do I need to go to this if you know you're gonna go into the navy?'...I didn't even go to the one this year...I heard something about a college night and I'm like I don't need to go to that."

So, while Matt's parents explicitly stated that they expect him to attend college, their behaviors did not match their expectations. Matt had not been accepted into the Navy and ended up enrolling at the local community college, suggesting that he and his parents' reluctance to attend the college fairs or invest in the college enrollment process was premature. It is also paradoxical that Matt stated he knew he needed a bachelor's degree to become a pilot, but both he and his parents failed to consider any four-year universities.

Matt's experience demonstrates that some lower income parents were not involved when it came to college planning, however, other lower income students perceived their parents as more involved. Laura, who was interested in equine programs, was unsure but thought that her father had some college education in "like computer stuff." Her mother had dropped out as a junior in high school and did not "even have her GED." Still, Laura told me "I always planned on going to college...I just never knew where." Despite the fact that she and her mother had attended the college fair at school

and received information about a number of schools, Laura and her mother only seriously discussed three colleges. Those colleges included: one in-state Christian college at $30,000 per year; one in-state private, nonprofit liberal arts college at $22,000 per year; and the local community college.

Laura ultimately selected the local community college stating, "I just always knew, like I just decided I was going there." It seems that even as Laura considered other schools, she "just always knew" that she would attend the local community college. She explained that her brother had gone there and although he had dropped out, her mother was supportive and comfortable with the community college because "she just knows how they are and everything." Laura also told me that in an online search, she found that credits from the community college will transfer to the private, nonprofit liberal arts college she had previously considered. Based on this information, she felt that it was the best decision to live at home and attend the less expensive community college in order to "save money" and "get the basics done" before transferring at a later date. Further, she told me "I change my mind a lot about stuff so I feel safer if I go to the community college and if I change my mind, I don't lose any money you know? I'm fine." Laura's college choices are obviously constrained by her family's financial status, but it is also important to note what appears to be lower levels of cultural capital in the home. Laura indicated that although there were less expensive colleges that offered programs related to her interests, she did not consider them because they were somewhat further from home. Also, conversations in the home centered on cost and specifically on the schools that Laura had already selected without additional input or questions from Laura's parents.

Brittany, another lower income student, explained that her family struggled financially and that she tried to contribute when possible. "My dad works at Walmart...he does like stock work kind of, like unloading trucks and stuff. My mom works at King Plaza Hotel as a housekeeper... both my parents work and it's still not enough." In spite of financial hardship she felt strongly supported by her parents and extended family as she planned to attend college. Brittany and her mother attended college night at Franklin high and she explained that "all kinds of college admissions people was there handin' out flyers and you fill out papers to get mail from 'em and stuff." She perceived the event to be helpful to both her and her mother stating "I don't think we would have had any other kind of way to see what was out there besides that." However, Brittany and her mother did not use the information they received at the college fair. This was because Brittany aspired to "be a baker" and made a decision early in her junior year (before the college fairs had even occurred) to apply to a local private university that offered a

culinary program. She explained that she never really considered other programs or other schools because she knew where she wanted to go. She was excited to tell me that at the school she planned to attend, "you don't have to take all those extra classes…I just have to go for a year and a half and I'm done," referring to the fact that the program was only eighteen months long. When I asked what degree she would receive when she completed the requirements, she told me "Um, associates I think? Or a bachelor? One of the two." Upon some investigation into the university's website I determined that she would receive an Associate of Science in Baking and Pastry Arts.

While Brittany's parents' involvement was not integral to her career or college choice, her father became more involved when it came to figuring out how to pay the $47,400 in tuition for the eighteen month program. She described her dad as "kind of the financial person" and informed me that he had attended a "financial planning meeting" with her at the university where they learned about FAFSA. Brittany received a grant worth $4,000 that she would not be required to pay back and the rest she received in loans, most of which she was unsure of the exact amount and who the loans were through. When I asked what advice her dad had given her on taking out so much money in student loans, she stated that her dad told her "to stay serious and just stay focused and motivated. You know, don't just shrug it off cause' you know college cost a lot of money…they tell me not to waste my money. That's basically what they're worried about…"

Perception of the Role of the School

"They'll [school administrators] print out papers around school and they'll say on the announcements, have papers put up like in the guidance center and here, and have scholarships put up…I just talked to my mentor [at my job] about the community college.

Keisha, Lower Income Student

"I remember just 'walkin around in the gym [at the college fair] and people had set up tables and we just 'pickin up stuff from the table and 'fillin out things. But I did mines over the Internet so I didn't really pay no attention to them."

Greg, Lower Income Student

"There's a lot of people here that care. …But a lot of the time I just call [the college] cause the admission officer there, she's assigned like fifteen people or somethin' and if we have questions then we just call her. So most of the time I just go straight to her."

Brittany, Lower Income Student

Despite the array of resources available at the school, the excerpts above show that many lower income students relied on sources outside of

the school for college-related information. Keisha explained that while the school constantly delivered college-related information via announcements and handouts, she rarely used that information. Instead she described how she relied on her mentor at her job. She and her mother even attended a meeting about FAFSA that was organized by her job. Although the school offered information to students and parents about FAFSA at the college fair and also organized a FAFSA night where parents could come in and receive assistance filling out the FAFSA form, Keisha and her mother attended the meeting organized by her job instead. This excerpt also highlights how Keisha's family's financial situation constrained her choices. When Keisha learned that her employer would pay tuition at the local community college (or the local four-year university) she stated that she stopped applying for scholarships and felt like she would be "better off" attending the community college. She also explained her decision by stating "when somebody's tellin' you they gon' pay for your college, it's like 'yeah I wanna do it'."

Although Brittany attended the college fairs at school and described the school as having many teachers, staff members, and administrators who were willing to help with the college enrollment process, the school did not play an integral role in her selection of college. She explained that she learned about the university she had applied to from "commercials and seeing stuff online." She told me "…like, they have a page on Facebook that I follow and it just seems so cool and so interesting." Brittany also explained that she applied "on her own" to the university at the beginning of her junior year and that it was the only school she applied to. She relied on a woman in the admissions office at the university and information she received in the mail from the university for other relevant information, such as how to complete the FAFSA form. For example, she described a "FAFSA night" at Franklin High where parents and students could receive information and assistance with applying for federal aid, however, she did not attend because the university had already sent her information in the mail which explained how to fill out the FAFSA application.

Many lower income students described relying on outside sources for information related to college. Still, most at least attended the college fairs at school, even if they did not use the information they received. A few lower income students also described using some of the materials in the "College Resource Room" located in the guidance center at Franklin High, even if the use was not extensive. For example, Kenneth first told me that he did not use the resources in the guidance center, however, when I inquired if he was aware of the file cabinet that held scholarship applications, he stated "Ah! Yeah! I did do that. That's how I found out about the Diversity Scholar-

ship." Two others (Laura and Keisha) mentioned that they briefly used "look-books" from the resource room, books that profile US post-secondary institutions and allow for comparison on points such as location, tuition costs, degree programs, and more. Damon, who planned to enroll in a four-year university about an hour and a half away, was the only lower income student who described greater use of the resources at the school. He explained that his mother had not been very involved in helping him decide where to go to school. "She didn't *do* anything," he told me, "she just woke up one day and I handed her a scholarship saying 'look how much money they gave me.'" He told me that his mother was proud but that he felt he would never have been able to do it without the resources offered at Franklin High:

> "I don't think I would have ever gotten everything I got without the ladies that work here...One thing I've always had a huge fear about when I was applying for scholarships is like sending them off, like through the mail. Cause my mother, she wasn't really too familiar with that... But [at Franklin High] they turn in all our scholarships for us and it's a huge convenience. All you have to do is pay two dollars [for postage] and they'll send a notice to your teacher if you need a recommendation or if you need a counselors recommendation, they'll get that for you and organize it all and then they send it off.

Through this excerpt we learn that Damon perceived a lack of capital in the home but felt that he benefitted greatly from the resources and services offered through the school. So, while the majority of lower income students did not describe the school as playing such a vital role for them in the college enrollment process, Damon's account signifies that the school's resources can be vital for some.

Higher Income Students

Nine of the seventeen students in this study did not qualify for free/reduced lunch. Although this information does not suggest that these students are upper class, we do know that relative to those students who qualified for free/reduced lunch, this group of students comes from families with higher incomes. Of the nine higher income students in this study, all planned to enroll in a post-secondary institution: four at the local community college; two at a local, public four-year university; one at a local, private four-year university; and two at separate in-state, public four-year universities just two hours away.

Higher income students perceived their parents as having strong expectations that they attend college. In fact, most higher income students perceived that the decision not to go to college would be considered unacceptable by their parents. This group of students also described their par-

ents as having greater aligned action, although most still felt that they had made decisions regarding where to attend college without much input from their parents. Input from parents typically came after students selected which schools they were interested in attending. Students in this group varied in their use of the college resources.

Perception of Parents' Expectations

"My parents are like 'you *have* to go to college.' Like, 'you don't have a choice.'"

Katie, Higher Income Student

In contrast to lower income students, higher income students perceived college attendance as the only acceptable option. This is shown in the above excerpt from Katie as she explained what her parents expected once she graduated from Franklin High. For Katie, *not* going to college was not an option. Brandon, another higher income student, explained that his mother had always expected him to go to college. When asked what he thought his mother would do if he chose not to go to college, Brandon stated, "She'd probably make me!" Similarly, Kendra indicated that her mother reiterated expectations for college attendance often: "My mom...she's like 'Oh, you're *going* to college. You're *going*!' [laughs]." Kendra's mother jokingly emphasized that college attendance was the only acceptable option and while Kendra laughed, it was clear that she understood her mother's expectations to be taken seriously. For higher income students, parents' expectations were clear and strong and college attendance was perceived as the only acceptable option.

Perceptions of Parents' Involvement

Similar to lower income students, many higher income students felt that they had made decisions on where to go to college without much input from their parents. This is highlighted in the excerpt from Natalie below:

"They [parents] pretty much go with the flow with what I say. I mean like, I had already got everything planned out."

Natalie, Higher Income Student

At the same time that other higher income students made similar comments, they simultaneously described their parents as having greater aligned action. For example, students in this group indicated that parents attended the college fairs at school, required them to take the ACT multiple times in an attempt to get a higher score (and increase the likelihood of

receiving scholarships), sought out additional information and resources not provided through the high school, and visited college campuses.

Emily was disheartened that due to her low ACT score she was not able to get into a local, public four-year university that she hoped to attend. However, her mother discovered what Emily called the "Extra Program," in which she would take classes at the local community-college, but would have a university student ID and would be able to transfer to the four-year university as soon as she met a set of requirements. She told me:

> "My mom did like research- I don't know if someone like told her about it or something but like she found out about the university's Extra Program...cause she knew how bad I wanted to go to that university and stuff like that."

Emily's mother also found a scholarship opportunity through her employer for which Emily could apply. This illustrates that Emily's mother was very proactive and was able to access capital through her job that lower income parents were not able to access.

Like Emily, other students described greater levels of aligned action from their parents. In the following excerpt, Brandon describes how his mother assisted him in selecting which college to attend: "We went to visit a college and we talked about like college options...We visited two out of town universities and we talked about you know, the differences and stuff." Katie, another higher income student, explained that her parents gave her direction in the enrollment process by insisting that she attend a four-year university: "...my parents weren't really pushing [the local two year college] because my mom wants me to go to a university so...I decided to go to a four-year school." This excerpt suggests that Katie's parents had more cultural capital than many parents in the study in that they made a distinction between a two-year and four-year school, with preference for a four-year university. Katie was the only student in this study who explicitly stated that her parents made this distinction.

Perception of the Role of the School

Higher income students described an array of resources they perceived to be available to them at the school. Many, however, stated that they did not use most the resources at the school because they did not *need* them. A smaller group described locating scholarship applications, using excused absences to visit colleges, and talking with teachers about their college plans.

The majority of resources offered at Franklin High were located in the college resource room within the guidance center. When asked about

whether she had used the college resource room, Emily, who was planning to attend the local community-college, stated "I mean I would but like I'm pretty set on like where I wanted to go and stuff like that." When asked the same question, Katie stated, "I probably would have used it if I needed it. I just never needed it..." Interestingly, Katie followed up her comment stating that she had in fact come to the guidance center to obtain scholarship applications. However, she explained that she was unable to complete them on time because she was behind in the application process. Thus, it appears that Katie did need the resources but lacked guidance in filling them out on time. Katie also stated that she did not use the excused absences to make college visits because she knew that she "didn't want to go away" and "decided not to waste the time or money." Like many other students in this group, Katie seemed to forgo using available resources because she was considering a limited number of local colleges that she knew of already. Once a decision had been made and a college selected, these students, like lower income students, were unlikely to deviate and consider other options.

Students were also asked how they prepared for the ACT entrance exam. Most described minimal use. Katie stated, "They gave us the online courses that you could do I just never did it. I should have though...I guess I was just too lazy and didn't get on and do it. I wish I would have done it." From this excerpt we see Katie's realization that she did in fact need the ACT prep resources. In regards to the ACT prep work that was assigned in class, several indicated that they did not put forth effort on the prep work because the assigned work did not count as a grade. Mackenzie, who was planning to attend a local four-year school, explained:

> "Well, we have like we have like little worksheets but our teacher didn't care if we really got the right answer so none of us cared to do it. Well, besides to right like A, B, C, D down but that was it. As long as we had it filled out. (laughs)"

Even though completing practice problems could potentially increase her performance, Mackenzie, as well as others, indicated that if a teacher did not check the work or count the work as a grade, there was no real need to take the prep work seriously. Ironically, Mackenzie expressed frustration during her interview that her ACT score, a 21, was not high enough to compete for scholarships. What is most interesting about the students in this group was the perceived lack of need, when most did in fact need the resources.

It appears that most of these students assumed that they would attend a local college and very few indicated that they had knowledge of universities outside the region or the hierarchical nature of postsecondary institu-

tions. It is likely that this limited view of what college opportunities were available resulted in the perception that the use of resources was unnecessary. This is consistent with the findings of McDonough (1997) who concluded that low income and first-generation students consider a constrained set of colleges, are unable to identify the range of college options and further, are unable to decipher which type of college best suits their needs. While the students in this group are not low income, many were first-generation. Additionally, students in this group did not qualify for free/reduced lunch however, this does not suggest that all of the students in this group came from wealthy families. It is possible that many of these students were lower middle class or even hovering just above the income level that qualified other students for free/reduced lunch.

As described above, it was common for higher income students to state that they did not use the resources available to them. However, some higher income students indicated that they did the use the schools' resources. In regards to the ACT, Brandon admitted that he "didn't really study for it," however he explained that he did do the ACT prep work provided at school:

> "… at school they made us take the practice ACT so I did that and they had us get online and you know um, they have like practice tests online for it…I just did what the school had us do. I didn't do any on my time…it got me used to like time limits and things like that and what would be on it."

Brandon benefitted from the ACT prep resources provided at the school by becoming familiar with the ACT format and material. Others were more proactive in their approach to ACT prep, completing additional work beyond what the school required. Ashley, for example, described doing the packets provided by the school to work on her writing, but also stated that she did practice problems on her own time "once or twice a week." Ashley was able to increase her ACT score from a 16 to a 22 and attributed the increase to the prep work she had done. Another student, Kendra, described doing online practice work on her own time as well. Outside of ACT prep, Adam described using an excused absence to visit a four-year university out of town. Adam enjoyed the trip and liked the university's atmosphere, however, financial constraints limited his ability to attend the school. He explained that he had "applied for like sixteen scholarships" but many were financial need-based and his family did not qualify for them. At the same time, his parents were unable to pay for his college out of pocket, so Adam ultimately settled on the local two-year college with plans of transferring to the local public four-year university at a later date. Thus, while some students utilized the resources that were available, financial constraints were often still a major barrier and constrained college choices.

Discussion

This study aimed to add to the understanding of the role that parents and schools play in the college enrollment process, specifically from the students' perspective. Students indicated that parents shape college enrollment decisions through expectations for college attendance, conversations about college in the home, and parents' aligned action. Results suggest that there is overlap between lower and higher income students' perceptions. Students in both groups perceived parents as playing a limited role, although it is clear that higher income students had greater access to capital in the home than did lower income students.

Lower income students perceived their parents as having lowered, or less firm educational expectations. These students also indicated that parents' involvement typically meant attending the college fair(s) at school, however, this involvement did not translate into meaningful discussions between students and parents related to college choice. Instead, lower income students chose colleges without much input from their parents and the discussions that followed revolved around the cost of the college(s) and/or how far the college(s) was from home. Further, students in this group indicated that their parents knew little about what other universities existed. When it came to the resources at Franklin High, many lower income students described minimal use and instead, relied on sources outside of both the family and the school. However, Damon, a lower income student, stated that the resources available at Franklin High played a significant role in his ability to not only apply but also to gain full scholarships at two separate four-year universities. While his experience cannot be generalized to all lower income students in this study or beyond, it also cannot be understated. The implication is that while schools may not make a difference for *all* students, there are students who benefit, particularly students like Damon who perceived a complete lack of capital in the home.

Higher income students on the other hand, perceived their parents as having higher and firmer educational expectations. Still, similar to lower income students, higher income students indicated that they too selected which colleges they would consider without much input from their parents. Because these students described their parents as having greater aligned action (i.e., requiring them to take the ACT multiple times, seeking out additional information and resources, and visiting college campuses with the students) it seems that higher income parents implicitly guided the selection of colleges as the result of having more cultural capital. Still, the perception among higher income students was that parents did not play an

integral role in the college enrollment process. In regards to the resources at Franklin High, many higher income students stated that they did not use the resources at Franklin High because they did not need them. Paradoxically, these same students typically indicated that they did in fact need them (e.g. locating scholarship applications, ACT prep work, etc.).

Perhaps, the most interesting finding is that neither group of students indicated that they utilized the resources available at the school to a high degree. In fact, students in both groups explicitly or implicitly described a lack of need for the resources, suggesting that irrespective of income level, students formulate ideas about where they will attend college based the colleges they have been exposed to—and then operate based on these ideas alone. The lack of utilization of school resources across SES raises questions about what schools can and should do to increase students use of resources. This is an important area for future research.

Although the findings of this study are not generalizable because of the small non-probability sampling, we are able to observe trends in these student's behaviors that may lead to a better understanding of what knowledge students' have access to, how they consume that knowledge (or not) and how that knowledge is translated into action.

Finally, future studies should examine the transfer of capital between families and students. Studies have shown that peer network influences students' decision-making as it relates to schooling. It may be that those students who have peers in their network who are utilizing resources may themselves be more likely to utilize resources. It may also be the case that parent-to-parent networks may impact both access to and utilization of resources. Parent's who observe other students in their networks utilizing resources (children of their friends) may prompt their own children to utilize resources.

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Mobilizing Maori identity: cultural capital and ex-patriate 'portable personhood'

Abstract

Drawing Anthony Elliott & John Urry (2010) suggest the paradigm of mobilities is 'becoming increasingly central to contemporary identity formation and re-formation' (p. 7); I match this claim against a focus group study I undertook with expatriate New Zealanders in London. The participants discussed their experiences of watching national films while living overseas, in order to understand their perspectives regarding mobilized (and classed) identity. This chapter represents the unique perspectives of the final group, four women who self-identified as being involved with Ngati Ranana (*a London-based indigenous/Maori culture club*). I use their club connections to theorize how the women navigate Bourdieu's ideas of social and cultural capital through (and sometimes in contradistinction to) their indigenous affiliations. They did this by adopting a kind of "portable personhood" (Bourdieu, 1986), one that allowed them to simultaneously make sense of and transcend geographical and traditional tribal/cultural boundaries.

Introduction

This chapter examines the specifically indigenous/Maori worldview that certain participants brought to a series of focus groups I held with ex-patriate New Zealanders in London. The piece sets these opinions within a mobilities framework as suggested by Alison Blunt's 2007 overview of the cultural geographies of migration, specifically examining Jennie Molz's 2005 work on cosmopolitanism and, most recently, Allan Williams, Natalia Chaban, and Martin Holland's 2011 work on New Zealanders' circular international migration. The participants were questioned about their experiences of watching Aotearoa New Zealand (*the Maori name for New Zealand*) films, now that they were living overseas, in order to understand their perspectives on national identity. Such a focus aligns with one of the five mobilities laid out by Anthony Elliott and John Urry (2010): "the imaginative travel effected through the images of places and peoples appearing on, and moving across, multiple print and visual media" (p. 16).

While my findings regarding the responses of the majority of the participants have been published in an article titled 'Talking Film, Talking Identity,' I remained convinced that additional work was needed to adequately represent the unique perspectives of the final group (Thornley 2009). This group was made up of four women who self-identified as being involved with Ngati Ranana (*a London-based Maori culture club*). As a Pakeha person (*descendant of European colonizers*) entering this experience with my own worldview and set of expectations, their focus group became both a quantitatively (in terms of responses) and qualitatively (in terms of interaction) different undertaking for me from those I had completed earlier that week.

It is this difference, this critique, that I work through here, one that takes shape in relation to the mobile identities the women assumed, given the constitution of Ngati Ranana and the women's connection to the club. As Williams et al. (2011) suggest, it is important to understand how such experiences are 'highly place specific, but also to deconstruct those experiences in terms of the overlapping domains of family, workplace and community' (p. 131). Graham Harvey, in a 2001 paper on Maori diasporic spirituality that also focuses on Ngati Ranana and which I will discuss shortly, adds further nuances to the club members' experiences. Given these preoccupations, New Zealand films functioned as simply one way to kick-start a much larger dialogue that spanned issues of identity, race, class, privilege (or the lack thereof), cross-cultural connection, and mobility–in their myriad forms.

Although I only have space in this piece to focus specifically on the women's relationships to Ngati Ranana, it is important to first create a strong link between this chapter and my earlier published work. Therefore, I briefly discuss the rationale and methodology for the wider study[1], before moving on to define "portable personhood". By undertaking these steps first, I will then be able to more clearly guide the reader through the verbal terrain laid out by the women during our focus group conversation, especially as it relates to the club and their roles in it.

Rationale and methodology

While I more fully outlined the rationale for my study in my article, "Talking Film, Talking Identity," I will very briefly revisit some essentials regarding New Zealand expatriates, as well as outlining the importance of

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[1] Due to their shared methodology, I have quoted directly from my previous European Journal of Cultural Studies (2009) and Studies in Australasian Cinema (2012) articles in outlining the steps I took when putting the project together.

this type of project. In sociological terms, New Zealand holds an unusual position in that roughly a quarter of its population lives overseas at any given point (Lidgard & Gilson 2001; New Zealand Statistics). Overseas experience or "The Big OE," where New Zealanders travel to live in other countries, often for extended periods of time, is an established national/cultural tradition. This creates a diasporic community overseas, 'one that is geographically removed from, but emotionally responsive to, what is going on back home' (Thornley 2012, p. 99).

Due to the shared colonial history between the United Kingdom and New Zealand, London often features as a central stopping point on the "Big OE trip" and also acts as a major repository for New Zealand arts and cultural products–including national films–as they circumnavigate the globe. This study takes as given that it is useful to ask audiences about their relationship to films from their homeland because of what these audiences can tell academics about the currently contested field of national cinema. Given the uncertain position of such films in the face of globalization, audience-centered models allow cultural changes to be considered and included within this changing field of trans/national cinema.

Potential participants were located via databases kept by the New Zealand consulate in London, as well as through on-line recruitment and snowballing techniques. The requirements for participation were that the potential focus group member was a New Zealand citizen or permanent resident (from any ethnic group) and that they had been in London for a minimum of two months with the intention to remain for the foreseeable future. As this was an academic study and funding was limited, the only incentives on offer were evening supper and the possibility of meeting other New Zealanders. Twenty-five participants agreed to take part in focus groups held over four nights, with numbers varying from four to eleven participants per group. All the names used here are pseudonyms.

The groups were fairly evenly divided between male and female participants and ranged in age from mid-twenties through to late-sixties. The first three groups included one Asian, one part-Pacific Islander, and one part-Maori participant, while all of the other group members were Pakeha. The themes that developed within the first three groups, and which were discussed in my 2009 article, included: the importance of national film viewing by expatriates to create and celebrate "New Zealand-ness"; the "cultural translation" that expatriate New Zealanders undertake for their British friends and acquaintances; and the nostalgic associations produced through visual portrayals of national landscape and landmarks.

One of the recruitment methods was approaching pre-existing community/interest groups; participants often self-selected vis-à-vis these pre-

existing group commitments in advance of the focus group meetings. Given this, the final group consisted solely of female members of Ngati Ranana. Tribal affiliations are as follows: Mikara (Ngati Maniapoto); Helena (Pakeha); Patricia (Ngati Porou); and Violet (Ngati Kahu/Nga Puhi ki Whangaroa). Following the interests of the participants, we dealt with many specifically indigenous-orientated topics and perspectives. Therefore, before moving into a discussion of specific themes surrounding their involvement in Ngati Ranana and as expatriates, I will trace how a mobilities framework can help us understand the concept of portable personhood as developed and employed by these women in ways that both recognize–and expand– their traditional indigenous relationships and responsibilities.

The draft was emailed back to the Ngati Ranana women for their comments, and changes were made before being submitted for publication. If applicable, it is indicated throughout where changes were made as the result of follow-on correspondence.

'Portable personhood': What does it mean within a mobilities framework?

Although Elliott and Urry (2010) introduce 'portable personhood' early in *Mobile Lives* (p. 3), Alison Blunt (2007) suggests in her overview of the burgeoning field of mobilities research that the development of the idea occurs largely through case studies dealing with three interlocking terms: mobility, transnationality, and diaspora, all of which can be located under the broader heading of "cultural geographies of migration" (pp. 685, 691). These studies, as she exhaustively indicates, employ a range of methodologies including ethnographic research, interviews, and the analysis of various cultural objects. As my findings rely on focus group interviews and audiovisual material, they belong here; the purpose of this chapter is to try to situate the group's relationship to not only Ngati Ranana and national films but, more generally, to what Blunt (2007) describes as the "creative interface" between all three terms (p. 684). Here, I am taking portable personhood as that creative interface: in terms of understanding how the women's club responsibilities shape their experiences while in London.

Throughout this article (and as Blunt also recognizes), the work of Bourdieu (1986), Molz (2005), and Williams et al. (2011) all provide distinct ways of understanding "transnational citizenship" or portable personhood: not only as the legal definition of the term but also the "social relations and cultural meanings, values and practices" embedded in such a con-

cept (Blunt, 2007, p.688). In the case of Ngati Ranana, Bourdieu's lived experience of citizenship/personhood may well be more meaningful and obligatory than the more widely recognized and feted legal moniker of "New Zealander" (or, particularly in the case of Helena, the "racial" one of "European"). This argument forms the basis of "New Possibilities", the final section of this chapter and one that works to uncouple such commonsense understandings, given that they are often uncritically linked together.

'The broader whanau of Ngati Ranana': Mobile (but grounded) community

One of the main themes discussed in my previous articles was the extent to which New Zealand connections figured in the participants' lives. It is not unusual for expatriates to search for a sense of community in the places where they find themselves (Harrington & Bielby, 2005; Karim, 2003; Ong, 1999; Williams et al., 2011). Sometimes such connections come from associations formed in the new country, but just as often they are spaces from home recreated (and reconfigured) overseas. Such was the case with Ngati Ranana. Embodying portable personhood, these four women mobilized specific aspects of Maori affiliation through Ngati Ranana and joint film viewings. While other focus groups included some members who had prior connections (e.g. the second evening group consisted of past and present members of the London New Zealand Cricket Club or LNZCC), only the final group evidenced a particularly complicated investment in their community group. By "complicated", I mean that the definition and role of Ngati Ranana took up a large part of the time allotted for questions, as it became clear that neither was clear-cut and both required in-depth explanation. This was one of the first, and most obvious, ways that my pre-structured research design was challenged by the women's responses:

Mikara: What we officially do is, no, what we officially are is… a club of kiwis (*colloquial name for New Zealanders*) away from home…no no no…no no, because we're not all kiwis…

(In the background): No.

Violet: Officially Ngati Ranana… is probably a kapa haka (*cultural performance*) group.

Mikara: No.

(In the background): …hmmmmm.

Unidentified person #1: It offers people an opportunity to learn about Maori culture.

Unidentified person #2: Yes.

Helena: But in saying that…we're talking about our whole culture so, you know, although so much of the focus is kapa haka, there's just so much more that goes on–it's a whole social community. There have been spin-off groups: there's been an entire taiaha (*a weapon of hard*

wood) group, a kohanga reo *("language nest" or early childhood language school*), and there have been performing arts companies that have sprung out of Ngati Ranana. It's huge.
DT: So it's been going on for quite a while?
Mikara: 48 years…Over forty years.

Later in the conversation, Mikara suggested: "So it's probably a…group of like-minded people with a Maori focus–not a New Zealand focus but a Maori focus…" while Helena stated: "So we're the main representative group of Maori in this part of the world–and not just [in] the United Kingdom." It is interesting to note that, although Helena self-identifies as Pakeha, she has been (and continues to be) actively involved in the club. From their interactions, it appeared the other women in the group accepted her involvement as well. Along these lines, Mikara differentiates between two perspectives: one incorporating New Zealand and one specifically addressing Maori culture: Ngati Ranana, in her view, exists to focus on the latter. In addition, Violet explained that Ngati Ranana serves as a base for people interested in and involved with Maoritanga who may be living in other European countries without similar networks. The physical space provided by Ngati Ranana was only the start: as the women mentioned, there are kapa haka and te reo classes, several public performances each year, and annual fundraising events. The group also performs important cultural functions–such as being the protectors of any Maori artefacts in that part of the world: in Violet's terms, "Keeping the taonga (*treasures*) warm." As such, Ngati Ranana provides a space for all who are interested in and identify with Maoritanga, whether or not they self-identify as Maori.

This initial difficulty in defining the core purpose of the club led me to think more about the mobile (in the sense of both "shifting" and "expatriate") relationship of these participants to Ngati Ranana, given Mikara's background sketch:

> It really did start as just a kapa haka group and…it got more–and eventually along the way–when I say along the way, I do only mean at that time, a couple of years, years or months? (Someone in background – "Years, I think") OK, years. They ended up at New Zealand House in central London in Haymarket Street and it moved all around the building…and Ngati Ranana tries to stay away from the politics… so I'll try and stop that one there… that's what it is… see, even the performance isn't what it's all about because it's invited to do performances… {Too many people talking to hear clearly}.

I am not assuming that there is some kind of essential (and by extension, essentialist), unique connection that can be seen only in the relationship between Maori and the cultural groups they participate in–as though all other groups somehow fundamentally lack the ability to form the same sort of connection. The LNZCC members clearly had long-standing and emo-

tionally/socially influential ties to the sport and to their fellow members, but where the participants' understandings of the two groups differed was in terms of clarity around the clubs' respective remits.

"Not a New Zealand focus, a Maori focus": Carving Out a Maori Space in London

The LNZCC members were secure in their definition of what the club did (encouraged New Zealanders to get together as a 'wandering side/team' to play cricket while away from home), the roles it performed (facilitating this interaction), and the legitimacy attached to its purpose to begin with (few–whether Londoners or expatriate New Zealanders–would question either the club's definition or its roles). On the other hand, based on comments by participants from the final group, I would venture to say that Ngati Ranana had struggled (and continued to struggle) with all of these issues, based largely on a lack of cultural legitimization to begin with. If the larger societal groups within which the cultural club operates–Londoners, expatriate New Zealanders, and even New Zealanders "back home"– fail to either understand or support the club's goals, it makes it difficult to pin down the operating parameters so essential for reaping the "cultural capital" awarded to such groups, particularly when they are operating away from their home environment (Bourdieu, 1986). In this respect, having a mobile identity carries many challenges–in addition to oft-touted benefits.

Although I did not knowingly 'set up' having participants present from these two groups in order to compare and contrast them, it remains that fairly stark areas of contrast do arise because of the differing information surrounding each group. In many respects, a club such as the LNZCC starts off with a great deal more mainstream (white) cultural capital invested in it than does a club to do with things Maori. Cricket, in effect, can be seen as the quintessential 'colonial' game: a sport well known to British people– who, in turn, exported it to New Zealand. Indeed, the LNZCC's website states that the club's remit is to 'provid[e] the opportunity for its members to play and enjoy cricket in the home of the game and to meet socially' (http://www.lnzcc.org/). Bringing the game back to the country and people who invented it does not require Londoners or New Zealand expatriates there–whether Pakeha, Maori, or otherwise–to move outside of their comfort zone in any tangible way, whereas a group like Ngati Ranana challenges any number of usually unspoken assumptions by the white majority.

Such queries include: Why is it necessary to have a separate group for things Maori? What does the placement of Ngati Ranana's headquarters in New Zealand House say about the place of Maori culture in relation to a wider 'New Zealand focus'? And following on from this question: does this mean that New Zealand culture is simpatico with cricket but not with kapa haka–or defined without question as including British colonial culture but not necessarily Maori culture? Mikara's earlier comment about a Maori focus versus a New Zealand one suggests that she sees the two cultures as very different, that being part of or conversant with one does not mean that you are conversant with another, but perhaps this is not recognized within the larger societal circles made up of Londoners and/or New Zealand expatriates.

Violet voiced this challenge during the meeting:

> When I try and explain the club to my friends (Another speaker interrupts: "Oh, you can't") I usually start with, "You know the All Blacks? Yeah, the haka? Right, there's a lot more where that came from {laughing}." I get really sick of it, explaining it like that because Maori culture and New Zealand is not defined by the All Blacks or the haka, you know, it's such a small part of New Zealand and Maoridom and it's frustrating–so that's a really good parting dance [sharing New Zealand and Maori culture through films]. By sharing our films is actually a better way. It's more direct, it says more–just than saying haka {making clapping noises; more laughing}.

Violet recognises that club is about many more aspects of Maori culture than kapa haka or the All Blacks or even national films, but–by the same token–that films are one of the most direct and accessible ways to help outsiders understand what it is that the women gain from being involved in such a community. In effect, just as national films began a wide-ranging conversation between the Ngati Ranana women and myself, they can also kick-start similar conversations when the club's members come in contact with other London-based people and groups.

New Possibilities: 'Adding Colour' to Racial and National Mobilities

On resending the final draft to the participants for their comments, Helena responded with the following clarification regarding her relationship to club:

> I came to Ngati Ranana after I started attending Te Reo Maori classes in London…when you learn another language you also learn another way of thinking. You learn words for concepts that are not defined within the English language eg. mana, ihi, wehi, hoha…. And I feel that this has been one of club's (Ngati Ranana's) greatest gifts to me. Ngati Ranana has given me another way of thinking and approaching the world.
> The quote on page 10 gets lost as everyone starts talking at once. This is a shame as I think that discussion probably held the key for understanding our relationships to club.

> You see, membership of club goes beyond attending meetings or forming an affiliation. To me, club (Ngati Ranana) is a lifestyle choice. Yes, I have my work life and my home life (with non-Kiwi flatmates), but <u>club is more closely linked to my own perceptions of my identity than either my work life or home life</u> [original underlining]. Club is an entire community: it is almost like a living breathing creature in its own right. It doesn't depend on individuals and it is operated according to Maori principles. For instance, decisions are made by the collective. Not by a manager, chair or even the committee (*komiti*). The network club has is phenomenal...
>
> ...it's been fascinating being the Pakeha minority within club and being immersed in Maori culture and understanding the issues that come with that.

Through Helena's comment, it is possible to glean a sense of her place-specific commitments in London, commitments that Williams et al. (2011) identify as revolving around the triad of work, family and community: in Helena's case, the club figures in addressing the latter two, to differing extents (as she outlines in the following quote). She highlights the role of Ngati Ranana in her identity formation as a Pakeha person, both while in London and more generally as an expatriate New Zealander, and, in so doing, unpacks how those choices necessitated shifts in her national allegiances. Williams' (2011) article acknowledges "expatriate bubbles": the fact that most New Zealanders who travel go to the United Kingdom, many of them living in London-based "ethnic enclaves" that shape relationships and networks. However, the authors argue that this is not every expatriate's experience–and Helena's story stands as a particularly rich example of someone who has chosen differently. She becomes one of many "whose lives are largely lived in very different types of places outside of such bubbles, even if they maintain contacts and relations with individuals and organizations within them" (Williams et al., 2011 p.126). Furthermore:

> Being a member of [Ngati Ranana] club provides that sense of belonging, history and community that can be difficult as a Pakeha to find in London. Although I have British genealogy, there is no memory in my family of what it means to be "British". All four of my grandparents speak with a Kiwi accent. I came to the UK expecting to find a sense of kinship, but learnt while living here that I am not British. I will not use the term 'European' to describe myself on the census as I do not identify with that. I am Pakeha, and for me, I feel more at home within the extended whanau of Ngati Ranana, although that did not happen at once. [...] I understand what it is like to be Pakeha and not relate to British culture. [However]: while I can identify with aspects of Maori culture, the experience of being Maori is very different to being Pakeha, and Maori and Pakeha do come from very different perspectives. I think Pakeha are still struggling to understand our heritage and our culture.

Casting the net back to Elliott & Urry's (2010) introduction of portable personhood, they suggest identity is fundamentally reorganized through the demands of mobility. Along these lines, Molz's (2005) and also Harvey's (2001) earlier work on Ngati Ranana provide several case studies of mobile

groups existing to provide community for their members. Molz examines online travel narratives in terms of their propensity for civic responsibility, specifically how cosmopolitanism is rooted in and routed through national affiliations performed both electronically and corporeally. Molz's (2005) concern with the "multiple embodied and emplaced attachments, particularly to the nation, that travelers maintain as they travel the world" (p. 529) is both addressed and reconfigured through Ngati Ranana's focused attention on Maori culture, as Mikara stated earlier.

Likewise, Harvey (2001) states:

> Travel is nothing new to Maori: their ancestors migrated from elsewhere, and they maintained connections of various kinds by movement among the islands […]. Beyond the geography, indigenous peoples also 'travel' in the sense that 'tradition' is not about a fixation with, or in, the past but about the continuous unfolding of new possibilities. (p. 2)

Ngati Ranana is one of these new possibilities, a space given permanence by its connections back to Aotearoa New Zealand in the form of "objects, people, information, and images travelling […]", all of which could be considered taonga (Elliott & Urry, 2010, p. 15). Furthermore, to this list Harvey and I would add mana (loosely translated as *moral authority or prestige*), a concept that elides these other categories but also undergirds them all. Finally, Helena's attendance at, and commitment to, the club (as a Pakeha person) is another of these new possibilities.

Indeed, Harvey (2001) goes further, pointing not only to the status of the Embassy as New Zealand territory and therefore subject to the Treaty of Waitangi, but also the importance of Maori sovereignty in legitimizing the 're-visioning' of place and protocols. In this way, it is possible for Ngati Ranana members to embrace both tradition and progression, acknowledging "very different power dynamics and geographies than those at 'home'" (Harvey, 2001, p. 5). In addition to Mikara's gesture towards the politics involved in the club's location, Violet discussed how she and other members of the club were often required to take up positions of responsibility that would not have been theirs back in Aotearoa New Zealand (e.g. when inadequate numbers of respected elders were on location to perform particular protocols). 'On-the-ground' navigation of complicated etiquette bolsters Molz's (2005) argument regarding cosmopolitanism: that "memberships at the local, national and global scales may even overlap and constitute each other" (p. 520). One does not preclude the others and each has to be constantly and imaginatively managed, particularly where two–the local (tangata whenua [*people of the land*]; turungawaewae [*having a place to stand*] claims) and the national (New Zealand)–frequently collide.

Conclusion

The ways indigenous and national identities "travel" were only two of several issues that sidestepped my original goals for the project, morphing out into unexpected territory. As already mentioned, a focus group ostensibly about films became an ongoing conversation about many other topics. These included, but were not limited to: a) how the act of relocation allows for portable personhood (specifically, in this case study, mobile indigenous-orientated identities) not only physically but also culturally, "racially", and even in terms of kaitiakitanga (*guardianship*), and b) what it means–on the ground–to build a cultural network around an identity dislocated from the land that makes it. This clearly constitutes an ongoing project, both for the participants–the women of Ngati Ranana–and for myself in terms of trying to theorize these concepts (and situate myself in relation to them). I see this chapter as a beginning step in that process.

Acknowledgments

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The role of cultural capital in forming and strengthening "double attachment"

Abstract

The aim of the study is to examine the role of acquiring, transmitting and carrying on Bourdieu's cultural capital in establishing and shaping the identity of Roma people, in strengthening their double attachment to the Roma and non-Roma cultures. The process of accumulating and transmitting cultural capital is showed through three case studies from Miskolc city (one educational institution, a special college and a cultural association). According to our hypothesis these programs and organizations, as carriers of cultural capital, are suitable to serve as orientation points for their members and those participating in their programs. As a consequence, these programs and organizations strengthen the Roma-Hungarian double identity and the successful social integration.

Introduction

The aim of the study is to examine the role of acquiring, transmitting and carrying on Bourdieu's cultural capital in establishing and shaping the identity of Roma people, in strengthening their two-folded connections to the Roma and non-Roma cultures. The process of accumulating and transmitting cultural capital is showed through three case studies. According to our hypothesis, these programs contribute to the success of the talented Roma children in school and assist them in acquiring skills and competencies by the help of which they might have a successful future. In addition to this the programs also have an important role in preserving Roma identity in a way that they also strengthen the feeling of belonging to the Hungarian culture and society. These programs and organizations, as carriers of cultural capital, are suitable to serve as orientation points for their members and those participating in their programs. As a consequence, these programs and organizations strengthen the Roma-Hungarian double identity. Therefore, they serve as symbolic-cultural fields in the Bourdieuian sense, in which the learning and acceptance of the codes of Roma culture is possi-

ble together with accumulating skills of decoding "foreign" codes. As a result, they serve as "places" to learn and habitualize cultural patterns of separation and connection.

Through the acquired skills and competencies the actors become competent in feeling familiar with both (cultural) fields and have themselves successfully acknowledged and accepted (by translating it to the terms of social integration: they are able to keep their ethnic identity while integrating successfully).

In the first part of the study the concepts of cultural capital, habitus, field, identity and ethnic identity are presented. The second part focuses on three case studies from Miskolc. The first one is that of the Roma Ethnic Secondary School [Roma Nemzetiségi Szakiskola], the second one is on the András Bacsinszky Greek Catholic Roma Special College [Bacsinszky András Görögkatolikus Roma Szakkolégium], while the third one describes the work of the Romano Theatro Cultural Association [Romano Theatro Kulturális Egyesület]. The aim of the case studies is to describe the educational and cultural programs of the given organizations and also to analyze their effect on national and ethnic identities and their role in preserving and transmitting cultural capital.

Theoretical frameworks

According to Pierre Bourdieu's (1978, 1997) well-known theories there are three essential *forms of capitals:* economic, cultural and social. Bourdieu links cultural capital to the forms of educational qualifications. He criticizes theories on human capital because, according to his view, they fail to take the role of the family into account, primarily in terms of transmitting knowledge. In the Bourdieuian sense cultural capital exists in embodied forms (permanent skill of organizations), objectified forms (e.g. goods, images, books) and institutionalized forms (educational qualifications). Embodied cultural capital cannot possibly be acquired without making personal efforts, spending time and energy. In the long process of accumulating it the cultural capital impresses itself upon one's habitus, it shifts from being owned to being a characteristic of the person. Many times it requires disclaims and sacrifices on the individuals' part, the way toward accumulating it is full of setbacks. It is not necessarily a planned process: it can also go on unplanned, quasi as a byproduct of the process of socialization. Often it is "unseen", has a symbolic form. Only for those who have embodied cultural capital can take pleasure in the objectified form of cultural capital.

Bourdieu situates the actors in the social space created by the three forms of capitals (Anheier-Gerhards-Romo, 1998) by forming the *field theory.* The field is a unit of the society in which participants compete each other for social positions. The social structure is formed thanks to this competition in which each actors acquire their positions in accordance with the relative combination of gross and form of capitals (Bourdieu, 1978, 1989). Actors of similar status in the field have similar positions, dispositions, habits and interests (Bourdieu-Wacquant, 1992). There is constant struggle in the field for forming and sustaining inequality. Those who enter the field, who accept the special rules of the game characteristic of the field, struggle for acquiring more and more goods the ownership and/or monopolization of which brought the field into existence. The boundaries of the field are not rigid; they are defined by all-time struggles, balances of forces and power structures.

Bourdieu used the notion of *habitus* at first in the mid 1960s. Later on it was elaborated during his researches in Algeria (Bourdieu, 2009). In Algeria he observed that peasants moving into the cities keep up with their behavioral patterns even though those are not efficient in handling (urban) problems. In his notion of habitus he builds upon some kind of a dichotomy: on the one hand it includes a sort of a passive consequence, for behind the actor there is always his/her origin, upbringing and socialization defining his/her habitus and – on the other hand – there is also an active factor, the system of values, the life plan and the set of mind (Szívós, 2009). Accordingly, the actor acts but does not necessarily know the principles generating his/her acts. Acquiring habitus means that a system of special skills and competencies, that is dispositions is formed. New disposition connect to the already existing ones both on the level of the individual and of the field. The acceptance of incidental new roles and dispositions coming along with them can only be possible through the "filter" of the already existing habitus.

Castells (1997) refers to *identity* as both an internalisation and mutual process. Turner (1975) emphasises the importance of the individual's own decision about belonging to a specific group. Based on the above approaches, it is evident that one has to accept certain norms and values in order to gain full membership in a group. Nevertheless one also has to be recognised as person with a particular ethnic inheritance by other members of the community one claims to belong to. Turner (1975) also argues that ethnic identity is a sort of social identity, and is, therefore related to group membership. This opinion is also held by Bindorffer (1997) who claims that "ethnic identity is a subjective feeling of belonging to a special self-

perceived group of people who share in a common stock of ethnic knowledge" (p. 18.).

We have to consider identity/*ethnic identity* as a phenomenon that manifests itself both at the level of values and norms and also at the level of behavior. We have to take into account the fact that, although being part of an ethnic group is a subjective feeling, (Bindorffer, 2001; Turner, 1975) it also presupposes confirmation by other members of a group (Castells, 1997).

As Hancock reveals (1997) one can hide one's Gypsy/Traveller identity without difficulty, as Gypsies/Travellers do not have such easy to recognisable physical characteristics. As Okely (1983) argues, while sometimes Gypsies/Travellers seemingly drop their ethnicity by passing as non-Romanies this behaviour does not decrease their Gypsy/Traveller identity, but is just a strategy to survive. Silvermann (1988) describes a similar phenomenon amongst Gypsies in the USA. As she highlights in her research, Gypsies in that country change their dress, language and names in order to adapt to new environments. Although they seem to be assimilated, they keep themselves distinct. As she concludes: "they are no less "Gypsy" because they are also "American"; their multiple identities do not necessarily compete with one another, but serve to stimulate the creation of a rich store of express behaviour" (Silvermann, 1988, p. 23). In another study of Gypsies in the USA, Sutherland (cited by Okely 1999) reveals the same trend. He suggests that, although Gypsies remain invisible to the public and even seemingly abandon nomadism, they do not relinquish their original lifestyle but try to preserve some elements of it. To conclude, research studies highlight the fact that the phenomenon of identity hiding must be handled carefully because, behind this behavior, the original identity can be preserved totally. Therefore the question is: what kind of motivations lie behind the incident of hidden identity. On one hand, the cause of this phenomenon can simply be the wish to pass as non-Gypsies in order to survive without the slightest abandonment of one's original culture. On the other hand, one might display some willingness to accommodate one's life to the changing environment, which implies accepting some values and norms of the mainstream society. The question in the latter case is that to what extent people, while exposing themselves to the influence of the majority can retain their original method of thinking, values and norms and to what extent do the majority values filter into their personality and remodel it (Okely, 1999; Hancock, 1997; Silvermann, 1988).

Assimilation and acculturation are extensively debated by researchers dealing with the issues of the ethnic group and ethnicity. To summarize the

literature on this topic, it is clear that assimilation can be regarded in three different ways: (a) as an abandonment of one's original culture in favour of another one (Rose, 1956; Gordon, 1964; Kende & Szilassy, 1999; Korzenny & Abravanel 1998; Horowitz, 1975); (b) as a mutual process involving of the merging of two cultures and forming of a common one (Park & Burgess 1961; Fichter, 1957; Horowitz, 1975); (c) as a process that ends in the change of values and norms of an individual. Acculturation can be defined in two different ways: (a) as a process of learning a second culture, while maintaining the elements of the original one (Korzenny & Abravanel, 1998; Benet-Martínez; 1997) or (b) as a process that ends in the change at the level of an individual's behavior but not at the level of his/her norms and values.

Korzenny's and Abravanel's (1998) approach carefully distinguishes between the two, highlighting the fact that acculturation in extreme cases might end in assimilation. According to him "acculturation is considered to be a process of learning a second culture. In contrast, assimilation is understood to be an abandonment of one's first culture in favor of a second one" (Korzenny & Abravanel, 1998, p. 56). As indicated by the definition, acculturation can occur without assimilation.

The concept of different identity-strategies was developed by Hutnik (cited by Modood, 1997). He established four different strategies, depending on the level of assimilation. Assimilative strategy is on one end of the scale and dissociative (just the opposite of assimilation, where self-categorisation is in terms of ethnic minority membership and not in terms of majority group dimension) is in the other one. In the acculturative strategy, the self is categorized approximately equally in terms of both dimensions. In extreme case, neither of the dimensions are important and the person may categorize himself in terms of other relevant social categories (marginal strategy).

Case studies

In this part of the paper, we will present three case studies on three institutions with special regards to their role in the preservation of ethnic identity as well as in the strengthening of Hungarian identity and also with special attention to their role in the transmission of cultural capital. The case studies were prepared by conducting semi-structured qualitative interviews with the leaders, by applying participant observations and analyzing documents and available data.

The Kalyi Jag Roma Minority Vocational School, High School and Primary Art School, Miskolc

The Kalyi Jag school-system was established in 1994 in Budapest as an initiative of Kalyi Jag Ensemble. At the moment, there are three schools in the country, one in Budapest, one in Miskolc and one in Kalocsa (the latest one has lots of difficulties, at the beginning it had artistic orientation, recently, they are trying to give a new orientation of the school: they are trying to give an agricultural orientation to it, building the traditions of paprika of Kalocsa).

Main principles that lies behind the schools at country level:

- Be a school of Roma minority, where young people feel comfortable, can cultivate their mother tongue, even those who may have forgotten it can relearn it
- Be familiar with the reports on them as ethnographic material on ethnic group, and be familiar with the literature written by Roma writers and poets
- Learn about the works of those artists, writers, poets, who who have already taken major steps for the survival of the Gypsy culture, so they are serve as role models for young people
- Learn about dances practiced in the region, get to know why the Roma dances are danced in this way and where are they located in the universal dance history
- To be consciously aware of where they came from, and about what kind of vicissitudes they had to overcome in order to survive and preserve their identity
- Apart from the minority program, the aim is to learn useful modern knowledge as well

The educational system is based on the cognition of roma culture with a strong emphasis on the gypsy language, gypsy minority ethnography and traditional dance and song. The preservation of identity is an important issue in the curriculum. They also try to give students insight into the present as well as the past in order to familiarize learners with the values that the Roma in the past or the present set up. In the declaration of mission the school emphasizes that Roma role models were always exist, those, who had outstanding achievements in the Roma culture, public life and politics.

They would like to achieve that Roma children would not feel ashamed of being Roma but take it naturally. They also get to know the Hungarian history, culture and literature. Beside a strong emphasis is given to develop the attachment of children to their country, to the Hungarian culture, literature, to their place of residence and to their environment. It seems that the

aim of the school is the development of double identity in their pupil, in which elements of the Roma and an non-Roma culture is equally important. They cultivate the idea that Gypsies where always an integrated part of the Hungarian culture and history – so it helps acculturative strategy to develop. Also there are some signs to assist for the development of new-born Gypsiness, or new-born Gypsy identity – with the help they give in order to learn "Gypsy language" for those,-as they say – "who had already forgotten it".

The school also emphasis the important of modern knowledge, for instance in the field of computing, business, and economics. Gypsy language is obligatory for all pupils and beside, they can choose from English or German language.

As the school joined to the National Training Development Program, the institution has technical schools training, vocational school training and catching-up technical school training. It also give change for those, who have been excluded from other type of schools due to their ethnic origin, or bad social situation or other reasons. At the moment, the school in Miskolc has only 1-2 non-Roma students, however, the school do not keep track about the identity of its students. At entry, the students-to-be has to declare that they accept the minority education program of the school.

The school covers its cost from state norm (állami normatíva) and the contribution from the Kalyi Jag Association.

In the Curriculum of the school, the study of national and Gypsy folk music and dance has also an important role. As they say, in the preservation of national and minority values and traditions these are really important – as well as these help to be open for other cultures.

According to the director of the school, they would like to employ more Roma professionals, but it is really hard. It does not matter if he/she would not have a qualification in teaching, because they could help them to start their career. As István Horváth formulates: "The aim is to show role-models for the children. It is really hard because we ourselves have been marginalized. I have no car and I live in Avas. I am asked the children often: How much I earn? I tell them, it is not your business. The problem is that they bring the values from the majority (that there are material things of high value)." Teaching is not a appealing for Roma professionals-to-be."

It seems like however the school regards both the values and tradition of the majority and both of the minority important, at the level of values, they regard for instance material things as something, that come from the majority, and something that should not be so appealing for the majority but it is. So there are some signs for dissociative strategy, regarding identity.

According to the director, there is no real connection with Mayors's Office, there was not in the past and there is no connection at the moment. "We are tired of the situation that we keep on inviting them, and they pay no attention to us. We are good for them if they need our help to accommodate a problematic child".

They also attend the meeting of Equal Opportunity Round Table, but "we just meet them those Roma civil persons that we had already known". "We have lots of cooperation agreements, but these are all formal."

For the sake of the cultivation of Roma identity, the education of Gypsy language and Roma tradition has an important role. However, as far as the Gypsy language is concerned, that Romungro Gypsies, who are the majority of the students, do not understand the reason, they should learn it, as they say, it is not part of their culture. These lectures held the Vlah-Gypsy students as István says, however, they do not really know about their culture, they do not even know that they have a distinctive culture. "Those children, who come from musician family, are really proud of it, it always comes out at the lectures."

In the interview with the the director, the question of the identity of Roma intellectuals came up. István Horváth told us, that he also went through the loss of Roma culture, but later on, he gained his culture back. As he said, the program of minority education gives the opportunity for preserving Roma culture without the loss of culture while someone becomes Roma intellectual.

Those, who are talented has the opportunity to perform in different programs organized by the school. For instance, in 2007, the school organized the Kalyi Jag days, that lasted two days and were took place in the school. These events were sponsored by the City Mayor's Office and gave the opportunity for Roma people to present their culture.

Also in 2007, in December on the Human Right's Day, the pupils of the school provided a program in the B.A.Z County Government. In 2008, on Cultural Day of Miskolc, they also had the opportunity to show their talent. In 2008, the school got the Prize for Minorities (the Prize was established by the 1/1995. (IX. 28.) Decree, and still goes on) as the recognition of their work.

András Bacsinszky Greek Catholic Special College for Roma, Miskolc

Since its formation the Hungarian cabinet emphasized the importance of strengthening the social inclusion of the Gypsies with the help of the churches. Behind the idea is the recognition that there is a need for respon-

sible, Christian Gypsy elite, the members of which identify themselves as Hungarian and also as Gypsies. After six months of preparatory work, in March 2011 an agreement was signed by the cabinet and the churches on the establishment of a special college system. The government agreed to support the establishment and provide scholarships and stipends for those accepted to the special colleges. The Ministry of Public Administration and Justice, State Secretariat for Social Inclusion is responsible for the Program. In accordance with the agreement and in order to ensure continuous operation, the State Secretariat plans to establish a special college norm. In the near future a grant by the European Union will become available with the help of which the financial requirements of the program will be secured.

The system of special colleges favors disadvantaged, and especially Roma students.

Unique in Europe, the Christian Roma Special College Network operates on the national level since September, 2011. Currently four colleges established in four cities with major universities are part of the network. The Jesuits have the Jesuit Roma Special College in Budapest, the Greek Catholics operate the András Bacsinszky Greek Catholic Special College for Roma in Miskolc, the Calvinists established the István Wáli Roma Special College in Debrecen, while the Evangelical church has its Evangelical Roma Special College in Nyíregyháza.

The aim of the system is "to raise public, national and social awareness, to strengthen Hungarian-Roma identity, to support the studies, training and personal development of the Roma members of the colleges and to facilitate the emergence of Roma intellectuals devoted to Christian values and social responsibility" (Szilvay, 2011). The Network is headed by Tamás Forrai Jesuit Father Provincial.

The Network wishes to strengthen Hungarian-Roma double identity; that is to facilitate social inclusion parallel to maintaining ethnic identity and roots. The idea was that Hungary lacks Roma intellectuals who, by accepting their double identity, help their own communities while also understand and identify themselves with the expectations, customs and norms of the majority and are able to mediate between the two groups. According to its mission statement the network of special colleges wishes to help the youngsters build a positive double identity, an identity in the frame of which minority and majority identity elements are in harmony. This identity shall provide a stable basis for successful integration. The network gives professional and methodological help and background to the institutions. Education and instruction are ecumenical, each colleges has similar cultural, spiritual and theoretical agenda.

The special college of Miskolc has started its work in September 2011. In their Call for Application (see in the Appendix) they specifically wanted full-time students from the University of Miskolc, or students who wished to enter this university. As stated in the call for application the college welcomed Roma and non-Roma applicants as well. Roma applicants were accepted so the goal of educating responsible, Roma-Hungarian intellectuals is met. Non-Roma applicants were welcomed, because the project leaders believe that the living together of Roma and non-Roma help to learn and understand Roma culture, strengthening further cooperation of the two groups.

The entrance examination had two rounds. In the first one the entrance committee evaluated application forms. This stage was followed by a weekend-camp during which the applicants had several community programs and individual meetings with the committee.

In order to have a clear understanding on the operation of the college and to gain more knowledge on the activities that supposed to build and strengthen the ethnic identity we interviewed Mónika Péter.

Mónika Péter graduated at the University of Miskolc, Institute of Sociology specializing in Romany studies in 2010. Currently she works as a secretary 20 hours a week, which means that she is not only responsible for the special college but also for the whole dormitory system (having secondary school students as well) operated by the Greek Catholic church of Miskolc. Her office hours are flexible, in compliance with the needs and requirements of the students. She participated in organizing the summer camp (two days in August with 18 participants) after which she was offered her current part-time position. She loves her work and wishes to have a full-time position as soon as it will be possible. Currently there are 14 students in the special college of Miskolc, 10 Roma and 4 are non-Roma. Since September two students left the college (one did not continue his studies, the other one accepted a trainee position in Budapest) but others took their places.

There are a first year students, but also seniors living in the college.

Father László Makkai is the head of the college. The program has three modules, theoretical, cultural and spiritual. One weekend in every month is spent with these special modules. On Friday they have some community program, joint cooking and baking followed by Saturday seminars starting in the morning and finishing in the afternoon. They usually invite Roma lecturers who can serve as examples for the future generation of Roma intellectuals. In October 2011 the psychologist Mária Lubinszki, PhD had a personal development, self-help course, while in November Ilona Nótár

(journalist, midwife) held training for the students. In December Norbert Káló was invited to the college. He graduated as a social worker, is the member of several civil organizations and teaches in special programs for disadvantaged children. In February 2012 Kálmán Káli-Horváth, the head of the Communication Department at the Ministry of Public Affairs and Justice, was invited. In March Emese Muri (teacher, debate-culture mentor and trainer) offered a course on successful debate techniques, while in April Zsolt Farkas (leader of a Gypsy dance group) had a course under the title "Amaro khelyipo" (our dance). In May Péter Szuhay ethnolographer will have a seminar on Gypsy culture.

As part of the spiritual module each Tuesdays there are self-help and Bible discussions during which personal problems (crises in life or in studies) are also discussed. These discussions are held in the form of retreats. Invited guests are common on these occasions, for example Bishop Atanáz and Gyula Patkó, Prof. the rector of the University of Miskolc participated in these events.

Beside these modules the students have the opportunity to learn foreign languages (currently, based on the students' requirements, German and English courses are offered).

Each student has their own mentor helping them with their undergraduate studies. Mentors are selected from the Faculties the students attend. The frequency of the meetings is defined by the mentor and his/her student.

The students come from different fields: cultural anthropologists, energetics engineer-assistant, minister-to-be, violinist, industrial designer, political scientist, law student and legal assistant are among them. Most of them come from Borsod county. In terms of gender half of the students are male, the other half are female. There is a group of students who tend to remain in the dorm for weekends. Their fellowship is really strong.

10 hours in every semester are spent with a so called helping module, the aim of which is to have the students engage themselves in voluntary social work. Several options were available for the students to choose from, e.g. they could have join the Csatárlánc project of the University of Miskolc, Institute of Pedagogy or go the a welfare center, but the students chose to go to the Vasgyár Elementary School mostly attended by disadvantaged Roma children. With the help of the students of the special college a Roma family day was organized in the school at the end of March.

All together the Roma special college of Miskolc has six different modules: theoretical, cultural, spiritual, language, mentor and help modules.

Beside the two persons already mentioned, also Anetta Ádám, junior lecturer at the University of Miskolc, Institute of Pedagogy, gives profes-

sional help to the college. She is responsible for all issues related to the studies of the students, she helps to find language teachers and mentors and also carries out all administrational tasks related to these.

State-supported students pay a monthly fee of 11 000 HUF that is covered by their scholarship. Others pay 18 000 HUF. Because of their disadvantageous status most of the students cannot rely on the financial help of their families.

The college/dormitory can accept 20 persons. Therefore in May 2012 a new call for application will be published. Currently they plan the publication of a yearbook and also wish to visit the secondary schools which the current students graduated from. They believe that by doing so it will be easier to encourage secondary school students to consider studying at the university as a realistic option.

The question of identity is of extreme importance within the program of the college. During the classes of the spiritual module the acceptance of one's ethnic identity is always one of the key topics. The students visit other special colleges on a regular basis. These events help them to accept and strengthen their own ethnic identities. The students of the four colleges had an opportunity to meet each other two times so far (once at the beginning of the program in Budapest and once in Miskolc). During these gatherings they had lectures and discussions strengthening both their Hungarian and Gypsy identities.

I asked Mónika Péter about her opinion on the success of the program. As Roma intellectuals will these students really do something for the Roma people, will they work for a better Roma-non-Roma relationship?

"I've known people who, after entering university, got rid of their 'Gypsyness'. I think the special college tries to have them remember their roots…to have them see the importance of supporting their families in the future. (…) If one of them for example is an industrial designer, the most important is that he should be good in his profession, so he can set an example. Other things, like how he will support his community, are his own choice. We will see. (…) The student who is studying to be a legal assistant has a better chance to do something for the Roma people. Or our political scientist. He is interested in politics, I can easily believe that we will see him in the public life in the future. (…) Our engineers will do every necessary thing to have the society accept them as experts, and through them accept Gypsies."

I also asked Mónika about the positive effects of having Roma and non-Roma students together in the program.

"We had a lot of discussion on this topic with the students. When a non-Roma lives together with Roma people he/she gets to know them. As a consequence this non-Roma will be more trustworthy when talking about Gypsies. People will be listen to him/her, believe him/her that there is a way to have a good relationship toward the Roma. In a way they are our messengers. (...) Two of our non-Roma students are cultural anthropologists. They are more open-minded than the average people. Another one is going to be a pastor. He is from a settlement in which he participates in a Roma missionary program."

Regarding identity, it seems that the College finds it important to build up a dual identity for its students.

Romano Teatro Cultural Association, Miskolc

The history of the Romano Teatro goes back to 2005. The head of the association, Zsolt Horváth, participated in a talent show where the actor, Dezső Szegedi, was in the jury. With the cooperation the Kalyi Jag (Roma Minority Secondary School and Elementary Art Institute) he came up with the idea of founding a Roma theatre, in which Roma people have a chance to show their artistic talents. Their first performance was the Man of La Mancha that brought them great success. It was followed by the Legendák leszármazottai [Desecendants of Legends] and the Átok és szerelem [Curse and Love]. Most recently they staged the Antigone and the Roma római [A Roma from Rome].

The leadership of the association was given to Zsolt Horváth in 2007, after the resignation of Dezső Szegedi. Zsolt believes that, in order to have Roma and non-Roma find connection through art, the association should be opened toward other artistic forms and that non-Roma people should also be involved in their projects.

In 2008 the work of the Romano Teatro was awarded with Equal Opportunities Plaquette by the Department of Equal Opportunities of the City Council of Miskolc. In 2009 the company won the Quality Prize of Miskolc.

According to Zsolt Horváth the poets, writers, artist and musicians trying to preserve Roma culture have less and less opportunities. Therefore he thinks that the aim of the association should be to support these artists.

In the interview, Zsolt Horváth emphasized that "the Roma identity cannot be strengthened by anything else but the culture. We cannot allow people to overrun, to suppress our culture. Unfortunately that is the case in Hungary today." He resents that the Roma leaders do not focus on the culture. "They only care about how much and from whom should they have.

Civil organizations tend to think along similar tracks. They have only projects in their mind, which I really don't like. (…) Here, in Miskolc, the organizations do not do anything until they don't have some money. (…) There are organizations that don't even want to participate at our cultural events, they don't care. The Roma culture is a good business nowadays. Financial support is available from the U.S. and also from the European Union. These organizations only want to have their share of money."

As Zsolt Horváth recalls the city is not really opened toward them. No representatives of the council participate at their events; the local government does not answer their calls. "We are not considered as people in this city" – says Zsolt Horváth. "In the past Roma and non-Roma cried together, laughed together, and fought together. Nowadays we have a great gap between each other that is wider and wider every day. We want to have this gap vanished. We would like to build bridges over the abyss. (…) Earlier the two cultures had a symbiotic relationship. Cultures shall be permeable, that is what makes them colorful."

Currently the Association lives on money received through grants. The support is barely enough, but – as the head puts it – "what we represent is not a question of money". There aren't any other groups or organization in Miskolc focusing especially on Roma culture. "Our mission is to save Roma culture from fading-out. Right now our culture is vanishing. These are the last days. In times when a Rajkó group can simply be ceased preserving the culture becomes impossible (…) the Gypsy musicians of today are the last generation." Therefore the association also aims to preserve the tradition of Gypsy music.

The Association has 40 members today. They recently signed an agreement with the Employment Center in the framework of which the association may hire 17 Gypsy musicians, artists and painters who do not have regular income. These people write screenplays, work as musicians.

I asked Zsolt Horváth about his personal motivations in running the Romano Teatro. He said that he is a Roma and that "everybody has a moment in his life in which he suddenly understands his mission, his place in this world. Everyone has a task to carry out. Ours is to keep the Roma culture alive, to transmit the tradition to the youngsters."

The leaders of the Association believe that everyone is talented in something. Therefore all applicants are welcomed. The young people open up on the stage, bring out the best of themselves and of their surroundings. As Zsolt puts it "it is a miracle. They renew themselves at each and every performance; they show something new every time."

According to Zsolt Horváth there is no need to talk about the question of identity. "Everything we do on the stage…in every single play there is all our sorrow and joy. Our Gypsyness and also our Hungarian identity. All our plays are staged so that the audience knows that we are proud to be Gypsies, we are proud of our roots. I usually tell the young people that it is not your clothes or speech that makes you a Gypsy. It's the knowledge of your past, of your roots. That you know your history, you know those who should be proudly remembered, that you can carry on the tradition. You don't become a Gypsy by just stating it!"

The members of the Association have everyday contact. They usually gather at Zsolt's apartment in the Avas hill. Studio recordings are done there. Currently they have copyright over 70 songs and six musicals. Their next two projects will be the Robin Hood and the people of the forest and the rock musical Attila.

The leader of the Association believes in working together as a community. It means that they try to spend a lot of time together because good ideas are born from joint thinking. That is how the younger generation becomes involved in the projects, in the creative work. The idea of the musical 'A Roma from Rome' was formed like this.

The Association has a calendar put together marking all important dates of Roma history that shall be remembered. These include the International Romani Day or the Day of Hungarian Poetry. This year the Association organized a series of events under the title "Culture Connects Us". On the International Romani Day (April 8) an one-week exhibition opened with paintings of János Horváth, József Ferkovics and Gábor Váradi. It was followed by a writer-reader meeting held in the Ferenc Rákóczi II. County Library on the Day of the Hungarian Poetry. The third event is the International Day of Roma actors (April 16) in which the Romano Teatro performed.

Besides, the Month of Roma Sympathy is also an important series of events that includes sport events and cultural performances as well.

I asked Zsolt Horváth about their future, about their plans for the next five years. "I am optimistic. I know that problems come, there are hardships…I have my own set of problems too. But I am optimistic. God knows what we want and so far he has given us the chance to carry out our plans. It's not like we only do something if we have the money to do it. It's our responsibility to do our job. We must do it. It's not like our activities are tied to the money we get from the Ministry or from any other organization. We do our job and seek support until we find it. Now for example we have the Archdiocese of Eger to help us. We have a very good relationship with Ede Koós (note: the Gypsy missionary reference of the archdiocese of Eger). They help us now. We have this beautiful Millennial Room (note: at the Mindszenti Par-

ish Church in Miskolc) given us for free for our series of events (note: for the Culture Connects Us project). It is a great help that lifts our spirit."

I asked Zsolt about the support given by the Church. "I believe that the Church noticed our activities and realized that our work is, in a way, missionary. A cultural mission is what we do, that is as important as any spiritual one. (...) There are young people among the Gypsy intellectuals who study but do not go back to their communities, do not transmit their knowledge to others. This is a big problem. It is our duty to give something positive through our culture, to give something for those who are poor in cultural and material terms."

The Association has room in Diósgyőr which they can use for rehearsals. It was given to them by the former municipal government for five years free of charge. They only have to pay for utilities which they cannot cover. As a result their debts increase each month. Membership fee is not collected in the association because most of their members are coming from disadvantaged families. It means that they cannot pay any fees. "The then leaders of the city thought that: "Let's give them something. They won't be able to pay, so we can righteously claim it back. We asked for at least have our debts toward the MIHŐ [Central Heating Services of Miskolc], which is owned by the city, remitted, but no. They don't even want to talk to us. (...) As I've already said, God always works in unfathomable ways, so I have faith."

The Association has a good relationship with two institutes of the University of Miskolc, one is the Institute of Sociology and the other one is the Institute of Cultural and Visual Anthropology. Currently they plan to establish a so called "Fraternity" for Roma and non-Roma people. The fraternity will be called "Pro Humanitate". It was important to have a name expressing the general interest in the well-being of people, not only of Roma.

As Zsolt tells us, they had several programs and events "from no money at all" in 2011. "For us the most important thing is to give. Giving is much more important than getting" – says the leader.

As the mission of the Association is to create a cultural space with Roma and also with non Roma, it seems like that they support double-binding identity for their members.

Summary, conclusions

In this study the process of acquiring, transmitting and carrying on cultural capital in the Bourdieuian sense has been analyzed at three organizations, programs acting (or asking for admission) in the cultural field.

As we have seen in the Kalyi Jag School a large emphasis is given to familiarization and transmission of Roma culture, history, literature, dance and other forms of arts. Meanwhile the students attending the school are also provided with skills and knowledge necessary (or believed to be necessary) for successful social integration. There are 1–2 non-Roma students in the school, therefore we can say that in terms of the student population the school is ethnically homogenous. There are both Roma and non-Roma teachers in the faculty. Besides forming (for many of the re-discover their ethnic identity there, in the school) and strengthening the ethnic identity the school puts on emphasis on the cultivation of national identity as well. Based on the case study we shall conclude that the school has an important role in strengthening double identity by helping students find their ways in the Roma and national cultural field.

In our second case study we examined one of the members of the Christian Roma Special College Network, the special college of Miskolc. It is obvious from the analysis that here the emphasis is put on forming a double (Roma-Hungarian) or rather a triple (Roma-Hungarian-Christian) identity. The special college program is expressively helps its members to accumulate cultural capital: on the one hand all members are pursuing their higher educational, university studies, and on the other hand the special college contributes to the members successful presence in higher educational institutes (and by doing so to the accumulation of institutionalized capital) by providing mentors who support the students.

The third case study described the activities of a Roma cultural association in Miskolc that has both Roma and non-Roma members. The Association was established with the aim of cultivating culture, a culture which is shared by Roma and non-Roma as well. It is also reflected in the motto of the Association: "The culture links us", expressing that there are no differentiations, no boundaries drawn. According to their view culture is not Roma or non-Roma: there is only one shared cultural field and the members of the association endeavor to mediate this thought to their audience.

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