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INFLUENCE OF FAMILY'S CULTURAL CAPITAL ON FORMING STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDING OF FACTORS OF LIFE SUCCESS

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The article investigates all definitions of "life success" concept in humanitarian studies. In the article the youth's idea about the actualization factors of this definition corresponding to the real phenomenon is introduced. The concept of cultural capital has also been studied in P. Bourdieu's interpretation. It has been defined that the cultural capital has impact on the formation of the "life success" concept for Polish and Ukrainian students. It was proved, that parents' education as a component of cultural fund of student's family has a great influence on the formation of "life success" concept. Also it was emphasized, that such strategy of life success as infantilism is much more inherent to Ukrainian students, while Polish students are mainly concentrated on subjective strategy.

Keywords: success in life, habitus, family cultural capital.

В статье осуществлен анализ дефиниций понятия «жизненный успех», представленных в современном социогуманитарном знании. Рассмотрен концепт культурного капитала в интерпретации П. Бурдьё. На основе данных социологического исследования, проведенного при участии авторов среди украинских и польских студентов в 2015 году, проанализированы представления студенческой молодежи о факторах, способствующих достижению жизненного успеха. Выявлено влияние культурного капитала семьи на формирование таких представлений в студенческой среде. Доказано, что на представление студенческой молодежи о факторах жизненного успеха заметное влияние оказывает такая составляющая культурного капитала семьи, как образование родителей. Сделан вывод о том, что украинским студентам в большей степени присуща такая стратегия жизненного успеха, как стратегия инфантилизма, в отличие от польских студентов, которые преимущественно ориентированы на так называемую, субъектную стратегию, то есть расчет на собственные силы в достижении жизненного успеха.

Ключевые слова: жизненный успех, габитус, культурный капитал семьи.

У статті здійснено аналіз дефініцій поняття «життєвий успіх», представлених в сучасному соціогуманітарному знанні. Розглянуто концепт культурного капіталу в інтерпретації П. Бурдьє. На основі даних соціологічного дослідження, проведеного за участю авторів серед українських і польських студентів у 2015 році, проаналізовано уявлення студентської молоді про фактори, що сприяють досягненню життєвого успіху. Виявлено вплив культурного капіталу сім'ї на формування таких уявлень в студентському середовищі. Доведено, що на уявлення студентської молоді про фактори життєвого успіху помітний вплив робить така складова культурного капіталу сім'ї, як освіта батьків. Зроблено висновок про те, що українським студентам в більшій мірі властива така стратегія життєвого успіху, як стратегія інфантилізму, на відміну від польських студентів, які переважно орієнтовані на так звану, суб'єктну стратегію, тобто розрахунок на власні сили в досягненні життєвого успіху.

Ключові слова: життєвий успіх, габітус, культурний капітал сім'ї.

Prominent European intellectuals believe that one of the main ideologemes of modern societies is the idea of achieving which lies in the person's attempts to attain life success, to widen the borders of life choice, style differentiation, etc.

This tendency is especially topical for young people who are a social indicator of social changes and is oriented not only on the strategy of survival but mainly on achieving success as an important life value.

Nowadays we witness the change of attitude towards life success, as the epoch of post-modernism comes up with new demands for time, interpretation and values.

The modern stage of public advancement actualizes a certain ideal of a successful person. Success is becoming one of the main values in the life of everyone - first of all, a young person.

Taking this into account it becomes topical to study the specificities of forming the understanding of life success by the young generation, including students. It is no less important to outline and analyze the factors which in some way are able to influence this understanding.

The aim of the present paper is to determine the role of such a factor in forming students' understanding life success as a family's cultural capital.

Reaching this aim demanded the analysis of scientific including sociological discourse of the phenomenon of life success and the appropriate concept. It is worth pointing out that in modern scientific literature the category «life success» is measured with the parameters of material means, public recognition of one's merits and / or career, self-realization or personal satisfaction, attaining power. But such an approach does not give the full content of this phenomenon. The everyday understanding of the concept «life success» includes: 1) success in achieving anything; 2) public recognition; 3) excellent results in work and studying [1].

In the framework of the present paper we will view life success as a positive result of implementing practices of an agent in a certain field of activity, his attaining considerable results and getting estimation from society in the form of approval or recognition.

The first analogy that occurs when success is mentioned is connected with the work of M. Weber «Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism». This was protestant ethics which determined the life model for which it is characteristic to strive for success as the main aim. Besides, problems of success including its essence and structure were described in the works of W. Sombart, J. Schumpeter, K. Mannheim. Among Ukrainian and Russian sociologists we can mention G.S. Batygin, A.G. Zdravomyslov, G.L. Tulchinsky, V.O. Yadov, O.Z. Gudzenko and others. The considerable amount of works covers studying the factors of forming life success (U. Beck, P. Berger, T. Veblen, A. Giddens, Y. Luckmann, G. Mead, A. Schütz).

There are a lot of concepts of life success nowadays. Despite a large amount of approaches all of them recognize that life success of a person is determined by social surrounding and his / her natural talent in certain types of activity.

The essence of social success of a person is determined by conscious or unconscious accepting the social group or community where he / she wants to find his / her place. As a rule, the choice of group is not accidental. It is realized according to the similarity of personal and group values and understanding the ways of attaining success. Values and standards of behavior present a «cultural code» of models of life success on the basis of which recognition of disapproval of a person's achievements is fulfilled by the group.

If we view the Ukrainian society through the prism of the concept of life success we can pay attention to the fact that it is not characteristic for it to implement one certain strategy of achievement. In this way, Ukrainian student youth had certain understanding life success and estimates it in different ways. Important role in forming such understanding is played by the family as it is the translator of norms, values and cultural capital on the whole.

Actualization of the issue of cultural capital and its influence on the practices of an individual is connected with the name of a prominent French sociologist P. Bourdieu. In his opinion, «**cultural capital**» should be interpreted as the ability to get education (general, professional and vocational) and an appropriate certificate and also includes the cultural level of an individual which he / she inherited from his / her family in the process of socialization [2].

In his theory the French sociologist determines three states of cultural capital: **embodied state**, which is a form of long-term dispositions of mind and body; **objectified state**, which is a form of objectification so is represented in cultural goods (books, instruments); **institutionalized state**, which presupposes the presence of certificates of education, diplomas and licenses.

Forming his structuralist constructivism on the triad «habitus – capital – field» the French scientist stated that the choice and interpretations of an individual are determined by his / her habitus. «Habitus, as Bourdieu states, is the basis of reactions, which are more or less adapted to the demands of a field, is the product of the whole individual history and also through the experience of upbringing in the early childhood is the product of the whole collective history of family and class, including the experience which shows the direction of the whole family line taking sometimes the form of visible and sharp decline or, vice versa, inconsiderable decrease...» [3, p. 142].

According to Bourdieu's conception, individual actions depend on certain chances which he / she has, and different individual habituses allow incongruence of social attempts of different individuals. Taking this into

account we can say that individual expectations are formed in agreement with categories of accessible and inaccessible, which produces further expectations for the future and actions depending on them.

In this way, we can state that an individual practically never will choose the way of attaining life success which does not correspond with his / her habitus, social, economic and symbolic capitals and, most probably, will not withstand in this choice the field in which he / she exists, so his / her surroundings. Besides, usual aspects of cultural (incorporated) capital are becoming a part of habitus, which determines actions, decisions and advantages of an individual though a person is already not conscious of this [4].

According to this we can state that due to habitus which is represented by the understanding life success, appropriate practices of attaining it and the family's cultural capital a special field is formed round a student where he / she is interpreted as «native» due to his / her practices. A specificity of life success lies in the fact that it is based on subjective interpretations and estimations of success of different practices.

So, habits and knowledge of parents and close relatives contribute to accumulation of cultural capital of an individual and its incorporation, which in its turn, influences other aspects of life, including understanding life success.

For implementing the aim of the paper we turned to the results of international sociological research «Studentship of Borderline: Identities, Values, Life Plans» which was made with our participation by students of the Sociology Department of V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (V.N. Karazin KhNU). The research was made in 2014-2015 among the students of University of Zielona Gora (Poland), V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University (Lutsk) and Lutsk National Technical University. On the whole there were questioned 1214 students, among them 508 students of V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, 178 students of Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University, 111 students of Lutsk National Technical University and 417 students of University of Zielona Gora. The sample of universities is representative.

Analyzing the data received in the framework of this research we were trying to find the connection between the family's cultural capital and students' understanding life success.

First of all we will analyze the students' answers as for factors of life success (see Table 1).

Table 1.

Understanding factors of life success by Ukrainian and Polish students (% of the questioned)

Factors of life success	Ukrainian students	Polish students
Professionalism, professional competence	58,7	65,7
Being hardworking and diligent	48,2	69,6
Organizational skills	27,1	28,7
Being business-oriented, enterprising, willing to risk	58,2	40,6
Being honest	28,3	32,6
Influential friends, acquaintances, relatives, necessary connections	42,8	52,3
Ability to use any means to achieve the aim	30,4	27,3
Luck	16,2	22,1
Self-confidence	36,9	46,7
Starting capital, property	31,6	22,9
Education, wide knowledge, erudition	37,2	22,1
High cultural level	10,2	7,8
Appearance	11	10,7
Successful marriage	8,5	10,2
Others	0,5	1,5

As we can see, the most important factor of life success, according to Ukrainian students, is «*professionalism and competence*», which is shown by about 59% of respondents. Equally important are such factors as the «*being business-oriented, enterprising*» (58%) and «*being hard-working*» (48%).

As for the success of such factor as «*influential friends, necessary connections*» it turned out that 43% of respondents ranked it as the most important. So protectionism in the opinion of a significant part of Ukrainian students is quite a powerful factor of life success.

However, in the terms of economic instability and increased systemic crisis of contemporary Ukrainian society more students rely on their own knowledge and effort («*professionalism*», «*being business-oriented*», «*competence*»). If you adhere to the concept of Bourdieu's capital analysis, such a trend is quite logical, as the

cultural capital (which indicators include ability and intelligence), as opposed to social capital (having connections), is inseparable from its owner (as is an element of an individual, his / her habitus) and can be converted into economical capital.

Taking this into account, our results are rather optimistic, as they show a fairly high level of subjectivity of Ukrainian students, accompanied by responsibility for their own lives and self-confidence.

Similar tendencies are characteristic to Polish students (see Table 1). The main position is taken by such factors as «*being hard-working*» and «*professionalism*». And as opposed to Ukrainian youth Polish students rank higher in the factor «*influential friends and relatives*» (52% against 43% in Ukraine).

It is interesting that such factor as «*education and erudition*» among Polish students ranks almost 15% lower in comparison with Ukrainian students. It shows that Polish students are more pragmatically oriented on constructing life projects and formulas of achieving success. Outsiders among both Ukrainian and Polish students are such factors as «*successful marriage*», «*appearance*» and «*high cultural level*».

Viewing family's cultural capital as an important factor of personal life success we pointed out such an indicator as family home library as books present a form of cultural capital objectivization.

If to compare answers of Polish and Ukrainian students as for availability and size of home libraries (see Table 2) there are no considerable differences. Students of both countries have average home libraries (200-500 books). A large quantity of Polish students (25,7%) do not know exact amount of books in their home libraries (there was no such variant in Ukrainian questionnaires). Almost one fourth of Ukrainian students (24%) does not have a library, though this applies only to 1,5% of Polish students.

Table 2.

**Percentage of answers to the question:
«How many books are there in your home library?» (% of respondents)**

	Ukrainian students	Polish students
Up to 200 books	45,7	51,5
Up to 500 books	19,1	11,9
Up to 1000 books	6,5	4,1
More than 1000 books	4,7	5,3
No home library	24	1,5
Do not know the quantity	-	25,7

Special emphasis in our analysis was put on such incorporated forms of cultural capital as education and parents' profession.

Among the answers of Ukrainian students there were considerable differences as for the factor «*luck and fortunate occasions*» in the question of parents' education, the level of which makes 0,000 according to non-parameter criterion of Kruskal – Wallis (see Table 3). It turned out that the students whose father had higher education more than others (60%) chose this alternative, whereas none of the students whose father had only primary education chose luck as a factor of attaining life success. Such a situation can be connected with experience and life situations which did not allow the father to get a higher education and influenced his children who judge from the destiny of their father and do not hope for luck but only for their diligence – the alternative which was chosen by such respondents in 74% of answers and for their professionalism (65%).

As for the education level of Ukrainian students' mothers our analysis showed controversial connection between students' understanding life success and such a factor of its attaining as «*high cultural level*» (with the level of significance 0,000) (see Table 3). So, this alternative was most often chosen by those students whose mothers had high or specialized secondary education (34% and 40% accordingly) which is quite understandable as the education level and cultural level are interrelated.

Analyzing the data of Polish students we can come to a conclusion that father's and mother's education equally influence students' understanding life success (the difference is significant in the factors «*high cultural level*» and «*successful marriage*») (see Table 4). So, the students whose father had secondary and higher education more often pointed to such factor as «*high cultural level*» (29% and 39% accordingly). As for the factor «*successful marriage*» more than a half of students whose father and mother had secondary education chose (57,5% and 40,5% accordingly) pointed to it. Among the students whose parents had higher education this alternative was chosen by 2,5% and 2,4% accordingly.

Table 3.

Influence of parents' education on understanding life success by Ukrainian students

	Father's education (asympt. showing)	Mother's education (asympt. showing)
Professionalism	0,788	0,310
Being hardworking and diligent	0,139	0,836
Organizational skills	0,530	0,392
Being business-oriented, enterprising, willing to risk	0,997	0,546
Being honest	0,120	0,482
Influential friends, acquaintances, relatives, necessary connections	0,907	0,387
Ability to use any means to achieve the aim	0,785	0,209
Luck	0,000	0,508
Self-confidence	0,045	0,818
Starting capital, property	0,607	0,405
Education, wide knowledge, erudition	0,703	0,245
High cultural level	0,311	0,000
Appearance	0,354	0,185
Successful marriage	0,448	0,423
Others	0,974	0,990

As for another type of incorporated capital of a family which is parents' profession it turned out that in the context of Ukrainian studentship the difference is considerable in estimating such a factor of life success as «*honesty*» (0,008) (see Table 5). It was chosen by the students whose fathers are specialists (46%), military men (36%), agrarians (40%) and unemployed (52%). «*Luck and fortunate occasion*» (0,032) was most often (almost 20%) chosen by the students whose fathers are qualified employees. As for such a factor as «starting capital» it was most often chosen by the children of bosses, specialists and qualified employees which may be explained by pragmatic logics of parents who work of ruling positions and those having higher education. At the same time, the factor «*successful marriage*» (0,036) was chosen by the children of specialists. This can also be determined by the pragmatic logics of the father's profession influencing the child.

Table 4.

Influence of parents' education on understanding life success by Polish students

	Father's education (asympt. showing)	Mother's education (asympt. showing)
Professionalism	0,908	0,175
Being hardworking and diligent	0,747	0,191
Organizational skills	0,091	0,417
Being business-oriented, enterprising, willing to risk	0,638	0,825
Being honest	0,396	0,775
Influential friends, acquaintances, relatives, necessary connections	0,122	0,170
Ability to use any means to achieve the aim	0,948	0,843
Luck	0,832	0,109
Self-confidence	0,520	0,624
Starting capital, property	0,442	0,702
Education, wide knowledge, erudition	0,461	0,539
High cultural level	0,031	0,030
Appearance	0,156	0,292
Successful marriage	0,015	0,043

If to have a look at the mother's profession we will get another situation: «professionalism» is becoming a milestone, which was more often chosen by the children of specialists and «influential friends», which was chosen by the students whose mothers work as specialists, qualified employees and are housewives.

Table 5.

Influence of parents' profession on understanding life success by Ukrainian students

	Father's profession (asympt. showing)	Mother's profession (asympt. showing)
Professionalism	,745	0,389
Being hardworking and diligent	,798	0,834
Organizational skills	,441	0,512
Being business-oriented, enterprising, willing to risk	,058	0,305
Being honest	,008	0,396
Influential friends, acquaintances, relatives, necessary connections	,357	0,399
Ability to use any means to achieve the aim	,805	0,303
Luck	,032	0,146
Self-confidence	,539	0,859
Starting capital, property	,024	0,422
Education, wide knowledge, erudition	,627	0,061
High cultural level	,091	0,000
Appearance	,225	0,078
Successful marriage	,036	0,327
Others	,136	0,993

As for Polish students, it turned out that mother's profession is not connected with any of enlisted factors of life success; father's profession is connected with such a factor as «*honesty*» (0,001) (see Table 6). So, «*honesty*» was chosen by the children of qualified employees (24%) and was rarely chosen by bosses' children (4%). This situation can be connected with the specificities of work of the latter. As for influential friends (0,009), this factor was also chosen by the students whose parents work as qualified employees (31%).

Table 6.

Influence of parents' profession on understanding life success by Polish students

	Father's profession (asympt. showing)
Professionalism	0,777
Being hardworking	0,833
Organizational skills	0,758
Being business-oriented	0,870
Being honest	0,001
Influential friends	0,009
Ability to use any means to achieve the aim	0,465
Luck	0,929
Self-confidence	0,650
Starting capital, property	0,749
Education, wide knowledge, erudition	0,287
High cultural level	0,151
Appearance	0,376

So, our statements turned out to be partially correct. If the objective form of cultural capital of a family in the form of home library does not influence understanding factors of life success for both Ukrainian and Polish students this can be explained by the popularity of electronic devices, at the same time, parents' education and profession already have their considerable influence. Implementing the typology suggested by L.G. Sokuryanska which deals with strategies of life success [5] on the basis of our research results we identified *subject strategies* (orientation on personal mind, high cultural level, professionalism, business qualities, so orientation on attaining life success due to personal attempts) and *strategies of infantilism* (influential friends, fortunate occasions, starting capital, successful marriage, so orientation on the help from others).

Identifying these strategies we came to a conclusion that among Ukrainian students the strategy of infantilism dominates, first of all, being characteristic for those students whose parents have a higher level of cultural capital including high educational level and higher professional and status positions. We can point out

that this strategy is realized by the father's cultural capital though mother's cultural capital realizes subject strategies of students.

As for Polish students, subject strategies are more characteristic to them. They are realized through the high level of cultural capital of both mother and father.

Taking all this into account, we can state that your child to come to conclusions that family's cultural capital plays a significant role in forming understanding factors of life success of a personality. But the chosen research problems are quite diverse which demands their further studying. We hope to present the results of this further research in our next publications.

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