Editors
Leena Alanen
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FIELDS AND CAPITALS

Constructing local life

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

FINNISH INSTITUTE FOR
EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

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Pictures on the front cover
- Stump of the chimney left from the pulp factory
- Settlement in Lievestuore
- Laurinkylä primary school
- Taimirinne day-care centre
On the back cover
- Sign of the centre of Lievestuore
- Lievestuore railway station

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Preface

This book is the result of research conducted for the project Resources, Locality and Life Course, financed by the Academy of Finland from 2005 to 2009 (Research Grant no. 7210225) and conducted at the University of Jyväskylä. Members of the multidisciplinary research team were Leena Alanen, Tomi Kankainen, Päivi Kivelä, Anja-Riitta Lehtinen, Marjatta Marin, Veli-Matti Salminen, Martti Siisiäinen, Matti Vesa Volanen and Mari Vuorisalo, and Saana Wolff as the team's research assistant. The team adapted – for the first time in Finland – Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical approach to the study of the formation and functioning of economic, cultural and social capital over the life course of people residing in one locality (in Central Finland), and the transformation of different forms of capital into one another in distinct social fields. The research team extended its analysis to include a comparison with a similar locality in Lithuania, in co-operation with Arunas Poviliunas and Ruta Ziliukaite at the University of Vilnius. (These results are being published elsewhere.)

The colleagues who have commented on our many conference papers and publications in Finnish, leading to the book in hand, are too numerous to be individually mentioned and thanked. We greatly appreciate their contributions: they have helped us to develop, reconsider and refine our arguments and conclusions. Our special thanks go to the two anonymous reviewers provided by the publisher for their very useful comments and suggestions, which helped us to improve the manuscript in its last phase.

Jyväskylä, June, 2011

Leena Alanen and Martti Siisiäinen

The lake is an important source of recreation

Lievestuore lies in the middle of nature

Martti Siisiäinen
Leena Alanen

Introduction:
Researching local life
in a Bourdieusian frame

The volume at hand presents the final results of the "*Resources, Locality and Life Course*" research project (funded by the Academy of Finland, 2005–2009). Inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's work, our interdisciplinary team of researchers took up the challenge of studying one specific locality by applying Bourdieu's research programme and taking into use, in an empirical research, a range of conceptual 'tools' that his sociology provides. The site chosen for the research is Lievestuore, a smallish locality within the municipality of Laukaa and one of its centres, in Central Finland. (See the information box on page 14).

The results of the research team have been published in two earlier books. These publications also prepared the ground for the analyses presented in the chapters that follow, in both a theoretical and a methodological sense.

In the first published book, "*Sosiaalinen pääoma ja paikalliset kentät*" [Social capital and local fields] (Alanen, Salminen & Siisiäinen 2007), the main themes of the project were presented and the approach developed

for the empirical part of the research that would follow. *Social capital* was the concept connecting the various chapters of the book, and some of the pertinent methodological and methodical issues in social capital research, flourishing at the time of the research, were discussed across these chapters. Social capital is, of course, one of the concepts created by Bourdieu in the course of developing his research programme. Since the 1990s, social capital has been given a wide range of interpretations in social science research. In relation to these, Bourdieu's understanding of social (or any) capital is quite distinct. The discussions in the first book were thus orientated towards elaborating his understanding of social capital and its implications for empirical research.

The first book also set out to discuss the possibilities that Bourdieu's concept of social capital opens up for empirical research. In particular, the idea that Bourdieu's concepts are *relational* was underlined in this book. The relational mode of thought,

> "by breaking with the substantialist mode of thought, leads one to characterize each element by the relationships which unite it with all the others in a system and from which it derives its meaning and function." (Bourdieu 1990b, 4)

Such thinking implies that, for instance, economic, cultural and social – and symbolic – forms of capital are interconnected both among themselves, and also with what Bourdieu designates as *field* and *habitus* – concepts that are put into use particularly in the chapters of the present book. Relationality, moreover, applies to all of Bourdieu's concepts, such as *interest, trajectory, hexis* and *doxa*; also they have to be understood as notions working best when supported by the whole ensemble of Bourdieu's conceptualization. This first book also took up some of the methodical and methodological problems that have troubled empirical studies on social capital, and developed some possible solutions to them.

The research team's second book "*Erot ja eriarvoisuudet: Paikallisen elämän rakentuminen*" [Differences and inequalities: Constructing local life] (Siisiäinen & Alanen 2009) presented the results of the questionnaire-based studies conducted in 2006 across five "life stage groups", all

living in Lievestuore. The chosen groups were: young children (5–6 years of age), young people at the school-leaving stage (14–15 years of age), men and women in their thirties, men and women in their fifties and, finally, older people. The special focus in the individual chapters of the book was on the volumes and structures of different forms of capital as they were found for each of these groups, and the within-group differences in the composition of capitals. By illuminating the differentiation of the ownership of capital across the five groups, we hoped to be able to proceed towards identifying some of the 'mechanisms' of differentiation and (class) distinction at work in the locality; these were to be studied at the next stage of the project. The book chapters also discussed the implications of the observed differentiation for a number of other local issues, such as schooling, family and associational life.

The individual studies presented in the project's third and final book also make use of the data provided by the joint questionnaire and the insights gained in the research. In addition, some new data were collected, by various methods ranging from observation and interviewing to a further survey questionnaire addressing local voluntary associations, and articles in a local newspaper.[1]

The issues examined in the chapters of the present book include the kinds of capital that are considered valued in selected local fields (day care, family), the trajectories and habituses that are generated in living locally, schooling as the producer of differences in the students' achievements, the networks and associations functioning as social capital in local fields.

In several chapters that follow, *field* is the foundational "thinking tool" in an explicit way. The two other Bourdieusian concepts of key importance in the present studies are *habitus* and *capital*. In what follows, we describe how the project group has used this conceptual triad for exploring a number of issues embedded in the locality.

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[1] For the methods and data collected for the project's research, see Appendix.

Martti Siisiäinen and Leena Alanen

Lievestuore is a fairly small community with a population around 2600, located in Central Finland. It is one of the four population centres of the municipality of Laukaa. The distance to the municipality centre is 30 kilometres. The functioning road and railway connections to the provincial capital Jyväskylä (distance 26 km) situate Lievestuore logistically well, but also make it more isolated in relation to the municipal centre.

The development of Lievestuore into a prosperous community began in the 1920s, when a pulp factory was established. As the most important employer in the community, the factory made Lievestuore the most industrialized centre in Laukaa, also best equipped with services at the time. The closedown of the pulp factory in 1985 caused a local crisis, which the locality suffered from severely for many years. Various development projects were launched to rehabilitate the economic life of the locality. Lievestuore has recovered fairly well from the loss and its ramifications. The problems it faces nowadays are mainly similar to those of other small communities in Finland: the ageing of the population, the migration of the young and well-educated labour force, and the cutting down of municipal welfare services, the local high school and health-care centre as the latest examples of this.

The largest age group of the population in Lievestuore is that of those aged 65 years and above. The middle-aged (45 to 54 years) are also well represented, whereas the young adults (18 to 24 years) are a marginal group in Lievestuore. However, small children constitute a remarkable age group as well, and altogether one fourth of the households in Lievestuore have children under the age of 18. The skewed age structure is reflected in the socio-economic structure of the locality: pensioners make slightly more than one third of the population. Labourers (29%) and lower-level employees (14%) are well represented socio-economic groups, whereas entrepreneurs (4%) are not. Agriculture is not of great importance in Lievestuore, and only three per cent of the population earn their living from it. (Statistics Finland 2008b.)

In the Finnish "rural scale" Lievestuore can be regarded as a relatively well-functioning locality. It has succeeded in attracting new firms and new residents to its territory, especially families with small children. The majority of the locals seem to enjoy their life in Lievestuore. There are some factors that the locality has to thank for its relative success. There is, first, the general economic-social development and a few supportive development programs that have managed to repair, for example, most of the environmental damages brought about by the local industry. The positive forces also include the active local civil society and a relatively well-supplied municipal service structure – which, however, has been cut down in many ways during the last few years.

Field

By focusing on one locality (Lievestuore), our study is, by implication, an examination of *space*. In his work Bourdieu uses the term 'space' in two interconnected senses. The first meaning is literal: activities occur and actors act in physical spaces that also have both practical and symbolic significance in relation to each other. The second Bourdieusian meaning of space is metaphorical, as he speaks of space as being always also *social*. In this latter sense, actors are conceived of as occupants of multiple places within multiple relatively autonomous domains – *fields* – that together constitute the total social space. These multiple fields in turn constitute the status, class and social positions of the actors, their place in society. Thus, one is always placed, or located, which means that Bourdieu's social topology is also always an embodied sociology, bringing forth *habitus* as another key concept in the Bourdieusian frame.

Especially in his later works Bourdieu repeatedly underlined the centrality of thinking of society and social life in terms of *fields*:

> "The notion of field reminds us that the true object of social science is not the individual, even though one cannot construct a field if not through individuals, […]. *It is the field that is primary and must be the focus of the research operations.* This does not imply that individuals are mere "illusions", that they do not exist: they exist as agents – and not as biological individuals, actors, or subjects – who are socially constituted as active and acting in the field under consideration by the fact that they possess the necessary properties to be effective, to produce effects, in this field. And it is knowledge of the field itself in which they evolve that allows us best to grasp the roots of their singularity, their point of view or position (in a field) from which their particular vision of the world (and of the field itself) is constructed." (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 107; emphasis by MS&LA)

The notion of *field* gained this analytical weight and methodological significance for Bourdieu's sociological thinking as soon as he moved towards analysing the contemporary French society and its structuredness into fields and as fields (Swartz 1997, 117). In "archaic" societies, such as Kabylia that he studied in the 1960s in Algeria, there is only one field, but in modern differentiated societies their number grows: fields exist parallel to each other, they intersect, and there may be subfields within larger fields.

"In analytical terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. […] In highly differentiated societies, the social cosmos is made up of a number of such relatively autonomous social microcosms, i.e., spaces of objective relations that are the site of a logic and a necessity that are specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields. For instance, the artistic field, or the religious field, or the economic field all follow specific logics: while the artistic field has constituted itself by rejecting or reversing the law of material profit […], the economic field has emerged, historically, through the creation of a universe within which, as we commonly say, "business is business", where the enchanted relations of friendship and love are in principle excluded." (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 97–98.)

In Bourdieu's conceptualization, modern societies are composed of multiple domains of action – *fields* – that are distinct from each other. A field is a relational historical formation, "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions". Accordingly, action (practice) taking place in a field is understood and explained only by locating the agents – individuals and institutions – in their current social fields, the structure of relations that differentiate (and connect) the actors, and the "game" that is taking place among the actors – the "game" being struggles over the control of the *capital* that is valued and held as legitimate in the field.

Each field has, moreover, its own rules, or logic, so the game and the rules of one field are different from the games and the rules in other fields. What the fields do share is a homologous structure: all fields are structured by relations of dominance. Finally, fields are dynamic formations: they have their birth (genesis) and developmental history; the "game" played in a field may remain even after the field disappears.[2]

In her study on young children in pre-school Mari Vuorisalo (in chapter 2) imagines the preschool as an entity constituting a social field in the Bourdieu's sense – a social space of interaction in which both children and adults are actors. Clearly, preschool has to be understood as a field with very limited autonomy, perhaps a minor subfield at the other end

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[2] On the logic and characteristics of fields in Bourdieu's thinking, see especially Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992, 94–115).

of a large, hierarchically organized social space in which the state and its educational agencies, and even global structures (e.g. OECD) impose on national educational institutions, down to their municipal and local structures. On basis of the observational data collected in a preschool group Mari Vuorisalo is able to conclude that the group is a field-like space, where children utilize a range of resources available to them, managing to transform them into valued capital that makes a difference to the relationships in the preschool group. Her findings suggest that the preschool social space may have a degree of autonomy in that the capitals that are valued and legitimate "currency" among the children frequently emerge within the "game" played in the preschool itself, and not merely carry over from the capital composition of the children's families.

Matti Vesa Volanen's study (chapter 3) moves in a social space that has been close to some of Bourdieu's research interests – educational institutions. Not unexpectedly, also the focus is the same: schooling as an element of class and a reproducer of class inequalities. The chapter approaches this issue through a paradox: while schooling reproduces social inequalities, its contents nevertheless also have the potential to emancipate, through the reasoning processes underlying the social and natural sciences. A case in point is the Finnish comprehensive school and its local manifestation in Lievestuore. In the course of the study the field-like characteristics of school and its subfields (such as students' peer groups) come to the fore, as well as the relations between the school 'community' and the local community. Both of these, conceivable as interrelated social fields, are shown to be involved in directing the educational trajectories of school-aged children. The results of the study, which also utilizes some of the data from international PISA studies, strongly suggest that the comprehensive school in Finland now has an active role in the production of difference in educational achievements.

Family as a field that may generate capital of different kinds, besides forming the habitus of its members, is the focus of Leena Alanen's study (chapter 4). Although Bourdieu, in several of his texts, underlines the social and political significance of family, and explicitly writes about the family as a field (e.g. Bourdieu 1997, 164–167; Bourdieu 1998, 64–71), there are few explorations of the emergence of family as a social field and

on family functioning as a field. This chapter works on the complexities of the family field, explicating its structural and dynamic elements (the positions, forms of capital, habitus, symbolic power etc.) appropriate to the family as a social field. The empirical study that follows explores how particularly women (in the age range of 30–40 years) are affected by the local manifestations of the family field, move in the (local) family field, accumulating and taking into use the forms of capitals that are valued in the field, thereby embodying a family habitus. Based on empirical data this chapter then discusses family habitus as a mechanism of generating local belonging, particularly for women.

Päivi Kivelä's study (chapter 5) explores how daughters of agrarian working class families, now in their fifties, have orientated themselves between two field-like spheres with different prevailing dynamics and rules (paid work, family). Each of these fields requires and legitimates partly dissimilar resources and value dispositions (habitus). This chapter studies the divergent ways in which middle-aged mothers – having moved through varying labour market positions provided by the local labour market – have acquired their present capital and habitus.

Bourdieu's field analysis has found its central place in sociological research of social networks, but it has very seldom been adapted to concrete studies of voluntary organizations. Martti Siisiäinen, Tomi Kankainen and Veli-Matti Salminen (chapter 6) examine how, for distinct agents, the inequality of capital ownership creates different probabilities of participating in the local field-like domains. In addition, they examine local associations as networking field actors and are able to show that local field-like domains should be understood as parts of larger national or international fields. Their analysis also suggests that it is reasonable, from the local associations' point of view, to concentrate on specific local targets in the sphere of their influence, and to reduce investing their minor resources in the national political field.

Habitus

It is the embodied, dispositional (habitus) character of the Bourdieusian conceptual frame that also provides a major starting point for studying the significance of place, location and territoriality for the social ties that bind people to their localities and their 'social circles', as Georg Simmel (1890), another figure within sociology who developed his sociology in relational terms, wrote.[3]

Bourdieu developed his concepts of the forms of capital and habitus from his ethnographic studies in Kabylia and Béarn in the 1950s and 1960 and from the analyses of the educational system of France in the early 1970s (Bourdieu 2005, 1977). The concept of habitus is part of Bourdieu's comprehensive theoretical effort to overcome the mechanical opposition between objectivism and subjectivism and to develop his solution to the problem of social change:

> "The result of my anthropological work in Algeria in the 1950s did not fit into this structuralist framework (of Louis Althusser/MS&LA). Of course people are structured by society. They are not, as free market theory holds, isolated individuals each deciding their course of action by making individual economic calculations. I developed the concept of 'habitus' to incorporate the objective structures of society and the subjective role of agents within it. Habitus is a set of dispositions, reflexes and forms of behaviour people acquire through acting in society. It reflects the different positions people have in society, for example, whether they are brought up in a middle class environment or in a working class suburb. It is part of how society reproduces itself. But there is also change. Conflict is built into society. People can find that their expectations and ways of living are suddenly out of step with the new social positions they find themselves. … Then the question of social agency and political intervention becomes very important" (Bourdieu 2000b, 19).

Habitus is produced through the internalization of the material, cultural and intellectual structures constitutive of a particular type of envi-

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[3] See also Elder-Vass (2010, 122). Today relational sociologies are many; on the "long march of relational sociology", see Vautier (2008), also Mützel & Fuhse (2010), and the special issue on relational sociologies in *Nouvelles perspectives en sciences sociales: revue international de systémique complexe er d'études relationnelles (2009)*.

ronment. Habitus is a "system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu 1977, 72). The primary habitus, created in early childhood, is the basis for the development of the secondary habitus by various agents of secondary socialization (schools, peer groups, the media etc.). The nature of various habituses can be detected and tested in the practices of distinct social fields.

The characteristics of habitus can be studied only indirectly by analyzing how habitus is revealed in various practices. Mari Vuorisalo utilizes ethnographic observation in the analysis of the manifestations of 5–7-year-old pre-school children's (primary) habitus during their day-care interactions. This gives her the opportunity to interpret distinct children's various strategic and tactical choices in their games in the field-like pre-school group (Chapter 2). Matti-Vesa Volanen's study analyses national PISA-data, which allows only indirect uses of Bourdieu's theoretical arsenal. However, on basis of his results Volanen discusses the possibilities of developing pupils' secondary habitus with the assistance of 'universal pedagogy', thereby breaking the generative vicious circle of the structure/disposition/practice -chain of primary habitus (Chapter 3).

Chapter 4, by Leena Alanen, explores some of the social processes or 'mechanisms' that tie people to their locality, making them 'belong' to the local community and helping them to "feel at home" there; for other local residents the very same processes generate a sense of being "out of place". The analysis focuses on men and women in their thirties, most of whom are "family people", that is: currently living through the child-bearing and child-rearing stage of a nuclear family. For this reason, the special concern in this chapter is with family and its significance in shaping the habitus of the local residents. As already suggested above, in Bourdieu's sociology family has several senses, one of them being its field-like character. By first developing the notion of family as a social field, this chapter explores the habitus corresponding to the local family field and shows its force in making people belong (or not) to the locality.

Päivi Kivelä analyzes how societal change may generate a mismatch, or a lack of compatibility between the habitus (the 'feel for the game') of women around 50 years of age with agrarian or working class background

and the field (the game itself), and how this problem has been solved during their life courses. The analysis shows the interpretive capacity of both the primary and the secondary habitus, and the critical reflexivity of their habituses over formerly taken-for-granted social conditions (Chapter 5). Both in Kivelä's chapter and Martti Siisiäinen, Tomi Kankainen and Veli-Matti Salminen's analysis of social capital networks and associations (Chapter 6) Bourdieu's notion of the 'causality of the probable' is utilized as a mediating concept between the agents' habitus and their choices in distinct social fields. Siisiäinen, Kankainen and Salminen show how both individual agents and voluntary associations tend to choose alternatives (association or network memberships or associational strategies) that would seem to be leading to a positive – or at least tolerable – outcome against the background of the past experiences inscribed in their habitus or in the associations' collective memory.

Capital

The impact of social resources on different agents' activities, social trajectories and participation is one of the central research problems addressed in the book at hand. The project team approached this topic empirically with the assistance of a specific resource generator measuring various kinds of economic, cultural and social resources available to individual agents via their networks. The project shares Bourdieu's idea that various resources must be valued symbolically in various social fields for them to be transformed into capital. Since the launching of Robert D. Putnam's idea of social capital in the 1990s (see Putnam 1993) tens of various types of "capital" have been introduced in social and human sciences. Therefore, it is good to bear in mind that capital – economic, cultural and social – is "a field concept (objective), valued and operational in the field which is its medium of operation" (Grenfell 2010, 24). Moreover, capital is "accumulated labour… which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. inclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour" (Bourdieu 1986, 241).

The main idea of *economic capital* comes from Marx, but in a Bourdieusian frame the concept covers all types of economic ownerships that can be capitalized in distinct fields.

Cultural capital can "exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e. in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the forms of cultural goods …; and in the institutionalized state", guaranteed by institutional recognition, such as academic qualifications and exam titles (op.cit.).

Social capital, in turn, is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (op. cit., 243–248).

It is important to notice that the precondition for the transformation of a resource into capital is its (re)valuation in the social field in which it is expected to be capitalized. It is also only in specific social fields that the process of transformation of different forms of capital into each other (for example cultural to economic) is regulated and controlled (op. cit.; Bourdieu 1984; Siisiäinen 2005b).

The forms of capital are made meaningful through *symbolic capital*, which for its part is connected with symbolic power and symbolic struggles over the value of various kinds of capitals. Through symbolic struggles and processes the values of various agents' capital possessions are constantly valued and re-valued in their target fields. Therefore, also minor activities and efforts to change the balance of social fields matter.

The weight of the forms of capital in distinct chapters of the book varies according to the analysed social fields. Mari Vuorisalo (Chapter 2) investigates both the distribution of the economic, social and cultural resources of families with preschool children and the utilization, by the children, of cultural and social capital in their interactions at the day-care centre under scrutiny. She is also able to find out how cultural capital, in the form of toys (including also an economic component), can be transformed into social capital in children's games.

In Matti Vesa Volanen's study (Chapter 3) the significance of the parents' economic and cultural capital to their children's educational trajectories is evaluated by comparing the social compositions of different schools.

Leena Alanen's (Chapter 4) study on the significance of family in local daily life focuses on the way the economic, cultural and social resources of local residents, and especially women, become salient for them, allowing them to enter various local fields of practice and to participate in their 'games', this participation being conducive to the generation of a residential or local habitus (and identity), and a strong sense of belonging.

Päivi Kivelä (Chapter 5) is able to show how various kinds of economic, cultural and social capital have influenced the life courses of her female informants in the target groups, especially at the turning points of their lives (transitional periods; childhood; interval between secondary schools and gymnasium; or after gymnasium; marriage). Her study also sheds light on how the local symbolic structures value (and devalue) women's cultural and social capital, creating a mismatch which can lead agents to change their practices and lives.

Martti Siisiäinen, Tomi Kankainen and Veli-Matti Salminen (Chapter 6) develop a typology of individual social capital and investigate its connections with the economic and cultural capital. They also examine the role of social capital as networked by voluntary associations, and make conclusions about the importance of local and national factors in the historical development and functioning of social fields.

The authors have avoided extending the concept of capital to whatever forms of actual or potential resources.[4] When expressions such as associational capital or day-care capital are used, they refer to resources as the sub-types of the basic forms of capital (e.g. associational capital as a sub-type of social capital with cultural and economic components in Chapter 6) or to combinations of the three forms of capital as they appear in the social space studied (as is the case with day-care capital in Chapter 2). The extension of the capital concept can also originate from Bourdieu, as is the case "initial capital" (Kivelä in chapter 5), which Bourdieu introduced in the *Distinction* (1984), when he discussed the importance of the home's social capital to the agents' future trajectories.

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[4] For a recent critique of such overextension in social research, see Atkinson (2011).

Studying local fields: some concluding remarks

Although our empirical research focuses on one single locality and its residents, the research group was fully cognizant of the fact that their study would not follow the tradition of Community Studies: we would approach Lievestuore, our research site, as neither a place-based 'community' where one expects to find groups with territorial interests or associations, nor a 'community' based on formal local government boundaries.[5] For an attempt such as ours, to apply Bourdieu's thinking and approach to the study of local life, we did not find well-trodden paths to follow.[6] Our solution was a flexible adoption of field analysis to a study of the locality of Lievestuore. Relational analysis and the concepts of capital, habitus and field made it possible for us, on the one hand, to explore different kinds of action domains as specific objects of study from the perspectives of three disciplines – sociology, psychology and early childhood education – and, on the other hand, to run a common theme throughout the combined study.

All in all, the field approach that we developed in this study consists of three distinct analytical levels. First, there are the "large" social fields, such as politics and the state, culture, economy, educational and family policy, constituting the preconditions for what goes on in localities, how they develop etc. Second, there are local field-like domains, such as day-care centres (and preschool groups within them), schools, voluntary associations and churches which can be approached as dynamic field-like formations. Institutions and organizations functioning on these system levels have constellations of valued capitals of their own and specific interests guiding the participation in interaction within the spheres of influence of each. These structural formations also condition the actions of individual agents (the third analytical level) and create possibilities for their trajectories. The three interrelated field levels and the concepts of habitus and capital have made it possible to create a systematic picture of the social

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[5]   On the concept of community in sociology, see e.g. Stråth (2001) and Jacobs (2001); on the state of community studies today, see e.g. the special Issue on community studies of *International Journal of Social Science Methodology* (2008).

[6]   But see Bourdieu (2008), Rosenlund (1996, 2009).

life, in our case the lives of people belonging to five different age cohorts in one Finnish locality.

However, many important problems have been left to future studies. Social fields overlap and cross-cut and their mutual relations of "over-determination" are under a continuous process of struggle and negotiation. The problem of dispositional explanation also requires new solutions that enable the exploration of the development and impact of different kinds of habituses in concrete terms. And last but not least, the development of various adaptations of Bourdieu's theoretical conceptions to locality or community studies and to most of the research fields represented in the chapters of this study requires further research.

Traffic connections to Lievestuore are excellent

Distance from Brussels is 1855 kilometres (a funny signpost)

Settlement in Lievestuore

View from Lievestuore centre

Mari Vuorisalo

Children's resources in action – The conversion of capital in the preschool field

Introduction

Most children in Lievestuore attend day-care while they are under school age, and at the latest the year they turn six which is when they start preschool[1]. Day-care as well as preschool are approached here as a social field in Bourdieu's sense, and children's interaction in their preschool group is looked upon as a social space in which children are involved on a daily basis in carving out for themselves positions in relation to other

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[1] Preschool in its present form was established in Finland in 1998. Since then, municipalities have been obliged to provide every 6-year-old with free half-day preschool. In most cases, preschool is organized and run by public authorities. Enrollment is voluntary but yearly almost all children participate in preschool (94 % in 2005; Sauli & Säkkinen 2007, 172). In Lievestuore, according to our survey data, all 6-year-old children attended preschool in 2006 (Lehtinen & Vuorisalo 2009, 103). For those children who need full-time day-care, preschool is usually organized in a day-care centre in a group where they have preschool activities in the morning and day-care in the afternoon.

children and as well as to adults. The focus in this chapter is on young children and their local lives especially in preschool.

A reasonable starting point is that in addition to 'field', Bourdieu's other concepts, especially capital and habitus, are also useful in exploring the preschool group as an ensemble of relations, in which each child can be individually perceived as being positioned in the network of relationships. Bourdieu's theory is helpful in revealing how distinctions and inequalities are produced in everyday interaction, and explaining why the social order thus generated tends to remain intact. In this context, Bourdieu's concepts need to be seen as internally linked to each other. Another valid reason to use Bourdieu's notion of studying young children's action in preschool is because it offers a contextualized and empirically grounded account of children's resources and participation in their everyday life.

In this study, the field in focus is one preschool group in the local day-care centre. However, the local community surrounding the day-care centre also needs to be conceptualized as a field, although the investigation of the locality is concise compared to the description of the preschool field. Children's daily living and construction of resources engage with these fields (preschool and local community) and both of them have an influence on the kinds of resources children have access to. Furthermore, these fields have been located as sub-fields in the field of contemporary childhood. With this kind of contextualized approach, it is possible to describe the use of resources as capital as a part of social interaction within wider structures. In these processes, inequalities are also produced by those very same agents, big or small, adults or children that are drawing on their capitals. (Alanen 2009b.)

Thus, the aim of this chapter is to find out how children utilize the various resources at their disposal within their relational networks, and how some of these resources may occasionally function as capitals in the preschool. An adaptation of Bourdieu's theoretical framework is presented with a focus on how children's capitals may become converted from one form into another.

The officially stated purpose of day-care as an institution is to educate children, support their individual development, socialise them to live in

society and give them skills to participate and act as citizens. Hence, any understanding of children's future as adults function as guidelines for organizing everyday actions in the institution, implying a perspective on children as 'becomings' (see Qvortrup 1994; 2009). In Childhood Studies, this is often contrasted with the perspective of children as active 'beings'; studies on children's daily life and activities show they are in fact social actors and participants in the daily practices of the institution. Children as 'beings' – as active agents here and now – is emphasized particularly in social studies of childhood (Corsaro 1997, 2005; Lee 2001; Mayall 2002; Prout & James 1997; Uprichard 2008). Research shows that everyday life in the day-care is socially demanding and requires many different kinds of skills and resources, such as self-control and the ability to verbalise intentions. These, moreover, are essential premises for social recognition, influence and status in the context of day-care. (Gulløv 2008, 142.) These demands that daily life in a preschool puts on each child are the daily 'negotiations' (Ahn 2010; Cobb-Moore, Danby & Farrell 2010; Evaldsson 2009; Lehtinen 2000; Löfdahl & Hägglund 2007; Markström & Hallden 2009; Sheldon 1996) or, in Bourdieusian terms, the daily 'struggles' in preschool where children's resources are utilized and positions defined. In this study, a Bourdieusian frame is adopted for researching children in preschool in order to shed light on these 'negotiations/struggles' while they happen in preschool between children and also with adults.

Children's action and mutual relationships in day-care are widely researched subjects. However, only a few researchers have examined children's peer group action and capitals in early childhood's institutions from a Bourdieusian frame (see Connolly 1998, 2000, 2004; Palludan 2007). Connolly has adapted Bourdieu's theory for the research of racism among young children and has extensively used Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field. In her study, a Danish researcher Palludan (2007) has explored ethnic majority and minority children in day-care, focusing on how social distinctions are produced in this environment on the basis of ethnic features, especially language use. In the primary school context, Devine (2009) has made interesting findings of how migrant children have mobilised their capitals. I shall return to these studies later in this chapter while discussing field and capital in preschool.

In this chapter, the path to preschool goes through the children's families and their resources. To frame the analysis and the description of local childhood, the methodological settings are presented next. Then young children and their families' resources in the context of Lievestuore are introduced. After that follows a theoretical discussion of notions adapted in this chapter and how they are interpreted in the context of preschool. Then the chapter moves on to the findings in terms of children's resources utilised in preschool, and how particular resources function as capital and convert from one form to another. The chapter ends with some concluding remarks.

Research methods and data

This study draws on two sets of data. The main focus in the empirical part will be on the ethnographic observation data of a preschool group in the day-care centre. However, in the third section of this chapter, the reported findings were based on the survey data collected in the research project. Survey data on 5–7-year-old children's resources were collected with questionnaires filled by the parents[2]. The data described children's local-living in Lievestuore and the resources that children had access to in their families. (Lehtinen & Vuorisalo 2007.)

Composite variables of families' resources were constructed in the analysis (see Appendix 1), one for each form of resources: economic, cultural and social. These composite variables for resources were developed from different variables which were logically compatible. To describe economic resources, the responses from five questions were used: the mother's and father's occupational position in the labour market, the most important sources of income for the family, the amount of parents' combined monthly income, and the ownership of the house where the family live. The composite variable of cultural resources was based on the responses of the child's mother's, father's and grandparents' basic

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[2]   The total sample consisted of all families with 5–7-year-old children in Lievestuore, the answer rate 65 % (N=74).

and vocational education. The sum of social resources was constructed of seven questions: how often the family is in contact with the child's friends, grandparents, or family's relatives and friends; how many good friends the child has, did the child have friends s/he visits, and was s/he a member of a voluntary association. The values of composite variables are presented as such and also divided into three different groups according to the families' local background. These various interpretations require that the available survey data is small and is therefore not representative in any statistical sense. However, there is a total sample of the local families in three age-cohorts and almost two-thirds of the sample is represented in the data.

An ethnographic fieldwork was carried out in one preschool group[3] during the whole preschool year involving participant observation as well as interviews with children and staff. The preschool consisted of one group in its own premises. The group was a full-time day-care group, where they had preschool activities in the morning (4 hours). Some children participated only in the preschool part of the daily activities. Moreover, they were in the same age group; during the observation period they were in the age range of 5–7 years. The fieldwork is presented in more detail in Appendix 2.

The aim in making the observation was to explore beneath the surface of the statistical evidence and find out not only what the resources are, but how they are used. In the analysis, capital was recognized through the theoretical frame and seen as occurring in a dialectical process between the observation data and theoretical notion (Nilsen 2005, 117). First, children's resources were coded, and after that they were named capital when they were actively used to accomplish an effect in social interaction. Through capitals, it has been possible to map the field in the group (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008, 37). During the analysis process, sifting through the data has helped to cause a broader view of the resources and 'field-like' actions in preschool and this is the base from which to handle this research theme.

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[3]   There were 20 children in this preschool group; all of them except one participated in study. Two preschool teachers and one nursery nurse worked in the group. Henceforth, all adults are referred to as a teacher or by name.

The relational concepts 'capital' and 'field' have been defined through the whole data, even though here the reader will only be presented with a couple of glimpses into daily life in a preschool. However, before that, the next section will present children's local resources in families.

Young children in Lievestuore

While the main focus in the empirical study will be on children in their preschool group, day-care is of course not the only field that children daily live through. Children's earliest field in most cases is the family into which they are born[4]. By the time they attend preschool, most children have also visited other domains of activity, such as their extended family, the neighbourhood, and organized free time activities. According to the survey conducted within this project, every third child participated in guided free time activities regularly, and every fourth family experienced daily contact with the child's grandparents or friends. Nevertheless, the importance of the day-care for children's everyday life was incontestable. After family, the day-care was a local arena that reached the most children; three out of four children participated in day-care. Usually, one or two of these local domains were active for a child in his or her daily life. (Lehtinen & Vuorisalo 2009.)

The residents in Lievestuore were found to be a fairly homogeneous population in terms of their economic, cultural and social resources (Kivelä & Salminen 2009), and therefore, no great differences were expected to be discovered among the families of young children. The following table shows the distribution of economic, cultural and social resources among children's families according to the composite variables. The mean values are not comparable with each other because the construction of composite variables was diverse. Thus, the range of variation is a suggestive indicator of these variables.

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[4]   For family as a social field, see chapter 4 authored by Leena Alanen.

Table 2.1 *Economic, cultural and social resources in children's families*

	Mean of the volume of the resource	Range of variation
Economic resources (N=71)	10.1	4–13
Cultural resources (N=63)	6.4	3–10.5
Social resources (N=69)	11.1	5–17
All resources (N=62)	27.9	19.5–35.5

In economic resources, as the mean establishes, families' were mostly settled in the upper end of the range. Only a few families had an economic resource value under eight. The range in cultural capital was the smallest, while in social resources it was the widest. Cultural resources were emphasized at the bottom of the range; two-third of the families received a value under the average.

The implication of a family's local background on children's and their families' resources has been previously defined in this research project (Lehtinen & Vuorisalo 2009). The starting point for the investigation was physical and temporal locality. However, the purpose in using this 'local roots'-variable was not to explain how engaged or attached families are to Lievestuore. In former studies of local living and belonging, researchers have considered it to be problematic if the most important indicators of local engagement or place attachment are the local roots (Savage, Longhurst & Bagnall 2005, 29; also Gustafson 2002, 24). However, one aspect in local living is the time spent in a place and this is admitted also among those who examine attachment to places (Gustafson 2001, 9; see also Hay 1998). Long-term relations with place and people as well as familiarity with local traditions, organizations and associations construct local networks where it is also easy to navigate as a parent and offer various resources for one's offspring.

Families were divided into local and incomer families by the birth place of the child's mother and father. In *local families*, both mother and father were born in Lievestuore. *Incomer families* had moved to Lievestuore without any local family relationships. There in between these two groups, was a group of *semi-local families*, where either mother or father

was local by birth. Families' economic, cultural and social resources as defined by three local background groups are represented in the following table, which establishes that the distinctions between families were quite exiguous.

Table 2.2 *Means and standardized deviations of resource variables in families' local background groups*

Families	Economic resources		Cultural resources		Social resources		The mean of total resource volume	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Local (N=15)	10.9	2.066	6.2	1.819	12.4	2.230	29.4	3.301
Semi-local (N=23)	10.7	1.824	5.9	1.551	11.6	2.085	28.0	4.184
Incomer (N=24)	9.4	2.620	6.8	1.673	10.5	2.000	27.3	4.693
All (N=71)	10.1	2.238	6.4	1.693	11.1	2.285	27.9	4.022

Local and semi-local families had more *economic resources* than incomer families. In economic resources, the means follow families' locality, even though there is no evidence that local background explains this. However, it might be discovered that wealthy families in this research data usually had local roots. In spite of the means, the standardized deviation indicates that the substantial economic resources have been addressed to semi-local families.

It was incomer families who brought *cultural resources* into Lievestuore. In these families, the parents are educated, and there are more parents who have an academic degree than in the two local groups. While semi-local families were rich in economic resources, in these families, cultural resources were weaker than in the other two groups. Cultural resources also appeared in children's free time activities: children in both incomer and local families participated in guided free time activities and they carried out the activity alone or with their families (e.g. drawing, stamp collecting, and outdoor activities like skiing, swimming and fishing). In *social resources*, most families in each group attained values from 10 to

13. In local and semi-local groups, there were some families who had ample social resources, whereas in the incomer's group, there were a few families with meagre resources. This had implications on the means of social resources.

The distinctions between families were broader in social resources and it seems that locality took part especially in the construction of these resources. This is revealed if one examines the construction of the variable of social resources. It is not local as such, because the core of the variable is a question of communication. However, the data establishes most of that was happening locally. Nearly all daily contacts with grandparents took place in families which had at least one local grandparent[5]. Only one family in the whole data was in everyday contact with a grandparent who was not local. The responses of child's friends showed that the most common answer to the question of where the child's friends lived was 'in the same neighbourhood'. Only in one case did the parent report that all of the child's friends lived outside Lievestuore. For these reasons, it is possible to make a interpretation that the vicinity had an influence on communication and social resources were locally constructed in this data; although it has been thought for a long time that social relationships have become dissociated from place, because of the development of information and communication technologies and increasing mobility (see e.g. Albrow 1996, 155–159).

Thus, the local family background (or the lack of it) appeared in children's social resources. Children in local and semi-local families were rich in social resources, which are based on local family relationships and contacts with relatives, especially with the children's grandparents, whereas incomer families were active in relationships with friends. They were more engaged in contact with children's and families' friends than local or semi-local families. However, children in both local-family groups had two sources for social resources: family and friends, which made their social resources substantial compared to incomer families. Social resources in families imply that locality matters as a source of

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[5] Over 87 percentages of families in both local groups and also 19 percentages of incomer families at that moment had at least one grandparent in Lievestuore.

resources. Social connections close to the home are important and active. This is confirmed by the notion that incomer families were also most active in their local connections. Even though they had less social resources than families in both local groups they had more daily contacts with the children's friends. This may be considered to be a strategy used by the incomer family to become acquainted with the locality where they live and construct local social resources.

Incomer families constituted an interesting group in the locality. One reason for incomer families' weak economic resources was that in this group many mothers took care of their children at home. This lowered these families' economic resources, but at the same time it might be seen that they are more resourced by having the possibility to choose to stay at home with their children instead of working. It is quite obvious that these educated parents also had employment opportunities when the situation in the family changed and their children got older. If families had made this kind of choice, it might also indicate that they were more involved in improving their children's resources themselves. There are more opportunities for resources to be transmitted from one generation to another, whenever parents spend time with their children at home. Developing social capital at home also enables the utilization of other capitals that can be shared within the family, i.e. parents' cultural capital. However, any transition of resources requires that parents actively work to bring it about. (Cf. Coleman 1988.)

In this survey data, children's everyday life appeared as local regardless of the families' local background. The mobility of children under school age was usually local with day-care and free time activities taking place in Lievestuore. Children's social networks, people with whom they had active contact were physically close by. It could be that the families who had chosen Lievestuore as their home place were more engaged with a particular place close to nature than, for example, families in a city environment. It seems that families had not chosen an environment for perceived advantages such as diversified free time activities, or cultural and other services. Many respondents emphasised the importance of the place being a safe neighbourhood in which to live and rear children. It has an intrinsic value and at the same time it means that some other

possibilities, which are part of living in a city-neighbourhood, had been consciously forsaken or families were ready to make an effort to reach them. Of course the rather low cost of housing had been important for many families while choosing a place to live. Nevertheless, when examined as a whole, the data do indicate that locality is a resource for families with young children, and it may be assumed that those families who are locally active are also engaged with a sense of place and belonging.

However, the image of childhood in Lievestuore is too limited if it is only seen as 'local' and defined by the local aspect. Children do not only construct their resources locally, but the extended space of everyday life is also part of children's living and it has an influence on what kind of resources children have (Morrow 2004, 71). Children move with their families and 'the world' comes to them via TV and Internet. One example of this is how the media produces resources for children in toys. Later in this chapter, this occurrence will be presented, while enlarging on children's resources in preschool.

The description of young children in Lievestuore is based on the survey data, which does not disclose how the distinctions were made by children or families and which resources were recognized as capital in interaction. Even though it might be assumed that these kinds of distinctions also occur in the local social space of Lievestuore, the local day-care centre provides research with a limited social space in which to observe how resources function in action. Thus the need for a more thorough investigation using ethnographic data from the day-care field is justified. In children's everyday life, the recognition and distinctions are made in interaction at a micro level of society, and still there is possible to discover how influences from different levels of the society intermingle with children's everyday life at day-care.

As has been mentioned, day-care is the place where one meets more easily with children in the research site. In every locality group, the majority of the children were involved in the day-care with, however, slightly fewer incomer children than local or semi-local children[6]. Naturally,

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[6]   The percentage of day-care participation: incomer families 60%, semi-local families 80% and local
       families 80% (Lehtinen & Vuorisalo 2009).

the day-care centre is a node in children's local peer-network and is an important place for children to participate in and meet other children. It possesses a special nature as it is the children's own shared place, teeming with social action, a place where different children from different backgrounds meet and get to know each other. At the same time, the day-care centre might be seen as an important place in which the construction of local childhood occurs. Day-care is also the first local institution that meets these children as a group, and starts to develop and evaluate them by the official standards of "normal" or "good" childhood (see Bundgaard & Gulløv 2008). As has been mentioned earlier, nearly the whole age group participated in preschool at the age of six. For these reasons, preschool constitutes an important year for children before compulsory school begins. An interesting question that does arise is whether the preschool group constitutes a Bourdieusian field. This will be considered in the next section.

Field and capital in day-care

The concept of field is used here as an analytical tool for explaining social interactions and any social space where children utilize their capital. The main focus will be on children's actions, that is, on how they capitalise upon their resources and thereby construct for themselves a position in the preschool. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992.) Thus, it is assumed that in any actual day-care centre its everyday life unfolds in a social arena that functions as a (Bourdieusian) field. In this study, the term 'preschool' includes those children and adults (staff members) who form one preschool group, and the interaction between all these members.

The preschool group represents a field on a micro level of society. However, day-care as a social arena is seen as a part of the wider processes of childhood, existing within a hierarchical network of inter-related fields (and subfields). In other words, the preschool will need to be understood relationally, in the context of an extensive field of childhood and its history, therefore also the past and present states of the childhood field have an impact on contemporary day-care. (Gulløv 2008, Mayall 2002, James

& James 2004.) Moreover, Connolly (2004, 105) emphasises that by ignoring the broader social contexts and relationships within which children are located, children's actions will not be perceived correctly. While researching racism and gender issues among young children, Connolly developed an interpretation of children's social living within a Bourdieusian frame by focusing particularly not only on a micro level, but also by 'looking beyond the school gate' to the extensive field of childhood while explaining the construction of children's capital (Connolly 1998, 2000) and habitus (Connolly 2004).

The concept of field describes the day-care centre as an organization, where both inter- and intra-organizational processes construct the field of preschool (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008). The day-care organization (including preschool) is a sub-field of the more extensive field of childhood, where contemporary childhood is determined simultaneously at many levels of society, and from where influences and capital move into the day-care field. A social arena already exists in the day-care, formed by children in terms of peer group, and the others corresponding to relations between children and teachers. The functioning of the day-care centre is preconditioned by the development in the local environment as well as in the regional and national government, economy and consumption, media and public sphere. All of these possible fields enter into the extensive field of childhood and present themselves in the preschool field. They also have an impact on the valuation of capitals that are available to children. Clearly then, the autonomy of the preschool field is far from extensive and, consequently, capitals from other fields flow into its social action.

Even if preschool cannot be deemed as an autonomous field, it is a field in the sense that the participants (here especially children) are positioned and position themselves in relation to each other (Devine 2009; Petersson 2004). One of the preschool group's special features as a social space is that it is not a group that children have formed on their own. It is a children's group that has been organized mainly because parents need a place for their children during their working hours. Therefore, children are not in day-care because of their own interest in the games played in that field. As a group which meets every day, they are bound together and

are related to other members. However, the field in itself arouses interest when the social production and reproduction of positions begin. Most of the children participate eagerly in everyday action and have an interest in playing games (Lehtinen 2009, 155). The field as an on-going process invites and sometimes forces children to participate, regardless of the children's interest in the game. Analytically, this means that in determining the field the most interesting actions engage in the struggles over power between relevant actors. Educationally and ethically this emphasizes that there are participants in the preschool group with only meagre or no resources to participate in the position-taking.

The analysis of field helps to explain why particular forms of capital are highly valued in some contexts and completely devalued in others. In Bourdieu's words, capital[7] is any resource (material or embodied) which is effective in a given field and is recognized there as capital (Bourdieu & Wacquat 1992, 98–99). In the study presented in this chapter, the focus is on cultural capital, in its objectified and embodied states, and how they can be transformed (or converted) into social and symbolic capital. Participants in the preschool field construct the form of capital that is specific to that particular field and these capitals have an exchange value, which will be presented later in this chapter.

Objectified cultural capital, holding cultural goods, is closely linked to economic capital, which as such does not have particular currency in the preschool field. Usually the economic capital that is available to children (in other fields) has been transformed into objectified cultural capital before it enters the field of day-care. Hence, toys, clothes and other equipment represent and mediate the wealth of children's families and participate in the production and reproduction of social order in day-care. On the other hand, in the children's peer group, various items may be valued as cultural capital, although they are not highly priced. Their legitimiza-

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[7]   Capital has four different forms: economic, cultural, social and symbolic. *Economic capital* is the same as money and other property. *Cultural capital* refers to cultural goods in objectified state, and embodied dispositions toward various cultural goods and practices as embodied cultural capital. The third form of cultural capital is institutionalized, which means holding legitimate educational qualifications. *Social capital* is linked to social networks and relationships and also resources gained in relationships with others. Each of these capitals may become *symbolic,* on the condition that it is recognized as legitimate and powerful in the field. (Bourdieu 1986.)

tion as capital takes place in action, by the participating children, who make up the sense of the items in question as part of the on-going 'game'. Recognising the game played in the field requires *embodied cultural capital*, embodied dispositions and practices, which guide the child's participation in the group's activities. It unconsciously operates like a radar that gives hints of conceivable and unconceivable possibilities in the field – what a particular child can do and how to act. It is one part of the child's habitus – the durable dispositions to feel, think and act in particular ways. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 121.)

The evaluation of resources seems more arbitrary among children than among adults; moreover, changes may be quick and values often are unstable. This is one of the preschool field's special features. Objectified cultural capital does not always have long-lasting value among children. Therefore, embodied cultural capital is required. Children have to use a lot of energy and attention to be aware of the currency of various resources. In a peer group culture, where a used candy-wrapping may gain value as a resource, active participation is a way to be involved in actions where the values of the resources are defined. This is one reason why rapid changes and a high tempo typify children group interaction (see Corsaro 1985, 150; Strandell 1995, 33). If one has an interest in the game played in the field, he or she is bound to constantly move and observe. That is the way to take care of one's own position in the group, and to know what is the current rate of one's own resources.

Utilizing capital and converting them from one form to another is part of a field's dynamics. The values of various capitals are constantly negotiated or struggled, because the agents' positions in the field are defined by the capitals' values. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992.) Taking advantage of capital is possible if the participant has in his/her habitus 'a sense for the game', as Bourdieu (1998a, 36) described the capacity to notice possibilities in the field. The struggle of capital does not mean open conflict; it is similar to exploiting the social energy that is moving in relations. The permanent group in a day-care constructs a relational social space, where resources are valued not only as cultural or social capital, but also as symbolic capital. Every form of capital may function as symbolic capital, if the capital in question becomes a credit due to recogni-

tion by others. Recognition is the core for the mobilisation of cultural and social capital. Holding symbolic capital usually means possessing power over that particular field and thereby gaining influence to determine how capitals are valued in the field. (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008, 13.) By using symbolic capital appropriately, in a productive way, the holder is able to improve or move his or her position in the field and gain other capitals. (Bourdieu 2000a, 242.)

Devine (2009, 523) has related these outlines to the educational system and perceived that field positioning according to capital volume and weight is the key process by which the understanding of that social space is possible to begin. Devine's target group in her study was migrant children. She noticed the importance of social capital in children's peer group; integration into the social networks and friendships were meaningful sources of social capital. Friendship as social capital immediately gave the holder a feeling of belonging and 'getting on' with school life. (Devine 2009, 526–529.) It seems that in a children's peer group, especially in preschool where economic capital is not directly used (cf. Bourdieu 1986), the meaning of social capital is emphasised. If the child has social capital, a recognised position in a friendship network, it is easier to get access to other capitals in the field and also to get recognition from others of those resources that children have already gained in other fields, like home. Moreover, along with recognition comes power, and this combines social capital and power in the preschool field.

The struggles of positions and recognition enter into preschool's everyday life frequently. One distinction in positions is clearly between teachers and children. From the children's point of view, adults as staff members are the highest authorities in the preschool. The adults in a group represent power, which has been assigned to them in their organizational position as preschool teachers. However, power dynamics is a complicated issue that extends beyond the power imbalance between children and teachers into a realm of competition and power differentials in the day-care's peer group (Reay 2006, 172). Hence, children as agents compete with each other for recognition and positions. Many of these struggles take place under the teachers' eyes, who actually struggle along with them, because their authority is not sovereign, though in many cases

it bypasses the power possessed by the children. It has to be kept in mind, that most of these struggles take place unconsciously. Some moments of these struggles will be presented next in this chapter – what kind of resources hold value as capital in preschool, and in which situations does the exchange value occur.

From resource to capital

The ethnographic data used and discussed in this section offers an account of some resources that children utilised as capital and transformed into another. Three cases are presented as evidence of the fact that the social space of preschool forms a field where the utilisation and convertibility of capitals take place. In the first case, the data is from a preschool session where cultural capital had also been used for social purposes. The second case describes how the presence of the children's own toys started to develop social relationships. The last episode gives evidence of one girl's embodied cultural capital and its value as symbolic capital in this group.

(1) Skilful pupils in preschool

Officially learning is one of the leading activities for children in preschool. In the episode below, the skills attained by working as a pupil have been taken into use as capital, and the exchange value of cultural capital appear. Children wrote in their preschool books under the teacher's guidance.

> *Preschool session:*
> Matti sits behind Laura[8]. He does not know what he should do. Otto, who is sitting next to Matti, shows from his own book the right spot. Despite Otto showing him, Matti starts to fill in the wrong exercise. - - Henri also does not know what to do. PAULA says that everyone should know what they are

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[8]   The names of the children and adults have all been changed to ensure anonymity; the teacher's name is marked in upper case letters

doing, because they have done the same kinds of exercises before. They start
to spell out children's names. - - While they are spelling these names, Otto still
tries to show Matti which exercises he should do. Matti notices that he has
done the wrong exercise. He tries to erase it with his finger. He starts to do
the right exercise, but he makes a mistake again. - - PAULA gives them new
instructions. Then she gives the children coloured pencils for the exercise.
At this point Matti says aloud that he has made some mistakes. Laura turns
to Matti and asks: "What?" Matti shows her where the mistakes are. - - At the
same time while they are doing the colouring exercise, Laura advises Matti on
the first exercise. - - Laura works on her task quietly. When she has completed
her exercises, she turns to Matti many times and follows how Matti gets on
with his tasks.

When Matti noticed that he had missed the instructions, he tried to hide
his confusion and looked for help from his neighbour by throwing him
glances. Otto noticed this and tried to help. Concealing these actions
from the teacher meant that Matti did not understand the instructions
correctly. He was making constant errors. Matti's troubles were nearly
revealed when the teacher walked around and gave colouring pencils.
Matti prepared for the teacher's attention by confessing his mistakes, but
the teacher did not pay any attention to Matti after all. Laura instead
heard Matti and offered her help.

Both Otto and Laura were involved in helping Matti. They knew what
to do and had finished their own exercises. Their achievements function
as *cultural capital* in this situation. It demonstrates their skills, but that is
not the main reason why they acted thus in this situation. Resources were
utilized to benefit Matti. Cultural capital transformed into social capital
between these three children, and vice versa on Matti's behalf – his social
capital, friendship with Otto and Laura, offer him an opportunity to cope
with his preschool exercises – to achieve some cultural resources. Devine
(2009, 532–533) has also elicited that social capital is most effective
when it functions with other forms of capital.

Friendship, i.e. earlier acquired social resources among these children,
contributed so that Otto and Laura were ready to help and took care of
Matti in order that the teacher would not know about his problem. The
conversion of capital in this situation was conceivable since these chil-
dren were used to spending time together and were valued as participants

in the peer group. The conversion reproduced these children's mutual relationship and social capital that already existed. This happened by the recognition of sameness, these children – positioned near each other in the field – confirmed their relationship and positions by helping.

The teacher's comment underlined that children should be able to follow the instructions and know what to do. This explains why the children so carefully tried to hide Matti's confusion. The trio worked in secrecy, which strengthened their shared activities and sameness with each other and at the same time implies their resistance against the teacher's control, and distinguishes them from the power that the teacher represents. In the observation data, there are also episodes when the teacher was immediately told if anyone made a mistake or broke the rules. This indicates that from these same elements, children also make distinctions and emphasise differences between children in their positions in the field (see also Löfdahl & Hägglund 2006, 192).

The episode displays that working with the preschool-book is especially meaningful for children for many reasons. They are eager to study and they want to fulfil their positions as preschoolers. The status as a preschool child is an important and new position for children. They are on the first step of their formal education career and they are the oldest children in the day-care centre. The next step is to start primary school. They have achieved a developmental landmark which is bound to age and is important to children and adults alike. For children, developmental achievements, such as the age and status of a preschool child, or the ability to read can be valued resources (Mayall 2002, 138) and might be drawn on as capital. The same abilities and skills that educators evaluate and try to develop, children utilise and convert as capital. The new achievements are mobilized directly, not only as a learnt subject and cultural capital, but as a representation of capability in many kinds of situations, for example, when helping a friend. Children use their resources widely, and social interaction opens differing possibilities for children to utilize their resources as capital.

(2) Toys in action

Toys and different kinds of items occupy a significant place in children's interaction. Using toys, children construct games which are perhaps the most important way to participate in the children's group. In the situation described below, they had a bring-your-own-toy day at the pre-school and Venla introduced her toys, little animal figures[9], to the other children. This was an ordinary start for the toy day, which they had in this preschool usually once a month. Every child would begin by telling something about his or her specially selected toy. What is interesting in the next episode is how Irina conveyed her interest in Venla's toys and how this activated the capital-conversion.

> *The bring-your-own-toy day*
> Venla is introducing her toys, little animal figures.
> Venla: "These are from the same set as Laura's."
> Irina (asks Venla): "Where do you live? May I come next weekend to ask for you [to play with me]?"
> Irina recalls that she has seen Venla once [in Venla's home-yard] as Irina was returning from a cycling trip with her family. During the day Irina repeats the story several times.
>
> *In the preschool-yard:*
> Venla, Irina and some other children are jumping outside.
> Irina asks Venla: "Will you be at home this weekend?"
> When the girls run past the sandpit, Irina says: "I don't remember, what colour is your home." Venla: "It's blue."

The toy day was at the beginning of the preschool semester. Irina was a new child in the group and she did not yet know Venla. During a social interaction, Irina noticed Venla's toys and this accented the toys' value as capital. Irina's recognition gets Venla's toys to function as capital and the shared interest opens up interaction between these two girls. Irina's interest was accepted as Venla told what colour her home is and at the same time she enabled Irina to find her. Therefore, two recognitions, one for both girls, are discovered and by them the transformation of capital

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9   The Littlest Pet Shops -figures

is enabled. Venla's toy-animal figures functioned as *objectified cultural capital*, and this generated social capital (friendship), by widening Venla and Irina's friendship network.

An important feature in this case is that the transformation of capital did not happen directly. Irina returned to the subject during the outdoor activities, which established that Irina's actions and questions had a focus. She recognised the potentials that were covered in this situation, and the continuum between actions in preschool and at home. They transferred friendship, achieved by a common interest in particular toys, and started to share a social connection out of this field where capitals were created. One reason for this might be that the girls did not have so many friends in their neighbourhood. At preschool, they already both had tight friendship connections, Venla with Laura, and Irina with Anna, but only Venla and Irina lived in the same neighbourhood. Venla's friendship with Laura already revealed itself in the toy introduction. It became quite obvious that Venla and Laura had planned to bring the same toys and to share a game. Irina's questions also expressed that she was not immediately interested in playing with Venla. She had made plans for the weekend. This arrangement stayed like this also after Venla's and Irina's friendship had begun. During the semester, Venla and Irina's friendship was apparent in the preschool especially in discussions, when they told and recalled what they had done together at home. In preschool, they spent time with their old friends.

Toys, clothes and other kinds of objects are resources for children which they also may utilize as capital. Children have not had a long period of time to develop the amount of their capitals. Therefore, toys are potentially meaningful mediators of capital. As an object, a toy is immediately possible to use and to present as capital. However, this is not always possible. The value of the toys is defined by their owners. Toys as reified economic and cultural capital convert to other capitals in action, especially in games. Thus, in a children's peer group, children might have access to other capitals through toys as objectified cultural capital, particularly social capital in friendships.

The consumption of media and advertising, especially in combination with TV-series and toys, generates popular brands among children (Cook

2009, 343), and this provides a fairly stable and special value for certain kinds of toys and clothes. However, the basic principle in consumption is change and this has an influence on toys – old brands have to make way for new brands, thus making some resources obsolete. As has been stated, the struggle over capital is constant. The toy mediates the value from one field to another. In the episode presented, Venla had animal-figures that had gained their value in the field of children's media and consumption. The value obtained there also bestowed a certain value upon them in negotiations in the field of day-care. In Venla and Irina's case, social capital from the preschool was transferred to home. These two fields overlap and the same capital is valued in both fields. This establishes how capital passes through the fields and also how different fields are represented in the preschool field.

When such valued 'capital objects' are used, this experience shared by children causes the social capital to remain even when the object is taken away. Social sharing continues and one capital is transformed into another. This is what happened between Irina and Venla. On the other hand, experiences also become attached to objects, so that they alone may represent power to their holders. Objects have importance as capital and the holder therefore is significant. The value of objectified cultural capital is measured by two aspects: what is the resource presented as capital and who is the holder of the capital. Children's hierarchic positions in the social field have an influence on how the resources are perceived - whether they have a capacity to also function as capital. This establishes how objectified cultural capital demand embodied cultural capital to be used appropriately (Bourdieu 1986, 244). This will be discussed in more detail in the next episode in this chapter.

(3) Like a fish in water

In this particular group, guided discussions, like morning circle times, are remarkable places to participate and present one's own resources. There the structure of the assembly holds the attention of all participants; sitting in a circle ensures that everyone sees each other. In preschool, children are able to show all their resources, but they have a place to tell

little stories about them. Those children who consider participating in these conversations have the opportunity to construct their resources and position in the group, and their resources have a place to be recognised (Thornberg 2009, 401). For them, the joint action yields greater advantages than for those whose participation is more irregular or silent. This, especially the advantages of speaking, will be established in the next episode. The morning circle-time was an ordinary start for the preschool-day: children were sitting on their benches, where they had assigned places, and the teacher led the situation. This time, the teacher had taken an unusual place; she was sitting on the floor instead of on the chair.

> *Morning circle time:*
> EEVA is sitting on the floor. Irina says that EEVA sits just like she did when they were visiting a place with puppies - the puppies were climbing up into her lap. [She shows how the puppies were climbing.] Aaron makes the wish that they would play Crane and frogs; Anna asks for the Rocket-aeroplane game. Otto puts up his thumb. EEVA: "Nice – you have a thumb!" Otto proposes that they have some morning exercise while Irina continues her talk of puppies, describing how the puppies used their teeth to help in their climbing. EEVA says that Irina should keep an eye on her toys when a puppy is brought home. She tells how a dog had once destroyed a teddy bear at her friend's home. Otto now takes a turn to tell how their dog Rex once chewed his sister's Moomin house. – – Irina announces her wish that they play a particular [colour] game before breakfast. EEVA carries out her wish.

The atmosphere in the morning was easy-going. Two children had run to hug EEVA when she entered the room. The children and EEVA were in dialogue, even though in these situations there was a rule whereby children were not allowed to speak without the teacher's permission. However, this was not the first time when the rule was forgotten. Irina opened up the dialogue with her puppy talks. The way the teacher was sitting made Irina recall an event, when she had met their forthcoming puppy. The relaxed atmosphere also encouraged Aaron and Anna to bend the rules and to make proposals for games. At this moment, Otto asked for permission to speak by lifting his thumb up. EEVA noticed this and gave positive feedback – this was the way the proposals should be made. Still, under Irina's guidance, the group continued its discussion of dogs. In the middle of this conversation, Irina asked for a particular game, which EEVA chose to execute.

Irina's way of participating in the group's joint activity displays how she has acquired the discussion culture which is shared in action. Her fluency in participating and the use of discussion indicate her cultural capital which she embodies. She moves in the discussion "like a fish in water" choosing the topics, and had "a feel for the game" so that her game-idea is fulfilled (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 127–128). Irina's *embodied cultural capital* had an influence on the whole group's action. In this situation, her participation in the discussion stretched out the formal limits of the group's social action. It offered other children possibilities to express their resources and use the shared discussions as a place to get recognition. Aaron and Anna directly noticed this possibility and tried to propose games. Otto tried to offer his proposal in accordance with the rules, but neither did he manage to accomplish his proposed game. On that occasion, Irina was the one whose game-idea was carried out, although the teacher returned to these other proposals after the breakfast. The teacher followed Irina's initiation. It is noted that the rules or the reproduction of them were not the structure that guided the teacher's action, though she noticed the right form in Otto's action. However valued those rules were in the group, children's agency and capital produced new ways to act in interaction situations.

The episode represents how embodied cultural capital functions as symbolic capital. It is recognized as legitimate competence. Irina's power in the group was manifested in her role as the informal leader of the discussion. It was she, and not the teacher, who produced the content for the assembly. This establishes that achieving the readiness of speech as a part of embodied cultural capital bring certain children status, and thus power, within their peer group and also in a preschool group including adults. By embodied cultural capital, children may also occasionally abolish adults' organizational position in the group and take the leadership over from the adults. Children are otherwise struggling with adults' dominance of the field.

Telling about your own resources and a readiness of speech are highly respected values while children are acting in the preschool field. Other researchers have also discovered the significance of vocalizing. Emirbayer and Williams (2005, 708) have noticed that the manner in interaction was

the important determinant for clients' positions in an institutional field. In the day-care research context, Palludan (2007, 79, 88) has stated that vocalising was a very distinct and crucial practice in adults' and children's interaction. The language use has a considerable meaning in participating. By exchanging with adults, child may acquire a respectable position and their actions may also be seen as being more legitimate than others. The position gives them more freedom and also valued their actions. These research findings follow Bourdieu's definitions of linguistic markets, where the price of the speech-act may be different depending on the speaker. The competence to speak does not only mean that one has a capacity to speak. The linguistic competence is connected to the power structure of the field, which distribute speakers and the importance of their message, and at the same time it is one feature of social distinction. (Bourdieu 1999, 54–55.) Silent children, those who do not present themselves through speech, may be ignored and thus invisible in the group (Holkeri-Rinkinen 2009, 217, cf. also Devine 2009, 530). In contrast, powerful children may be seen as 'the voice' of the child group towards the power field of adults above them. Another question is, how representative is this 'voice', does it represent only those children who have this 'voice'?

Another point to be made about this morning circle time episode is that it also displays how different states of cultural capital are drawn upon at the same time and how vocalising embodied cultural capital enables the presentation of these other resources. Irina's puppy functioned as an objectified cultural resource in a conversation – Otto also started to talk about dogs and by doing this expressed his interest in the topic that Irina had chosen. Otto's support is significant because he is in a powerful position in this group. The attention he paid to Irina's topic also confirmed Irina's symbolic capital as recognition in the field. Hence, at the same time when children spend time nicely together, they also make distinctions. The situation described above was comfortable for all, but it was also an example of the common discussion in the power of one girl.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has investigated the construction and conversion of children's resources, both in the context of a local community and in the social interaction of a preschool. It was argued that it is meaningless to attempt to understand children's resources without reference to the specific context within which they occur (Connolly 1998, 2004). For this reason, this study, although limited, has also considered the local lives of children and the resources that they had access to in their families. The results suggest that young children's resources in Lievestuore have been constructed locally. Even those incoming families in Lievestuore are active locally and create networks in their own neighbourhood, so that their children might have access to cultural and social resources there where they live. Another context issue, which has been present throughout this investigation, is an attempt to connect children's preschool childhood to the wider context or 'fields' of contemporary childhood, and how these fields might be perceived at different levels of society in the daily life of a children's preschool group.

The approach adopted in this study permitted a close examination of children's resources in preschool. The results presented here, which used a set of qualitative observations and interpretation through a Bourdieusian theoretical frame, suggest that a preschool group is a 'field-like' social space, where children utilise and transform their resources as capitals to organize the field. Data examples express that the preschool setting allows children possibilities to take into use various forms of capital and, thereby, to have an effect on the structure of action in day-care. Furthermore, a comparison between these findings and children's resources in families reveals that differences in local family backgrounds do not extend to children's interaction. It seems that there is no direct reproduction of families' resources in preschool, because the resources used and converted in preschool were universal, not local. This establishes that the preschool field is autonomous compared to local fields, and there, children also have opportunities to use their resources regardless of their families' resources. This implies that even though children in many ways are dependent on their families,

they might also have their own fields where they are independent actors who utilise their own resources.

The episodes in this chapter are not intended to offer a comprehensive description of capitals in preschool group. Rather it focuses on some forms of capital to present how conversion may happen and in what kind of interaction processes and relationships. In the teacher-guided activities introduced in this chapter, children were presenting and utilizing their resources mainly through speech. Thus, participating in the field of preschool requires an abundance of cultural capital, especially in its embodied form. Resources do not function as capital if the owner is not able to use and to capitalize them. In the preschool field, as the episodes proved, the embodied cultural capital is considerably important. Emirbayer & Johnson (2008, 4) describe the meaning of embodied cultural capital by emphasizing that it *allows the well-endowed to profit from formal and informal education in ways that those lacking in cultural capital cannot, thereby helping to reproduce the social world that originally produced it."*

The states of cultural capital, objectified and embodied, are important fuel for interactions. In many cases they produce the content for the interaction. They may provide the child with the possibility to be recognized and to gain symbolic capital. Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992, 98) have expressed the meaning of possessing capital by stating that it *allows its possessors to wield a power, an influence, and thus to exist, in the field under consideration, instead of being considered a negligible quantity."* Therefore, holding appropriate capitals in the field might be seen as fundamental if the agent wants to succeed there. Properly used, one capital contains access to other capital, and at any one moment, children can draw on many capitals. This displays how complicated the utilisations of capital are and how the different forms of capital are connected to each other. Capitals are constantly moving. They are undergoing value-struggles, while acquiring and maintaining a particular form of capital takes its place in the field.

This chapter has focused on children who are relevant actors in the preschool field. In the preschool group, there were also children who did not participate in the action like Venla, Irina, Laura, Otto and Matti. These five children were in positions where they had enough symbolic capital to convert their capitals and wield power in the field, thus taking advantage

of their resources. They are recognized participants in this group and they had habitualised the game played in the field. In Childhood Studies, all children are easily covered under a robe of agency. However, at the individual level not all children have equally opportunities or a capacity for agency. James (2009, 44) emphasizes that even though children are agents in their everyday life, agency is an attribute of individual children and it depends on the person. In a Bourdieusian frame, it also depends on the field and agent's position there, how he or she is able to use the capital available. This has the effect that children are unequal in using and transforming their resources. Some children's voices are 'louder' than others in the preschool group (Reay 2006; Warming 2011). The group obeys its structure as a field where one's voice is connected to position, thus those with more capital are more likely to get their voice heard (see also Löfdahl & Hägglund 2007, 332). A more extensive application of Bourdieu's field theory may decipher the structure of the preschool group showing how distinctions are made in a preschool and how children's positions are constructed.

In other words, Bourdieu's notion of field helps to develop an understanding of when and where particular forms of capital either become eminent and valued or diminish in importance and eventually devalued. The field consists of particular forms of capital and struggles to acquire or secure these capitals. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992.) Examples that are specific to the preschool field confirm that resources that are valued as capital in the day-care field may have their sources in other parts of the social space, e.g. outside the preschool field. Therefore in order to identify preschool as a field, its connections to other fields also need to be studied. It already emerged in this chapter's short episodes how children drew on capital from other fields and, on the other hand, how capital acquired in preschool moved with the child to another field. An interesting question for further research is how children's resources from home come into use in the preschool.

Analysing the field may show how children participate in the construction of their own position in the day-care centre, and how they thereby contribute to its structuring (and possibly inequalities between children). The aim or motive of analysing fields is to discover the structure of day-care life and if there are special forms of day-care capital.

Appendix 1. The composite variables

ECONOMIC RESOURCES: variables and values

Mother and father's working life position:
    Unemployed, full-time student, or home taking care of child(ren) = 1
    A salary earner working part-time or pensioner = 2
    A salary earner working full-time or similar = 3

Family's most important sources of income:
    Benefits = 1
    Earned income and benefits = 2
    Earned income = 3

Parents' combined monthly income (before taxes):
    Less than 2 000 euros = 1
    2 000–4 000 euros = 2
    Over 4 000 euros = 3

Family's housing: owner-occupied house or flat
    No = 0, Yes = 1

CULTURAL RESOURCES: variables and values

Mother and father's education and mean of all grandparents' education.

Mother's/ father's/ grandparent's basic education:
    Less than elementary school = 0
    Elementary, middle- or comprehensive school = 1
    Secondary school graduate = 2

Mother's/ father's/ grandparent's vocational education:
    No degrees = 0
    A degree in a vocational school or a college level degree = 1
    A vocational high school degree or a university degree = 2

SOCIAL RESOURCES: variables and values

Contact with child's grandparent(s)/ child's friend/ family's relatives/ family's
friends and neighbours
    Monthly = 1
    Weekly = 2
    Daily = 3

Amount of child's good friends:
 From 1 to 3 = 1
 More than 3 =2

Child's membership in association:
 No = 0, Yes = 1

Child visits her/his friend at least once a week/ child's friend visits her/him:
 No = 0, Yes = 1

Appendix 2.   Ethnography in preschool

Ethnography as a methodological approach is widely used in Childhood Studies (Lange & Mierendorff 2009, 80–81). It offers children an active position in the research as social actors and emphasises children's contributions to the shaping of social life (James 2001, 250–251). In addition, in the Bourdieusian frame, ethnography is an applicable method to describe how actions are organized in a field, and to follow the field's objective regularities (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 8). In ethnographic fieldwork, it is possible to grasp children's everyday life in a day-care, to examine the occurrence of social production and reproduction of resources and relations.

The process of ethnographic field work for this study was conducted in one day-care centre in 2006 and 2007. I carried out observations, and then one-to-one interviews with only those ten children who had volunteered. A group interview was also conducted with the staff. The results reported in this chapter are based on the observation data.

Children's participation in the study was voluntary, but in institutions, participation is not always optional as the group is working together and the researcher is also involved in the action. I did not acquire the children's written consent to participate, but the permission was continuously negotiated in action. Children might feel forced to participate because of the conformity of the group or adults' expectations, therefore I tried to be sensitive to the children's expressions of discomfort, and did not continue observation if a child somehow expressed rejection. Usually this happened nonverbally, but only in situations where the children were free to choose their activities. In the beginning of the observation, I told the children who I was and what my main interests were, I also informed them that participation was optional. Parents allowed their child's participation in the research passively. I gave them a form which I asked them to return to the day-care centre if they did not wish to give their permission. All twenty children participated in the study, except one, whose parents had refused permission.

As a researcher, I was a participant in the knowledge production, even though children in their action did not particularly produce the data for

me, but participated in actions at preschool. Ethnography is a subjective method, where the knowledge, observations and interpretation are produced through the researcher, and the presence of the researcher interacts with the situation (James 2001, 254). I paid special attention to how I interacted with the adults and children, and how I posited myself in comparison to those 'educator-adults'. On the other hand, I also trusted the children's ability to distinguish between the various roles between adults. I intentionally attempted to act differently than the educators, but at the same time I chose to act like an adult, who is friendly, trustworthy and easy to interact with. I constructed my role as a participant observer so that I usually awaited children's invitation to interact, and tried to always answer their questions and help them if my assistance was asked for. Only in a few rare situations did I have to use my responsible adult-role. In those situations, the children's actions threatened other children's physical or mental safety.

I observed the children during the formal parts of the preschool day, as well as at playtimes and mealtimes. Most observations took place between early morning and noon. I devoted one day to each child in order to observe her or his actions. I wrote down my observation. After the day at the preschool, I usually transcribed the notes immediately, so that I could add all the details that I remembered. The transcription was also the first part of the analysis and led to how I continued my work at the preschool.

Taimirinne day-care centre

Laurinkylä primary school

Matti Vesa Volanen

Social composition of comprehensive schools and the production of differences in educational achievement

A paradox of schooling

Pierre Bourdieu considers education as a conservative force, which tends to reproduce the social power structure by using symbolic violence with the classed – but arbitrary – knowledge of the dominant and dominated. This is not, of course, usually done with conscious intentions to exclude the children with inferior *habitus* (Bourdieu 2005) but via social structures, dispositions and practices. The theory means that the everyday running of schools is thoroughly relativised in its concept of knowledge and the experiences of schools. "The students may not have been taught *propaganda*, but they have been taught by *methods* of propaganda, and so cannot realise their knowledge in the "right way" (Nash 2003b, 760).

Following the realist and critical analysis of Roy Nash and Michael Young (see Young 2008), we can ask how strong the enlightmental power of knowledge is. Is it stronger than the knowledge of the powerful? How

can we solve the following paradoxical situation: On the one hand we can consider "schools as classed institutions and, on the other hand, that the curriculum, which has been singled out, by Bourdieu, as being one element of the manifestation of class, nevertheless has potential, through the reasoning processes underlying the social and natural sciences, to emancipate" (Lauder 2010, 3)?

In this chapter I try to analyse the paradox by taking two positions: First, I like to emphasise that educational reproduction is also a process of production. It entails producers, tools and objects, i.e. contents. At school, the process of forming knowledge – and experiences – essentially produces contents for students' life. We don't do our life, we make it. Learning is impossible without a learner, it always involves agency. The question is, then, whether we can realise "universal pedagogy" in a concrete, individually divergent way. According to Nash (1990, 436), in "Bourdieu's theory the school's failure is located in its structured refusal to develop a 'universal pedagogy' – a pedagogy that takes nothing for granted – able to succeed with relatively unprepared working class pupils".

Secondly, in schools there are always unofficial processes of students' peer groups. In a country like Finland this part of the content of daily life in schools is fundamental: the whole generation of the neighbourhood starts their schooling at the same school, which in turn provides a setting for a social and cultural comparison of the habitus of students from different social backgrounds.

I will make the following excursions in this chapter: First, I will give a historical glimpse on the process of forming a comprehensive school in Lievestuore with a completely new social composition. Then I will briefly discuss some PISA results[1] of Finland to illuminate the role of social composition in the comprehensive schools nowadays. Thirdly, I will come back to Lievestuore to analyse a bit the status of students' peer groups in one

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[1] The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) organised by OECD is an internationally standardised assessment jointly developed by participating economies and administered to 15-year-olds in a representative sample of schools. Four assessments have so far been carried out (in 2000, 2003, 2006 and 2009). The tests are typically administered to between 4,500 and 10,000 students in each country. (See OECD 2010.)

comprehensive school. On this basis I then attempt to give an answer to the paradox set above. It seems that the enlightenmental force of a realist curriculum is not powerful enough without a universal pedagogy, but with the universal pedagogy we have to be able to break the generative vicious circle of structure/disposition/practice -chain and the *doxic* production of habitus. I will end my chapter by suggesting that to be able to constitute a model of universal pedagogy with a positive circle of individual development we have to develop a connective curriculum using craftwork as a methodological mirror for learning. In Finland this means overcoming the academic and handwork traditions of pedagogies associated with the names of J. V. Snellman and Uno Cygnaeus (Volanen 2007, 2008).

I use in my analysis three kinds of data: First the PISA 2006 results of Finland to find out some basic features of the social compositions in Finnish comprehensive schools. Secondly, I use our results of a survey of the 15–16 years old students at the comprehensive school of Lievestuore to find out their educational orientation for upper secondary education. Thirdly, I use Finnish postal codes as an indicator of population centres. SuomiCD (Statistics Finland 2008b) includes a large archive of social and economic statistics by postal code areas.

The new social composition of the comprehensive school[2]

The Board of Lievestuore Primary School made an initiative in 1946 so as to found a municipal middle school in Lievestuore. The Municipal Council of Laukaa pleaded difficulties in maintaining primary school, so the municipality saw no reason to assume responsibilities in educational provision other than prescribed by law. People in Lievestuore didn't remain waiting for the municipal economy to improve but called up a community meeting to discuss the issue of Lievestuore middle school. In

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[2]   This section is based almost solely on Pirjo Vuorenpää's (1999) book "Kylän koulusta kunnan kouluksi Lievestuoreen Yhteiskoulu, yläaste ja lukio 1948-1998" [From a community school to a municipal school: Lievestuore Co-educational, lower secondary and upper secondary school in 1948–1998].

the meeting they decided to establish an association to support Lieves-
tuore Co-educational School. Straight away, they started a fund raising
campaign. Besides several private persons, the campaign involved a
sports club (Lievestuoreen Kisa), Lievestuore Workers' Association and
Lievestuore Choir, for example. The people also got the municipality to
guarantee a loan of 500,000 marks. Also Haarla Pulp Company gave a
similar guarantee. The State Council granted the school license on July 22,
1948, and the school started in the autumn, at first in the former canteen
of Haarla Factory. In the first year there were 120 applicants taking the
entrance exam, but of them the school admitted only one starting group
of 40 students; 31 girls and 9 boys.

In 1952 the school moved to a new building, which is in use still
today. Financial support to this undertaking came not only from the state
and the municipality but also through civic action: Mothers' sewing circle
donated 62,000 marks to the building fund; parents and other friends of
the school donated altogether about 200,000 marks. The community was
above all bound to the Factory, however:

"Although the community had gained team spirit and neighbourly help activi-
ties, it was still clearly divided into social classes. Some people used to attend
events at the society hall and support the sports club Kisa, while others
favoured workers' events at the community hall and were active members of
the sports club Toive. People usually visited each other only within the same
social class."

"A strange thing with Lievestuore was that the whole place seemed to be
owned by the Factory. Nature belonged to the Factory. The school seemed to
depend on the Factory. Well, it was a private one. The sports field was owned
by the Factory. Everything was owned by the Factory. We who lived in Han-
kasalmi were somehow outsiders – like adopted children – in Lievestuore. But
they raised us well, after all. The Lievestuore School prepared me excellently
for the world." (Aimo Minkkinen, in Vuorenpää 1999, 56.)

The co-educational school operated first as a five-grade school, but was
extended to comprise eight grades in 1962. Accreditation for the matricu-
lation examination was granted in 1965. At largest, the total enrolment
was over 400 students in the 1960s and -70s.

In 1974 the co-educational school became a municipal comprehensive school and also the upper secondary school continued as a municipal school, which had more than 100 students at the largest. At the turn of the millennium the upper secondary school faced problems due to a loss of students. There were attempts to organise closer co-operation with vocational education, but without any notable success (Volanen 1998). So the school was merged with the Laukaa upper secondary school in 2006.[3]

The introduction of comprehensive school in the 1970s brought all children of the community under the same type of school for nine year grades. People were widely puzzled. This concerned teachers and students as well as parents. Harri Tapper, a well-known author, who once worked as a teacher and vice-rector at the Lievestuore lower secondary school, commented the change as follows:

" … For a teacher coming from middle school or lyceum it was a totally new experience that not all students were willing to learn: matters that are beyond us, those we do not want to learn. Sine and cosine, results calculation for proportional representation in elections, and 'should' and 'would' in English are too difficult to people in general. The misfortune of being too knowledgeable took teachers in the murky depths of mental depression for many years."

"Let's take another example: the teachers of practical subjects in the former primary school. A few years earlier technical work teachers had instructed students to make sets of rustic furniture, beds with mahogany ends, and even carpenter's benches. In metal work, students had made a snow pusher and a wheelbarrow, at least. In the comprehensive school the students were able to assemble some blocks of wood, and a yellow-painted stool was their greatest accomplishment in size."

"To balance the view, let's also take a look at what had happened to this student who earlier, in the end of his school year, might have been sitting on the edge of a rustic table and casually rocking a wheelbarrow at his feet and feeling enormously proud of his skill. A few years later this young man was

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[3] The support association for the Lievestuore Co-educational School is still active, working as a local tradition association.

standing helpless at the school yard, fingering a coat hanger in his hand. Its wooden part he had made in wood work and the metal part in metal work … and he stated: … So this school gives no chance for me to personal happiness, you know … I can't see a slightest room for self-realisation, I mean as a guy … Should I give this hanger to my old man or to my mom? 'Cause I have a headache, so I think I'm gonna have my hair cut and shaven clean high up on both temples. Like did you get it?" (Harri Tapper 1984, in Vuorenpää 1999, 63)

Bringing together the old primary school pedagogy that stressed everyday practical skills and general dexterity, on the one hand, and lyceum's academic learning where the emphasis was on languages, general knowledge and tradition, on the other hand, led to the domination of languages and academic education in the comprehensive school. Arts and practical subjects got less attention in the long run. Most importantly, no pedagogical solution about their relation was reached: the pedagogical limelight focused on "learning", while issues of education and personal development were considered external to the mainstream of educational science.

The comprehensive school constituted a new social composition for the education process (Nash 1977, 2003a). Students from all social groups were now learning in the same schools and classrooms. The above description by Harri Tapper aptly reveals how the social composition for learning outcomes did essentially change with the introduction of the comprehensive school. In the Nordic school system that aims at equality – i.e. comprehensive school – there is no other public and legitimate way to show differences than by learning achievement, and even this should not be too explicit: a certain basic standard of learning should be guaranteed for all. The price of this aim is – if Tapper is right – certain cultural neutrality, or even void, as somebody could say. While the comprehensive school cannot directly and publicly lean on the specific tradition of any particular group of people, it has to seek for a broad-based cultural orientation for its work. Then again, this may remain distant to rather many students coming from different social backgrounds.

The comprehensive school was introduced in Lievestuore in 1974. What is the situation now, three decades later? Has the new learning environment developed into a new culturally general overall context? Even if all the children in each district go to the same school, there are dif-

ferences between individual schools in terms of their social composition. Does this affect students' learning and educational orientation? And how is the development of a student's personal resources related to the school and further educational career?

I will address these questions, firstly, in the light of the Finnish national results of the PISA 2006 assessment and then separately on the basis of responses given by eighth- and ninth-graders at Lievestuore Laurinkylä School (2006). But first a few words about equality and differences in educational achievement.

Differential factors and equality

In the Nordic countries, the education policy aim has been, since the Second World War and at least until the 1980s, to keep the differences in educational achievement fairly small between individual compulsory schools. The equality of the education system has for long been based on the idea that all children within a particular region – school district – go to the same comprehensive school. Hence, the children represent the social spectrum of the whole district. It means internal diversity for individual schools, depending on the social composition of each school district. Further, there may be considerable variation in schools' social composition even within the same municipality or town, reflecting the local housing policy.

The spectrum of ideas, experiences, and habits brought from home do not constitute a legitimate ground for differentiated instruction even within schools, however. A legitimate thing, instead, is educational achievement with related assessment of individual differences. On the other hand, in equality-oriented basic education a pronounced aim is a "universal pedagogy" (Bourdieu, in Nash 1990, 436–438), i.e. pedagogic practices that take children's social differences into account. School should thus level rather than increase such differences in educational achievement that rise from children's social background.

Equality can refer to many different things, however: for example, to equal opportunities, in which case failing to seize them is considered the

person's own choice. By positive discrimination the opportunities can be made more equal for socially disadvantaged students. Equality can also refer to differences in learning achievement and their social toleration, e.g. between schools, regions, or even students. It is also possible to examine what actually produces these differences: Is school an institution that reproduces, as such, the hierarchy of habits and educational standard coming from homes – valid social praxis – or even an institution that produces new praxis? For instance, in Finland and Iceland the status of school bears no effect on students' mathematics performance. In international comparison this is very exceptional. In these two countries the effect of student's social background is attributable directly to home, without school's mediating effect (Välijärvi 2007; see also PISA 2003[4] in Kupari & Välijärvi 2005 and Figure 3.1). It is thus rare that school keeps home-based differences *unchanged*, in other words it reproduces the social background as such. More commonly, school is actively involved in increasing the differences in educational achievement.

Besides teacher-student power relations, also student peer groups and friends are an integral part of school life. In fact, friends and peers are an important reason for attending school. In peer groups habits learnt at home and shaped by economic, social, and cultural capital are subjected to review and evaluation in terms and rules that are not always visible in the public image of school. On the contrary, people often wish to keep this process as informal and external to actual school work. The fact that the school or even the classroom representatively includes children from all social groups does have various implications for schooling. It is possible that children coming from working-class families become more inclined to accept and even develop interest in school's curriculum – educational achievement – when they see the lifestyle of middle-class or even upper middle-class people, including attitudes to school and life in general. And vice versa, middle-class students might gain confidence in schooling when seeing the more modest circumstances of some classmates. Of course, the effects may also work in the opposite direction.

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[4] In PISA 2006 Iceland is the only one in this category, while in Finland there was already evidence of schools' differentiative effects on learning achievements (cf. PISA 2007, Figure 4.12).
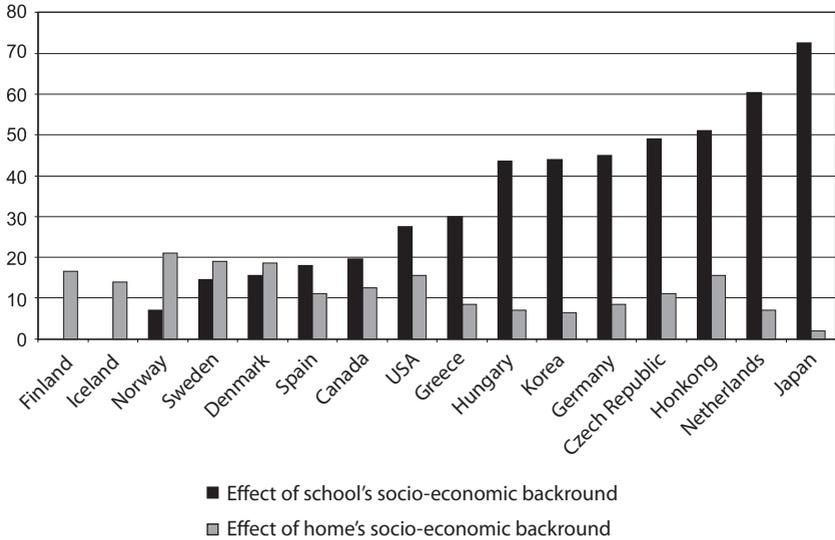
Figure 3.1 *The relation of school's and home's socioeconomic status to students' performance in mathematics*

Bourdieu speculates that when the share of working-class children in the classroom exceeds certain limit, the general atmosphere of the classroom alters, the forms of disorder change and also the relations to teachers change in type (Bourdieu, cited in Nash 2003).

When children meet at school, each with their individual background and habitus, characterised by their economic, social and cultural capital, this creates two spheres of activities: peer groups between friends and classmates on the one hand, while each student, leaning on his or her own habitual profile, is involved in the sphere of differential production systems pertaining to educational achievement, on the other hand. Schooling as a differential and reproductive system is not primarily concerned with the content, i.e. the curriculum, through which the schooling process takes place. For the student, then again, it is a key issue: whether this is an opening to a series of mutual small conscious deeds where social individualisation eventually becomes a part of school practices and the school community becomes more individual (case A in figure 3.2), or

whether school remains in the sphere of mere social and thus reproductive activity (D). It is also possible that students' peer groups, independently from the school's content, have a content of their own which form the students' individualities (C). On the other hand, the main function of the school institution may be the control of student activities (B). This all can be illustrated by a four-cell matrix as in Figure 3.2 (for more see Volanen 2007).

| | | **Student** | |
		deeds	activities
School	deeds	A Mutual development	B Social control
	activities	C Student peergrouping	D Social reproduction

Figure 3.2 Four models of interaction between students and school

In the following I will discuss, first, whether the social composition of the comprehensive school bears any effects on differences in educational achievement. In this context, educational achievement refers not only to learning achievements (mathematics, science) and orientation to natural sciences but also to the students' occupational aspiration in terms of the status of the occupation they are aiming at. Then I will move on to discuss transition to upper secondary education throughout the country by population centres[5]: Could the distribution patterns of students' choices

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[5] I use Finnish postal codes as an indicator of population centres. In Finland there are about 3100 postal code areas, which have been formed historically for practical needs. They indicate population centres within municipalities. SuomiCD (Statistics Finland 2008b) includes a large archive of statistics by postal code areas.

between upper secondary school, vocational education and training, or dropping out of education be explained by school-specific PISA results (in terms of level and variation), the school's social composition or the social and economic structures pertaining to the population centre? Based on this setting I will conclude with an analysis of the relationships between students' resources, school achievement and educational orientation at Lievestuore Lower Secondary School.

School's social composition and differences in educational achievement

Comprehensive school

In the light of international PISA studies, the Finnish comprehensive school is an exceptional school. Its student performance in science, mathematics and reading literacy has been consistently among the best in several measurements, often the best. In addition, differences between schools – like in other Nordic countries – have always been among the smallest. The variance between students is also clearly below the international average, though not the smallest. The good results have been obtained by keeping the differences between schools small enough: none of the countries succeeding in this was ranked low in PISA studies (Scheinin 2007). These findings should be borne in mind in the following, when I examine the relationship between school's social composition and learning achievements.

The following analysis is based on PISA 2006 data (PISA 2007). In Finland the assessment involved 4714 students. This makes it possible to examine statistically significant, yet relatively small differences. Firstly, I divide the participating schools (N=155) into five categories according to the school-specific average of parents' social, economic, and cultural status (PISA index). Secondly, I divide students' families into three groups according to the parents' occupational status: white-collar families, blue-collar families and mixed (both blue- and white-collar status). Figure 3.3

shows the distribution of parents' occupational status by school catego-
ries (K1–K5). We can see that the categories differ in terms of their social
composition. In Category 1 blue-collar families form the largest group,
while white-collar families dominate Category 5 schools.
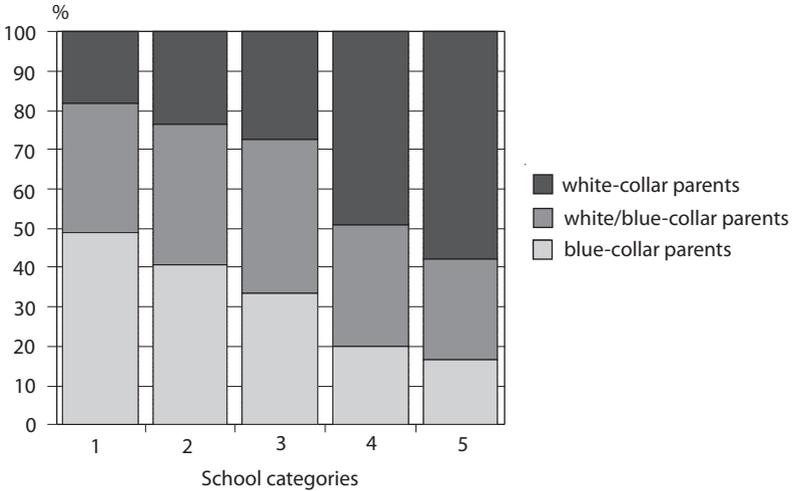
The schools (N = 155) were divided into five groups
of equal size according to the school-specific mean
of the parents' socio-economic and cultural status
(PISA index)

Figure 3.3 *Distribution of parents' occupational status by school categories in PISA 2006 data (PISA 2007)*

Next, I will look at student performance in science; more specifically
how the 15-year-old boys and girls representing the three family groups
perform at schools of the five categories (Figures 3.4 and 3.5; PISA score
points, SD=100).
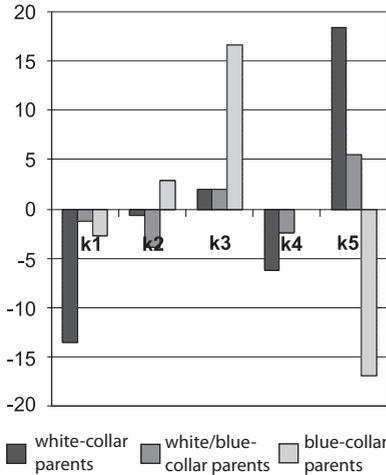
Figure 3.4 *Boys' performance in science assessment, by family groups and school categories (PISA 2007)*
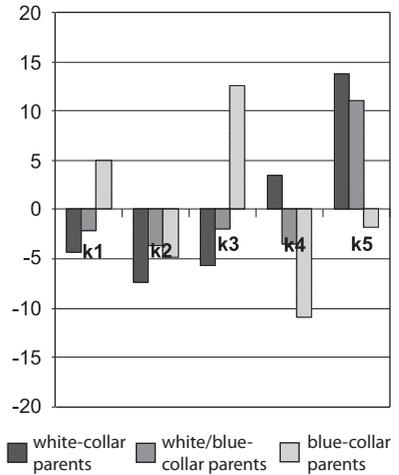
Figure 3.5 *Girls' performance in science assessment, by family groups and school categories (PISA 2007)*

In relation to the overall average of the student's family group, the performance levels vary according to the school's social composition. School Category 3 appears to provide a favourable learning environment to children coming from blue-collar families. In contrast, for boys the Category 5 schools and for girls the Category 4 schools seem to have a negative effect. The differences are small, however. As far as mathematics is concerned the corresponding figures look like this (Figures 3.6 and 3.7):
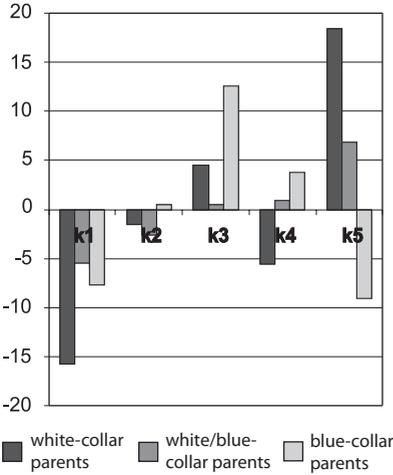
Figure 3.6 *Boys' performance in mathematics assessment, by family groups and school categories (PISA 2007)*
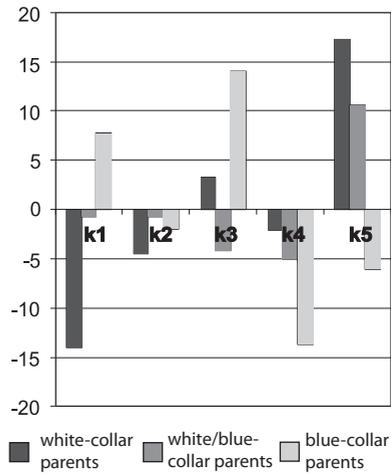
Figure 3.7 *Girls' performance in mathematics assessment, by family groups and school categories (PISA 2007)*

In mathematics the performance level of children coming from white-collar families seems to depend on the school's social composition Again, for blue -collar family girls School Category 4 appears challenging, whereas Category 3 is favourable.

As regards scientific orientation, the school categories seem to have just a discernible, very weak impact (see Figures 3.8 and 3.9; SD=1): In School Category 5 the personal relevance of science remains lower than average for children coming from blue-collar families.

The expected status of future occupation (ISEI index, see Ganzeboom et al. 1992) increases for girls coming from blue-collar families in School Category 4 and decreases in Category 5. For boys, no such effect can be detected. (Figures 3.10 and 3.11; SD=1.)

In the light of these initial findings, the school's social composition seems to bear a relationship to student achievement. The picture is partly fragmented, but it seems that belonging to a clear minority in the school community would hinder learning. On the other hand, parents' improved social status supports learning as well. In contrast, social com-
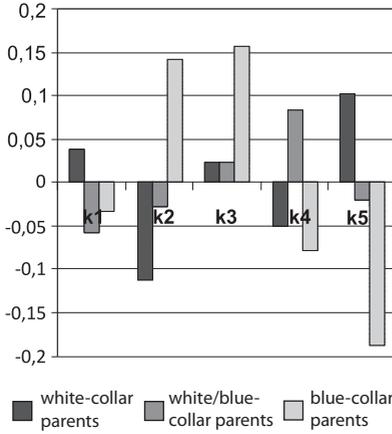
Figure 3.8 *Personal relevance of science for boys, by family groups and school categories (PISA 2007)*
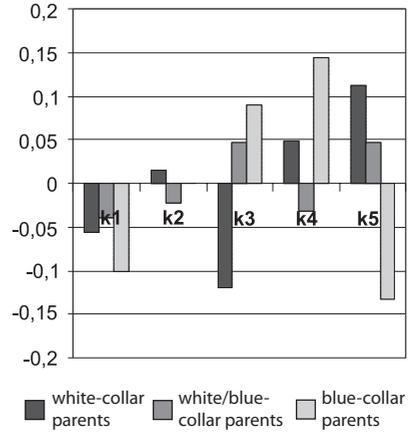
Figure 3.9 *Personal relevance of science for girls, by family groups and school categories (PISA 2007)*
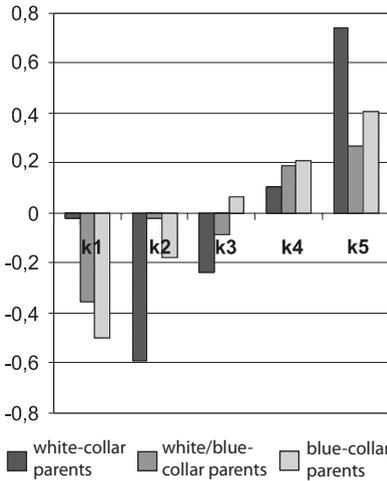
Figure 3.10 *Status of future occupation for boys, by family groups and school categories (PISA 2007)*
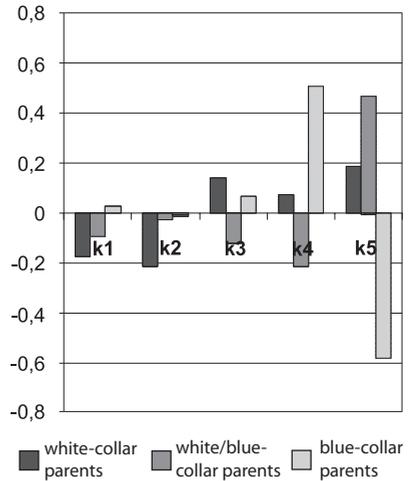
Figure 3.11 *Status of future occupation for girls, by family groups and school categories (PISA 2007)*

position does not appear to have any connection to perceived personal relevance of science. However, school's social composition is connected to the choice of future occupation: boys' tend to set their aims higher as the school's social status inclines. For girls coming from blue-collar families the connection to expected occupational level seems to get weaker, if there are too few students with similar background at the school.

The results are in some sense confusing: in a few decades the comprehensive school has become an institution producing highly similar educational outcomes – in international comparison – regardless of the individual schools in question. Student's home background bears an influence throughout the comprehensive school, but in different ways depending on the specific social composition of each school. If the composition is not in balance – that is, some social groups are underrepresented – this may decrease the educational achievement of children belonging to an underrepresented group. It should be noted that PISA tests measure cognitive skills (*literacy*) only, even if in applied to everyday contexts rather than as traditional encyclopedic knowledge. As far as social and emotional learning is concerned, the findings have been almost sad in Finland (see Suutarinen 2002; Pietikäinen 2008).

…. but what happens after the comprehensive school, then?

The comprehensive school graduates are divided into three groups in terms of their further educational options: upper secondary school (gymnasium), vocational education and training, or dropping out of the education system – this third option often leads to marginalisation in society. National statistics show that of those finishing their comprehensive school in spring 2006, about 95% were enrolled in further education in the next autumn.[6]

There was considerable variation by schools and municipalities: The range for municipalities was 80–100%, and for schools 36–100% (see

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[6] Internationally this is a high percentage. However, many students drop out later, especially in the vocational sector, so that about 17% of young people at the age of 20 or more have not attained a secondary level qualification.
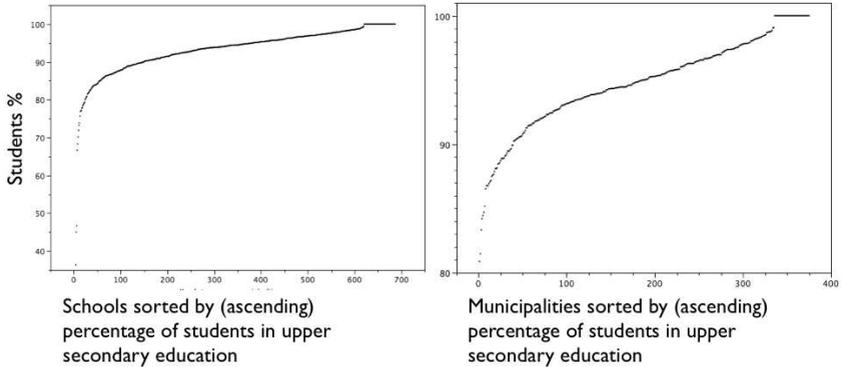
Figure 3.12 *The percentage of age cohort starting upper secondary education in 2006 by schools and municipalities*

Figures 3.12). Of those heading for further education the national percentage for general upper secondary school was 55% while 45% went to vocational education. Also this ratio varied very much by schools and municipalities: The municipal range for upper secondary school was 19–83%, and for vocational education 17–74%. By schools the range for both options was 0–100% (see Figure 3.13). The social composition of comprehensive schools has no effect on these distributions. The averages of different school categories are within just a few percentage points.

What underlying factors, then, do influence this division between educational options? The appendix 1 lists factors that seem to increase or decrease enrolment to gymnasium, upper secondary school, vocational education, or leaving the education system in population centres. Things that correlate positively with seeking to upper secondary school include higher education background among older population (55+), dominant agriculture and forestry, migration within the region and outward, and to some extent also mathematics achievement in PISA. In contrast, opposite correlations can be attributed to the number of young people with a vocational qualification as well as the unemployment rate in the population centre. These findings can be partly explained by the fact that in Finland many small upper secondary schools are located in small population
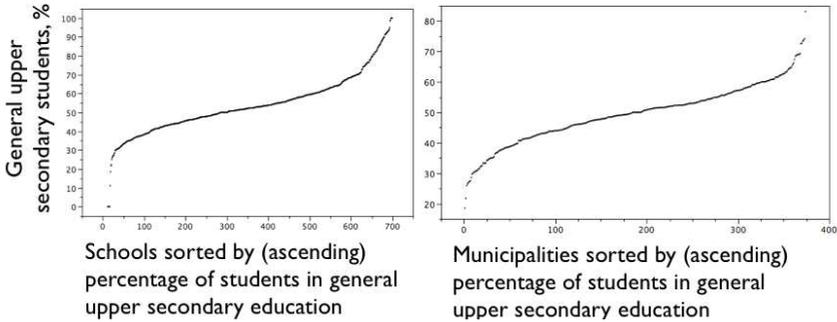
Figure 3.13 *The percentage of age cohort starting general upper secondary education in 2006 by schools and municipalities*

centres where no vocational education is available. People hold on to the upper secondary schools, even if they do not always have enough students. Currently, it is easier to get a place in an upper secondary school than in vocational education. An exception here is perhaps some upper secondary schools located in the centres of bigger cities – they can still select their students to some extent.

Factors that correlate positively with seeking to vocational education include the share of industrial work in the local economic structure, unemployment rate, middle-class and student households, short education careers of the age group of 25–34-year-olds. Factors with an opposite effect include migration away from the locality, low educational attainment among young adults as well as the percentage of upper secondary school graduates, higher education background among older people and to some extent also the comprehensive school's science achievement in PISA.

Dropping out of education is promoted by both the lack of education and higher education among 25–34-olds, low income of families as well as vocational qualifications among people of pensionable age. The share of executive households in the population centre bears a negative correlation to dropping out of education.

The division into three groups after compulsory school can thus be largely attributed to local circumstances in terms of educational attain-

ment in different age groups and economic structure, along with the economic status of families and local unemployment. In contrast, the internal composition and average learning achievement of the comprehensive school have no essential impact on the division. Educational attainment in the local population for different age groups seems to have even opposite effects. Hence, higher education background in older age groups appears to add the attraction of upper secondary schools, whereas higher education in the age group 25–34 seems to be connected with increased drop-out rates. This often concerns districts within bigger cities.

The local community is thus closely involved in directing comprehensive school graduates to different further study paths. It can be argued that aiming at educational equity has given way to reproduction of the structural elements of the local community through young people's choices. As far as upper secondary school is concerned, small rural schools still reflect traditional aspiration to education and the idea to improve the community's status through education. Upper secondary school has been, and still is, a touchstone for population centres. In many places the decrease in the number of young people and an increase in their interest in vocational education have broken this tradition.

Vocational institutes have merged and concentrated into bigger and bigger units in recent years. They have now much better possibilities for diverse development activities than in individual upper secondary schools. In many places they have also reduced the juxtaposition of the general and vocational sectors of secondary education by enabling dual qualifications.

How do these findings apply to individual population centres? Let's take a closer look at a small locality in Central Finland, the community of Lievestuore.

Lievestuore and Laurinkylä comprehensive school

The number of students at the 9th grade at Laurinkylä comprehensive school in Lievestuore has varied in recent years from slightly under 40 to nearly 60. In 2006 their number was 56. Of the 53 comprehensive school

graduates of that year, 46 were pursuing further studies in the autumn:[7] 13 (28%) at upper secondary school and 33 (72%) in vocational education. The upper secondary schools concerned were mainly those of Jyväskylä Lyceum and Vaajakoski. The vocational students had chosen Jyväskylä Vocational Institute, especially technical branches. Some were studying in Jämsänkoski and in Tampere Vocational Institute. Of the Laurinkylä graduates of the year 2002, four years later, in 2006 about 10% were without a qualification and outside the education system, and about 16% were still studying for their first qualification. Upper secondary school graduates accounted for 39% while 35% had a vocational qualification (Statistics Finland 2008a).

The social composition of Laurinkylä Comprehensive School grades 8 and 9 in 2006 is characterised by the majority consisting of mixed, white/blue-collar families (see Figure 3.14). Most often in this group, it is the mother who represents white-collar occupations. Compared to other Finnish PISA schools located in population centres of similar size (less than 5000 inhabitants), on average, Laurinkylä has a larger proportion of mixed families and a smaller proportion of white-collar families, in particular.

Next I will examine the relationships between Laurinkylä 8th- and 9th-graders' educational and occupational orientation and their home-based and own resources as well as school achievement. I have an overall survey data with 105 students. I will discuss the topic separately for boys and girls (Figure 3.15[8]).

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[7]   For seven persons this status was classified as "other or unknown".

[8]   I use structural equation model (AMOS software). The figures are regression coefficients. For example, when the family factor for girls increases by one unit, school achievement inclines by .51 units. *School* variable indicates school achievement, *Family* variables the parents' socioeconomic status, and *Own* variables student's own social resources. *Education* variable stands for desired education and *Intended occupation* variable the occupational goal. *After school* variable refers to planned choice immediately after school: work, vocational education or upper secondary school.
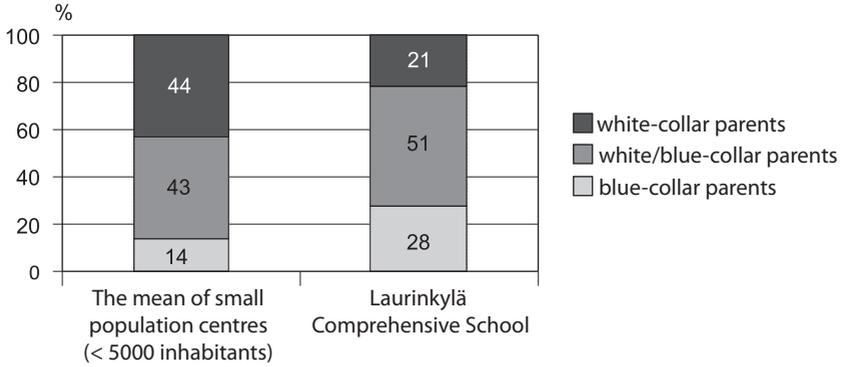
Figure 3.14 *Social composition of Laurinkylä and other comprehensive schools in small population centres*
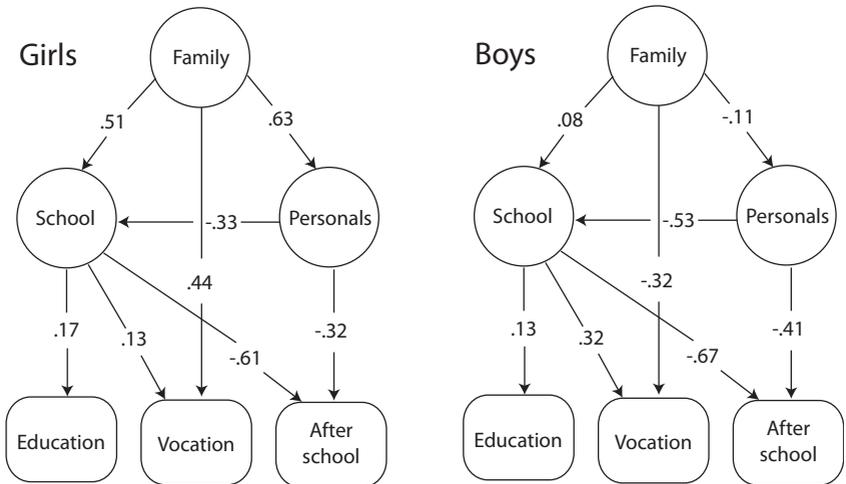
Figure 3.15 *Laurinkylä 8th- and 9th-graders' (2006) educational orientation after comprehensive school*

We can make the following observations:

1. School achievement directs young people to choose vocational education instead of upper secondary school.
2. Family resources bear a clear connection to girls', but not boys' school achievement.
3. For girls, family resources clearly support the development of own social resources, for boys this connection is weak.
4. The development of own social resources decreases school achievement, more for boys than for girls.
5. Family resources raise the occupational aim for girls, while for boys the effect is opposite but weaker.
6. Own social resources direct both genders to vocational education rather than to upper secondary school.
7. School achievement has a weak connection to the level of educational and occupational goals.

For boys, the development of one's own social resources contributes to a sphere of peer interaction (C, cf. the four-cell matrix in Figure 3.2). This sphere of peer interaction prevents school orientation: the school community does not seem to become a circle of mutual development (A). Girls have a stronger relation to their families, but for them, either, the development of own social resources does not promote school achievement. Neither does school achievement direct the students to education in the traditional academic sense. One reason for this is probably the uncertain situation of Lievestuore Upper Secondary School. The upper secondary and vocational students alike had to head for outside their local community. For girls the social reproduction of school (D) is clearer than for boys. Evidently, for boys the school's social control function (C) is more pronounced.

Laurinkylä students' perceptions of their own situation complement well the picture provided by the PISA data. Things outlined by Harri Tapper seem still to be valid in the daily life at the comprehensive school, but in a way that is unfortunate for the students. When acting on their own terms, boys do not lean on their families, neither on school. Girls'

own terms do lean on their families, but it does not bind them to school. From the students' point of view the "generic culture" of comprehensive school is therefore "non-culture". When the circle of mutual development (A) deteriorates – a circle that is essentially based on mutual meaning-making and approval – it will make cultural interpretations more difficult. Then we will be able to discuss various phenomena of life more or less only as *risks or chances of choice* – not as producing them. New phenomena pertaining to youth culture and life in general are reduced to threats or options, neither of which can be perceived as culturally – i.e. meaning-fully – self-produced and therefore one's own.

The paradox

What can we say after these analyses about the paradox we set at the very beginning of the chapter? The Finnish comprehensive school has tried to solve the classed contents of earlier middle school via common cognitive habitus and general but thin cultural message. In a very exceptional way, for a while the comprehensive school did not compound the difference of educational achievements but froze it at the level mediated from social background. This situation is now changing as the Finnish PISA results in 2006 and 2009 indicate: the comprehensive schools have now an active role in the production of differences in educational achievements. The earlier potential window of opportunity to construct universal pedagogy seems to be closing down.

The enlightenmental force of a realist curriculum seems not to be powerful enough without universal pedagogy, but on the other hand, with the universal pedagogy we should be able to break the generative vicious circle of structure/disposition/practice -chain and the *doxic* production of habitus. Pierre Bourdieu gives only two possibilities to make this: It is possible to exceptional persons, to geniuses. The other one is craftwork: "The traditional aesthetics ... as *opus operatum* ... does not analyse ... 'the work in progress' ... the production of that work ... (as) *modus operandi*, the manner of acting, the art in the etymological sense, that the artist brings into 'met en oeuvre', as we say in French, that is literally,

brings into work art, this manner of doing, this modus operandi, this style, in his *métier,* his craftsmanship, that is a practical mastery without theoretical mastery of practical mastery. The notion habitus, the idea of practical mastery, practical logic ... necessitate and effect a radical break with the scholastic bias that threatens most of the analysts of art, as teachers that is lectores, scholars ..." (Bourdieu 2005, 48). To be able to constitute a model of universal pedagogy with a circle of mutual development (A, see figure 3.2) and a realist curriculum, we must then – because we are not all geniuses – use craftwork as a methodological mirror for learning. In Finland this means overcoming the academic and handwork traditions of pedagogies associated with the names of J. V. Snellman and Uno Cygnaeus (Volanen 2007, 2008).

Appendix 1. Local explanations of the percentage of student in gymnasium, vocational education and drop-out after comprehensive school in Finland 2006

Gymnasium (explained (RSq) 67%)
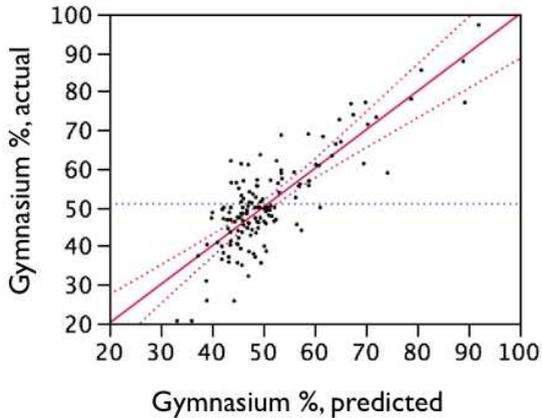
Term of community	Estimate	Std Error	t Ratio	Prob>|t|
Mature age, university degree (%)	0,7510168	0,11635	6,45	<,0001*
Agriculture, hunting, forestry, workplace (%)	0,5847162	0,133759	4,37	<,0001*
Young adults, with vocational diploma (%)	-0,477283	0,125587	-3,80	0,0002*
In-migration/population in the municipality (%)	0,3539229	0,147995	2,39	0,0182*
Migration inside the municipality/population (%)	0,6609277	0,285625	2,31	0,0223*
Unemployment rate (%)	-0,333052	0,151541	-2,20	0,0298*
PISAmath	0,052163	0,024322	2,14	0,0339*

Vocational education (explained (RSq) 73%)
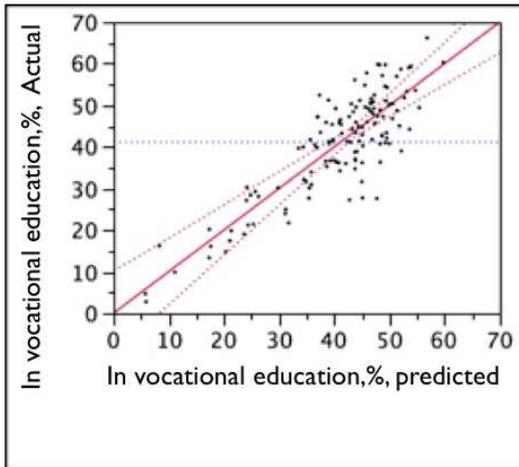
Term of community	Estimate	Std Error	t Ratio	Prob>|t|
Out-migration, %	-1,250172	0,269621	-4,64	<,0001*
Manufacturing (%)	0,466749	0,111271	4,19	<,0001*
Unemployment rate (%)	0,7240454	0,180165	4,02	0,0001*
Young adults, with basic level studies (%)	-0,581907	0,159657	-3,64	0,0004*
Young adults, with matriculation certificate (%)	-0,455243	0,139122	-3,27	0,0014*
Mature age, university degree (%)	-0,402173	0,129406	-3,11	0,0023*
Migration inside the municipality/population (%)	-0,901429	0,2927	-3,08	0,0025*
Middle-class househ. (%)	0,4949161	0,161693	3,06	0,0027*
Settling down, basic level studies (%)	0,3982551	0,179023	2,22	0,0279*
Student househ. (%)	1,4159846	0,637699	2,22	0,0282*
PISAscience	-0,047781	0,022689	-2,11	0,0372*

Drop-out (explained (RSq) 32%)
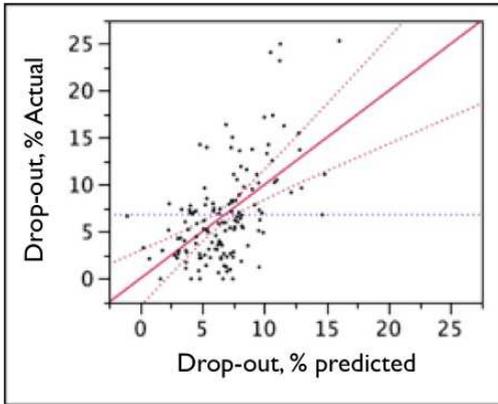
Term of community	Estimate	Std Error	t Ratio	Prob>|t|
Settled down, with basic level studies (%)	0,4562659	0,092586	4,93	<,0001*
Settling down, university degree (%)	0,2353002	0,057305	4,11	<,0001*
Third income bracket (%)	0,5734418	0,152998	3,75	0,0003*
Pensioners, vocational diploma (%)	0,2460587	0,096304	2,56	0,0118*
Executive househ. (%)	-0,344564	0,15055	-2,29	0,0237*

Leena Alanen

Capitalizing on family:
habitus and belonging

"Well, there never really was any alternative for us – it was somehow self-evident
that we would live here. Not that I was ever that attached to the scenery or
buildings here. It was surely something else… Now that we have children, one
of course realizes what a big help it is having grandparents living close. But back
then, we never thought of that kind of thing at all…"

Introduction

The fragment above from the interview with a female resident of Lieves-
tuore brings out the concern of this chapter – to find out what makes
people 'belong' to a local community and feel at home in a particular
place. The questionnaire data collected in the project shows that men
and women in their thirties and early forties are choosing to reside in
Lievestuore because they find it *"a peaceful place to live in"*, *"just the right*
size of community", or also *"a safe place for children to grow up"*. The local
housing market, with its relatively low costs of housing, whether buying
or building one, provides another set of good reasons for decisions to
stay in or move to the location, as are also the reasonably good public

services available for families with children. Finally, the beautiful sur-
roundings of nature around Lievestuore, with lakes and forests, as well
as the conveniently short distance from the nearest city with its supply
of cultural and other services, were frequently brought up as reasons to
live in Lievestuore.

However, as can be read in the citation above, belonging to a locality,
while appearing highly self-evident for some residents, is a more complex
phenomenon, hidden behind the explicit reasons that people are able to
give for choosing to belong. Belonging also has its reverse side, a sense
of not belonging, or *unbelonging* (Savage et al. 2005a, 11), of not being
'at home' in a locality even when one can give good reasons for deciding
to live there.

The study presented in this chapter aims at outlining aspects of some
of the local processes that generate for some local residents a sense of
place and belonging, and for others a sense of being 'out of place'. The
focus in the empirical part of the study will be men and women living in
Lievestuore, in the age range of thirty to forty years. The cultural expecta-
tion for this age group is that they would be 'family people', currently
living through the child-bearing and child-rearing stage of a (nuclear)
family. For this reason, a special concern will be with *family* and its sig-
nificance for Lievestuore residents' sense of belonging.

The chapter will make use of a number of central concepts in Pierre
Bourdieu's "tool kit", especially *capital*, *habitus* and *field*. In the next two
sections, these concepts will be related; first, to notions of *space* and *place*,
and then to notions of *family*, in order to provide conceptual tools for the
empirical study.

Space, place, habitus and belonging

Notions of space and place are central to Pierre Bourdieu's work (e.g.
Bourdieu 1989, 1998b, 2000a; Bourdieu et al. 1999) although, as some
writers point out, his theorization of spatiality has remained fairly

unelaborated.[1] In his work, Bourdieu uses the term *space* both literally – meaning that activities occur and actors act in physical spaces which have practical and symbolic significance in relation to each other – and metaphorically, as *social space*. In respect to the latter, actors are conceived of as occupants of multiple places within multiple relatively autonomous *fields* that together constitute the social space; these places in turn constitute the status, class and social position of the actors, that is, their place in society. In *Pascalian meditations*, for instance, Bourdieu writes the following:

> "As a body and a biological individual, I am, in the way things are, situated in a place; I occupy a position in physical space and social space – I am not (…) placeless (…) nor 'rootless and free-floating'." (Bourdieu 2000a, 130),

Not being placeless, that is, being placed or located, implies a social topology that is *embodied*. This brings forth *habitus* as a key concept in a Bourdieusian topology:

> "The 'I' that practically comprehends physical space and social space (though the subject of the verb *comprehend*, is not necessarily a 'subject' in the sense of philosophies of mind, but rather a *habitus*, a system of dispositions), is comprehended in a quite different sense, encompassed, inscribed, implicated in that space. It occupies a position there which (from statistical analyses of empirical correlations) we know is regularly associated with position-takings (opinions, representations, judgements, etc.) on the physical world and the social world." (Bourdieu 2000a, 130; emphasis in the original.)

The bodily dispositions of individuals (of which their habitus consists) are linked to the positions that individuals occupy in social space, in the various fields of practice that together make up society.[2] This conceptual link opens up a view on how belonging and 'being at home' can be understood.

Bourdieu's embodied, dispositional sociology has been adopted as a major starting point in a number of studies that focus on the signifi-

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[1] Bourdieu has a pronounced antipathy against talking about concepts (and therefore about theorizing) "for their own sake" and instead prefers to present them by using them in research (see e.g. Bourdieu 1986, 56).

[2] Bourdieu however prefers to use the term 'social space' to 'society'.

cance of territoriality and place for social relationships, on the ties that bind people to localities in community, or the generation of residential or local *habitus* (e.g. Allen et al. 2006; Bagnall et al. 2003; Butler 2008; Savage et al. 2005a, 2005b; Longhurst 2007; Coldron et al. 2010; see also Jørgensen 2010).

For instance, Savage et al. (2005b) look for mechanisms active in the processes in which individuals' belonging to a place and their local habitus become generated. Based on their study of four locations in the North-West of England, they note that in some of these places there seems to be no break between the individual actors and the social and spatial world around them. They relate this observation to Bourdieu's idea of the *practical sense* of a habitus and its correspondence with the fields of practice in which the actor is involved. Due to this practical sense,

> "the agent engaged in practice knows the world but with a knowledge which (…) is not set up in the relation of externality of a knowing consciousness. He knows it, in a sense, too well (…), takes it for granted, precisely because he is caught up with it, bound up with it; he inhabits it like a garment [*un habit*] or a familiar habitat. *He feels at home in the world because the world is also in him, in the form of habitus*" (Bourdieu 2000a, 142–143; latter emphasis by LA)

The habitus thus enables the collusion of individual agents with the society of which they are a member, and because of this 'fit', or the sense of being at home in a familiar milieu, there is "an 'ontological complicity' between embodied history and institutional roles" (Bourdieu 1990b, 132). This provides the means for identifying a general mechanism linking habitus and field, or the 'feel for the game' and the game itself (Bourdieu 2000a, 151), which in turn explains why belonging may occur in certain places – belonging that is 'elective' (Bourdieu 1986, 250–251).

For their study, Savage et al. (2005a, 2005b) follow up and elaborate on Bourdieu's idea of elective belonging, and argue that the linking mechanism between habitus and place is empirically manifest in the sense of bodily comfort and ease that people experience in different social situations – which are also always physical situations (Savage et al. 2005a, 9; see also Atkin 2003, 510). Local belonging, then, is not to be seen in existential terms, as primordial attachment to some kind of

face-to-face community, nor as a discursive construct, but as a socially constructed, embedded process, in which people reflexively judge the suitability of a given site as appropriate, given their social trajectory and their position in other fields (Savage et al. 2005a, 12).

To empirically study local belonging, Savage et al. (2005a, 11–12) draw on Bourdieu's interest in how people may feel comfortable or not in any one place, relating this to the habitus and capital of their residents. In other words, people are comfortable when their habitus 'fits' with the fields in which they are engaged, and they feel ill at ease and seek to move, socially and spatially, out of the (social, physical) place if such a fit is lacking, thus relieving their discomfort.

In the empirical study to follow, the idea of correspondence, or 'fit', between habitus and field will be utilized as a tool in analyzing the engagement and practices of Lievestuore residents in local fields, and the sense of local belonging (or unbelonging) that for them ensues from their everyday practices.

Various fields differ in the ways they articulate with physical space. In the present study, the domestic space – the social space of family relations, the physical space of 'home' – is an important field of practice to consider. All the respondents 'have family', in the sense of living within relationships that we ordinarily recognize as 'family'.[3] In most cases, 'having family', in our kind of society, is ordinarily believed and also experienced as making a powerful impact on the everyday practices of family groups. In the next section, Bourdieu's thoughts on the family is briefly reviewed and elaborated for the purpose of the present study.

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[3]   In contemporary Finland, as also in the location of the present study, the majority of people in the age range of 30–40 years are seen to have 'families of their own', meaning (minimally) that they have partners and/or children co-residing with them. Single men and women (without co-residing children) can also be seen to 'have family', at least in the sense that they have, in their younger years, lived in family relationships, and these relationships currently exist in the form of 'extended family'. This chapter, however, will not be concerned about the many conceptual problems related to 'the family' as the culturally dominant location for practices and cultures of intimacy and care (but see e.g. Roseneil & Budgeon 2004).

Family in Bourdieu's sociology

The significance of family in Bourdieu's work follows from his overarching interest in understanding the social mechanisms by which social inequalities are reproduced in social life (see e.g. Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1984; 1996a). In modern industrial societies, family, alongside education, is a central reproductive mechanism of the social order (e.g. Bourdieu 1986; 1994a, 19–20; 1998b, 64–74).

Family has in Bourdieu's theory several senses: it is one of the social *fields* of modern societies, and as such constitutive of specific dispositions, and therefore, of *habitus*. In modern societies, families have been constituted as actual ('real') groups that possess various levels of *economic* and *cultural* capital. These they may transmit to members of their family group, and convert to other forms of capital.[4]

In as much as the family groups form networks of connections, stretching over both history and space – this being a dominant cultural norm of what family is – family is also an actual or potential source of *social capital* for its members.[5] Intra-family connections are not, however, automatically by their nature, social capital for family members; this requires involvement and investment in the relationships that make the family group. Such involvement in turn calls for a continuous series of social exchanges between family network members, which in turn implies expenditure of time and energy – family social capital is based on actual relational work being delivered. Therefore the family, as a social space for the maintenance and accumulation of capital, can also be seen not only as a site for family work, but also as a form of social, economic, cultural and symbolic *practice*.

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[4] The fact that actual family groups hold different levels of capital which they may take into use in various social fields beyond the family field is a key basis of the reproduction of social inequalities.

[5] Bourdieu's notion of social capital is a relational one, and differs from notions of social capital in mainstream theories (Coleman, Putnam; see e.g. Siisiäinen 2003). Within his framework, "social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships and recognition … which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word." (Bourdieu 1986, 248.)

As is clear from the above, family in Bourdieu's relational sociology is not to be taken as identical with the actual family (or domestic) groups that we in everyday discourse tend to call families. A sociologist will without difficulty recognize, and analyze, any actual family group, or a large group of kin, as a space of interactions taking place between members of individual families and 'extended kin' groups. Bourdieu however is adamant in asserting that family should not be identified as a domain of everyday domestic interactions. Within his relational theorizing, it is important to notice that the family

> "tends to function as a field, with its physical, economic and above all symbolic power relations (linked, for example, to the volume and structure of the capital possessed by each member), and its struggles to hold on to and transform these power relations" (Bourdieu 1998b, 68–69; also 1996a, 22; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, 18).

To perceive family as a social body within which members struggle or compete with each other goes utterly against contemporary and conventional thinking. Büchner and Brake (2006), in their study on the transmission of cultural capital along generational lines, are among the few researchers that make this point. Following Bourdieu, they note that we tend to be attached to an (idealized) picture of family in which emotional closeness and relations of trust and confidence take a central place, and the intrinsic purpose of family is to create an emotional counterbalance to the harsh competition and obligations to perform outside family. This idea as well as the idea of society being divided into a 'public' and a 'private' sphere and of family as the centre of the latter has been asserted by numerous sociologists (since at least Talcott Parsons). This *vision* of the family as a domain separate from the public domain of the economy and the state and following a specific logic of its own, is reinforced by the *division* of society into families (Bourdieu 1998b, 66).[6]

In contrast, it is Bourdieu's claim that in its modern representation the family should be approached as "only a word, a mere verbal construct" or

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[6]   Both the vision and the division are, of course, historical constructs although commonly experienced as being 'natural' (see below).

"paper family" (Bourdieu 1998b, 65). However, it is also a "well-founded fiction", an "active word" in that it is a collective principle of construction, perception and categorization of collective reality (ibid., 66; Lenoir 1992, 2008).[7] Therefore, in a society that is divided into family groups (such as contemporary Western industrialized societies) the family is not just a subjective idea, a mental and cognitive category; it is also an objective social category, and as such it is in fact the basis of the family as a subjective social category – the mental category which is "the matrix of countless representations and actions (such as marriages) which help to reproduce the objective social category. The circle is that of reproduction of the social order" (Bourdieu 1998b, 67), and

> "[t]he near-perfect match that is then set up between the subjective and objective categories provides the foundation for an experience of the world as self-evident, taken for granted. And nothing seems more natural than the family; this arbitrary social construct seems to belong on the side of nature, the natural and the universal." (Ibid.)

The circle of reproduction of the social order leads us to regard the family as (falsely) natural, by presenting itself with the self-evidence of what "has always been that way" although – as historical family research has amply shown – it is a fairly recent social invention (ibid., 64). The immediate congruence between the subjective, mental structures and the objective structures of the family is historically constructed, and the family thus the product of countless acts of institutionalization (ibid., 67–69).

Remi Lenoir (1991, 1992, 2003) has extensively analyzed this historical process of the birth and development – the *long durée* – of the family field in France, as it has appeared in the growth of family thinking ('familialism') in state policy, and the resulting institutionalization of the family in and through e.g. civil law and family policy. According to

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[7] 'Family', then, is an instrument of construction of reality that exists "both in the objectivity of the world, in the form of elementary social bodies that we call families, and in people's minds, in the form of principles of classification that are implemented both by ordinary agents and by the licensed operators of official classifications, such as state statisticians" (Bourdieu 1998b, 71). The state, then, is the main agent of the construction of the official categories through which both populations and minds are structured (ibid.; Bourdieu 1996a, 24–25; Lenoir 2008, 39–40).

his analysis, 'the family' has been (re)constructed at the intersection of several social fields (such as politics, law, religion, and medicine) within the struggles between concerned agents in these fields, each striving to establish from their positions in the respective field, as well as in the emerging family field, the 'functions' that were to be left to 'the family' to take care of. In Western Europe, according to Lenoir's analysis, the genesis of the family field started sometime in the 12th century and followed much of the same general pattern as various other social fields analyzed by Bourdieu and his colleagues: by fighting for its autonomy from the Church and the state, most clearly by the dominant economic classes of the time. The field of religion (in which the Church of course was the most powerful agent) and the field of the state (with its growth of an apparatus of governance) continue even today to be the most powerful fields that also presently affect the development of the family field.[8]

As was presented earlier, the perpetuation of the family as both an objective and subjective category however depends not only on the constant work of institutionalization, by a range of agents active in the emerging family (macro-)field. Practical and symbolic work to make (and remake) 'the family' is required also on the mundane everyday level within the family groups (actual families) themselves, as well as between them. It is this practical and symbolic work that

> "transforms the obligation to love into a loving disposition and tends to endow each member of the family with a 'family feeling' that generates devotion, generosity, and solidarity" (Bourdieu 1998b, 68).

This 'family feeling' – which is "a cognitive principle of vision and division that is at the same time an affective principle of cohesion" (Bourdieu 1998b, 68) – needs to be continuously created to function as the basis for the adhesion that is vital to the existence of the family group in the broader family field. The "obliged affections and affective obligations

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8   Dandurand & Ouellette (1995) present a similar analysis of the emergence and structuration of the family field in Canada. Whether the family field has, and to which degree, achieved in Western societies a state of autonomy, is an open question. Scientific work to construct "a social history of the process of state institutionalization of the family" (Bourdieu 1998b, 72) will be needed to provide answers which undoubtedly are conditional on the developments of nation-states.

of family feeling (conjugal love, paternal and maternal love, filial love, brotherly and sisterly love, etc." enter, for their part, into the construction of actual families. The implication is that a society divided into families tends to constitute in its members a specific mental structure, or *family habitus* (Bourdieu 1998b, 66–67; Lenoir 2008, 34). The daily work that goes into creating and recreating 'the family' – the subjective and mental category – and the division of society into family groups, can be studied as sets of relational *practices* of familialization (family-making). The fact that "everyone believes to know what the family is", confirms the success of the social work (Durkheim) consisting of both the 'private' work of families and the 'public' work of state and other agents that has gone in constructing the institution of the family, manifest also on the level of public discourses mobilized to support the vision of a thoroughly familialized world (Lenoir 1991, 781–782).

Thus the family, when considered as a social field[9], is a space structured by positions that are defined in and by the struggles and the specific interests mobilized in these struggles by a broad ensemble of agents, groups and institutions, often following divergent logics (Dandurand & Ouellette 1995, 104; Lenoir 2003; 2008). The key struggles (or the 'game') in the broad family field concern what defines 'the family' or, in Bourdieu's terms, the *species of capital specific to the family*, and who are well positioned to define it and have their definition accepted as legitimate. This structure however is always at stake in the struggles within the family field, so there is never any guarantee of there being unanimity at any time on what the legitimate representation of "the family" is or should be.

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[9] It needs to be under lined here that family as a social field refers not only to the broad societal (macro-)space studied by e.g. Lenoir and Dandurand & Ouellette; Bourdieu (1998b, 68–69) reminds us that any family group (which may be understood as a subfield of the broader family field) also "tends to function as a field, with their physical, economic and, above all, symbolic power relations (linked, for example, to the volume and structure of the capital possessed by each member), and its struggles to hold on to and transform these power relations".

Bourdieu points clearly to what the family's specific capital may consist of when he writes on the socially arbitrary, but naturalized 'family', in contemporary societies:

> In order for this reality called "family" to be possible, certain social conditions that are in no way universal have to be fulfilled. They are, in any case, by no means uniformly distributed. In short, the family in its legitimate definition is a privilege instituted into a universal norm: de facto privilege that implies a symbolic privilege – the privilege of comme il faut, conforming to the norm, and therefore *enjoying a symbolic profit of normality* [emphasis by LA]. Those who have the privilege of having a "normal" family are able to demand the same of everyone without having to raise the question of the conditions (a certain income, living space, etc.) of universal access to what they demand universally. … This privilege is, in reality, one of the major conditions of the accumulation and transmission of economic, cultural and symbolic privileges. (Bourdieu 1998b, 69.)

The so-called 'nuclear' family is the prototypical normal family at the core of family practices in the contemporary world (Uhlmann 2006, 9); it acts as a realized category by being both a model *of* reality (in the sense that it reflects the general practice) and a model *for* reality, meaning that it becomes a prescription that members of society follow.[10] As a realized category, the nuclear family forms "a 'gestalt' which incorporates many specific cognitive models, such as the division of labour within the family group, the convergence of social and biological parenthood, and the dependency of children on parents" (ibid., 46–47). These are some of the *doxic*[11] aspects of the family which are taken for granted and commonly experienced as universal. Moreover, the transparency of normalcy, that is, the fact that the family passes unnoticed and remains un-interrogated by public opinion, is – as also Bourdieu

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[10] The focus of Uhlmann's (2006) study is on the family and kinship practices of urban, mostly working-class Australians; notwithstanding the empirical location of his study, the general argument on the cultural and normative levels of family practice can also be held to be valid for other modern industrialized societies at the turn of the millennium.

[11] The concept of *doxa* broadly refers to the misrecognition of forms of social arbitrariness that engenders the unformulated, non-discursive, but internalized and practical recognition of that same social arbitrariness. It contributes to its reproduction in social institutions, structures and relations as well as in minds and bodies, expectations and behaviour. (Deer 2008, 119.)

(see above) has pointed out – part of the privileged position it has acquired – "the right to question and not to be questioned, the authority to contemplate others but not to be contemplated" (Uhlmann 2006, 47). Therefore, 'having a normal family' has the potentiality of being a privilege that has the status of being for their possessors valuable cultural capital and, moreover, *symbolic capital*.

The study

Data and methods

The group of Lievestuore residents that are in focus in this chapter are men and women in the age range of around 30–40 years. The study is based on two sets of data: first, a survey was conducted in 2006 among three full age groups (cohorts) of residents at Lievestuore. The respondents were born in 1970–72 and thus were in their mid-thirties at the time of filling in a questionnaire. Based on these data, the local life of the 'thirty-something' men and women at Lievestuore was analyzed and presented in the project's previous publication (Alanen 2009a). It is also the database for the first analytical step in the present study.

The second set of data was designed to supplement the questionnaire data. Eight semi-structured, qualitative interviews were carried out in early 2010 among women living in Lievestuore and within a somewhat broader age range than the respondents chosen for the survey. The aim in doing the interviews was to add a more dynamic perspective to the preliminary, survey-based analysis of the local life of Lievestuore residents in their thirties. As women provided survey data more fully than men the decision was made to focus, in this second stage of supplementary data collection, on women only.[12]

A modified snowball sampling method was applied in inviting interviewees, with the aim of tracing some of the processes of women's local

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[12]   Altogether 38 women, but only 20 men filled in and returned the survey questionnaire.

networking (cf. Browne 2003; Farquharson 2003).[13] The topics in the interviews covered the respondents' life trajectories as fully as possible, including (1) their concrete, factual life histories across pertinent fields of practice such as family, education and working life, as well as their other (e.g. voluntary) activities, with a special focus on resources (capitals) that they have inherited from their families and put into use; (2) their personal accounts of their interests in and activities within the different fields in which they have been, and are currently, involved; (3) their local as well as distal networks of connections and the kinds of these connections in terms of social exchange, and (4) the personal priorities and investments of the interviewees in their 'playing the game' across their current social fields.

Resource distributions

In this section, the empirical analysis on survey-based data is presented. Table 1 shows the distributions of various resources – economic, cultural and social – among both the male and female residents in their mid-thirties. This description is taken to provide an approximation of the volume and structure of capitals that the respondents possess.[14]

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[13] Initially, a local resident (a colleague at the university) was invited to suggest for the interview a number of female residents in the intended age group. First, a few interviews were conducted with some of the women on this list. At the end of each interview, the interviewees were asked to suggest further local women for interviewing from within their own local circles of friends and acquaintances. Altogether eight conversational interviews were made, lasting from 45 to 90 minutes, and transcribed for the analysis. In addition, informal discussions were conducted with a group of women participating (with their young children) in a 'family café' gathering.

[14] The values of the composite variable *Economic resources* was based on the occupation, the occupational training or education and the stability of work trajectory of the respondent, as well as those of his or her parents, plus the respondent's income and property. *Cultural resources* was based on the level of education attained, personal interests and cultural preferences. *Social resources* was based on the number and size of the respondent's social networks and their diversity, extent and orientations. The differences in amounts of each type of resources is relative within the whole group of respondents (N = 58).

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Table 4.1 *Distribution of economic, cultural and social resources; questionnaire*

Type of resource Amount	All	%	Men	%	Women	%
Economic						
Meagre	10	17	3	15	7	18
Moderate	44	76	16	80	28	64
Substantial	4	7	1	5	3	8
Total	58	100	20	100	38	100
Cultural						
Meagre	32	55	16	80	16	42
Moderate	16	28	2	10	14	21
Substantial	10	17	2	10	8	37
Total	58	100	20	100	38	100
Social						
Meagre	14	24	8	40	6	16
Moderate	23	40	5	25	18	47
Substantial	21	36	7	35	14	37
Total	58	100	20	100	38	100

As the table shows, the distribution of *economic resources* among the respondents is more even than that of either cultural or social resources: the majority of both men and women in their mid-thirties belong to the group holding moderate economic resources; in addition, the distributions of women and men do not markedly differ.

The general picture in the case of both cultural and social resources is quite different, as more than half of the respondents are in the group holding meagre amounts of *cultural resources*, and men markedly more often than women; in fact the women's distribution is fairly even whereas as many as eight out of ten of the male respondents belong to the group holding meagre amounts of cultural resources. Men and women also differ in the amounts of *social resources* they hold, although the difference is not quite as large as is the case with cultural resources. Here again, women appear to hold somewhat more social resources compared with men.

The differences between men and women in the resources they hold are clearly shown in the following 'resource maps': the respondents have

been mapped onto a two-dimensional space according to the amounts of various types of resources they hold. For those who hold substantial amounts of social resources, the maps also show where these resources mainly exist: in networks of family, kin and friends or, alternatively, in associational and other communal networks.[15]
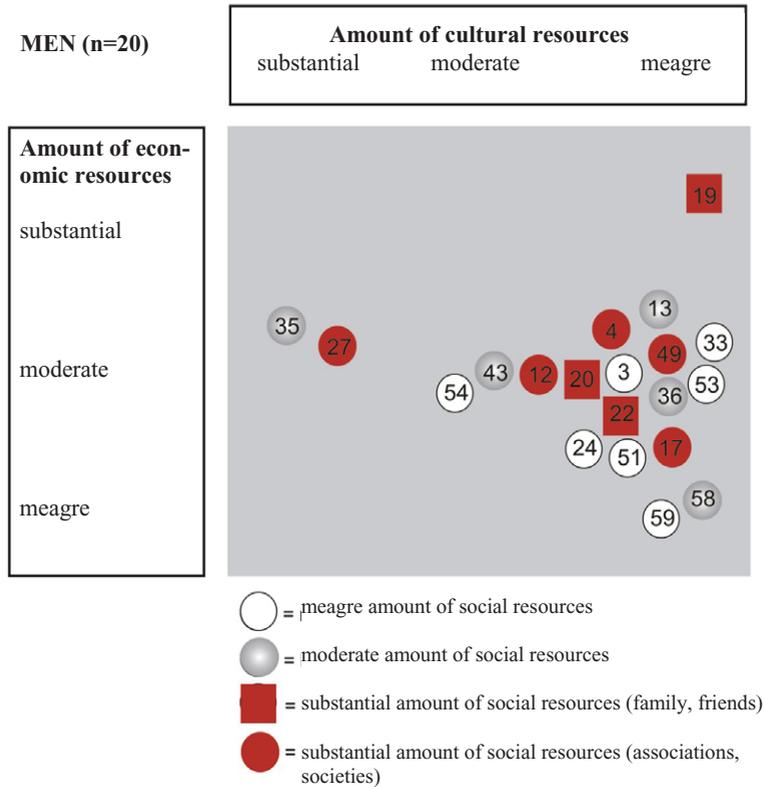
Figure 4.1 *Economic and cultural resources (survey data; men)*

The maps illustrate the clear differential distribution of economic and cultural resources among men and women in Lievestuore: the spread of men over the space (Figure 4.1) is substantially smaller than that of women (Figure 4.2), as male respondents are mainly found to be placed on the right side sections of the resource map and predominantly in its middle or lower section. Respondents S27 and S35 are men who hold substantial amounts of cultural resources, but moderate amounts of economic resources. What they both have in common is the source of their social resources: active participation in local associations. These two even share other features:

- Both are born and bred in the locality and live in standard "nuclear families" with young children.
- Both have a vocational degree, as do their partners.
- In the local associations in which they are members, both hold (or have held) positions of trust.
- They socialize weekly with friends and (locally living) relatives and are fond of holding and attending parties with family and friends.
- They like to visit the local library and attend local cultural events.
- They have no trouble in identifying themselves as locals of Lievestuore, and are basically satisfied with what the locality has to offer, although desiring more educational services and possibilities for a wider range of hobbies.
- Neither of them has ever contemplated moving from Lievestuore (except temporarily to gain further vocational training).

The contrast with respondents closest to the lower right hand corner in the resource map (figure 1) is clear, and not only in terms of the amounts of resources held. The four respondents S17, S51, S58 and S59 are all incomers to Lievestuore, one of them having lived there less than a year. None of them has any previous "roots" in Lievestuore; their relatives live elsewhere, in Jyväskylä or even further away. Their current family situation varies from singlehood to childless couple and nuclear family with young children; most of them are struggling with large bank loans. The price of housing – less expensive than where they came from – was in

fact a major reason for moving to the locality. Few of them have been in vocational training, but would like to think of getting some type of formal qualification; however, in their present economic situation this seems to remain a plan for the future. Moreover, this future will most probably not be in Lievestuore, as two of the four men are already think-ing of moving elsewhere. The other two are content to live in the locality, being moderately satisfied with what it has to offer in terms of services. Only one of these respondents (S17) has a fairly large social network, all of it concentrated in various sports that are practiced in groups of likeminded people. Others seem to be weakly engaged with local people, and even an intensive engagement with team sports (S17) does not seem to be able to function as a solid source of social capital and to generate a local identity.[16]

A tentative conclusion from the comparison of the daily practices of male respondents is that the lack or only meagre levels of economic and especially cultural resources seem to leave men in their mid-thirties without enough resources to capitalize upon and to be comfortably posi-tioned within local social fields. This raises the question of the cultural norms and expectations that are directed at young adults, or any citizens in Finland: first, get a good education, then find yourself an equally educated partner and a nice house to settle down and start a family; also (especially if you are male) get yourself interests and hobbies that demonstrate your physical and/or cultural fitness in your present sur-roundings. Such a standard trajectory will probably help to bring young adults the social and symbolic capital of 'normality' (see earlier), which in turn can give access to local fields and be converted into other forms of valid capital.

In a locality such as Lievestuore, not nearly all people can be trusted to hold enough economic and (inherited and/or acquired) cultural capital for building up such a trajectory, not even by way of a mortgage from the bank. On the other hand, even though they lack large amounts of economic and cultural resources – as is the case in the majority of the

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[16] He plans to move soon to a neighbouring municipality where he and his partner originally came from.

male respondents in the survey – local attachment through memberships in associations or clubs may provide an alternative entry into the 'magic circle' of some local field and its social and symbolic capital. A close reading of the responses to questionnaires shows that entry may be more readily available for 'natives' of Lievestuore than to incomers, as 'natives' born and bred in Lievestuore more often hold some locally appreciated skills, interests and instruments such as is required for membership in a fishing or hunting association. Sports, on the other hand, is a common free-time activity that is available to a larger range of residents, and the local sports club appears to be the local space most readily open for both natives and incomers to enter and 'play the game' of the day.

Concluding from the above on the significance of family for men in their mid-thirties, it seems that cultural 'normality' may well provide men symbolic capital that is useable in the local fields, and is helpful in attempts to convert it to more varied kinds of locally valid social capital. Therefore, if one does not have a 'normal family' (S3, S53) or if one's everyday practices are limited to the nuclear family group (S24, S53, S59), the consequence may well be that these practices do not contribute to the accumulation of local social capital and to the improvement of one's position in local fields. Interestingly, a clear gender difference can be found when comparing the case of men with that of the local women in their mid-thirties, as the following analysis shows.

In the women's resource map (Figure 4.2), there is a similar group of residents with meagre economic and cultural resources among women as there is among men (in the lower right side corner), but there is in addition another (slight) difference in that this group of women also lacks social resources (S18, S34, S37, S46, S47). As with the similar group of men, the meagre cultural resources are also particularly linked to inherited or acquired education. All of the women have children and in many cases more children than the average family with children in Lievestuore. Furthermore, notably more often than on average, the family groups in the case are reconstituted or one-parent families. Finally, only in rare cases are the women in this group "rooted" in the locality, for they are typically incomers who have moved to Lievestuore together with their partners, or to join their partners who were (or became) employed there;

WOMEN (n=38)

	Amount of cultural resources		
	substantial	moderate	meagre

Amount of economic resources

substantial

moderate

meagre

○ = meagre amount of social resources

◐ = moderate amount of social resources

■ = substantial amount of social resources (family, friends)

● = substantial amount of social resources (associations, societies)
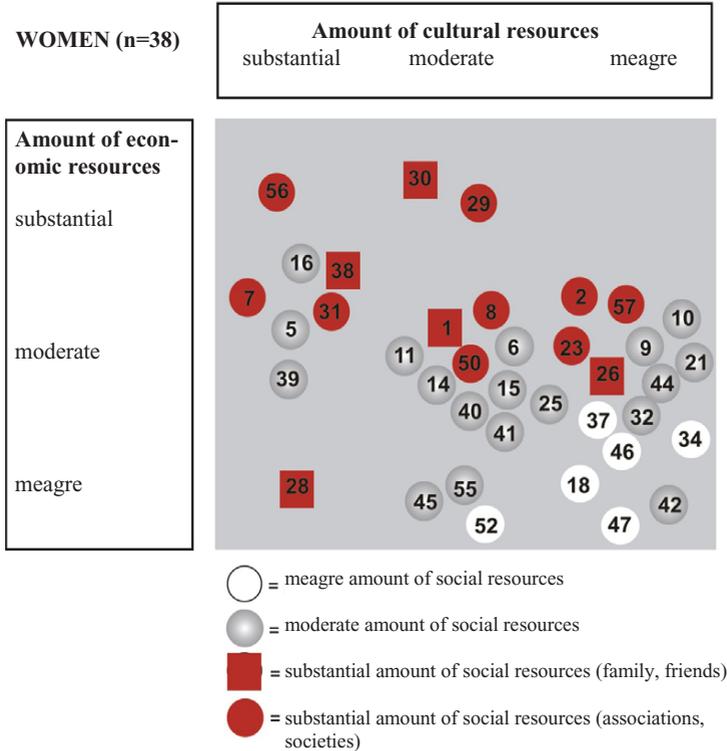
Figure 4.2 Economic and cultural resources (survey data; women)

alternatively, they have moved in mainly because of the more affordable prices of housing. These incomers also have a little everyday exchange with friends and relatives and they infrequently visit places or special events at the locality, indicating that their personal interests do not reach much beyond their family and home.

As mothers of young children, child care seems an understandable explanation for the scanty participation of these women in local and communal activities; not having relatives living locally is further grounds for their limited participation outside the domestic field. On the other hand, parenting may well provide – especially for women – important

resources which are convertible to useable capitals in other local fields, and may therefore function as a 'bridgehead' for converting domestically produced capital into other forms, for use outside the domestic field.

Indications of such conversions can be detected in the group of women positioned in the left hand side of the resource map (S5, S7, S16, S31, S38, S56), who hold substantial levels of cultural resources and at least moderate levels of economic resources when compared to the former group. They, in contrast to the former group of women, appear to have succeeded in converting their family-related capital into other, locally useable forms of capital.

Except for differences in levels of the two kinds of resources – economic and cultural, particularly educational – women in this locally 'successful' group still have a lot in common with the less resource-rich group. They too are incomers to Lievestuore, in fact all of them and in most cases, during the last five years. In addition, they do not have their "roots" in the locality in the sense that none of their close relatives live or have lived in Lievestuore or its immediate surrounding municipalities. They also are mothers to two or three school-aged or younger children. However, in several other respects, the groups differ, and most notably in the everyday activities beyond the sphere of home, family and child-care. The resource-richer group of women engages abundantly in a range of local activities such as outdoor recreation, sports and games, and visits to libraries and other cultural institutions (locally and in the region). They also like to ramble in the local woods or to go picnicking by the nearby lake. Many of them are also busy in various kinds of voluntary group activities in the locality. Furthermore, they tend to identify strongly with their current place of living.

All in all, the amounts and range of social resources that women in these two groups hold are markedly different, at the same time as they share certain characteristics in that women in both groups seem to invest heavily in family, home and parenting. In this, however, the former group, holding meagre economic and cultural resources, remains largely confined to the sphere of home, family and child care, with the result that this investment does not easily transform into a resource that would be useable outside the domestic and family sphere. In contrast, the con-

version of family-based social resources – family capital in its various forms – into social and symbolic capital to use in a range of other local fields is managed in the case of women in the latter group, who have been endowed with more ample economic and cultural resources from the beginning, before moving to their present locality. In the conversion, they have been aided by the cultural capital that they have inherited or acquired through education[17] and the occupational positions that their educational capital has helped to bring them. The overall volume of this capital, partly converted into investment in family social capital, is clearly bringing them profits, and this is also manifest in their contentment in living in Lievestuore, and feelings of 'being at home' there.

The overall analysis above shows that for the respondents in the survey, families (and some cases extending to locally living relatives) are a potential source of social and symbolic capital for both men and women in their mid-thirties. Based on the distributional data of the resources held by men and women living in Lievestuore, as well as a careful reading of the individual questionnaires of similarly or closely positioned men and women, it can be concluded above that

- the levels of *cultural* and *economic* capital that individuals hold are also significant for the generation of social capital: substantial or moderate amounts of economic and cultural capital (in relative terms) tend to also generate for their holders, both men and women, local social capital;
- in the case of men (in their thirties), *family* does not appear to be a central source of social capital, regardless of their levels of economic and cultural resources (this is in contrast to the case of women); typical sources of men's social capital are, instead, informal groups of workmates, friends and acquaintances joined together for various sports and out-of-door activities (fishing, hunting), as well as voluntary associations that promote these activities and, in some cases, even cultural activities;

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[17] In all but one case, women in this group have acquired, or are in the process of acquiring qualifications for jobs in the fields of education, health care or social care.

- however, *'having a normal family'* appears to be recognized locally as legitimate cultural capital for men; it furthermore functions as *symbolic* capital, which helps men to gain access to the more public local fields;
- among women in their mid-thirties, substantial or moderate levels of especially cultural capital significantly help to generate specifically *family-related social capital* through substantial investments into intra-family relations (especially related to children); these investments are conducive to entering local fields beyond the family and attest to the convertibility of family-related social capital into other, locally recognized forms of capital.

Next in this chapter, a closer look will be taken at the processes that lie behind these observations. Using survey methods to study individuals' possessions of capital and their engagement in social fields, as has been the case in the analysis so far, is not the optimal method for working out how fields actually operate, what the positions of individuals and other agents are as they engage in the 'games' of their respective fields of action, or how their capital is converted from one form into other forms and used in the various local fields. Fields have both synchronic (structural) features and diachronic (dynamic) features, and to understand how social fields operate, requires that attention is focused on *both* the synchronic features of the field in question (positions in the field, field-specific capital, distributions of symbolic power) *and* to their diachronic features (strategies used and interests prevailing in the field, actors' dispositions and habitus).[18]

In the next, final section, data from a small number of qualitative interviews with locally resident women, in the age range of around 30 to 40 years, will be analyzed in order to gain more insight into the social processes through which engagements (or not) with local fields become established.

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[18]   For a summary of the stages and items in a Bourdieusian field analysis, see Alanen (2007).

Family, habitus and belonging

The volume and structure of the resources of the altogether eight women that were interviewed were determined in each case and mapped into a two-dimensional space, similar to the respondents in the survey.[19] As the figure below shows, the result of the estimation of their resources – as a first approximation of volumes of their economic and cultural capital – the interviewees ended up in the two left hand sections of the space. The upper left hand section is the more populated section: these are women possessing moderate to substantial amounts of cultural capital, and mostly moderate amounts of economic capital, although in the latter there is considerable variation. Two of the interviewees, with meagre economic capital and varying levels of cultural capital remain placed in the lower left hand section.
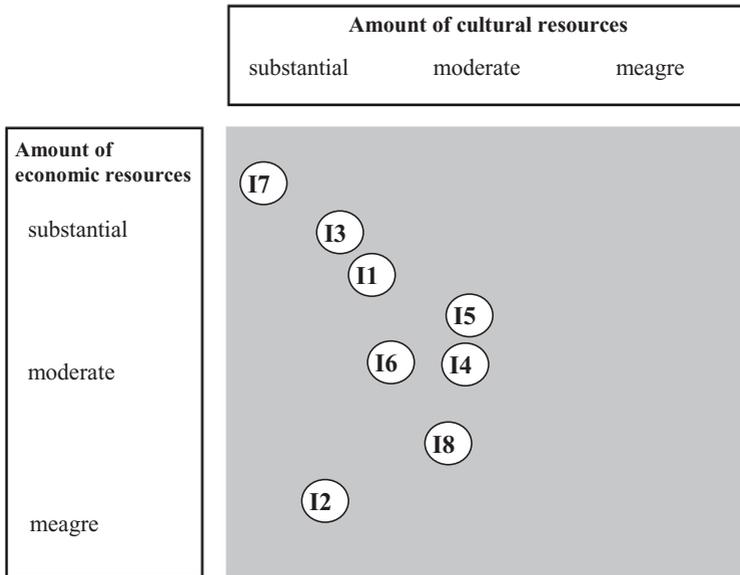
Figure 4.3 *Economic and cultural resources (interview data; women; N=8)*

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[19]   The interviewees are identified by their number following I (for Interviewee).

The fact that the interviewees are concentrated in the upper left side section of the space is an expected result from the chosen snowball sampling procedure, and provides the possibility of studying the differences (in habitus, fields of engagement, and belonging) between the six women placed in this section by also comparing them with the cases of the two women placed in the lower left section.

The group of women in the upper section could be expected to match the similarly placed group that was analyzed earlier, on the basis of survey data. It was suggested above that this group was locally successful in producing family-related social capital and in converting it into other, locally valued forms of capital. Their success is interpreted to be founded on the profits they are making particularly with their inherited and/or acquired cultural. As was the case of the similar group of women analyzed with survey data, the everyday activities of these women also extend far beyond the immediate family and domestic sphere; they too have become abundantly engaged with various sorts of local activities, from participating to local and communal public events, voluntary group activities, associational meetings, indoor and outdoor sports and games, and they move extensively around their physical location with family members, especially children, and friends.

I1 (Interviewee 1) is one of these supposedly 'locally successful' women. She was born and bred in Lievestuore where her parents also continue to live. After matriculating from the local upper secondary school[20] she went to study at the nearest university for a Master's degree. There she met her partner while they were studying in the same faculty, and returned together to live and to look for jobs in Lievestuore. I1 feels that she actually never went away from the locality, spending most of her weekends at the location and continuing there many of the activities and pastimes she had already started in her younger years in Lievestuore. Her present circle of friends is extensive ("*My partner honestly groans about that…*"), consisting of local people she befriended early in her childhood and during her school years in Lievestuore – "*It is amazing to notice*

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[20]   Now (2010) the local upper secondary school has been closed, on the grounds that it was too small and therefore not cost-effective enough as an educational unit.

how many of my school friends have remained here and quite a few have even moved back just recently!" Some of her friends are from her student years at the university, but perhaps the most important of them are people with whom she now shares an extensive range of spare time activities from competitive and recreational sports and outdoor games, to singing in the local choir, and acting in associations that support her favourite pursuits in the locality.

I1 became interested in various sports and outdoor games already in her childhood, and was strongly supported in this by her father, a keen sportsman who introduced her and her brother to various sports and "*was always prepared to take us to the practices*". With time she quite naturally also became a member of local and regional sports clubs, and is continuing her membership in them even today, frequently serving as secretary or in other associational functions.

Her extensive and wide-ranging connections bind her to her present locality. Now with two young children, "*Here I will most probably stay – there is no reason to move away*", for her parents live close by and "*there is always a place where I can take my children if I need to – and if we don't take the children there, they will come to get them here! And we also get from them any kind of help whenever we need it*". Her cultural capital is both inherited, through her childhood family (by inducing her to participate in local sports activities as well as supporting her in her educational trajectory), and acquired (by gaining valued skills through participation in local activities in and around sports, and by attaining a higher education degree). The social capital, which she also has gained through the use of her cultural capital, has been successfully transformed into social and symbolic capital, and I1 has, from her early years, developed a habitus that corresponds with the local fields that are significant to her; there is presently a comfortable 'fit' between her habitus and her location in social and physical space, also detectable in her contentment with living in Lievestuore.

I1 is a 'local' from her birth. Among the 'successful' are also incomers to Lievestuore. While some of them have been successfully 'placed', not all are. I5 was born in a small place in Southern Finland and has now lived in Lievestuore for just six years. Before moving, she had no previ-

ous "roots" to the locality. After her vocational training, she worked in a research centre close to Jyväskylä, where she also met her partner, and they decided to settle down in Lievestuore, basically because Lievestuore was well-located in terms of connections to their shared place of employment. Now with two children, Lievestuore is a good place for her and her family to live: "*It was really easy to settle down here, even though initially we did not know any locals. People here are quite different from people in Jyväskylä* [she herself comes from the South of Finland]. *If, for instance, in Jyväskylä you got to talk with a stranger, you could be quite certain that he or she was not a local – they are terribly cliquish in Jyväskylä! Here in Lievestuore it is quite different…*" [Why do you think that is?] "*Like it is in any workplace, if a certain way of action holds sway there, you surely get trained in it, whether it is good or bad.*" … "*Moreover, Lievestuore is a good place to live with children, because the place is so small. All the locals know each other, so it is also a safe place. There are also quite a few things for young children to occupy themselves with, although not perhaps as much when it comes to older children.*"

I5's network of friends extends to the whole country, but her everyday acquaintances are local, and she enjoys having people to visit her with their children. "*I just cannot any longer hold to a complicated set of human relations. For us, family is now the most important thing, and we want to concentrate on it and on the children, as their childhood will not last that long. And we have some kind of solid ground here, we meet local people and they visit us.*"

Until the arrival of the first child, I5 had been working in her first (and also current) place of employment. She had been elected there to act as an official responsible for safety at work matters which she did for ten years – "*I have always been a team player.*" During her maternity leave, soon after the arrival of her first baby, she visited the 'family café' organized by the local congregation (mainly) for mothers with young children to meet each other and discuss issues of shared interest. "*When I went there for the first time, I was amazed to see how many children there are in fact in Lievestuore – I had been working all day and hardly ever got to see children before this! … I then also started to make enquiries about this other 'family café'* [organized by the local chapter of MLL, a national child welfare organization]; *its activities had come to an end some time ago. With a little help from the child welfare clinic and together with another mother, we pushed*

the café back to action. Then I went back to work and left the café in the hands of another mother, but since last spring, being on maternity leave a second time, I have been holding the reins again. … And in the latest meeting of the local chapter I was elected to chair it. Not that I necessarily wanted the job, I just did not want the endeavour to fall down again. Maybe it is a kind of big sister's role or something, for I need to feel that I am doing something for other people; it gives me mentally something of value …"

The local MLL chapter also organizes bandy evenings for mothers, an activity that was started in order to arrange for mothers of young children to have a "free night" from child care and all for themselves. Beginning as a parallel event to the 'family café', the bandy evenings were soon also opened to fathers to attend – "*In the name of gender equality they, too, needed to get out some times!*" (I5). Sometime later, the café's bandy games were moved for the local sports club to run, mainly for practical reasons (booking of facilities, providing insurances, etc.). Now the regular bandy games are open to anyone in the locality, but – as I5 and several of the other interviewees were able to testify – a connection has been preserved between these two, to the effect that the bandy section of the local sports club often recruits people from the family café circle and vice versa. As a result, presently among the elected officials of the MLL chapter responsible for the family café, there are also women who are not mothers, and who had never visited the family café before. One of them is I6, a local from birth.

I6 has been living away from Lievestuore only for the few years she was completing a vocational education and had a few odd jobs after that. She got a job in Lievestuore a few years ago. Although never a sports enthusiast, she now plays actively with the bandy section. "*It all started with football in the summer. I4* [another interviewee] *was organizing football within the MLL and she said that I was welcome although I don't have children – for actually the games were meant for mothers so they would have an evening off and get some fresh air… So I went to play with them, and when winter came, we moved inside and started to play bandy. In the summer, we have also had beach ball and pesäpallo* [Finnish baseball] *games; (the MLL chapter) now also has a stall there and I am involved in this activity, making and selling waffles and so on. … Now it is possible to play bandy every day, but on Tuesdays I*

play it with people at my workplace…" Now I6 is the secretary on the board of the MLL chapter and has even accepted other responsibilities within the chapter; she regularly attends various meetings, etc.

[What keeps you here in Lievestuore?] "*My work first of all, and of course my mother and siblings, and now also my boyfriend. But the group that I play bandy with is actually like a second family to me.*" The cultural capital of I6 appears to be closely connected to her family's history of being local for generations and having some 'standing' in the locality. Her educational credentials are moderate, and employment is for her something that one needs to do to live, not something to live for. She has, instead, gained stocks of knowledge of the locality and its people and surroundings that prove to be of value on many occasions. She now lives with her mother in a farmhouse that she has inherited after her father's death, and she has picked up practical skills for many kinds of tasks. All of these are resources that are helpful for her in entering local fields, such as the MLL and the sports club, as well as the more informal kind of activities that have grown around these associations and people socializing within them. Her habitus seems compatible with at least some of the local fields, and she herself feels at home with them.

I7 is, among the eight interviewees, the one with the largest amounts of economic capital and also a fair amount of cultural capital. She also is a local, born and schooled in Lievestuore, with a higher education degree acquired in a university; however, she decidedly belongs to Lievestuore (where her partner also comes from): "*There never really was any alternative for us to live anywhere else; it was self-evident that we would come back and live here.*"

Her parents were, in her own words, "working class", but her family of origin was anything but the most ordinary: "*Grandmother was never an average woman – she had her own will and her own desires. She was originally trained as a nurse, and then ran a milliner's shop for a while; she would use tenderloin to make meat soup! Being a war widow, she later married a man more than 20 years older and followed him to Lievestuore, where he had relatives living over several generations. My mother, in addition, was a war orphan, and she soon moved to the locality, too.*"

I7 was an only child and lived, in her own words, *"a basic kind of child-hood"*. Yet as an only child she was given unlimited time and attention by her parents and her larger kin, so *"actually I think I had a terribly good childhood!"* She feels that she was always a 'very good child' and as a student did her very best. Her parents had high ambitions for her, perhaps especially her mother, who as a war orphan had needed to forego the education she herself would have liked to have, for *"she was good at school and regretted deeply that she could not get a proper education. Therefore she set great store in my education: school work was to be done properly. So it has been inculcated in me from my early years that you do well in school, you then go on to study for a degree and you graduate, in order to be successful in your life."*

Although being locally schooled, I7's circle of friends during her school years was small. She mentions as grounds the small size of Lievestuore and the fact that she never participated in any larger circles of free-time pursuits, such as girls' games of football where one could become friends with several others. The differences between local families of wealth were, in those days, much more visible than they are now, she thinks. Looking at her old school class photos she has noticed that some local families had difficulties in giving their children even proper shoes to wear, *"Whereas my family travelled abroad every two years. My mother had this vision of travelling so we saved money for two years in order to be able to journey abroad, and then we flew for a week to the sunny south. Out of my few friends, perhaps just one had ever been abroad… And all the families of the youngsters I spent time with were living in brick houses. The social differences at that time were pretty clear, and it may be that we lived in some kind of cliques…"*

The economic capital, I7 and her present family, with two children, now enjoy can be interpreted as returns, or profit, from the various kinds of cultural capital that had been accumulated in her childhood family and transmitted to her. With her acquired educational credentials (a higher education degree), she has now advanced to a position at her workplace which provides her with comparatively large economic resources (added to the equally large, if not larger, resources of her partner). A couple of years ago she was given an offer to move to the Helsinki region and take a new (higher) position in the head office of the company of her employment. She now recalls how a local colleague then said that he was sure

that I7 would never move to the metropolitan area, for the reason that she would not be able to "take her apple trees with her". "*But seriously, it was not because of the apple trees: with my salary there I would never be able to keep up the living standard I want to have, whereas here in Lievestuore it is possible to live on one's salary fairly nicely.*"

The narrative of I7 may be interpreted as indicating that her present dispositions (habitus) are a perfect 'fit' with some of the local fields in Lievestuore, explaining her feeling of belonging to the location. However, there is a strong strategic and selective sense in this fit, and therefore also her sense of her social place. The distinctions that she now is able to make, with hindsight, on her life in her school years and the circle of people she socialized with (described in the preceding paragraph), are amplified now that she has family: "*We are terribly home-centred. We also go to the theatre with the children and take them downhill skiing in the winter. Both kids also play bandy twice a week in the local sports club and the older one goes to swimming practice every Saturday.*"

The domestic field is an important social space for I7's activities; her family practices also clearly form a rich source for local recognition, irrespective of the fact that she decidedly has 'broken' some of the existing cultural norms that she states constitute 'good mothering.'[21] Generally her life narrative displays no hesitance over the distinctive cultural and symbolic resources that she holds, both inherited and acquired through her familial (parenting) practices: "*I am certainly interested in knowing the kids with whom my kids are playing, and what their parents are like. For I will not have it that in a few years' time my child will be hanging around the local supermarket, consuming energy drinks and trying out smoking! I'd rather have my kids be with children whose parents I know, and who have similar values to us. Therefore I will definitely check that the kids are made to sit in the car with their safety belts on, or that they wear helmets when biking, and wear proper clothes to school in rainy weather – that tells me a lot about their parents' values.*" These resources moreover seem to be also locally recognized, thus

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21 *"I am a 'bad mother', for I went back to work immediately after the paid maternity leave ended and put my children into day care. But I was not content with just any kind of day care; I clearly told* [the municipal day-care authorities] *what I wanted, and also fought to get what I wanted for my children."*

convertible into locally valid capital, as is evidenced by her elected membership in the boards of the local school and the local cultural institute.

A different set of resources makes a difference: Just as I7, also I2 is a born and bred local, but compared to I7, holds presently a particularly meagre level of economic capital. This stems from the fact that she is presently a single mother (after the ending of a partnership), and having worked until maternity leave in a fairly low-paid job. Her cultural capital also is of a different kind from that of I7, as is her social trajectory as a whole.

The parents of I2 are both working in the educational field, and hold considerable cultural capital. I2 also received much support to continue after matriculation her educational trajectory. Being artistically disposed, she then chose to follow a fairly brief vocational education that fit her interest of finding something to do "as close as possible to the arts"; unfortunately the completion of the education would not bring her any job in Lievestuore where she returned afterwards. With an unstable financial (and family) situation all through her years of cohabitation, she had to settle for a job as a shop assistant which is far from her dispositions towards "something with arts". Furthermore, her cultural pursuits – painting, reading – were of the kind that has not helped her to enter local networks (but she is – passively – a member of the arts society). She is happy to see some of her friends and acquaintances from her school years return and settle down in Lievestuore, and this circle of old friends is another world from her everyday world as a shop assistant.

The narrative of I2 indicates that her present position as a lone mother also does not provide her with the social and symbolic family capital that would be needed for her to enter the MLL-organized network of young mothers in the family café, although she sporadically does visit the café. Therefore, the bridging function of the family café also remains largely closed to her. The start of a new relationship however keeps her hopeful of a possibility to belong more strongly than is the case at present.

Concluding remarks

In the study presented in this chapter, the focus has been on the sense of local belonging among residents in the 30 to 40 years of age range in Lievestuore. The study is oriented, in the first place, towards identifying the resources – interpreted as capitals, in Bourdieu's sense – that are salient for residents to enter local fields of practice and to participate in their 'games', this being conducive to the generation of a residential or local habitus, and a sense of belonging.

As the analysis based on both the survey data and the qualitative life-course interview data indicate, local belonging correlates, in the case of both men and women in and around their mid-thirties, with the levels of economic and cultural resources that the residents hold. As habitus is generated from birth, it might be expected that 'natives' of a locality – those who have been born and bred in Lievestuore – would have a head start in accumulating locally valid capitals. Accumulation, however, is not a straightforward process, as is shown by the fact that higher levels of capitals bring their holders more advantage in the local fields, compared with being 'native'.

Lievestuore is a relatively small locality and "*in a small village like this, you just get to know everybody; and while in the supermarket queue you get to see what they purchase, you will then also know the kind of people they are!*" (I7). This knowledge undoubtedly extends to the families of local residents and their practices – recognition (or not) of residents' holding to the culturally normative family practices will affect their possibilities of entering local fields.

The study finally shows that family is significant in local processes of belonging in several senses:

- through the family, residents may inherit locally vital (cultural and economic) capitals;
- displaying a 'normal family' appears to be recognized as legitimate cultural capital for both men and women;

- past and present domestic practices, in the families of the residents, become exposed and validated for their local worth in their encounters with other, especially 'public', fields.

- for mothers of young children particularly, family provides an independent potential of social capital which is helpful for them in entering local child-related fields (e.g. the family café). These in turn may act as bridgeheads for them to enter further local fields (such as the sport club), generating dense local networks that are conducive to a strong sense of belonging to the locality.

Päivi Kivelä

Between work and family
– habitus, gender and change
over the individual life course

Introduction

This chapter focuses on exploring how women around 50 years of age have experienced and accommodated themselves to changing conditions in society during their lifetimes. A significant rise in the standard of living and in educational level, entwined with rapid changes in occupational structures, has been amongst the most important societal changes during last 50 years. This is linked to women's increased and pro-active participation in the labour market. More recent trends are characterised by an increased instability in working life. This has demanded ever greater flexibility, mobility, lifelong learning and a continuous updating of skills, which have further made complicated the link between work and family.

More precisely the chapter explores how daughters of agrarian working class families, who now are middle-aged mothers with different

labour market positions, have orientated themselves between two field-like spheres – paid work and family – with different prevailing dynamics and rules (see e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). These two fields require and legitimate partly dissimilar resources and value dispositions which women have developed in divergent ways. To some extent it is nonetheless possible to facilitate mobility between these fields with cultural or social capital acquired being transferred from one field to the other. The chapter argues that this specific conversion potential of capital is essentially linked to the local symbolic categorizations and respectability required as a member of the local community. In the cases dealt with in this study, this is especially acquired by fulfilling expectations laid on what might be called the 'good wife and mother' (for a discussion on 'normal family', see Alanen's chapter elsewhere in this book).

Drawing on the relational sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, this chapter conceptualises the above mentioned societal processes as changes in field conditions. A Bourdieusian argument suggests that societal change may generate a mismatch, or a lack of fit between habitus (the feel for the game) and field (the game itself) which were previously adequately coordinated – in other words a discord occurs between the previously routine adjustment of subjective and objective structures. This may furthermore generate awareness of, and increased capacity for, critical reflexivity over formerly taken-for-granted social conditions. These changes do not however necessarily lead to a transformation of practices due to the inertia (or hysteresis) of habitus (See Adkins 2004, 196–197; Hardy, 2008; Bourdieu 2008). Adkins (ibid.) links these ideas to the feminisation of the labour market, critical awareness over gender relations and to an assumed detraditionalisation of gender identity in late modernity (Beck 1994). Adkins (2004) emphasizes that the possibilities for detraditionalisation of gender norms should not be overestimated, and neither should critical reflexivity over identity as an everyday practice be confused with freedom to construct individualised rules or models of gender relations. She claims that in late modernity reflexivity over social conditions is perhaps better conceived of as a habit of gender. This chapter argues however that Bourdieu's concept of the 'causalité du probable' is useful in understanding why women stick to traditional gendered distributions of

work and familial values (see Bourdieu 1974; Siisiäinen 2010). It can be interpreted as an actor's common sense tendency to avoid a conjectural waste of economic, cultural and social capital through practices which aim for alternatives and goals that are too ambitious, for example in relation to social or spatial mobility.

Overall this chapter will aim at portraying how women's future anticipation, decision making and practices "make sense" (Siisiäinen 2010), do have coherence although they may be considered either as altruistic, absurd or foolish according the principles of rational action theory emphasizing economic calculation and success in working life; or perhaps as submissive, old-fashioned and backward in relation to the ideals of the women's movement and emancipation. It is argued here that women's agency is generally related to the salience of local attachment and family ties (for a discussion on 'belonging', see Alanen's chapter elsewhere in this book). Their action and practices make sense under those rules prevailing not only in the field of family, but also when considering their relational position and the societal conjuncture in the (local) labour market. Related to this, a further aim of the chapter is to consider how the dynamics of awareness, critical reflexivity and the transformation of gender relations and practices between work and family occur in the lives of this group of women, and how it is intertwined with both the development of their economic, cultural and social capital and how they experience correspondence between their dispositions and the prevailing dynamics of working life.

This chapter begins by briefly introducing the data and methods exploited in the study, and goes on to clarify more exactly how Bourdieusian sociology orientates their analysis and interpretation. The first, empirical section will provide an analysis of the local labour market game and the prevailing social categorizations and symbolic capital inherent in it. Following this, three case studies are introduced, demonstrating the transformation and conversion of cultural (especially incorporated) capital and local social capital making women's mobility between work and family possible. The chapter concludes by arguing that middle aged 'family women' coming from rural working class backgrounds have in many ways ideal dispositions for most serv-

ice sector jobs requiring characteristics which are incorporated in their feminine, motherly habitus. In addition to this, the irregularity and insecurity linked to their occupational trajectories makes them rather flexible and profitable employees.

Data and methods

The study informing this chapter draws mainly on empirical material, including in-depth life course interviews with 15 women in the age range 44–56 years. All but one were met and interviewed at least twice between 2008 and 2010. Four first round thematic life course interviews conducted already in 2003 for a separate research project (Operation Work 2002–2005, funded by the European Social Fund) were also utilized, and three of the women were re-interviewed in 2008–2009.

In 2003, the author interviewed unemployed women participating in labour market training organized by the adult education institute in Lievestuore. Research findings and design of this previous project served as a preliminary study and stimulated interest towards an investigation of the development of habitus and dispositions across individual life courses in times of rapid societal change.

Most of the new interviewees were recruited through recommendations from key informants. In addition to this a couple of women were met coincidentally during the fieldwork phase. Although data collection was mainly realized in the form of informal, conversational interviews, some of the interviewees expected the interview to be more researcher-led, and thus in some cases the interview technique was closer to an in-depth thematic interview. In 2008–2010 most of the interviews took place at the home or workplace of the interviewee. Interviews varied in duration from 1.5 to 3.5 hours and they were all recorded and transcribed.

With each interviewee the aim was to attain a confidential, open atmosphere and an interaction made as free as possible from symbolic violence. This goal was realized on some occasions better than others, but a sense of understanding the essential dynamics in the lives of each interviewed woman was attained (Cf. Bourdieu et al. 1999.) Reflexivity

over the author's own experiences and effects before, during and after encounters was also an essential part of data collection and analysis. Several rounds of interviews and conversations with this relatively small group of interviewees, as well as the prolonged period of time taken in data collection are also important factors speaking for the validity of the data and its interpretations.

The goal of both data collection and analysis was based on two main aspects: (1) To get as comprehensive a picture as possible of the interviewee's life course, from childhood to the present, and to understand how her practices in different life phases, transitions and turning points were entwined with changes in society, locality, family and social networks in general. (2) To understand the formation and transformation of dispositions, and how their dynamics are linked with the development of the various forms of capital. From the results of the data analysis, trajectories were constructed for representing the development of economic, cultural and social capital. Habitus itself is not directly empirically perceivable, instead the effects of habitus can be perceived in the practices, beliefs, choices and decisions which the habitus gives rise to. Practice is linked with capital and field through the working of the habitus, and therefore the researcher's task was to analyse not only what and how interviewees disclosed data concerning their everyday practices, values, and attitudes but also to take account of interviewees' interaction, body language and physical appearance, so that the underlying structuring principles of the habitus would be revealed (Reay 2004, 432). This way it was also possible to uncover the normalized or taken-for-granted models of gender relations and distribution of work.

The concept of habitus, related to other elements of the Bourdieusian 'conceptual toolkit' and field analysis, should be understood as a method; a way of asking questions in empirical research. The focus of research is therefore always broader than the specific research subject under study (Reay 2004, 437–439). The toolkit provides a method for simultaneously analysing subjective experience and objective structures which make this subjective experience possible (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). This means viewing a structure as occurring within small-scale interactions and activities which in turn take place in large-scale settings. The next section of

this chapter clarifies more exactly how Bourdieusian sociology has orientated this study's analysis.

Habitus, gendered dispositions and the affective sphere in the anticipation of future alternatives

Everyday practices are rooted in an individual's life history and social experiences which are influenced, but not caused, by structural factors. Pierre Bourdieu establishes an indirect causal link between positions in social space, and practices, by means of the concept of habitus (Weininger 2005, 90). He defines habitus as "a system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action" (Bourdieu 2005, 43–44). Habitus is a bundle of historical relations internalised as mental and physical schemes. To emphasize the meaning of cultural models and values, habitus could also be described as an individually internalised culture consisting of dispositions, which forms the foundation of an individual's behaviour (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Siisiäinen 2005a).

Habitus contributes to an individual's capability and competence in categorizing and valuing things in the world around them (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, 78). The foundation of habitus is moulded during early childhood in one's family. Later in life this 'primary habitus' is a base on which all attempts to include new features are placed. Every new element of content is built on this early established subjective reality (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, 22–45). Primary habitus is also the framework for self-categorization and for perceiving one's possibilities and place in the world. As an earlier adopted category, primary habitus dominates an individual's social orientation towards education and the various experiences of life, and thus towards the formation of a 'secondary habitus' (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, 42). An individual's sense of limits, internalised into the habitus, guides choices between different alternatives in the field. Individuals tend to make such choices in a certain conjuncture which

they deem to be realistic and attainable, and which according to their anticipation will most probably lead to positive consequences as compared to their previous choices and their consequences without the risk of losing economic, cultural or social capital – the "causalité du probable" principle in Bourdieu (1974; Siisiäinen 2010, 30–31).

Growing up to be a woman in certain social spaces, such as the one dominated by agrarian working-class culture, mediates the adaptation of a certain kind of habitus which is harmonized with values and norms predominant in that culture (Alanen, elsewhere in this book, sheds light on the construction and reproduction of social order, social categorizations and family). Primary habitus, generally confirmed with later experiences in secondary pedagogy equips boys and girls with different dispositions, making some future alternatives more attractive or probable than other ones. Gendered distribution of work generates what could be considered separate worlds for men and women, and youngsters have to find their place in this reality (Liljeström 1986). The distribution of work in their domestic environment teaches youngsters the 'content' of their gender. When they carry out tasks and responsibilities side by side with their fathers and mothers, sons and daughters learn how to be a man or a woman (Markkola 2003, 132). Gendered dispositions are not however a matter of conscious learning, although they are acquired through practice, and this practical sense enables habitus to be effective within a given social field (Lovell 2000, 12; McNay 1999, 101). To conclude, growing up is guided by gendered taken-for-granted models, ideals and expectations, which however are not the same for all girls – adjustment to them differs according to their social origin, position and the distribution of economic, cultural and social capital. Transformations within gender identity or dispositions later in life are also unevenly possible or probable for individuals with different life course trajectories (McNay 1999).

By definition, practices which question gendered dispositions are also possible. Bourdieu (2005, 45) emphasizes that although dispositions are very long-lasting and any dimension of habitus is difficult to change, it is possible to modify it through gradual awareness and pedagogic effort. In effect, habitus is not a destiny. It contains elements of variability and potential creativity, and an actor always has alternatives in their practices,

although within certain limits. Bourdieu (2005, 47) points out that "in rapidly changing societies, habitus changes constantly, continuously, but within the limits inherent in its originary structure, that is within certain bounds of continuity". Where dispositions encounter conditions (or fields) different from those in which they were constructed, this causes a dialectical confrontation. In these confrontations every agent (group or individual) acts according to his or her position (based on the possession of the various forms of capital) and his/her habitus, which is related to one's personal history. Actions stem from a confrontation between dispositions and positions "which are more often than not mutually adjusted, but may be at odds, discrepant, divergent, even in some sense contradictory" (Bourdieu 2005, 46).

Although the definition of habitus and field incorporates change as a necessary consequence of its condition, and change in one necessitates a change in the other (e.g. Bourdieu 2005, 45), Bourdieu highlights the gap between the new opportunities in the field that occur as a result of field change. All field participants do not have equal resources or adequate dispositions that are needed to rapidly recognize, grasp and occupy these novel field positions. Inertia of habitus favours dominant groups, which are able to acquire such dispositions that allow them to gain from the occupation of novel field positions. The "players" from dominated groups on the other hand do not always recognize the time dependency of their practices, and they start to move "in the direction of the dominant positions at the time when the profits they provide tend to be diminishing" (Bourdieu 1996b, 262; Hardy 2008, 135.)

Another important advantage connected to the concept of habitus, and Bourdieu's theory in general, is that it is possible to avoid the tendency to study human behaviour in 'slices' or by 'sectors'. The concept of habitus underlies a kind of practical affinity of style, in the sense that all elements of an actor's behaviour in different arenas or fields have something in common. (Bourdieu 2005, 45.) With the concept of habitus, Bourdieu also emphasizes the confrontation with the philosophical tradition of homo oeconomicus as a rational actor, who chooses the best strategies by a conscious calculation oriented towards the maximisation of profits. It can be argued that the interest or 'sense' of action based on

economic calculation is an exception, and also that it can be ascribed to the sphere of the affect, as a reasoned response arising from ongoing reflection (Siisiäinen 2010; Hughes & Blaxter 2007, 117). Emirbayer and Goldberg (2005) also remark that emotions encompass not only perception but intellectual judgement as well.

The researcher therefore explores her interviewees' practices knowing that they reflect the scope of action and orientation in certain locally defined emotional, social and material conditions – and in relation to other people. Women make their choices aware of the intricate consequences they may have for the balance of the totality of their lives, and for other people they are connected to. They are also aware of other people judging and categorizing them on the grounds of what kind of values, norms, personal characteristics, capacity or skills their practices are interpreted to be expressions of. Related to this, emotions and the anticipation of other actors' intentions are deeply involved in their decision making.

Many theorists have criticized Bourdieu's lack of attention to the affective sphere (see for example Hughes & Blaxter 2007; Sayer 2005; Skeggs 2004), which means neglecting and removing an important aspect of sense making. However, in *The logic of practice* (1990b) Bourdieu himself actually stresses that emotions are essential in the anticipation of the future; he states that emotions are a "hallucinatory 'presenting' of the impending future, which, as bodily reactions identical to those of the real situation bear witness, leads a person to live a still suspended future as already present, or even already past, and therefore necessary and inevitable" (Bourdieu 1990b, 64, 292: footnote 12). In other words, emotions project our habitual tendency to form and adjust our knowledge of probable and possible futures. Referring further to Bourdieu's ideas, continuing psychological discomfort or ambivalence may also function as a trigger of becoming conscious of attitudes and values, and furthermore as a generator of subjectively experienced motivation to change dispositions and practices so that they fit better with the dynamic conjuncture in the social field (Bourdieu Ibid).

Emirbayer and Goldberg (2005, 492) furthermore emphasize that some actors have emotional power over others. Symbolic violence is facilitated by the dominated, by their internalised modes of emotional

engagement which leave them complicit in the domination. Bourdieu (2001) does not consider submissiveness as irrational, but recalls that the dispositions of the dominated incline them toward the complicity they display. Dispositions for their part are the embodied effect of their history as the dominated. For example masculine domination perpetuates itself through the cultivation of feminine submissiveness, which often "takes the form of bodily emotions" (Bourdieu 2001, 38–39). Emotions orientate an actor to engage with objectives and relationships in life, as well as to reject or perceive others as 'disinteresting' or put them under the label 'not for people like me'. In this way emotions are understood as an outcome of habitus – as internalised social. Emotions are also a matter of positive or negative energy which drives individuals to enact or to restrict practices and future alternatives.

Ambivalent and/or burdening emotional ties (such as loyalty towards family or "classed" encounters at school or work), may restrict mobilization and accumulation of resources. In the same way, they may affect psychical, spatial and social mobility such as manifested by a willingness or passion orientated toward either academic achievement or an occupational career. (Emirbayer & Goldberg 2005, 493.) Moreover, a researcher may analyse the unpaid work of women in the activities of everyday life as expressive of habitus (Hughes & Blaxter 2007, 118) as well as women's tendency to end up in low-paid occupations such as private and public services.

Mobility between work and family in the trajectories of women around 50 years of age

15 interviewees were chosen in order to best represent the overall profile of local women around 50 years of age according to survey data collected in 2006 (see Appendix: Data). This took into account their occupations, educational level, social origin and their social status as 'family women'. One third of the 2006 survey respondents are shown to be without any vocational diploma, and academic degrees are very rare. Women respondents are less educated than men, both in basic educa-

tion and vocational education, which differs from the general picture in Finland[1]. Women around 50 years of age are mainly employed in low-paid jobs in lines of work where the majority of the staff are also women[2]. Typical occupations are in the public and private service sector, especially sales, cleaning, social care, health care, office and nursing. The number employed as industrial workers is low. In summary, the 2006 survey shows that the less educated women are, the less they earn and the more commonly they experience unemployment. It is very seldom that women respondents in this age category live alone. The overwhelming majority are either married or cohabit – and have children. By contrast every fifth man in his 50's lives alone and is childless (Kivelä 2009; Kivelä & Salminen 2009.).

Interviewees covered by this chapter's research are either native or longstanding inhabitants or workers in the locality of Lievestuore. They share similar rural and economically scarce social origins and have grown up in uneducated working class or small-scale farming families. Some interviewees have upper secondary school and university level qualifications, but in contrast with the majority of their peers with higher and further education qualifications they have stayed in their birth place. About one third of the interviewees have not progressed from basic education to upper secondary or vocational education. Some of these have later taken up new options within adult education, others have not. A few have pursued alternative routes and means (such as entrepreneurship) to compensate for gaps in formal qualifications or to overcome obstacles following extensive breaks in their working careers.

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[1]   However it is reasonable to assume that survey data may be biased by the higher response rate of women (70 % vs. 52 %), and since non-response rate generally appears to be higher among uneducated men.

[2]   International comparison shows that a sharper than average horizontal segregation into female and male dominated branches is characteristic of Finnish working life compared to other Western countries. This is supported by gender segregated educational choices: girls choose service and care occupations. In Finland women's occupations are mainly in health- and social care, teaching, clerical work, housekeeping and institutional catering services, private services, and textile, clothing and food industries. While six out of ten employees in the private sector are men, gender division is even more marked in the public sector, where three-quarters of employees are women. When it comes to vertical gender segregation male dominated branches are generally ranked higher in occupational hierarchies and better paid. (Kolehmainen 1999, 11–12, 87, 141.)

(See Appendix on page 161 for more detailed background information on the interviewees.)

Three different trajectories

All 15 interviewees are or have been married, and are mothers of grown-up or teenage children. Another important aspect of commitment which has guided their lives is attachment to the locality, linked strongly to social relations and family ties. Altogether this means that cultural gender models, intra-family gender (as well as generational) relations, emotional ties and responsibilities are essential for understanding their dispositions, anticipation of the future and their working life practices.

At the beginning of the 20th century, state-organised professions and education became the primary means of achieving social mobility. The primary habitus is essential in the process of adaptation or nonconformity to the culture of school life and education (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). Primary pedagogy provides different dispositions and unequal starting points for children coming from various social origins and family backgrounds. The scarcity of economic capital was common in the group of women interviewed, and therefore inequality is first and foremost linked to other forms of "initial capital" inherited from the agrarian working class home (Bourdieu 1984). Their initial capital is composed of – among other things – firstly, cultural capital, incorporated in dispositions towards gender roles and academic achievements and secondly, social capital which is attainable via family relations. Those who have gained from a positive emotional environment, spurring them towards an academic education and access to inter-class relationships have been especially able to attain more favourable social positions and greater stability of working career.

Women have been an integral part of the Finnish labour market for the last 50 years, forming half the labour force. An advanced and extensive welfare system has supported women's participation in paid work, since the promotion, facilitation and normalization of working mothers with small children has been a central principle of the Finnish

welfare state project since the 1960's. The establishment of new social services, such as universal public day care, became a cornerstone of the so called "women friendliness" of Finnish social policy. Linked to this, the number of occupations and employees in the field of social and health care services multiplied; the social sector was professionalised and it became important employer. (Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, 64–65, 72, 81–83; Julkunen 2005, 368.) In practice, the public sector became the most important employer in rural areas – especially essential for the employment of women – including in Lievestuore (Piirainen & Saari 2002, 17; Kivelä 2009). Thus due to societal development in relation to the labour market, the interviewed women have had, at least "on paper", two alternatives whilst their children were small – to either participate or not.

Interviewees were divided roughly into three different categories according to the general analysis made of their individual educational and occupational trajectories and the development of their cultural and economic capital (see Appendix). The first group (1A–1E) comprises relatively highly educated women who have been able to stabilize their career in one occupational field based on institutionalised cultural capital and academic achievements (university or college-level qualifications) attained in early adulthood. Their work history (mainly in the primary labour market) differs clearly from the other two groups of interviewees, since their trajectories include only a few breaks and experiences of unemployment are exceptions. The other two groups have more overlapping characteristics since they all have less cultural capital with exchange value in the labour market than do women in the first group. It is however easy to split them into two groups by their general orientation towards paid work while their children were small. The second category of women (2A–2E) have either experienced long-term periods of unemployment or have been able to avoid a vicious circle of unemployment with frequent job changes and active job seeking. Their dispositions are however more or less harmonized with the norm of a working mother. They differ from the third group of women (3A–3E), who are characterised by a long-term commitment to homemaking, which they experience as 'natural' and 'ideal' – as a self-evident decision linked to a naturalized distribution of work agreed by marriage partners. In addition to this, none of these

women have occupational degrees attained in youth transition; however all except one have achieved qualifications in subsequent occupational adult education.

Figure 5.1 illustrates three trajectories representing the three different groups of women. In spite of their differences these women have in common the fact that they all have sooner or later succeeded in attaining a primary labour market position – which can also be interpreted as an increased or stable volume in their economic and symbolic capital.

basic education
vocational education
primary labour market position
secondary labour market position
unemployment, intermediate labour market position or labour market training
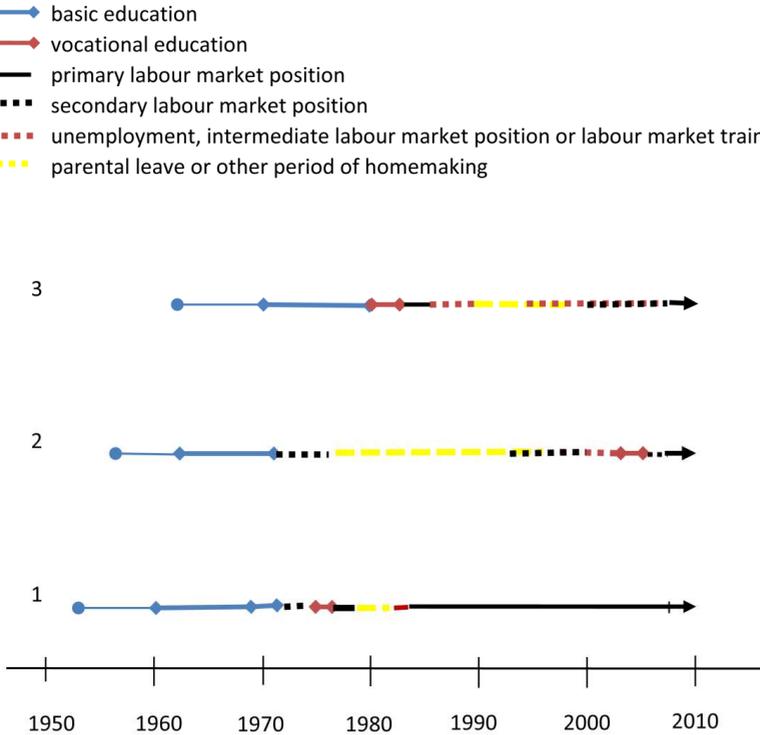parental leave or other period of homemaking

Figure 5.1 Three trajectories marked by: (1) education plus one occupational field, (2) long-term homemaking, (3) unemployment and/or frequent job changes. See Appendix for individual cases and grouping

The Finnish welfare state reached its peak during the 1980's while the unemployment rate was as low as 5 percent. In the 1990's however, Finland was struck by an unusually deep recession in the European context, and Finnish society came face to face with the spectre of mass unemployment.[3] Unemployment was clearly gendered during the 1990's, and when the first wave of recession hit the private sector badly, unemployment rose quicker amongst men. The impact of the recession on the women-dominated public service sector was apparent later and continued through the mid-1990's, when the Finnish export-driven industrial sector rapidly recovered and began to grow. In this economic context and with political factors including integration into the EU, new requirements concerning the Finnish welfare state were introduced, such as 'efficiency' in administration and reforms in social policy and pension systems. (Julkunen 2001, 64, 288–290.) Large-scale, long-term unemployment however has been a permanent phenomenon ever since.[4]

Data analysis for this chapter's study shows that welfare state interventions in the form of employment subsidies and benefits and / or labour market training have touched 11 out of 15 of the interviewees at some point in their working lives. Three further interviewees have experienced short-term unemployment and / or serial temporary employment, but have been able to secure re-employment / permanent employment without interventions. During the 1990's it was common to be employed with the support of a subsidy granted for the salary costs to an employer

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[3]   In 1992 the unemployment rate rose for the first time ever to over 10 percent, reaching 17 percent in 1993 and 19.5 percent in 1994.

[4]   Locals described how Lievestuore had already lived through its own "great recession" in the 1980's when the local pulp factory was finally closed (interviews with local authorities and organisational activists in 2005). With significant investment from the state and the municipality, supported by national regional policy measures, Lievestuore managed to get back on its feet as a locality. No doubt the timing of the local crisis was a blessing in disguise, since the golden age of the Finnish welfare state dated back to the 1980's, before the economic crisis and cuts in public spending of the 1990's. Equally, today Lievestuore is among those localities which have escaped the worst impacts of widening regional inequality and the ageing population, which have hit harder elsewhere (Kauppinen & Karvonen 2009). However, Lievestuore is peripheral to the major centres of capital (especially the metropolitan area of Helsinki) and further loses out in symbolic value in comparison to surrounding population areas with more positive migration figures. Lately it has suffered from a negative image as a declining area with diminishing public services. (See Wolff, 2009.)

recruiting an unemployed job seeker. A fall in the numbers of these quick-fix subsidies occurred during the 2000's, due not only to the improvement of the employment situation but also to the hardening of employment policy and regulations preventing employers taking advantage of salary subsidies in the long-term. (Piirainen & Saari 2002, 17.) [5]

In the 1980's, long-term unemployment was not yet a large-scale, continuous problem. There is no exception in the interview data to a commonly understood rule that if one's career was not established before the crisis in the 1990s, it was not about to happen until the next decade. In many of these cases the sequence of long-term unemployment, intermediate labour market positions, casual jobs and labour market training begins when children grow older and the mother signs on as a job seeker after the period of homemaking. Another common story is that of the long-term, regular substitute or temporary worker who was disregarded in favour of the lower-priced work force employed with the salary subsidy. Interviewees particularly reported the use and abuse of the subsidy system in the public sector until the new regulations came into force in the 2000's.

Informants to this study can be roughly divided into two factions according to their primary or secondary labour market position. However the factions are not clear-cut and mobility between them occurs across an individual life course. Generally a secondary labour market position offers casual employment and dead-end jobs (without prospects of economic, cultural or social advancement). It is further characterized by the employer's low investment in employee training, by poor working conditions, job insecurity and low wages. A position on the secondary labour market is generally associated with great horizontal mobility from one low skill-level job to another, as well as with high levels of unemployment. In addition to this, many individual trajectories are blurred with long-lasting and repeated periods of unemployment intertwined

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[5]   For example in 1994 approximately 66,000 people in Finland were employed in this way, and even in the year 2000, during a period of steady economic growth, the number was 43,000. In 1997 the number of labour market training participants was at its highest (47,000) compared with 31,000 in 2000. (Piirainen & Saari 2002, 17.)

with periods of homemaking, which are only temporarily interrupted by short-term employment, labour market training or a position in the intermediate labour market. By contrast, the primary labour market is largely organized around internal labour markets (continuous career in subordination to a single employer), providing better working conditions and greater job security. (Cf. Uhlman 2006, 5–8.)

In addition to the overall limits of the local labour market, the data (interviews and survey) show that the situation has been unambiguously worse for women with low educational attainments and / or with periods of long-term homemaking (Groups 2 and 3). Other research data including discussions with local authorities as well as earlier research[6] indicate that even this vulnerable group is divided into winners and losers in the local women's employment game. At the local scale, from the point of view of their own experience, interviewees are mainly winners of the game[7] – although in the two different hierarchical divisions. To a great extent this is linked to the social categorizations of the participants in (or 'customers of') labour market services.

Being a good mother and worker – local social categorizations and symbolic capital

A substantial number of interviewees reported having undertaken long periods of homemaking, i.e. from 10 to 20 years. This is in line with other recent studies which suggest certain class-like differences and divisions between women and their working life practices. For example Lammi-Taskula's (2004) statistical research on families with small children and women's labour market participation refers to the fact that choices between home care and kindergarten are bound up with economic trends and junctures in the labour market. She claims that women make maximal use of the child home care allowance due to their short-term

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[6]   Research project Operation Work funded by European Social Fund 2002–2005 (Siisiäinen 2005a).

[7]   There persists, however, a huge social distance and opposition to the real powerful elite in general.

employment before the child was born, along with poor re-employment prospects. Lammi-Taskula (ibid.) suggests that "freedom of choice" may be a factor bringing highly educated, permanently employed women to the primary labour market, but these women nevertheless less frequently choose the option available in Finland for parental leave with children under three years old, whilst women with fewer qualifications in less favourable employment situations often choose it as an alternative to unemployment.

This could also inform a general interpretation of the interviewees' life course trajectories. All trajectories (1, 2 and 3) in Figure 1 illustrate the intertwining and alternation of unemployment, homemaking and intermediate labour market and casual jobs connected to the difficulties of re-employment after homemaking. Interviewees certainly articulated how they have valued a family-centred lifestyle, and predominantly they also took traditional gender roles as a naturalized, taken-for-granted state of affairs, expressed as being for the benefit of their children. This can be interpreted as a desire to question the superiority of the middle-class ideal of education and career as a means of finding the real self and meaning of life (cf. Reay 2001). Skeggs (1997) argues in her ethnographic study that the passionate attachment of working-class women to a certain notion of femininity is a kind of emotional compensation for their marginal social standing. Later, Skeggs (2004) pays attention to the self-authorization of dominated working-class women at the local level, and suggests that the authorisation of self can be produced by taking a different perspective and revaluing positions in opposition to symbolically dominant ones (Skeggs 2004, 21).

But what actually lies behind discursive practices articulating for the nobility of family-centred life and a willingness to prioritise children's needs over the self-fulfilment and values of a "career woman"? The reality behind this general picture is a more complicated mixture of anticipation of alternatives in a particular conjuncture.

Social capital is based on mutual cognition and recognition, when it acquires a symbolic character and is transformed into symbolic capital. Social differences between groups become effective and meaningful when they are mediated by symbolic capital. (Siisiäinen 2008.) Widely

shared categorizations such as rough / respectable or unreliable / reliable influence our self-identification and have material consequences (Rogaly & Taylor 2009). Lawler (2004, 111) writes that habitus is Bourdieu's way of theorising how the social is literally incorporated and a self is socially produced, and goes on to say that habitus is Bourdieu's way of analysing "how social relations become constituted within the self, but also how self is constitutive of social relations". Class divisions, distinctions or inequalities have not lost their significance as a category of analysis, although class distinctions have been displaced and individualized. It now takes place in the approval / disapproval of individual persons or families. From this perspective, the interviewees have constituted themselves as either approved or disapproved members of the local community and furthermore as labour market citizens.

Self-evidently those interviewees in the primary labour market position would categorize themselves as 'approved'. Weak or insecure positions, such as unemployment, do not however mean that one automatically categorizes oneself as 'disapproved', where one's future potential is anticipated in relation to the challenging conjuncture in the local labour market and especially to the feedback which one has from previous employers and colleagues: *They said that they would keep me if only they could afford it.*

Relationality of social capital means that it can be used to overcome a lack of economic and cultural capital. For example a lack of education can be compensated for by the possession of social capital. In Finland, investment in education has been seen as a major factor for both national competitiveness, individual social mobility and labour market opportunities in general. Furthermore, competence in paid work, being part of the working community and the ability to provide maintenance for the family are socially and subjectively recognized as symbols of the "good citizen" regardless of gender (Apo 1999, 23). In a small community like Lievestuore, which is far from centres of cultural or economic capital, social capital has special significance. When the 'capital elite' is very thin, social connections generating symbolic capital may be essential whilst making the most of scarce economic and cultural capital. (Bourdieu 1984, 337.) Group memberships creating social capital can have a "multiplica-

tion effect" on the influence of other forms of capital, and differences in the control of social capital may explain why the same amount of economic and cultural capital can yield different degrees of power (Bourdieu 1986; Siisiäinen 2003, 192).

Although women's networks are often characterised as burdensome, hindering them from being active in achieving other capital (see e.g. Marin 2001, 157–158), locally however these general categorizations become particular, more nuanced. It is perhaps easier for women to compensate for a job loss and absence of paid work by gaining social recognition and symbolic value through their social networks.

No doubt, for example becoming a full-time and / or long-term homemaker is orientated by women's (primary) habitus, dispositions and sense of privilege in being able to take care of one's own children. It is not purely determined by a marginal labour market position, and neither is it solely an unselfish sacrifice for the benefit of the children. On the contrary, it is possible to argue that although women's practices on the face of it can be labelled as submissiveness to traditional gender roles and symbolic violence, they are also carried out as results of the reflexive anticipation of the future and of the alternatives available. Their action 'makes sense' by enabling women to make the most of their limited economic and cultural capital without a conjectural risk of losing resources that could have been deployed in more ambitious strategies for acquiring spatial or social mobility. Being a good mother, having a normal family, and being able to bring up children to be 'good citizens' provides them with recognition as a respectable member of the local community. In the long run it also provides them with symbolic capital, which they are within certain conditions able to mobilize in other local fields – including the labour market game.

To conclude with, middle-aged 'family women' in the focus of this study build their social position in the locality of Lievestuore – as well as their social categorization as an approved and legitimated member of the local labour market game – either on: (1) institutionalised cultural capital, formal education, qualifications and professional positions, and / or (2) informal learning, practical skills and dispositions incorporated in informal social networks. In the individual's total composition of

capital, one of these dimensions is usually more emphasized, and in general the more significant the share of institutionalised cultural capital an actor has, the higher their relational position in the local social space becomes. However, the meaning of (3) social capital based on membership of different informal social networks is essential when analysing relational positions in the local social space. Three case stories introduced in the next section will pay especial attention to the mobilization and transformation of feminine, practical dispositions, 'family capital' and other kinds of informal social capital across an individual life course and working career.

Habitus, change and forms of capital across an individual life course

This section seeks to shed more light on the trajectories illustrated in Figure 5.1 (page 138). Three case stories below examine in particular the transformation and conversion of interviewees' forms of capital and how local social capital makes women's mobility between work and family possible, and contributes to the maintenance and improvement of their opportunities in the labour market.

In addition, the case stories also exemplify how primary habitus holds fast, even after critical awareness awakens due to the lack of fit between habitus and field. The stories told consider women's longing for transformation, but also their awareness of the risks of losing scarce economic or social resources by engaging in unrealistic goals. Women often very patiently wait for the right timing to make their careful and considered strategic moves. Although women's actions in the eyes of some commentators may be labelled as passive, 'waiting' or 'doing nothing', these same women may nevertheless be highly critical and reflexive about their situation. Critical reflection however only rarely leads to sudden, rapid or radical change of practices. The case stories also highlight the significance of the emotions, and anticipation of other people's orientation and practices. Clearly, women's choices and anticipation of future alternatives also demonstrate the power of social categorizations, show how these

influence women's self-categorization and their sense of limits, and equip them to define who they are and to fit in a social position which is "right" or applicable for them (see Rogaly and Taylor 2009).

Eeva[8]

Eeva has lived in Lievestuore all her life. Her mother died soon after she was born, and she and her older siblings were raised by their father and grandparents. Her father used to work in the local pulp factory, but he also earned money by helping people as a blacksmith. Eeva used to follow her father to his works; consequently even as a small child she got to know 'everybody'.

Eeva's family lived in company housing in the middle of the village. Her social background was different compared to that of her neighbouring playmates, who also became her classmates in middle school and upper secondary school. Eeva told me about classed encounters with her friends:

– It was kind of peculiar that I used to play with kids who came from different kinds of families, who were something else than working-class families. There was a shopkeeper's daughter who was my best friend, a bank manager's daughter, a stationmaster's daughter and a factory manager's daughter, Eeva says, and gives me her pregnant smile when she speaks about her friends […]
– I didn't take it in a bad way, they didn't leave me out or anything, but maybe I was… maybe I was a bit different than the others. […]
– And then there's the piano episode. I had taken piano lessons for three years, I guess, and I played notes pretty well already – so I considered myself to be quite good – and I used to practice in three different places, they were the stationmaster, bank manager and factory manager, they all had pianos, and I used to play them. But after a while I started to feel embarrassed when I went there […] and I asked my father to buy me a piano. And I *knew* that my father could have afforded it, but afterwards I realised that it simply was inappropriate to buy a piano for a working class home; it just would have been too much. […]

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[8] Pseudonyms are used in all three case stories. Some personal details have been changed in order to protect individual informants and hinder their identification.

PK: At what phase of your life did you actually realize, or roughly at what age it became clear to you that your background, being a working class family was what had these effects?

– Well it didn't, it didn't actually bother me then, but just now when I have grown older, I have come to think about it, maybe during the last 15 years, and I guess that this job has made me think about it too. […] But it didn't bother me then, since our father had very good relations with everybody and they valued us; they knew our father as good worker, and honest; they knew that our family was honest and they gave us duties.

Although Eeva's family was by no means wealthy and she had suffered the loss of her mother, compared to many other interviewees her story however illustrates a picture of a stable, happy and easeful childhood regarding both material and emotional circumstances. This is common to all relatively highly educated interviewees with a stable work history (Group 1), while members of the other two groups share experiences of emotional and / or material poverty of a different order. Eeva had both material and social resources for acquiring successful academic achievements. Her father encouraged her to study in order to have a better life than he. Eeva does not consider she was talented, but with hard work attained "middle-of-the-road" results in school.

– I burned the midnight oil because I knew that was what my father wanted, she said.

Family ties are introduced as a central source of social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986). Eeva's story also expresses the ambivalence related to her family and the inherited cultural and symbolic capital rooted in her family origin. On the one hand she was spurred on to academic achievements, to move upward socially and to attain a comfortable life as a professional woman. She also firmly felt that she had economic opportunities to concentrate on educating herself; all she needed to worry about was her studies. Her father used to cover the cost of Eeva's piano lessons by doing some extra jobs, and when she needed extra training in language skills in order to pass upper secondary school and matriculation properly her father did not hesitate to hire a private tutor.

On the one hand the good reputation of her family as proper, respectable working-class people has been her heritage; the kind of symbolic capital in the eyes of local people coming from different social strata that Eeva has been able to mobilize and transform into cultural and economic capital through her networks of friendship and acquaintances. During school years she was always warmly welcomed into the homes of her middle-class peers, where academic success and culture were highly appreciated. Eeva spent a lot of time studying together with these friends.

On the other hand keeping up a reputation as decent working class people was based on a sense of limits; a more or less unconscious understanding of how you should behave and what kinds of choices you are expected to make. It brought about her experience of not being the same as her friends, of settling for the fact that she does not have same opportunities in life as they do. Being a good working class girl was about being decent and hardworking rather than talented; not 'pretentious' but a 'genuine person', who remembers where she comes from and is not aspiring to too ambitious goals – exemplified by the piano episode. As Eeva repeated many times, it did not bother her when she was young – it was a taken-for-granted situation made possible by dispositions embodied in her primary habitus. Along with her social position in her community, Eeva's critical awareness however rose, and she began to see the power of social structures and categorizations behind her anticipation of alternatives. Eeva is a 'class defector', a category who in general experiences a plurality of dispositions and undergo psychological conflicts or a disintegration of their identities (e.g. Lahire 2003; Rogaly & Taylor 2009).

After matriculation, Eeva was eager to pursue her university studies, and her dream was to become a teacher in the state school system. She applied twice but without success and so she settled for a commercial college instead. Eeva thought that as a child she had a sort of special place in local people's minds and hearts because she had lost her mother early in life. This brought about a sort of indebtedness on her part, and a forceful sense of belonging to the local community. She sometimes even felt an over-emphasised sense of duty to help and work hard for the local population, especially elderly people. For decades she had followed a persistent and even unselfish career as a devoted "spokeswoman" for

the people and community. However, in so doing she was able to widen her social networks spatially to the regional and national level, and gain many opportunities to develop her expertise in a range of fields. This in turn also offered her opportunities to mobilize her resources outside the locality in order to reach new career opportunities. This way her rather spatially immobile story turned out to produce a stable, recently even upward-moving and rewarding occupational trajectory.

In her early 20's, Eeva married a man from same kind of social background as hers. With the birth of their children she gave up working 'willingly and happily' according to the ideal model of home care provided by the devoted mother (Nätkin 2003). This gendered division of work based on the male breadwinner model was ended when her husband lost his job. Eeva's story expresses how different models of gender relations coexist, and actors may be very conscious and reflective on them (Adkins 2004). In a sense, different models are available for mobilization in changing field conditions. Eeva represented her original decision to stay at home as her own will, which was entitled by doxic gender roles in family as well as emotional ties to husband and children. Although she did not consider that the absence of her mother would have harmed her, she emphasizes that she wanted to offer her own children the "normal family" which she never had. Her husband's unemployment caused her to replace the original norm with another cultural model of the 'good mother' as working mother and of marriage as a partnership including the mutual responsibility of both partners to work for the subsistence of the family[9] (cf. Silius 1996, 142–143). In this way Eeva was also able to deal with contradictory emotions aroused by taking her children to day care.

Her husband soon found new employment, but Eeva continued working and after a little while she managed to find a job which was, as it were, 'tailored' to her. It was also challenging, motivating and varied. Her old

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[9]   In rural Finland, a so-called partnership contract meant that men and women performed different tasks complementing each other. Women took over masculine tasks if men for some reason were absent and vice versa. In this contract a 'good mother' was first and foremost a good worker and good housekeeper, only secondly a good mother. There was no full-time motherhood either as discourse or praxis. Under these circumstances gendered work, home and leisure locations did not occur until the post-WW II period. (Silius, 1996, 142–143.)

sparkle for university studies was still there and her job with new connections roused her professional enthusiasm once again. Her ambition was not however supported by her partner, and she retreated from this position in order to maintain family peace. In subsequent years, however, she maintained how she "perhaps" should have been more "determined". Altogether her career and recognized social position in the local space affected power relations within the marriage, and it was ended when the children reached maturity and moved away – following years of ambivalent emotion and anticipation of what would be best for the children. The end of the marriage was emotionally relieving and her career broke new ground.

Eeva's struggle through the hard times of marriage may seem to have been a waste in the course of time, when every second marriage ends up in divorce anyway. Her decision to stay in an unhappy relationship speaks firstly about her values – 'marriage is a life time commitment' – but secondly it has a lot to do with local social categorizations and the fear of stigma which is still very easily laid on divorced women. Perhaps it is even more typical in a small locality like Lievestuore where everyone knows everybody, and people take sides and start rejecting people who for one reason or another are somehow 'suspicious'. Two interviewees had personally experienced how divorce whittled away their social recognition; in one case the interviewee even saw it as a disadvantage for the business. Divorced women had to be very careful with their social life and actively rebuild their position as 'approved' members of the community. Three interviewees actually found it easier to move away from Lievestuore during the period of data collection – one of the main reasons being that it was easier to start with a clean sheet somewhere else.

Leena

Leena's only patrimony was an agrarian drive for hard working. Although all family members had to work hard at their small farm, it was not enough for breadwinning although both father and children did odd jobs here and there. Leena's parents divorced when she was a teenager and the emo-

tional atmosphere at home was far from loving and supportive. When she was 15 and had not even finished her last year of compulsory education in elementary school, she was asked to start work as a shop assistant. The shopkeeper and Leena's teacher made an agreement that she had to attend school just to pass the exams. Her parents did not consider education important – hard working was the only coping strategy they had. Leena understood and felt that she knew nothing about vocational education. She was afraid of applying, and there was no one who would have 'pushed' or encouraged her forward. When she got a job offer, her fate was clear. During two separate interviews it became very clear that it was however first of all the voice in her head saying 'you aren't worth anything, you won't do it anyway', which she blames for her decision.

The school authority insisted on the formal completion of compulsory education, but it is easy to say that school system implicitly confirmed the expectations which the family had placed on their daughter. Her parents did not consider Leena's future potential adequate enough to be worth deploying resources into her vocational education, and consequently the best she could do was to begin fully providing her own maintenance as soon as possible. Her parents attributed little value to formal schooling, considering it rather as something that had to be completed before the real work of earning one's own wage could begin. (See also Rogaly & Taylor 2009, 148.)

After leaving school at age of 15, Leena worked for the intervening years before she married and gave birth to her first child at the age of 20. Following maternity leave Leena took her baby to day care for a couple of days, but she "just couldn't take it any longer". She wanted to take care of the children herself and put a stop to any 'working career' for 20 years. During that time she and her husband raised five children and build three detached houses.

Leena's husband has had a stable career in a single company. Despite her time of 'housewifery' resembling more or less the life of slogging away familiar to her mother and other ancestresses, the burden of domestic work was blurred with intermittent paid work, casual jobs and voluntary work. At home she sewed and barbered, worked as a private childminder, picked berries and cones and so on. As a result she generated a wide

network of local friends and acquaintances who depended on her and trusted her with their tasks. In addition, she was active in parish work and hobby clubs.

Her youngest child was five years old when Leena considered herself ready to re-enter 'real' working life. She signed on as a job seeker and was very active in her job seeking. She reported humorously how she kept on bombarding staff members in the personnel department of the municipality with her calls, before her persistence was rewarded and she was given a job in cleaning and maintenance.

After decades of bringing paid work to the family field she took her family to the work place. For some months her daughter was with her and she had time to reflect on the idea of day care. During this period of temporary employment the personnel administration of the municipality offered an opportunity of apprenticeship, as a consequence of which Leena completed her first vocational qualification one year later at the age of 40. But more importantly her short period in nursing practice during the apprenticeship became epoch-making in her life. Her mentor, an experienced, registered general nurse, stressed to Leena that she should "unquestionably" train for a caring profession since she self-evidently had competence for that.

The mentor's encouragement and successful apprenticeship studies started to "play a new record" in her mind, which became the first impetus on her way towards a more stable position in the primary labour market based on formal qualifications. In general, Leena's outgoing, active and socially talented characteristics together with her wide social connections in the locality made it easy for her to undertake job seeking informally, off the record, whilst other interviewees exclusively placed their reliance on publicly open job opportunities. Through her wide local network and social capital she acquired a series of temporary job roles – she gave plenty of examples of how she had called here and there after she got a hint of a job opening. Her casual jobs directed her more and more towards working with the elderly and in home help services. In a sense she was able to mobilize her practical skills and dispositions incorporated during a life course in family relations and homemaking. Various kinds of voluntary work and informal hostessing tasks had also accumu-

lated her 'caring capital', and this tacit knowledge was there waiting to be transformed into legitimated professional skills (Cf. Veijola & Jokinen 2008). During one particular period of unemployment, she managed to carry out a labour market training course in working with the elderly.

Since her expertise was growing all the time, she became more conscious of the inferiority of her position compared to permanent – and more educated – personnel. Her husband, who had also acquired his formal qualification in the adult education system, was pushing her. In autumn 2002 she was once again attending a consulting labour market training course. During this four-month-period she was massively and limitlessly spurred on by the project counsellors and co-participants in career planning, and bombarded with information on options available for mature students. A couple of months after the course she managed to get into further labour market training, aiming towards a degree-level certificate in nursing.

By the time of the first interview with Leena in 2003, she was experiencing mixed emotions. On the one hand she was looking forward to a possibility that she would be able to participate in adult education aiming towards a vocational degree. On the other hand she was aware of the fact that she would have to give up some of her hobbies, voluntary work and some other social commitments which were important to her, in order to manage studies and permanent employment, and it made her sad. When we met again at the beginning of 2009 she had been able to cut out some tasks but her acquaintances and friends still turned to Leena with their many requests and assignments – and she found it impossible to refuse. She still felt herself obligated to maintain and cherish her assets of informal social capital, as well as her symbolic value as a flexible and reliable member of the "volunteer fire-brigade" to be called on at short notice. In these turbulent times it is indeed very sensible not to get lulled into believing that a permanent job is a final job.

Elina

Elina's school years in the upper level of comprehensive school were shaken up by bullying at school and the divorce of her parents. Instead

of putting her energies fully into accumulating academic skills, she had to concentrate on coping with these problems. She figured out that by choosing lower level groups in language classes she was able to avoid her teasers during some lessons. She considered herself poor in language skills although her teachers recommended her transferring to a more demanding teaching group, which she refused to do.

– I have maybe lost some options that way, but I don't regret it, Elina states.

Vocational education was however a matter of course to her. During the two interviews she was very reflexive over gender models. It was clear that educating herself was also partly a means of avoiding her mother's destiny as a wife who is socially and economically dependent on her husband. But life did not go exactly the way she had imagined. Afterwards she regrets the choice of vocational education she made, and points out that it was based on too strict a sense of limits and false information. Remarkably, many interviewees emphasized how little they actually knew about vocational education as well as about new occupations and professions which came along with extremely rapid structural change. Their parents and grandparents were uneducated and unskilled workers or farmers. Although most of them had nothing against education and academic achievements – actually on the contrary – they were not able to help their children in their own future anticipations. For example Elina's teacher recommended that she should apply to technical school. Technology had always attracted her, but she had a fixed idea that this educational field would have been academically too demanding for her. She knew no one who could have convinced her that it would have been conceivable for someone like her. The whole academic and educational world was too strange, the teacher was socially too distant and his / her persuasion was just not credible enough.

Elina graduated and found temporary employment. She fell in love and got engaged right at the same time as when she was offered a permanent job. She refused to take the job because she had just agreed to move away with her fiancé, who had a tempting job offer elsewhere. After that she was not able to find job opportunities other than posts in the

intermediate labour market. In their new remote location job openings in the open labour market were non-existing for women; a salary subsidy available for the long-term unemployed was basically the only way to find work in the public sector. When Elina was pregnant with her first baby she demanded her husband apply for reposting in another unit run by his employer. He managed this and they moved to Lievestuore at the end of the 1980's.

Elina's labour market position did not improve after the move, since she gave birth to two children at the turn of the decade, and Finland was struck hard by recession at the beginning of 1990's. Job opportunities in the local office branch were dramatically reduced due to a rationalisation in both the private and public sectors along with a mushrooming of information technology. In addition, both of Elina's children received a diagnosis of chronic disability, which further reduced her potential as a flexible labour market citizen. The family was economically absolutely dependent on her husband's stable career and monthly income. Under these circumstances Elina felt that she had no other sustainable option than to deploy her time and resources into the wellbeing and upbringing of their children.

Elina was however an active job seeker and went through the struggle for places at the day nursery and with personal helpers each time she managed to get a temporary job. She also kept her computer skills up to date. On the one hand she was satisfied with the impermanence of her 'stints', since the double burden was extremely hard to carry on a full-time basis. On the other hand she has always highly valued paid work as a source of self-esteem and as an important guarantee of autonomy, which has motivated her to keep her curriculum vitae updated with new recommendations and evidences of her competence. Instead of an 'anything goes attitude', Elina used to apply for jobs that corresponded to her interests, and usually managed to find assignments which made it possible to deepen her expertise in certain fields of public administration. In this way she made a good impression to the appropriate persons.

Elina's devotion to her children turned out to be rewarding in many ways. First of all they became competent youngsters, capable of leading independent lives despite earlier more pessimistic prognoses. The par-

ents' work in this regard was recognized by professional, medical experts. Finally, Elina was able to find a permanent job in a workplace where for years she had undertaken temporary posts. Elina described how she gained from deploying her incorporated knowledge of human nature developed in emotionally demanding and burdening relationships experienced in her childhood and family life into her present work. However, this permanent post did not come easily, since the other applicants had had higher formal qualifications.

> – In the job interviews I always had a well organised portfolio with dozens of letters of references with me. I knew that I was excellent for the job but I had to convince everyone else too, and I basically talked the recruiters into employing me.

Her work experience, excellent performance, mastery of computer skills and practical social skills in interfacing problematic, even aggressive customers she displayed during her years as a temporary or deputizing employee were convincing, but not in themselves sufficient enough for recruitment; to be successful, she also had to make the most of her self-marketing skills accumulated during her career in numerous temporary jobs in the flexible labour market.

Elina's story illustrates how she dislikes economic dependence on her husband's income and unemployment benefits, no matter how proud she is of her children's progress and how much other people value her performance as a mother. Prospects of achieving respect through educational achievements or occupational success have been minimal for most of the women in this study. When they have lacked opportunities for paid work they have often invested in the wellbeing of their offspring and supported the careers of their husbands. (Cf. Skeggs 1997; McNay 2004.) Their spatial immobility and strategy of focusing on family-centred life and occupying traditional gender models instead of more modern alternatives has hardly in the first place been a part of reflexive gender identity building processes guided by values. Their agency has more or less been based on a sense of individual limits and realistic anticipation of opportunities available. It makes sense that partners specialize themselves in roles which complement each

other, and to co-operate in such a way that they are able to protect the accumulation and total volume of economic, cultural and social capital possessed by the family members.

No matter how reflexively partners negotiate on intra-family gender roles, they are however always subordinate to inequality structures at the societal level. Occupational segregation and the fact that female dominated branches are low-paid compared to male dominated ones, inevitably reproduce gender differences related to positions in the labour market or intra-family gender relations. Although the Finnish welfare state model has increased women's possibilities to achieve family-work balance, as Lewis (see Julkunen 2005) points out, in recent international comparisons Finland is slipping away from the Nordic unity of family and gender policies, and moving towards neo-familism. Finland actually represents (together with France) the model of temporary homemaking. Julkunen (2005, 377) suggests that this may be an effect of concomitant economic recession and child home care allowances. The universal adult worker model was most prevalent in the 1980's, but employment among mothers began to decrease by the turn of the 1980's and 1990's.

Concluding remarks

In a rapidly changing society, any kind of adjustment to change – no matter how relatively minor it may seem – necessitates a conversion of the various forms of capital and a transformation of the dispositions internalised as the primary habitus that originated in the childhood home. It is shaped during a life history according to the ups and downs of the individual's trajectory. Societal change has for example meant the normalization of the concept of working mothers during the last 50 years. "The good mother" became one who hands over the care of her children to another (woman) for part of the day (McDowell 2008, 156).

Not all women have equally seized upon or benefited from social progress and novel opportunities in the fields of education and the labour market. Recent developments in the Finnish economy are characterized by a growing polarization between well-paid, professional occu-

pations and an increasing number of low-paid – also often low-status – service jobs in both the private and public sectors. Opportunities for satisfying work or inter-generational social mobility have also been in decline since the 1990's. This polarization has opened up new divisions between women (see for example Erola et al. 2010; Asplund & Lilja 2010; McDowell 2008). Regardless of the fact that the women in the focus of this study are positioned in opposition to 'successful career women' and power elites, their family-centred life style and dispositions embodied in their feminine habitus have no doubt also been a resource in overcoming this contradiction during an era of rapid change. Ironically this advantage has been related to the rapidly growing number of jobs that demand few highly-valued skills but more often require close and empathetic connection to customers, as well as being precarious and poorly paid (see also McDowell, ibid.).

Both skilled and unskilled women perform place-based forms of work; tasks that keep the economy and / or society running. They do the health care, social services, caring, retail, and clerical work, customer service, catering and cleaning jobs. These are all tasks where agrarian working class femininity is reproduced in contemporary society and in the locally differentiated labour market. In many ways paid work resembles traditional domestic work, and it especially requires skills that are considered either "female virtues or feminine vices", characteristics that are incorporated in the feminine habitus (Lovell 2000; Veijola & Jokinen 2008, 168; Virkki 2008). Women with families have, it could be said, required a 'feel for the game' in the flexible labour market. Equipped with well-developed social skills, deferential, motherly and submissive dispositions they are ideal service sector employees. They are dutiful and good at managing emotions, both their own and those of their customers (cf. Hochschild 1983), which offers an advantage in tasks which take typically place in face-to-face situations, in the delivery of services and in experiences concerning communication and corporeality (Veijola & Jokinen 2008, 167–168). Work performance is more and more done with the entire social and emotional 'wardrobe' of an individual, or with the whole personhood (Vähämäki 2003, 17–19). Since the working careers of these 'family women' are often characterised by irregularity, insecurity

and low personal income, they are also flexible workers prepared to stand for lower wages and modest terms and conditions of employment (cf. McDowell 2008, 153).

Generally women in the focus of this study may from a distance seem to be a rather immobile group both spatially and socially. A cold eye may categorize them as passively adaptive actors or even losers in the competition of grasping new opportunities generated by large-scale changes in social conditions. On the other hand the case stories represented above shed light on this group of women as skilful, capable, active, flexible and competent actors in the local labour market. The analysis of individual trajectories and stories as a whole illustrates that although their positions may appear dominated or insignificant, the subjective experience of the agent may manifest dignity, peace of mind and successful survival in harsh material and emotional conditions.

This subjective experience becomes very understandable when women's positions are explored by following the principles of Bourdieusian field analysis, which reveals nuanced and small-scaled social categorizations, inequalities and distinctions between social groups in the locality. The meaning of social capital based on membership in different informal social networks is essential when analysing relational positions in the local social space. 'Family capital' – e.g. being a good mother and having a normal family – is one essential asset which can provide them with recognition as a respectable member of the local community. It is also symbolic capital, which they are to some extent able to mobilize in the local labour market game.

All three case histories illustrated in this chapter help us to understand how an individual, in changing conditions, may embody contradictory dispositions – and how they live through this contradiction. Although women's practices on the face of it can be labelled as submissiveness to traditional gender roles, they are also carried out as results of the reflexive anticipation of future alternatives available. No matter how reflexively partners negotiate on intra-family gender roles, they are also always subordinate to the inequality structures at the societal level. It very often makes sense that husband and wife specialize themselves toward roles which complement each other although it reproduces traditional models

of intra-family gender relations. By not choosing future alternatives that are too risky or goals that are too ambitious, family women also aim at avoiding wastage of their locally embedded symbolic capital. Following rather familiar paths both occupationally and spatially, as well as time spent 'on the bench of the local labour market game', is in the long run seen to be a more secure pathway to a satisfying life.

Appendix: The background information on the interviewees (N=15) by the time of the most recent interview

The interviewees were born 1953–1965. Thus they were 45–56 years old at the time of the interviews
Group 1: trajectories marked by education and one occupational field (n=5)
Group 2: trajectories marked by unemployment and/or job swapping (n=5)
Group 3: trajectories marked by long-term homemaking (n=5)

	Place of birth (Lievestuore or other)	Basic education	Highest occupational education or degree	Main line of work	Employer sector	Amount of children
1A	other	Middle school	Nursing college	Health services	Municipality	2
1B	Lievestuore	Upper secondary school	University	Teaching	Municipality	2
1C	Lievestuore	Upper secondary school	University	Teaching	Municipality	1
1D	Lievestuore	Upper secondary school	Commercial college	Welfare services, administration	Municipality	3
1E	Lievestuore	Middle school	Vocational education institution (on the side of work)	Administration and office work	Municipality	2
2A	Lievestuore	Primary school	-	Sales	Private	1
2B	other	Primary school	Vocational school	Self-employed	Own business	3
2C	Lievestuore	Comprehensive school	Commercial school	Welfare services	State	2
2D	other	Primary school	Vocational school	Customer service	Unemployed	3
2E	Lievestuore	Primary school	Vocational school	Sales	Private	3
3A	Lievestuore	Middle school	-	Home help services	Private	4
3B	other	Primary school	Vocational education institution (adult education)	Welfare services	Municipality	2
3C	other	Comprehensive school	Ongoing apprenticeship contract	Welfare services	Municipality	4
3D	Lievestuore	Primary school	Vocational education institution (adult)	Welfare services	Foundation	5
3E	other	Primary school	Vocational education institution (adult)	Welfare services	Foundation	5

Noticeboard at the centre of Lievestuore informs on future events

Announcement on the next match of *pesäpallo* (Finnish baseball)
on the noticeboard

The building of the Settlement Association (adult education centre)
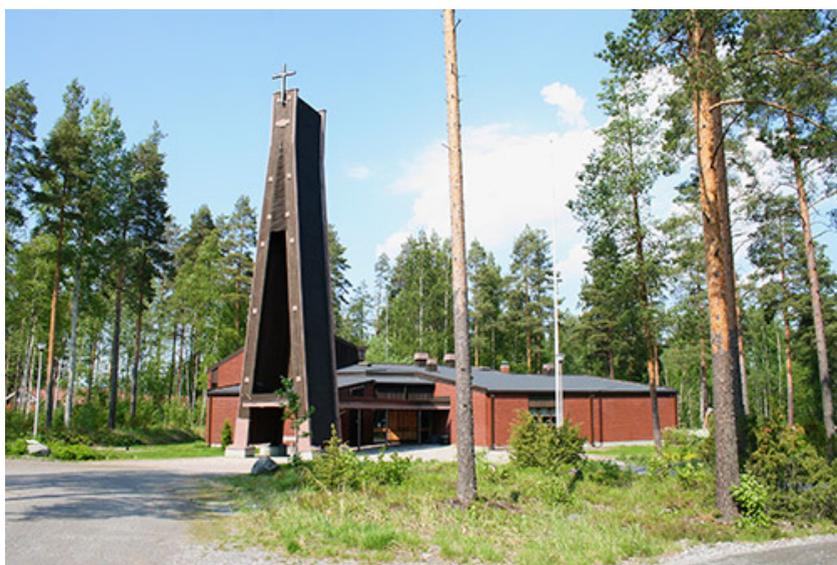
Lievestuore church

Martti Siisiäinen
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Networks and voluntary associations as social capital in local fields

Introduction: problems and approach

This chapter investigates the constellation of different forms of social capital which can be and are utilised to advance interests and acquire other forms of capital in local fields of Lievestuore. Our purpose is to explore and exploit the possibilities provided by Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and apply them to the study of networked social capital – above all, voluntary associations. Bourdieu's theoretical concepts can integrate approaches that look at the activities of individual actors with those that focus on the functioning of voluntary associations and other collectivities. This bisection between individual and collective actors regards research on social capital, social actorhood in general and network studies. In concrete localities and social practices, as Herman Lelieveldt puts it, "both individuals and organisations constitute important categories of political agency, and their behaviour should be studied together" (Lelieveldt 2008, 344). The requirements for comprehensive research on local life that is relational and includes all of Bourdieu's interconnected central concepts

– the forms of capital, field and the habitus – are numerous (see Martin 2003; Emirbayer & Johnson 2008; Vaughan 2008; Alanen 2007). That is why relational studies that systematically adapt all of these concepts and take into consideration the different analytical levels of their manifestations are rare indeed (with exceptions such as Vaughan 1996).

With a view to overcoming to some extent the bisection of individuals and collectives (organisations, voluntary associations), we will analyse both the type and volume of individual and collective social capital in the locality of Lievestuore, reconciling the results with historical dimensions of organised local social capital. Because it is not possible to study all separate voluntary associations as fields themselves (power structures, inner stakes, etc.) or as agents in diverse social fields (culture and arts, politics, welfare, etc), we have analysed voluntary associations as the mediating link between the societal and individual levels of activity: as actors in fields and as associational capital whose social, cultural and economic resources its members can mobilise on with certain preconditions (see Siisiäinen 1988).

The concrete research questions to be answered in this chapter are:

- First, what are the characteristics of voluntary associations acting in local fields of Lievestuore and how has the public "scene" – populated by associations – changed over the last 30 years?
- Second, what is the role of voluntary associations within the total composition of different local actors' social capital, and how can the actors use various kinds of social capitals as their local resource? As participation in voluntary associations seems to be differentiated, we also take a closer look at the dimensions of individuals' participation in associations.
- Third, what kind of players are voluntary associations in local fields, and what kind of relation networks do they have with municipal institutions, trustees and officials, the media, congregations, private companies and other associations? Formal network analysis is complemented by the investigation of the mediators and contents of their mutual interaction.

- Fourth, what were and are the tensions carried out by local associations from the 1980s to the present; and what kind of repertoires have been exploited by various actors – voluntary associations foremost – in their collective strategies?

To answer the research questions, three main data sets are utilised. First, a survey questionnaire was sent to 41 officially functioning local voluntary associations (listed on the Register of Associations), of which 23 (56%) responded. The response rate was doubtless affected by the fact that many of the associations have in reality been suspended, either temporarily or permanently (closedowns, fusions). The suspension is partly due to the proximity of the province capital Jyväskylä. Local participation and memberships – particularly in specialised hobby associations requiring a relatively large population base – often takes place in the province centre. In Finland, as a rule, the association density is smaller in rural municipalities that are situated in the neighbourhoods of big towns than in municipalities farther away from the province centres (see Siisiäinen & Kankainen 2009).

The second data set regarding associations comprises articles in the local newspaper Laukaa-Konnevesi (L-K) in 1984–2009, complemented by the articles in Keskisuomalainen (KSML) distributed within the province centre Jyväskylä[1]. About 250 articles or news reports dealing with substantial activities of voluntary associations in Lievestuore were selected for analysis, 100 of them published after the year 2000. Together with voluntary associations, the newspaper Laukaa-Konnevesi is a central part of the local public sphere and is the main source of information about local events for voluntary associations and other local actors. Jointly with the information from other written documents and from interviews, its news give a plausible picture of what is happening in local surface publicity and about the most central actors and their local contributions.

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[1] The news archive has been collected by Mrs. Anneli Orbinski, who kindly offered it for use in the research project.

The third set of data was collected with a survey questionnaire addressed to the inhabitants of Lievestuore. The questions in the survey dealt with the economic, cultural and social resources that people retain in their everyday lives: social capital, associational participation, voluntary activity and informal networks. The data include three age cohorts representing young adults (35-year-olds), the middle-aged (50-year-olds), and the elderly (70-year-olds). Altogether 194 people responded to the survey, representing 58 per cent of the age cohorts.

In a multifaceted study like ours, covering different levels of associational and network activity, it is not possible to realise all the possibilities (or even requirements) of Bourdieu's demanding theoretical approach. By combining the above-mentioned data and adopting corresponding methods in our study, we have striven to take a step towards a comprehensive Bourdieusian analysis of voluntary associations as fields and in fields. The step-by-step procedure in which separate empirical studies can contribute to develop a comprehensive theoretical approach to associations: "As Bourdieu himself suggested, and his close follower Wacquant echoes, the desired objective is to enhance new empirical research – offer a *generative* usage of his concepts – rather than just engage in theoretical exegesis of Bourdieu's work" (Swartz 2008, 46).

Special attention is given to the role that voluntary associations or associational capital play on the one hand in the complex of the agents' social capital, and in or within the orbit of social fields. The central dimensions of social capital are succinctly defined by Bourdieu as follows:

"The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent -- depends on the size of network of connections he can effectively mobilise and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural of symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected-- (T)he network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e. at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighborhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights)." (Bourdieu 1986, 248–249.)

The definition takes into account both the individual agent's level and the collective level of social capital and capital networks. Networks of social capital – for example, relations of association memberships – are usable assets for actors in various social fields. But certain constellations of social networks – for example, voluntary associations – can also act as contradictory collectives in social fields that utilise economic, cultural and social capital assigned to them by their members or mobilised through organisations connected to their networks (collective investments strategies) (Bourdieu 1980; Siisiäinen 1988).

Bourdieu's sociology and the research of voluntary associations

An overarching intent throughout the chapter is the adaptation and thereby evaluation of Bourdieu's concepts regarding the analysis of voluntary associations. Bourdieu's ideas will be complemented by theoretical tools provided by the sociology of associations. The list of various areas studied using Bourdieu's theoretical ideas is long and ever-expanding (see e.g. Grenfell 2008). However, voluntary associations have not been systematically studied or theorised adapting Bourdieu's approach (c.f. Siisiäinen 1988). Emirbayer and Johnson's (2008) lengthy article *Bourdieu and organizational analysis* is a path-breaking account of Bourdieu's importance on organisation studies. Though not all voluntary associations are formal organisations in the strict sense, Emirbayer and Johnson's main organisational ideas can be applied to association analysis as well. The general idea here is to see how association analysis could use Bourdieu's general concepts and, the other way round, how the sociology of associations could complement Bourdieu's arsenal of relational sociology.

Bourdieu's relational sociology is one of the rare new general sociological theories presenting a comprehensive interpretation of agency and social dynamics as a whole. Therefore, actors' association participation and network memberships can also be addressed theoretically by adapting the concepts of habitus, interest, capacities based on the ownership of economic, cultural and social capital, and social fields as arenas of inter-

est-oriented action (e.g. Alanen, Salminen & Siisiäinen 2007; Siisiäinen & Alanen 2009; Siisiäinen 2010).

The general contribution of Bourdieusian theorisations to the sociology of associations is threefold. First, Bourdieu's ideas of interest-directed participation in social fields are directly relevant to the analysis of association as they, by definition, develop around members' common interests. Second, Bourdieu's idea of organisations – such as voluntary associations – as arenas of power struggles and as contradictory actors in fields is a central focus in association theory. Third, participation or membership commitment to a voluntary association can be understood as an agent's choice among various alternatives presented by a certain conjuncture directed and predisposed by her/his habitus (see Bourdieu 1986, 1994b; Siisiäinen 1986, 1988, 1996, 2010; cf. Emirbayer & Johnson 2008).

The establishment of a voluntary association to advance a common interest (or interests) of the founding members has probably been the most important way to compensate for the weakness of actors' individual social (and economic and cultural) capital by inter-subjective co-operation. Associations are expressions of collective interests of agents acting in concert in a certain social conjuncture. Actors' choices between competing associations and networks can be understood from the perspective of practical logic and, more specifically, as causally probable acts (Siisiäinen 2010). Association memberships which demand high investments of economic, cultural and social capital require also that the personal habituses of members are – to a substantial extent – compatible with each other. On the other hand, people with relatively different profiles of personal capital and habitus can participate in recreational associations based on light commitments and requiring only a minor investment of one's personality.

Actor's dispositions, internalised in her/his habitus, are formed through practices during different life phases. At a certain conjuncture of history or moment in life, an actor tends to choose those alternatives most likely to, in the light of her/his past as inscribed in the habitus, lead to positive (or at least bearable) outcomes. This strategic choice is depicted by Bourdieu's concept of the causality of the probable (Bourdieu 1974). The future opens up to an agent as a horizon of possibilities

or personally cognisable opportunity structures. Accordingly the actor tends to choose those alternatives which seem "reasonable", and "make sense" against the backdrop of the totality of her/his resources, the life history and past experiences as they are expressed in the dispositions and cognitive schemes of the habitus. This practical logic is also intersubjective because the presumed future actions of the alter have a conscious or subconscious bearing on the choices of the ego. The choices and ensuing practices of actors do not result from rational calculations or cost-benefit evaluations, but develop as a mixture of rational evaluations and conscious and unconscious feelings of what seems realistic to the actor (Bourdieu 1974, 1977; Siisiäinen 2010.)

The compatibility of a person's dispositions and cognitive schemes on the one hand and the frames of existing associations (ideology, programme, statutes) or other social networks or groupings on the other is a necessary but not sufficient condition for her/his association membership or commitment (c.f. Bourdieu 1977, 1994b; Snow et al. 1986; Siisiäinen 1996). Actors also make conscious or intuitive "estimations" about their chances in order to succeed in the role of the member in available associations. A socially differentiated society develops socially differentiated patterns of associational participation.

The voluntary association as social capital refers to those economic, cultural and social resources which can be mobilised through social networks related to the association on both the associational and individual membership levels. In a Bourdieusian view, the number of social networks *per se* does not guarantee the efficacy of an agent or association in a certain social field. The efficacy depends on the position of the agent in the constellation of network relations and on the value of the forms of capital that can be mobilised via the connections (see Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; c.f. Lelieveldt 2008). Voluntary associations are the primary method of choosing and struggling collectively in various social fields and multiplying the causal power of individual actors in modern democracies. From this perspective, voluntary associations are participants in large social fields. But they can also take part in a more "modest" way by acting locally and forming a dynamic part of a larger – even global – field together with associations in other localities occupying corresponding

positions relative to the same large field. It can also be argued justifiably that an association is a component of a (larger) field when its trajectory traverses this space and when its intrinsic properties cannot be explained without reference to the effects of the field (c.f. Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 110; Emirbayer & Johnson 2008, 30).

The concept of the causality of the probable will help us to understand theoretically and empirically the choices of both individual actors and associations as collectives in local social fields. Actors and collectives tend to favour choices that are likely to lead to positive outcomes, considering their past experiences, ownerships of the form of capital valued in the social field in question and the totality of possible alternatives (Siisiäinen 2010). The hypothesis is that for the most part, both individual and collective agents tend to direct their choices to reasonable – that is, realistic – alternatives. Ruptures and radical changes take place as unintended consequences of a multitude of simultaneous choices and as resultant of the developments of different social fields (see Siisiäinen 2010).

In a country like Finland, voluntary associations have been – and continue to be – among the most important actors in political, cultural, artistic, religious and social welfare field throughout its modern history. It is a special feature of Finnish civil society that there are less reckoned alternatives to associations than in most other countries (see Siisiäinen & Kankainen 2009). The importance of associations has, most likely, been even greater in local fields than on the national level. The potential of economic, social and cultural capital can be made meaningful (recognisable, legitimate) by symbolic means, by transforming them into symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1980, 1986; Siisiäinen 1988). This has also been one of the central functions of voluntary associations. At the same time that formal political organisations have lost their stature, the value of place and interactional meetings has been growing in a cultural and symbolic sense as nodal points of commitment (e.g. Bauman 2001; Urry 2003; Lelieveldt 2008).

Associational symbolic capital is involved in many ways in the functioning of local fields and publicity. If we speak about voluntary associations as "collective actors", we should understand them as "field-like" formations, as spaces of internal conflicts with their own stakes, as sites

of power structures (*Herrshaftsverhälnisse*; Weber 1911) and a hierarchic division of labour (see Emirbayer & Johnson 2008, 22–26; Siisiäinen 2010). However, in practice there are major differences in this respect between different voluntary associations. Nowadays, the position of the chair in local associations seems in most cases to be less tempting as personal investments to the association clearly overweigh the personal benefits from the position. In any case, members can mobilise a part of the associational resources for their own benefit. Rules of representation and delegation appear in all institutionalised groupings, thereby concentrating the associational social capital – no matter what kind – in the hands of association leaders. The associational mandate can also be used as cultural or symbolic capital in an environment that recognises the value of the association which provides the mandated person (leadership and/or rank-and-file members) with associational power surpassing her/his personal weight (see Bourdieu 1980, 1986; Siisiäinen 1988).

Characteristics of local voluntary associations (as field actors)

Probably the most "conspicuous" general feature of Finnish collective action is the dominance of registered associations. All major social movements from Communist to Green parties have registered themselves thereby conforming – at least to some extent – to the prevailing rules of the game. Registration and ensuing legal status involves some obligations, though quite formal and minor, but on the other hand, entitles an association to demand some respect from its public or private exchange partners. A big part of public cultural and leisure activities in Finnish society are based on official or unofficial agreement between registered associations and political or administrative institutions (competitive sports, municipal subsidies, right to use municipal premises etc.) (Siisiäinen 2009). Therefore it is no surprise that registered voluntary associations are also well represented in local media publicity.

Since 1919 almost 80 registered associations have been established in Lievestuore. In addition, many locals belong to associations registered in

the parent municipality Laukaa or in the province centre Jyväskylä. This chapter deals only with associations registered in Lievestuore. During the last ten years, cultural associations and hobby clubs have been dominating local publicity, as revealed by the newspaper analysis (see Table 6.1): Lievestuoreen Setlementti (The Settlement Association) with an adult institute, Lievestuore-seura (Lievestuore Society), sports club Kisa (in 1995–2006 it was known as Ysi5) and the Scouts clubs. Two of these, The Settlement and the Scouts, have religious roots. An old active organisation is also the local branch of Mannerheimin Lastensuojelululiitto working for children's welfare and protection dating back to the years following the Civil War in 1918. All these associations have been able to adapt their collective frames to meet the changing everyday interests of the local people. All associations with high visibility are multi-functional or generalist and, more or less, consensually oriented.

Table 6.1 Registration year of twelve associations with media visibility in the 2000s

Association	Year of establishment	Main sphere of activity in local publicity
Lievestuoreen Setlementti (The Settlement Association)	1946	religion, education, culture, social & welfare
Lievestuoreen Kisa (Ysi5)	1927	sports
Lievestuore-seura (Society)	1979	local identity, local politics, culture
Lievestuoreen yrittäjät (entrepreneurs' association)	1988	interest politics, business
Scouts (girls & boys)	1942, 1937	education, hobbies, nature, religion
The local branch of the Mannerheimin Lastensuojeluliitto	1953	children's welfare, social politics
Lions Club Lievestuore	1976	status group, charity, culture
Social Democratic Party branch	1906	politics (leisure/culture)
Hohon kyläseura (Hoho village association)	2001	local politics, identity & culture
Lievestuoreen Karjalaiset (Karelians' association)	1946	Karelian evacuees, culture, tradition
VAU! youth theatre	2006	culture/drama

In 2008, approximately more than half of the 41 officially registered associations in Lievestuore were functioning actively. About 40 per cent of these can be classified as cultural and hobby associations, one-fifth as sports clubs and one-fifth as social welfare and health associations. Very few associations are professional or political. Most of the party political associations have merged with the associations registered in the municipality centre Laukaa, which explains partly the absence of political associations in Lievestuore. In addition, local trade union activities have been concentrated on the municipal level. Participation in ideological organisations tends to be located at the provincial centre. At the same time, the national tendency is for newly established associations in general to not be members of national central federations. It means on the one hand that their activities cannot easily be directed in a corporate manner via national federations, and on the other hand that the possibilities of local associations to participate in large national fields via central federations have weakened decisively.

Nearly all of the associations that responded to the survey have been registered before 1990. In that respect Lievestuore would seem to deviate from the general Finnish trend. In Finland as a whole, the 1990s was a decade of exceptionally abundant registration of new associations. However, the low number of new associations established during the last 10 years in Lievestuore can be explained by the proximity of the province centre Jyväskylä, which has approximately 130,000 inhabitants. In the 1990s an unusual number of new associations were established in Jyväskylä, even compared with the number of associations founded on the national level. (Siisiäinen 2002, 2009)

A typical association in Lievestuore has 50 to 99 members. The average number of participating members is 38. The ratio between paying members and participants in the activity of associations in Lievestuore is similar to that of the province capital Jyväskylä (Siisiäinen 2002). During the last five years a third of the local associations have lost members, whereas a quarter of the associations have gained more members. Half of the associations report declining rates of actually participating members, and only a few mention that the rate is increasing. Finnish surveys show that the participation of the unemployed and young people in most types of

voluntary associations is especially low (see e.g. Siisiäinen & Kankainen 2009). The association activists in Lievestuore are also worried about the absence of these groups in their rank and file. In every second association the need to recruit new young members is on the agenda.

The concern about the absence of young members is closely related to the future of voluntary work, which also troubles many associations. Not surprisingly, the contribution of voluntary work is essential since the income for associations in Lievestuore is mostly derived from membership fees and primary activity that relies on the members' voluntary work. Only a few associations receive substantial public funding. Local associations typically operate on a minor budget, and thus their share of economic capital is insignificant. In two-thirds of the associations the annual budget remains less than 3,000 euros, and only two out of ten operate on a budget in excess of 6,000 euros.

The number of volunteers has decreased in about 40 per cent of associations, and none of them has been able to gain more volunteers. The respondents are dwelling on how to find new, preferably young volunteers, as many of the current active members are relatively advanced in age, and will soon withdraw from the association. A majority of the associations see the decline in volunteering as a genuine threat for the future of the association. As a whole, it is often a major challenge for associations to get people to participate, especially in long-term projects. It seems to be a general trend in Finland that associational activity takes place on terms set by people's lifestyles and on the basis of temporal commitments. A majority of actors seem to avoid long-lasting associational commitments. This holds true especially for younger generations. (Siisiäinen 2002; Siisiäinen & Kankainen 2009.)

On a general level, local associations set great store by the well-being of their special target group and the whole community. Local associations also continue the tradition of close partnership between the public sector and civil society, which is typical of Finnish society (Siisiäinen 2009; Alapuro & Stenius 2010). In practice all associations also stress the importance of the Finnish type of acting collectively.

In a more detailed examination, the associations in Lievestuore consider spreading and passing information the most significant issues of

their activity (see Table 6.2). Not only are the acquisition and distribution of information significant to the associations, but they are also an indication of how the associations have succeeded in using their networks. Typically, voluntary associations in Lievestuore have four different sources of information, the most important ones being their own members and the internet. The strong emphasis on information was found also when studying the associations in Jyväskylä (Siisiäinen 2002, 37). In addition, fundraising, arranging voluntary work and education are rated significant by the associations in both Lievestuore and Jyväskylä. The high significance of club activity in Lievestuore is, however, distinctive for the associations. Preserving the local identity is of high importance. Hence, the maintenance of the associational activity seems to have an

Table 6.2 *The significance of different issues in associational activity*

	Significant or very significant %
Informing about the association's own activity	100
Spreading and passing along information	82
Maintaining club activity	77
Fundraising for the association	71
Preserving the identity of Lievestuore	61
Arranging voluntary work for the community	60
Arranging education	50
Taking care of the interests of members	48
Assisting groups targeted by the association	43
Providing counselling and professional assignments	38
Arranging cultural and artistic events	36
Raising and maintaining discussions on social issues	35
Arranging sport events	33
Arranging trips	32
Ideological activity	29
Providing services that the public sector has previously looked after	15
Service trading with the public sector	9

intrinsic value for the associations. They, too, stress the importance of preserving the local identity, thereby strengthening their belonging in the locality and the production of local social capital.

Association memberships and networks as actors' social capital

In this section we focus first on the composition of social capital retained by local inhabitants, and second on how people are able to use social capital – in other words, what kinds of resources are linked within the networks. The mere volume of social networks is not the most important thing, as the variety of different types of networks and the possibilities for taking advantage of network resources are essential when it comes to social capital (Kankainen & Siisiäinen 2009; van der Gaag 2005). Even though voluntary associations have maintained their central role in Finnish society, the associational resources are not evenly distributed (see Siisiäinen & Kankainen 2009). Therefore this section also analyses the kinds of roles family or friendships on one hand and voluntary associations or informal hobby groups on the other play in the totality of actors' social capital.

Association memberships

Although Finnish associational life as a whole did not suffer from recession of the 1990s, it has gone through a fundamental change. The trend goes from ideological and political associations towards cultural, lifestyle and hobby associations (Siisiäinen 2002; Siisiäinen & Kankainen 2009). The participation of the inhabitants of Lievestuore in voluntary associations follows the Finnish trend, which can be seen in the popularity of sports organisations and clubs, cultural and other leisure associations (Table 6.3). Over 60 per cent of the respondents are members of at least one association.

Given that most of the active local associations and thereby their symbolic frames were created many decades ago, it is not surprising that eld-

erly people (born in 1935 or 1936) have more memberships than younger cohorts. Accordingly, a remarkable proportion of them are members of political organisations and they also find it easier to chair an association (17%), to work as a volunteer (34%), to write a letter to a newspaper's opinion section (14%) and to participate in a demonstration (11%). The middle-aged (born in 1954–56) have the fewest memberships to associations. The passiveness of the middle-aged in Lievestuore appears surprising, as Finnish people in their forties and fifties are typically most likely to be active in voluntary associations (Siisiäinen & Kankainen 2009).

Table 6.3 *Memberships[2] to voluntary associations in Lievestuore, by age cohort*

Type of association	Age cohort		
	35 years %	**50 years %**	**70 years %**
Trade union or employers' organisation	49	33	14
Hobby club or cultural association	20	16	26
Sports club	15	19	14
Residents' (or village) association	9	8	14
Disability, social welfare or health association	12	4	11
Political party or organisation	2	3	23
Religious (other than church or congregation)	5	3	0
Humanitarian or charity association	2	1	9
Entrepreneurs' organisation	3	5	9
Other economical or professional association	2	2	9
Home district association	0	3	6
International friendship society	0	1	6
Nature conservation, environmental or alternative movement	2	2	0
Youth association	0	0	3
Student association	2	0	0

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2   The table indicates how many respondents have answered that they are members of associations. The rest of the respondents either are not members or have not answered.

In addition to noting membership to associations, information on actual participation – in the form of association meetings, fundraising contributions and organised events or volunteering – was gathered from the respondents. The correlation between actual participation in meetings, organising events or volunteering and the number of formal association memberships is high, as expected. It is consistent with the finding that persons with only one membership also participate more rarely than those with more memberships. Almost 25 per cent of association members do not take part in any civic activity.

The possession of cultural and economic capital make a difference in participation: people with high levels of education and income are more active members of associations (see Table 6.4). It is striking that those who lack vocational education and those with a monthly income of less than 1000 euros are the population's outliers due to their associational passivity. The same holds true for associational activity in all of Finland: people in higher positions not only have more memberships to associations but also tend to join associations which have members from more diverse backgrounds (Kouvo 2010, 176). Active participants of associations also have higher general confidence and are more active voters (Pääkkönen 2006; Hanifi 2006). It can thus be argued that associational membership fosters a rather middle-class elective identity, as pointed out, for example, by Savage (2009). Associational activity in Lievestuore seems to be strongly locally embedded on the personal level, as activity in associations, participation in local events and sentimental attachment to places seem to be concentrated in the same actors.

These findings can be interpreted in terms of the causality of the probable (Bourdieu 1974). Participation in voluntary associations is clearly an activity more probably partaken by actors who possess necessary capitals that are valued locally, and who are able to choose the options most suitable for them. The eldest group in the survey was socialised at a time when the political subfield was very central in people's lives (the 1930s and 40s). In their youth there were active political associations and ideologically committed hobby associations in the locality, and the political divide (right and left) was very powerful. Many studies show that political socialisation during youth tends to be relatively enduring (cf.

Marin, Pekonen & Siisiäinen 1990). It can also be argued that there has been a shift from a collective type of socialisation (typically compatible with traditional party membership) to an individualised one. At the same time the significance of the political subfield has decreased in people's everyday lives and new agents of socialisation have conquered the scene (the commodity industry, the media, etc.).

A feeling shared by many actors with few adequate resources and disadvantageous positions in the political field is that they lack effective channels of influence. Therefore it may be reasonable from their perspective to choose the option of non-participation and to avoid alternatives that appear to them unrealistic and therefore as sheer wastes of resources. There are many factors decreasing the probability of people with little economic and cultural capital to participate in activities of voluntary associations, particularly political ones: (1) leadership positions require

Table 6.4 Number of association memberships by age, education and income (%)

	Number of association memberships (%)					
	0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4 –**	**TOTAL**
Age cohort						
1970–1972	31	34	20	10	5	100
1954–1956	40	30	21	5	4	100
1935–1936	37	34	5	11	12	100
Education						
No vocational education	63	21	11	5	0	100
Vocational proficiency attained in work	45	37	10	5	3	100
Secondary level	31	33	23	8	5	100
Polytechnic	24	34	22	12	8	100
University level	0	33	33	17	16	100
Monthly income						
Less than 1000 €	51	24	17	5	3	100
1000–2000 €	32	40	13	9	6	100
2001–3000 €	32	25	28	9	6	100
Over 3000 €	27	19	27	9	18	100

mastery of associational skills which correlate with the level of cultural capital; (2) activeness and confidence in the effectiveness of association participation are correlated; (3) the economisation of politics and the perceived distance between local actors and centres of political decision-making might make political influencing via associations seem unrealistic for many actors (Siisiäinen 2010; Kankainen 2007).

Associations and informal networks in the typology of social capital

The respondents' contacts with relatives, neighbours and friends, and the resources which they can obtain from family members, relatives and friends were studied in order to get an understanding of the totality of actors' potential social resources. This was done by adapting the "resource generator" developed by van der Gaag and Snijders (van der Gaag 2005; van der Gaag & Snijders 2005). The method has been developed for measuring social capital by available social resources through network contacts. In our application the respondents were asked whether they had relatives, friends or acquaintances who could provide them with resources such as household work, career guidance, mental support, information or financial help.

The empirical analysis identified two types of resources reminiscent of *expressive* and *instrumental* dimensions described by Nan Lin (1982). These could also be named as resources for "getting by" and "getting ahead" (see e.g. Wacquant 1998; Lowndes 2004; Leonard & Onyx 2003). Expressive resources are generated in discussions about personal or family issues or in participating in cultural events together. Resources connected to issues like career consulting or assistance with different problems in working life are here named instrumental resources.

In order to study the composition of actors' social capital, the respondents were divided into four groups on the basis of two quantitative dimensions. The first dimension is the number of memberships to voluntary associations. The second dimension concerns the frequency of keeping in touch with friends. By splitting the scales of these variables

(see Table 6.5 for the criteria), four groups were created from the pool of all respondents. This typology of social capital has theoretical roots and ramifications. We can connect formal and informal social capital with the types of networks to which people belong, and associate strong and weak ties (Granovetter 1973) with the utilised network connections. Relationships between friends are typical examples of networks based on strong ties. They are created by interaction that is close, intimate and often based on personal trust. One of the central advantages of strong ties is the temporal stability and security, which arises from trust and familiarity. (Ibid.) Voluntary associations can be seedbeds of both strong ties (for example, the friendships formed within the associations) and weak ties. Weak ties, compared to strong ties, are (re)produced by less intensive and temporally shorter interactions. Strong ties usually exist between similar kinds of people who know each other well. Weak ties, on the other hand, bring together people with different social backgrounds and resources, thereby assisting individuals in gaining more versatile and, often, instrumentally more significant help and skills (cf. van der Gaag 2005).

It can be argued that strong ties are more of a help as resources for getting by and weak ties for getting ahead, but, as Blokland and Savage (2008, 13) put it, "weak ties do not guarantee bridging, and strong ties do not guarantee bonding". Many researchers of class organisation, for example Friedrich Engels and Gaetano Mosca, suggest that the "ruling class" or economic elites do not need associations because they are often organised by "strong ties" simply because of their small size (see Schattschneider 1960; Offe & Wiesenthal 1979; Siisiäinen 1986). Thus they "get ahead" in that way. Groups of lower strata might stick to their strong ties which might prevent the development of an upward social trajectory but still enable them to acquire valuable resources from the point of view of their "opportunity structures". Moreover, people may prefer to use their strong ties as long as it is possible (Blokland & Noordhoff 2008, 109) or seems reasonable (= "causally probable"; see Siisiäinen 2010). Thus the differentiation of individual-level social capital examined in this section does not concern so much the differentiation between strong and weak ties as it does the distinction between different social spheres and lifestyles constructed around the ownership of the forms of capital.

The typology is also reinforced by its practicality in further analysis. Table 6.5 shows that there are differences between the groups not only in terms of association memberships and friendship contacts, but also in terms of e.g. participation in local events and cultural and economic

Table 6.5 *The four groups of social capital in Lievestuore[3]*

		Frequency of contact with friends	
		Once a month at the highest	Weekly or more often
Memberships to associations	0 or 1	*Home-centred people (n=59)* • Scarce economic capital and low level of education, lowest number of expressive and instrumental resources • Civic participation not natural • Few relatives who were born in Lievestuore; minority consider themselves "locals"	*Friendship-centred people (n=73)* • Frequent contact with relatives, neighbours and friends • Majority have close relatives nearby
	2 or more	*Association and culture-oriented people (n=15)* • Friends: instrumental resources • No close relatives living nearby • Associations and hobby groups • Participation in local events, visiting local places • High education and economic capital • Cultural hobbies and societal participation natural	*Widely networked people (n=46)* • Frequent contact with relatives, neighbours and friends • Friends: help in household work, expressive resources • Associations and hobby groups • Participation in local events, visiting local places • High education and economic capital • Cultural hobbies and societal participation natural

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[3]   Variables used in the typology: number of memberships to voluntary associations (sum variable of all associations of which the respondent is a member; range 0…9); frequency of contacts with friends (sum variable of three types of contacts: phoning friends, meetings friends and meeting workmates or colleagues outside of work; range in each variable: 1 = "never"…6 = "daily").

resources. A somewhat similar classification was made by de Hart and Dekker (2003) between the network dimension (consisting of visiting neighbours, asking and getting help from the neighbours, etc.) and trust dimension (association memberships, volunteering, trust in other people's help and generalised trust) of social capital in two small cities in the Netherlands. A low level of education and longer residence in the locality increased the activities' scores on the network dimension, whereas higher education, high income and personal efficacy correlated positively with the trust dimension. (Ibid., 159–162.)

Friendship-centred people are the most active in meeting or visiting their close friends. They also meet and discuss with their neighbours more often than do the other groups. Networks of the friendship-centred people are thus formed primarily via close friends, and they gain much more expressive and instrumental resources through their friends and acquaintances than the home-centred people. They do not, however, differ from the other two groups in how much these resources are at their disposal. This is a good example of how the number of network contacts in itself does not turn over a higher volume of exploitable resources for the individual (van der Gaag 2005). Friendship-centred people do not have many association memberships. About 40 per cent of them are members of a single association while the rest have no memberships. Only about a fifth of them participate in a hobby group.

Widely networked people also meet frequently with their relatives, friends and neighbours. They feel, in particular, that relationships with friends and acquaintances are a valuable resource when it comes to receiving help in household matters or getting expressive support. This support is also reciprocal, as this group, more than the other groups, feels that they support their friends. Reciprocity and trust are often important in enhancing interaction between individuals (Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002) and the exchange of resources (van der Gaag 2005).

Widely networked people differ from the friendship-centred ones in that they participate actively in voluntary associations and a majority of them take part in hobby groups. Each of them is a member of at least two associations, and over 70 per cent report having participated in the meeting of an association during the last year. Additionally, this group

has the highest number of people who consider it "natural" for them to be involved in voluntary work, participate in trade union meetings, write a letter to a newspaper's opinion section, act as chairperson of an association, support a strike and run for a seat in the local council. It is known from earlier studies that overlapping memberships in various networks (working place, associations, friends, family) increases one's chances of finding useful resources in diverse social fields (cf. van de Bunt 1999).

Association and culture-oriented people are members of several associations and participate in various hobby groups. Each of these people is a member of at least two associations. Approximately 65 per cent of them have participated in the meeting of an association during the last year. In other words, they have the same amount of this type of social capital as the widely networked people in Lievestuore, but their relationships with relatives, friends and neighbours are infrequent. Thus, they embody mainly achieved, associational social capital, whereas ascribed social capital is of less importance: they meet less frequently with their friends and neighbours and also have slightly fewer connections with relatives. This is partly explained by the fact that only less than half of them have close relatives in Lievestuore or in the neighbouring municipalities, which makes them radically different from the friendship-centred people (of whom 80 % have close relatives living nearby). The people in this group feel that they receive, when needed, more instrumental support from their friends and acquaintances than from other people. This support is also reciprocated, as they have also provided resources of instrumental activity most often to their acquaintances.

"Widely networked people" and "association and cultural people" resemble each other in that they have more economic and cultural capital than people in average. In addition to civic engagement, these people also consider cultural hobbies to be more natural forms of activity for themselves than do the other two groups. The widely networked as well as the association-oriented have amassed different forms of capital – social, economical and cultural; they also enjoy visiting several events and places in Lievestuore. Therefore, their chances of meeting new people and gaining more social capital are probably better than those of the others.

Home-centred people differ from the other groups in many ways. They have the least social capital at their disposal, measured in both memberships to associations or hobby groups and the frequency of meeting friends and neighbours. Their contacts with relatives are at the average level. Of all the groups they have the fewest connections that could supply them with resources for expressive or instrumental activity. Neither do they feel at home in social-cum-political action in comparison to other groups. This group has the least amount of economical capital and institutionalised cultural capital as measured by education. The results also suggest that this group is more "alienated" from their home locality because they feel themselves less "local", and they have the fewest close native relatives in the locality.

The types of social capital presented above provide us not only a typology but also a framework within which to consider the social capital of individuals in relation to other forms of capital. For example, high education and economic resources provide a better opportunity to access and utilise more heterogeneous networks like voluntary associations, as was the case with the "widely networked" and the "association-oriented". The "friendship-centred people" have a greater variety of close ties than the "home-centred", probably due to the proximity of close relatives. Relying on the data at hand, we cannot make reliable conclusions about the transformation of capitals from one form into another. Nevertheless, the findings imply that the differentiation of social capital is based on both social and cultural grounds.

Voluntary associations in local fields and interaction networks

In this section the evaluation of the volume of associations' social capital is based on the analysis of their resources and on the examination of their actual intersecting networks and the number of the sources of information they have available. Voluntary associations have participated to varying extents in the struggles of different nation-wide social fields and continue to do so. Their positions and positional activities are also

influenced decisively by structural changes in various national and international fields, economy, politics and culture.

We can speak of voluntary associations as "field actors" in at least three meanings. First, associations can take part directly in the struggles regarding stakes in "big" national (or international) fields such as economy, politics or culture (e.g. about political power positions; direction of economic politics). Second, separate local voluntary associations can be defined as field actors if they occupy analogous structural positions with other associations in other localities in relation to the structure of the "big" nation-wide (or global) field. In this case they would compete for the same type of stakes contributing to the functioning of the field in question representing a category of associations and not as individual actors. For example, associations opposing shutdowns of local schools in different municipalities can be understood en bloc as actors in the educational field. The same holds true for associations for the conservation of lakes or other natural resources. Third, it can also be argued that associations in some locality are field actors, for example in the political field, to the extent that their actions are affected – or preconditioned – by the structures in the field in question, and if their trajectories in social space cannot be understood without referring to the changes in the relations and structures in larger fields. (cf. Emirbayer & Johnson 2008, 6-14.) For example, the ongoing economisation of politics, culture, and welfare services influences in many ways the opportunities of local associations and the intended and unintended consequences of their actions. However, the problem of the "field" can only be solved empirically, not on paper (cf. Bourdieu 1984).

Collective formations such as associations, networks or local festivals organised by several actors – individual and collective – must be tied to some mediators in order to exist and be enabled to act in concert: "almost all of our interactions with other people are *mediated through* objects of one kind or another -- At any rate, our communication with one another is mediated by a network of objects – the computer, the paper, the printing press. And it is also mediated by networks of objects-and-people, such as the postal system. They *shape* it." (Law 1992, 382.) Voluntary associations can be understood as social figurations (Elias & Scotson 1965) of

the members mediated by a common interest. Similar to Bourdieu's sociology, in Norbert Elias' approach society or locality has to be understood relationally, developing via conflicts and oppositional relations between actors. The actors' practices are mediated by such figures as voluntary associations, communities or neighbourhoods (Elias & Scotson 1965, 171). But there are also figures that tie voluntary associations to one another in common ventures in the locality.

In the following analysis, we are aware that the "truth" of any interaction is never fully included in the interaction itself, but instead lies in the larger objective structures of power (Bourdieu 1977). But, on the other hand, the knowledge about what those structures are concretely can only be achieved by relational analysis of interactions. Bourdieu was critical of the network analysis method, as he stressed the importance of the configuration of relationships transgressing the interaction network. Accordingly, what matters in networks are the occupied positions which construct a (temporary) state of power relations. (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008, 6.)

For the associations, organisational ties provide opportunities for the association to establish links to spheres of political or economic power. This is not to say, however, that having regular interaction or contacts as such means actual distribution or sharing of resources, so the network graph drawn provides us with an approximation of the actual contacts of the associations. But on a general level, the social capital of an association can be analogous to the social capital of an individual, defined as the totality of the economic, cultural and social resources that an association is able to mobilise (or "translate") for its own benefit via the various actors which are tied to its networks (cf. Bourdieu 1986).

Figure 6.1 positions local associations (dots) by examining their regular interactions with different local actors (squares). The associations reporting interaction with several actors are placed at the core of the network graph, whereas those with primarily one contact are located at the "periphery" of the graph; the outliers with no reported interaction at all are listed on the left. A majority of associations have interactive connections with local inhabitants (in addition to own members) and other associations. The Evangelic-Lutheran congregation and municipal

authorities are also in regular interaction with more than one-third of the associations.
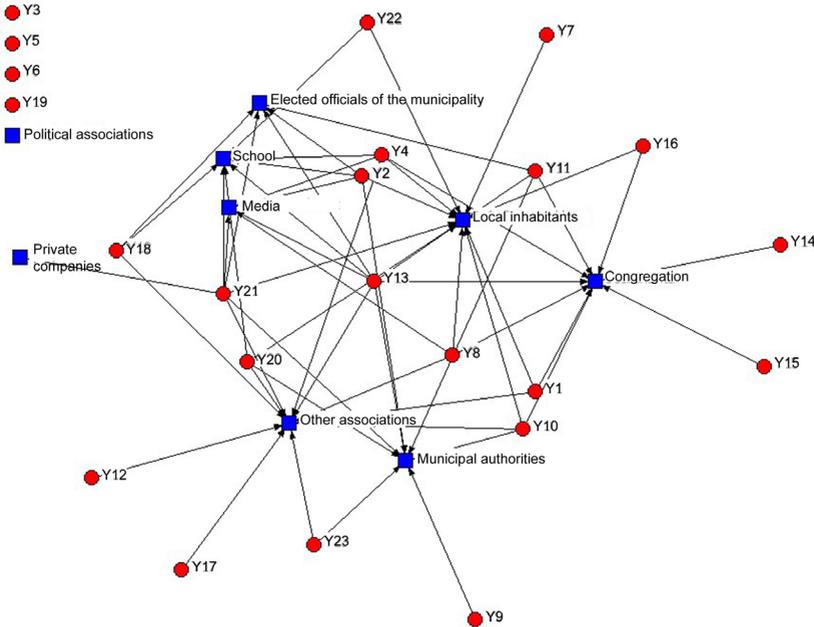

Figure 6.1 *Network graph: regular interaction of the associations with different local actors in Lievestuore*

Interaction with local inhabitants and other associations is more or less part of the "everyday" activity of the associations. Therefore a distinctive and relevant combination of interaction partners could develop when these networks are complemented with ties to municipal authorities, trustees (municipal council or committee members), media and private companies. Only the Lievestuore-society (Y21) has interaction with all five kinds of partners. The society has been established to promote local identity, traditions and development of Lievestuore and today also gives high priority to nature conservation and environmental issues.

Two other associations also have interactions with all other above-mentioned partner categories, except private companies, i.e. the 4H

association (Y2) and the Settlement Association (Y13). The Settlement Association has occupied a very central position in Lievestuore because of its many-sided activity profile, which is reflected also in the diversity of its network contacts. It has been very active in promoting adult education, providing innovative solutions to youth problems and offering possibilities of leisure (e.g. ESF projects). Lievestuore Society, the Settlement Association, together with sports clubs and the entrepreneurs association, have also dominated the local media publicity.

There are several associations in the "periphery" that have one or two contacts, a child welfare association (Y22) for example. It is a well-known association with a long history and a membership rate above the local average; however, at the time the survey was conducted the chairperson of the association perceived the network contacts as scarce. Finally, some associations seem to be outsiders in this context, for example the association for old-age pensioners (Y6). Although seeming to be poor in terms of interaction partners, it turns out not to be isolated or poor with members, which was discovered when interviewing its active members.

The prevalence of the associations' regular contacts with municipal administration was also investigated. It was revealed that only very few associations have contacts with more than one trustee organisation. The leisure committee turns out to be the one that most associations have contacts with, and also one with which the contacts are most often reciprocated. This is understandable, as most of the activities run by associations develop around leisure hobbies. The leisure committee can also serve as an association's "bridge" to other municipality officials.

The most prominent duo, the Lievestuore Society (Y21) and the Settlement (Y13), are the richest in terms of contacts in general and with unique partners such as the Technical Committee (Lievestuore Society, see Figure 6.2) and the Educational Committee (Settlement Association). These two associations, along with the local 4H association, are the only ones contacting both the municipal council and the municipal board. Of the other associations previously mentioned, the pensioners' association (Y6) seems, as in the previous example, to be vaguely networked and the child welfare association (Y22) remains an outsider as far as these contacts are concerned.

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For the Lievestuore Society, the observed multitude of network ties to municipal administration stems from its extensive co-operation with the municipality, particularly in the 2000s. The Society has previously been recognised as having political efficacy: in the beginning of the 1990s, the association controlled the allocation of public development money for Lievestuore. Its representatives were also co-opted in a committee for planning work in the Laukaa area. The beginning of the 21st century brought about new activity. During those years the Society initiated certain events in order to refresh the image and public spirit of Lievestuore. Events such as the "village parliament" or market place for local entrepreneurs are still organised regularly. Current main activities include taking part in local environmental work, maintaining the website for Lievestuore and organising or coordinating events, the most important of which is the annual two-week cultural event "Liisan Tarinat" which gathers most of the local associations. The association has taken responsibility for tasks that the municipality previously handled, such as an annual gathering to clean up the village.
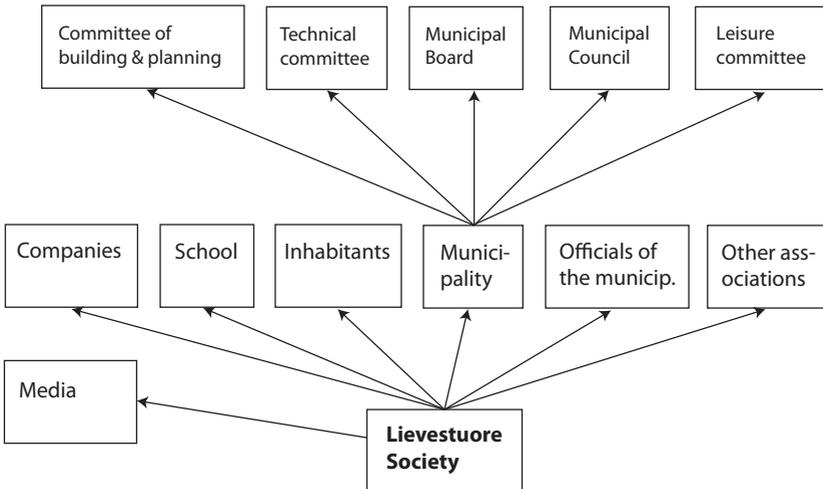

Figure 6.2 *Composition of the interaction network of the Lievestuore Society*

The relationships with various organisations of the community are for the most part instrumental and practical: obtaining economic resources or permission to use municipal premises for organising associational activities. Associations have also tried to advance their interest via their relations with municipal offices and officers. It is part and parcel of the Finnish civic tradition that unconventional repertoires are mobilised only after most common institutionalised means of representative (municipal) democracy have been tested. One example of a functioning interaction with the municipal administration is provided by the pensioners' association. As noted above, the association reported in the survey very few contacts with the municipal administration. However, it considers co-operation with the public sector to be very important and sees council and committee members as important channels for mediating information. This is obviously due to the fact that contacts to municipal administration are established by personal memberships to the committee of social and health care and the council for elderly people in Laukaa. The council for elderly people was established by the initiative of pensioners' associations in the municipality. The council has representatives from all pensioners' associations in the municipality area and receives an annual grant from the municipality. It reports about its activities straight to the municipal board and so far the members have found the work to be effective: all initiatives that have been made have also been successful.

A part of the associations' contacts with municipal trustee organisations may have been established so that members of these municipal committees and boards are also active members of the associations studied. This is the case for example with the Lievestuore Society (Figure 6.2). However, it is not very common for the associations in Lievestuore to have one or several of their board members being affiliated with municipal policy-making, as the survey reveals. Altogether seven associations have members of the municipal council or committees in their own administration. Two of these, the local Lions Club and a trade union association, are "outsiders" in the interaction networks in that they do not have regular contacts with the trustee organisations.

To get a concrete picture of the meaning of the interaction, we will take a closer look at what happens in the networks of the Lievestuore Set-

tlement Association (see Figure 6.3). The only religious community in its networks is the Lutheran Congregation: the priest is on the association board. The congregation is also subsidising the association and providing the association with the use of its large concert hall free of charge. Board members of the Settlement association give their returns as congregation activists. Co-operation with the local school is rather similar: the principal is on the association board, the adult education institute at the association uses school premises, they share teachers and the association has been organising afternoon care for school children and runs a project for developing "work peace" at the school.
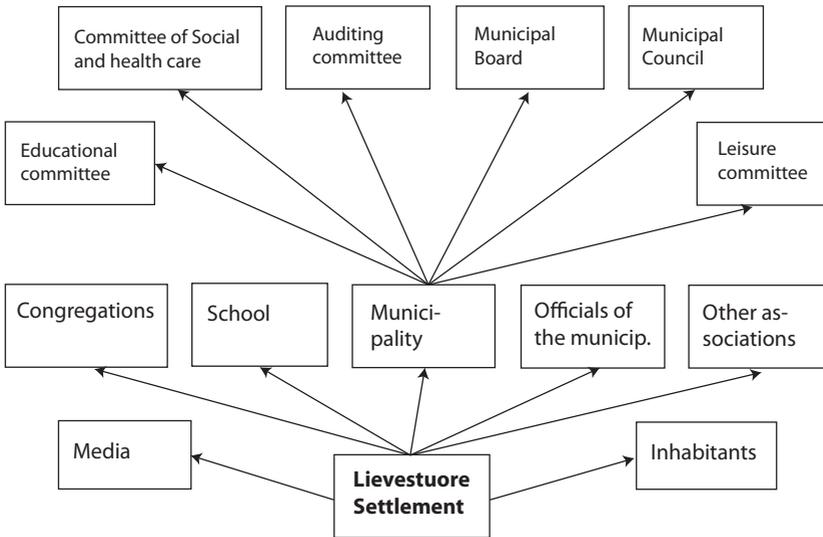

Figure 6.3 *Composition of the interaction network of the Lievestuore Settlement* Association

The Settlement is co-operating with the municipality (including the local public school) on all levels of administration. The associations' relations with the municipal council develop to a large extent via local council-

lors while most concrete issues are handled in specialised organisations. Subsidies to the adult institute and loans for restoration of the house are decided mainly within the municipal board, partly mediated by local board members. The committee for social and health care is the partner in organising pre-school daycare and other related issues while the association has given innovative input to the development of a daycare system. The settlement has been active in generating ESF projects that tackle social issues like youths at risk for social exclusion, low education levels for women, long-term unemployment (organising training courses, employing, etc.). Interaction with the auditing committee is restricted to official money transactions. A great deal of municipal interaction takes place with the educational committee. The settlement has taken to its responsibility issues such as afternoon care for primary-school children that was previously organised by the municipality. The interaction takes place for the most part through officials who run the practical affairs. Again the settlement has made suggestions to the municipality about how to develop this sector. The Laukaa municipality is very exceptional in that it has both municipal- (in the municipality centre) and association-based adult educational institutes (Lievestuore), which has caused problems, as the main flow of resources goes to the centre. The leisure committee is a "natural" partner because the settlement is the local centre for many hobbies.

Together with the Lievestuore Society, the Settlement has functioned as a relay and nodal point between all active associations in the locality (see below). These endeavours crystallise in the LYHDE project, which has led to the establishment of the House of Associations and in many kinds of co-operative networks. Through memberships to association boards, and in the adult institute and in the associations of its students, local inhabitants have an opportunity for their voices to be heard. Also, vice versa, in studying circles and other activities, the Settlement receives invaluable information ("weak signals"), making it possible to resonate in its environment to take into consideration local needs in the planning of its future.

Voluntary associations as local mediators

Voluntary associations' activities span across all sectors or domains of the locality, most typically leisure and recreation, sports and culture. In addition, environment protection and nature conservation, health, and education are central spheres of interest for the majority of associations. Only a few associations say that they have anything to do with (party) politics. Associations' short shrift to economic and political issues is in line with their infrequent interactions with private companies and political parties. However, if we widen the concept of politics from formal to include performative and politicisation dimensions, the majority of associations show up as political actors: they challenge, reveal, influence, lobby, find alternative solutions to local problems, criticise, organise village parliaments, take part in EU programmes, etc. Thus their actions have both direct and indirect ramifications for the municipal polity issues and policy mechanisms. Associations also politicise important local issues such as schools and the environment (regarding the dimensions of politics, see Palonen 2003).

In a pluralist, free civil society a strong correspondence prevails between actors' interests and the differentiation of the system of associations. In the last instance, members' interests and interest consciousness precondition their choices in diverse activities. Voluntary associations present themselves to potential members as well as to potential association partners through symbolic frames (Snow et al. 1986). These vary from ideological programmes to practical plans or citizen initiatives accepted in the association meeting. A necessary – but not as such sufficient – precondition for becoming a member or a participant in a certain type of association is the compatibility between an actor's personal frame (reflecting her/his habitus) and the collective frame of the association (see Goffman 1974; Snow et al 1986; Siisiäinen 1996). The co-operation between associations or between associations and a municipal institution also requires that their frames are not exclusionary, enabling the alignment between frames and possibly ensuing co-operation. The mediation between diverse collective and individual frames takes place in local public sphere, on the internet and in such

organisations that connect people from various social contexts (schools, work places, etc.).

The following table is based on the classification of the actions of voluntary associations featured in the local newspaper Laukaa-Konnevesi (L-K) and in the provincial newspaper Keskisuomalainen (KSML). Feature stories or news in the media are classified according to their main topics/sectors. Sometimes there were two or three comparably important topics and in that case they were all taken into the classification. Sports was the most frequent topic in Laukaa-Konnevesi, but it is excluded from the table as a separate category because most of the sports "news" deal only with competition results. Therefore the role of sports clubs will be dealt with in the following section as part of local networks acting together or as components of more general trends (e.g. as in the case of the erosion of ideological sub-cultures in the local community). It is also good to keep in mind that the following table based on frequencies is not a proxy to the local importance or political weight. For example, during the recession of the 1990s or at the time of the pulp factory closing in the

Table 6.6 *Most general topics/issues of association activities in local news/feature stories 1984–2009 (in order of frequency)*

1984–1989	1990–1999	2000–2009
1. culture (forms of art, festivals)	1. culture	1. culture
2. politics	2. education & schooling	2. collective action & protest
3. collective action/protests	3. welfare & health	3. economy & work & (un)employment
4. economy & work & (un)employment	4. planning & environment & housing & construction	4. youth & children & age
5. planning & environment & housing & construction	5. youth & children & age	5. welfare & health
6. youth & children & age	6. collective action & protest	6. planning & environment & housing & construction
	7. politics	7. nature
	8. economy & work & unemployment	8. education & schooling
	9. nature	9. history & tradition

1980s, the economy is generally present in the news, but often only in a mediated or disguised form in articles dealing specifically with associations. The table presents associations in the local publicity as subjects of the stories. For example, in the 1980s and 1990s many articles were published about the condition of the local lake, but if associations were not named as actors in the text, they were not included in the classification.

The main type of associational issue during the period under study is "culture" and various cultural hobbies (art performances, music, drama, organising traditional evenings, cultural weeks, associational jubilees and anniversaries dances, competitions, etc). It means also that the political influence of local associations has, since the 1980s, been most of all indirect and culturally mediated. For half a century, until the 1970s, the local identity was structured around the local pulp mill. Political organising between the Right and the Left was based too strongly on the class division connected with the mill. But the mill was also the economic and symbolic distinguishing factor in the relations between the industrial groups (workers, local bourgeoisie) and the local peasantry. The mill was also the central basis for the local identity based on the symbolic work by associations and other local actors.

The 1980s was a dramatic and critical time in the locality of Lievestuore: the pulp mill, established in the 1920s, was closed in 1984, charged with polluting the nearby lake and surrounding environment (specific charges include illegal sheltering of waste, faltering of laboratory tests). This development brought an end to the factory's long struggle: it was already closed once around the turn of the 1960s–70s but after minor enhancements was allowed to continue another nearly fifteen years. However, the stop in 1984 turned out to be final. The shutdown of the factory and the ensuing occupation of the factory by the workers in 1971 attracted great national media attention (e.g. a documentary broadcast on the main television channel). Lievestuore became a national celebrity for the factory, its "lye pool" and stink which were made almost "immortal" in a popular schlager (see Kaalikoski 1996; Wolff 2009). The mill disappeared but left behind its negativity and a symbolic mark on the whole community in the form of pollution. It reached almost the level of

regional symbolic stigmata (Bourdieu 1980, 63–67), represented by the lye pool in the minds of both the locals and the outsiders.

The symbolic work carried out by local associations in their cultural events has been tenacious long-term activity toward the creation of a new local identity by creating new connecting symbolic ties. This work has meant creating new performative discourses to create positive presentations of the locality at the same pace as the purification of the lake and environment – e.g. the lye pool – has been made better step-by-step. A new local identity, tied to a newly born pure lake and based on the younger generation, has been built piecemeal over the least twenty years. This process has stressed the significance of cultural and symbolic factors as the influence of old class divisions has gradually faded. Now, new associational spokespersons, such as the Lievestuore Settlement and the Lievestuore Society, have developed to represent the local community. Local identity is thereby a historical artefact that has to be created and reproduced symbolically by "drawing discrete units out of indivisible continuities, difference out of undifferentiated" (Bourdieu 1984, 479; see also Weininger 2005, 95–102).

The cultural turn did not happen in one fell swoop. The rise of unemployment and its multiplicative effects following the shut down of the mill overshadowed both the lives of many local inhabitants and the local publicity and its associational actors in the 1980s and 1990s. The concern over the pollution of nature was intertwined with economic problems, as the factory was the main source of both economic and environmental problems (and social welfare at the same time) – in fact the main cause of the local ecological catastrophe. The effects of the economic crisis can be seen in the structure of issues carried out by associations at the end of the 1980s. Even though culture and hobby associations were the most frequently appearing actors in the local newspaper, the combination of problems originating from the economy (unemployment, political initiatives and demands) and various collective measures to cope with or protest against them (occupation of the factory, strikes, addresses, letters to the editors) colour directly or indirectly the majority of articles in which voluntary associations figure as central actors. It was impossible for any association to avoid traversing the economic power field or political

tensions connected to the economic problems, or being affected by their corollaries.

At the end of the 1980s, to a large extent issues concerning planning centred around the SOFY-project whose central local agent was the Lievestuore Society. The project aimed at developing models of co-operation. It connected public sector actors, entrepreneurs, experts and civil society organisations in order to solve concrete local problems through planning. It is a concrete example of how the Finnish neo-corporatist mechanisms worked on a rural local level (e.g. L-K 5.2.1988; 3.3.1988; 15.4.1992). It is also a good illustration of how interaction networks function concretely and what kind of contents go through their channels.

In the 1990s and ever since, the cultural issues have strengthened their dominant position in the totality of local associational activities. They have also become the favourite topic in the local media, followed by education and schooling, welfare and health and planning. In sports the most important occurrence – reflecting the general national trend – was the amalgamation of two major sport clubs Toive, a member of the workers' sports federation (TUL) (with approximately 300 members) and Kisa (approximately 650 members) (L-K 23.2.1995), thereby locally ending – at least formally – the bisection of Finnish sports that had continued through generations since the beginning of the 20th century (see Hentilä 1982; Siisiäinen 1990). Since then the political character of associational life has become more and more disguised.

The concrete meaning of interaction networks show up in the examination of cultural events and evenings organised through the joint efforts of a number of local associations. A major tour-de-cultural-force has been the organisation of the local annual cultural week (Liisan Tarinat) and mouth organ festival (Liisan Höylät), subsidised by the municipality (L-K 28.3.1996; 22.1.1997; 20.1.2008), as co-operation projects by the majority of the active cultural associations, the Lutheran Church and local entrepreneurs. These two festivals are components in the translation of stigmatised symbols (stigmatising schlager Lievestuoreen Liisa) into the building components of a new proactive local identity (national music festival).

In adult education (in the wide meaning of the concept) the local motor has been the Lievestuore Settlement Association and its adult education institute (kansalaisopisto). It can be said, without exaggeration, that the Settlement has coloured and stabilised the adult education and cultural life of the entire locality for many decades. The association and the institute have also been able to renew themselves and to adapt to the internationalisation of civil society. Good examples of this are many EU projects combining culture, education and employment (such as ADVANCE and EQUAL), in which the association has been participating since Finnish EU membership began 15 years ago (see Kivelä & Kolehmainen 2005; e.g. L-K 15.6.1995; 6.4.2006). This is also a concrete example of the ability of a single association to transform social and cultural capital (capability to organise EU-projects) into economic capital in the forms of new working opportunities.

In the 2000s cultural events have kept up their centrality in the creation of new positive images of the locality, resulting from the co-operation of several multi-functional voluntary associations and local firms, as well as with continuing support from the local church and the municipality institutions. For example, the programme for the local cultural festival week "Liisan Tarinat" organised in 2006, among other events, a gym marathon, a village parliament, church evening, exhibitions, a clown performance, literary evenings, "art goes to cafés", an evening dancing party, concerts and a children's party. Local associational capital is also concentrated in a new Lyhde-project centred in the House of Associations, led by the Settlement Association and accompanied by ten partnering associations. The project is partly financed by the municipality and it connects the most active associations in the locality. Its main goals reveal many local methods of building co-operation: to support open civic activities in the locality by improving the capacity of associations; to increase the "community spirit"; and to enhance the quality of local networks, including the development of the House of Associations (see e.g. L-K 12.3.2009). The same associational actors are on the move again in the expositions organised by the Entrepreneurs' Association and in most of the other larger events and happenings in the locality (L-K 24.11.2005; 25.2.2009).

Cultural festivals and inter-associational projects have been made possible for their part by the availability of the premises offered by various partners for festival use. After the burning down of a traditional hall built for the use of bourgeois associations in the 1920s (L-K 22.11.1988), two proper association halls remain in the village (owned by the Settlement and the Social Democratic Association). In addition, the Savio dancing hall, owned by the Social Democratic association, is an important place for cultural events in the summertime. The Lutheran Church and two religious movements have local houses of their own as well. Across Finland about 2500 association houses are in use at present, surpassing the number of Lutheran churches in the country (see Tuomisto & Pakkala 2008, 12).

Even though there are tensions between the parent municipality and the Lievestuore locality, co-operation in organising local events shows that the boundaries between civil society and the municipal institutions have often been blurred. Often they also are a testimony to the ability of civil society actors to fill somewhat the gaps in the functioning of the welfare state. The local public library is a kind of relay, helping many associations that work with, for example, children and young people. The local adult education institute of the Settlement Association takes care of many services belonging to the municipal sphere of responsibilities (e.g. language courses in co-ordination with the local gymnasium, daycare centres, ESF-projects [training, employment]) (e.g. L-K 4.5.1995; 17.1.2002; Kivelä & Kolehmainen 2005). There is also repeated co-operation between the Lutheran Church, the Orthodox and free religious movements in the form of ecumenical evenings (L-K 2.2.1995; 19.1.2006). Even though no comparative data on Finnish localities are available, it can be concluded that the activity level of local civil society in Lievestuore is above the average of Finnish rural communities.

These interaction processes reveal at the same time the intertwinedness of the associational cultural and social capital with local economic capital. A small-scale example of a mix of cultural and economic capitals is the local flea market organised by the entrepreneurs association (L-K 3.12.2002; 4.8.2005). In a small locality economic and civil society organisations crosscut each other, as the same persons are active in both

domains. Those active mediators combine simultaneously the personal and organisational levels of social capital by (re)producing both vertical and horizontal networks. On a larger scale, the volume of the transformation of the forms of capital into each other may look small, but at the practical level it is a significant factor both for the dynamics and the structure of the local system.

Tensions, changing local fields and repertoires of collective action

It is easy to take the concept of "struggle" more or less literally in the context of social fields. However, struggles in the everyday life of a voluntary association mean tenacious work for association interests and small practices whose consequences become apparent with shorter or longer lag as a co-resultant of other actors' endeavours. Even small associations *en masse* can have strong influence in the political or cultural field as, for example, Finnish village associations showed in the 1970s with their demand for developing the countryside.

In their small-scale political actions, voluntary associations adapt selectively various forms of collective action and use different kinds of repertoires. Institutionalised strategies, public happenings and protesting have alternated in local associational practice in the 2000s. Although protesting has been dealt with relatively often in the local media lately (see Table 6.6 above), it does not mean that social contradictions would be manifested more sharply than 20–30 years earlier. Instead it tells about the dispersion of conflicts, changing class structures and the scale of protesting.

The period from the 1920s to the 1960s was a time of visible local class divisions and political class confrontations. The Haarla pulp mill, built in 1926, dominated local development. Lievestuore is one of the rural communities that grew around the local wood-processing factory. It created the base for capitalist class divisions and, to a large extent, for a political superstructure characterised by juxtaposition between a strong and influential extreme Right (in the 1920s and 1930s), rural (and pro-

vincial) Centre, and a bisect Left. This class-divide covered (and was, in fact, forced to cover by the owner of the factory) most of the ideological and cultural activities, more or less also voluntary organising until the 1960s.

Simultaneously as the national political system started changing towards a more inclusive neo-corporatist system easing off the salience of political confrontations, the local factory headed into a situation in which it was threatened with a close-down at the end of the 1960s (see Kuokkanen 1973; Kaalikoski 1996). Workers responded to the factory closing by occupation in 1971 and demanded guarantees for its future operation. The factory indeed got an extension but ended in cul-de-sac 13 years later and went bankrupt. The occupation of the factory was repeated in 1984 with no success in meeting the demands. The level of environmental consciousness had risen from the 1970s, legal environmental norms and public control were now much stricter. That is why environmental problems as such and the criminal methods used by the factory to hide them led unavoidably to the final close-down. Before it, from 1971 to 1985, a wide repertoire of collective actions was tested by the workers, employees and their supporters. These ranged from the above-mentioned two occupations (1971 and 1984), a hunger strike (1971) (or at least a pretend hunger strike), large support strikes, and burning of dolls in front of the factory. These were backed up with more typical Finnish ways of advancing demands and interests, such as collecting addresses, writing to newspapers, sending delegations, appealing to parties and politicians, organising demonstrations, etc. (e.g. L-K 4.10.1985, 30.9.1985, 12.9.1985; Kaalikoski 1996). Resorting to prevailing, traditional repertoires of collective action excluded the use of violence, fights, destruction of private or public property by the protestors (see Siisiäinen 2004).

The pollution of the lake, air and other environmental problems (such as allergies) connected with the mill triggered many local protests in the mid-1980s. At times, tensions developed along new lines: between nature protectors (including fishery organisations/kalastuskunnat) and those demanding the continuation of the factory (owners and trade unions) (e.g. L-K 12.9.1985; 23.9.1985). At the end of the 1980s, the local conflict that attracted the most media attention concerned the

selling of an un-built outdoor recreational area, Kisapursi, to a local businessman and politician on the cheap. The municipality refused to use its first-call, which did not make the deal any better in the eyes of many locals. It also caused a resurface of the old local suspicion towards the municipality. The new owner got the green light from the committee of planning and building for the exceptional permit to plan the area and the official decision was handed down finally from the municipal institution (e.g. KSML 4.10.1992; L-K 22.10.1992). The process with ensuing lawsuits lasted for many years but ended against the wishes of the local protestors. Once again, almost all of the customary repertoires of action were tested. Local inhabitants established the "commission of people's democracy" (kansanvallan valtuuskunta) to plead their common case. It tried to persuade the municipal institution for its case, made an alternative plan for the area, wrote in the local newspaper, and organised meetings, but to no avail. (L-K 6.8.1992; KSML 23.10.1992)

In the 1990s central reasons for local protesting still concerned nature, environment and planning. As in Finnish society in general, during the recovery from the deep recession (which was at rock-bottom in 1992), many old political-ideological tensions dating from the "pipe-factory era" seemed to be buried. This tendency continued and strengthened, even in the 2000s. In Lievestuore the clearest concrete expression of this tendency was the above-mentioned joining together of the workers' sports association Toive (TUL) and the member club of the "bourgeois" sports movement (SVUL) Kisa in 1995. The main "rational" arguments for the unification were that the clubs complemented each other in terms of the variety of sports and events, and that they had a number of members in common. The union was supposed to bring saves and synergy. The period of consensual unification lasted for ten years, until the club took back the old "bourgeois" name Kisa in the mid-2000s. As a side effect, some members of the old workers' club stood aside. In the 2000s other locally anchored voluntary associations of the working class subculture have also disappeared: the last Social Democratic association abolished itself in 2007 (The Register of Associations).

All present party-political associations acting in Lievestuore are named after the parent municipality Laukaa. Only two pensioners' associations

with ideological-cum-political roots – one in Social Democratic sub-culture, the other in the political Centre – are left. It is emblematic of the present associational atmosphere that they both today try to conceal these roots and deny any dependency on ideologies or world views. They are also considering joining forces. The Social Democratic subculture, however, influences local cultural development by providing a workers' hall as a place of cultural events.

Simultaneously with the discolouration of old ideologies and the draining of their capacity to trigger associations, the activeness around local issues, like environment education and welfare, has relatively grown. This has happened at the same pace as services have been concentrating both in the wider society and in rural localities. Under the "banner" of protecting nature, in addition to the factory-oriented movements (e.g. demands to decontaminate, clean and plan the old factory place), new citizens' initiatives have developed in the 2000s. A good example of new endeavours is the citizens' initiative for the protection of a beautiful cape backed up actively by the Lievestuore Society, Scout clubs and the Boat association (L-K 13.11.2000). A cause for protest that has come up repeatedly during the last 20 years is connected with motor sports and/or motor-vehicle training (L-K 2.9.2001). The construction and planning for their uses and the dreaded ensuing damages to nature have aroused objections from neighbours. It seems also that motor sports is the only type of sport that divides the local inhabitants into supporters and objectors. Protesting by local villagers, the village association and other actors in the area of Lievestuore has arisen also against the plans of a state-dominated company headquartering in the province centre Jyväskylä to build a waste burning plant in the vicinity of the village Savio. This struggle has continued for 20 years and has, so it seems, finally ended after the recent decision of the Supreme Administrative Court that declared building the plant legal. (e.g. L-K 14.12.2006; 22.12.2009) And again, it is easy to see that local movements in Lievestuore take analogous positions vis-à-vis nature conservation like hundreds of initiatives in other localities, thereby developing en bloc field-like characteristics.

Despite many setbacks, efforts by local movements and associations to protect nature, to improve the material and symbolic environment

and the image as well as local self-consciousness have in many cases been relatively successful and rewarding: the "lye pool", damaging the reputation of the locality, has been emptied and cleared, the lake is currently among the purest in the province and considered a good place for fishing. Cultural festivals and ESF projects have strengthened the image of Lievestuore as a place able to develop and renew itself, and a good place in which to live. This is the sunny side of the picture, whereas the dark side reveals cutting local resources and concentrating them instead to the municipal centre located 30 kilometres from Lievestuore.

The decisions by the municipal council to make these moves official and put them into practice have highlighted once again the strong undercurrents of distrust and discontent towards the Laukaa municipality that stubbornly reside in the local collective conscience. The first hits targeted village schools. Little by little this had led to the abolishment of all local primary schools in the villages surrounding the population centre of Lievestuore. For example, the local village association of Hoho led the struggle for the village school, without success however, as the school closed in 2001. After the school closed, the next struggle concerned the fate of the schoolhouse – which was the property of the municipality – crystallised in selling the school to the highest bidder. Because the village association did not have enough money and because the municipality did not change its economic-calculative decision to sell, the saviour appeared in the form of a returnee who bought the house and allocated a part of it to the inhabitants' and associations' disposal (e.g. L-K 30.11.2000; 7.7.2001; 10.6.2004). In the list of closedowns, the village schools were succeeded by the local post office (2006), the gymnasium (2007) and the full-time local health centre/municipality service point (2009). All were objected by the locals but without concrete success.

One of the generalisations in social movement research is that all societies have a commonly shared and widely-known repertoire of collective action which tends to change relatively slowly (see Tilly 1988; Siisiäinen 2004). In Finland the modern repertoire has been developed, most of all, by voluntary associations and it can be characterised as favouring well-organised forms of action, law-abidance, peacefulness, confidence in the strength of word and education, discipline, and respect for property. In

general Finnish collective action has been dominated by registered asso-
ciations and filtered by their dominant mode of action (see Siisiäinen
2004; Siisiäinen & Blom 2009). The analysis of integrative/consensual
and conflicting/protesting civic action in Lievestuore reveals the strength
and the continuity of the general Finnish patterns of collective action.
Meetings, addresses, appeals, delegations, contacts with politicians and
campaigns are its central components[4].

There are also some local specialties dating back to the political his-
tory of the locality, perpetuated to some extent in the collective memory.
Occupations of premises and houses have been more frequent in Lieves-
tuore than in Finnish rural communities on average. In addition to
factories, occupations have also been applied elsewhere. In 1984 the old
association house from the 1920s was occupied by local youths as a pro-
test against the lack of youth premises. A quarter-century later, students
and a faction of teachers occupied the gymnasium in order to protest the
plans to close it. One student's explanation for her participation was that
if the occupation of the mill in 1971 was successful, would it not be worth
trying in the case of the gymnasium as well?

Conclusions

This chapter analysed individual and collective actors' activities in local
spheres and social fields. The main focus of the chapter is on voluntary
associations, first as (potential) actors in fields, and second, as central
components to the totality of individual actors' resources in the form of
association memberships. On the individual actors' level, four configu-
rations or types of social capital were identified. The differentiation of
social capital corresponds roughly to the differences in the ownership of
economic and cultural capital. Wealthy and highly educated locals have

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[4] Two exceptions proving the rule of lawful action can be found in the 2000s in Lievestuore: the
arson of an outdoor grill owned by a Tunisian-Finnish couple and the levelling of shooting stands
(ampumalavat) constructed by a deer hunters association. The arson was carried out by two racist
criminals (L-K 2.5.2002). The only trace left behind by the offender of the second misdemeanour
was the acronym (EVR/ALF), referring to some kind of connection to the Animal Liberation Front.

more association memberships and they also feel themselves "at home" ("like fish in the water") in various associational activities, such as voluntary work, chairing organisations and holding meetings. People with associational capital are also able to utilise it instrumentally connecting themselves with people outside their family or neighbourhood.

These "capital rich" people are distinguished most clearly from "home-centred" people who have the least volume of disposable social capital, both from associations and from friends and neighbours. In the social position of this group, low control of economic and cultural capital is combined with weak associational ties. Together these factors explain also their lack of a sense of local identity. But there are also those "friendship-centred" people who have a relatively high level of social capital concentrated to friends and neighbours. This is the group most rooted in the locality via family ties. They are able to get both instrumental and expressive resources through these friendship and family networks.

The analysis shows that locality still matters in the development of various kinds of social capital. Home-centred people seem to be withdrawn both from instrumental networks and from local communal relations. On the other hand, locality seems to play an important, though differentiated, role in the lives of all other groups: for association and cultural people, locality encompasses associational activities and cultural events; for friendship-centred people, local community is mediated via family, neighbours and local origin; for widely networked people, locally important places and possibilities for meeting form a central part of their instrumental whole of social networks.

These different kinds of relations also modify the informal ways of transforming capitals. Nevertheless, even if we make distinctions between different types of networks or connections, it is not reasonable to label them as e.g. "bridging" or "bonding" types of social capital as such. Rather, any network connection (such as membership to an association or a contact with a neighbour) can function simultaneously as bridging or bonding social capital (see Kouvo 2010, 168–169).

The construction of various types of social networks can be interpreted from the viewpoint of the causality of the probable. Associational capital is concentrated in people with cultural skills (and adequate habitus),

while friendship contacts are of great importance to others. Participation in voluntary associations seems reasonable and realistic only for those who see it as consistent with their own background and personal resources. In a similar way, maintaining close contacts with some relatives instead of wider networks is a reasonable choice for those, for example, who are attached to the locality via their roots. Most probably, these two different paths of social capital are also appropriate for these two categories of people leading to beneficial or at least tolerable outcomes in relation to their disposable resources. This has to be kept in mind when examining the associational actors in local spheres.

The analysis shows that the totality of different associations does not *en bloc* make a local social field of their own. It is, to a large extent, a fallacy of perspective to see the local political field as a field of its own, rather than seeing it as a subordinate part of a larger national (or even international) field (see Bourdieu 1990a; Koebel 2009, 40–44). Currently, mutual "struggles" or intense competitions between local associations over "stakes" in a tensional proper field are relatively rare. Associations certainly compete with one another for potential members, local prominence and visibility. There may occur, from time to time, "struggles of power" over leaderships inside associations (c.f. Weber 1911; Siisiäinen 1986). In this respect the conception of a social field from a methodological angle can help to discern the inner dynamics of associations. However, the "real life" in small voluntary associations may be very different. Association members tend to employ quickly the exit option when facing unfair uses of power or greedy-for-power leaders. Leaders are continually fighting against the difficulties of getting new members and retaining the old ones. This kind of state of affairs tends to make the power struggles in practice a more or less "theoretical" phenomenon. These days, it is easy in most cases to become an association leader on a local level (see e.g. Warren 2001). The practical motivation of local association leaders is well-captured in the title of Pamela Oliver's article (1984), "If you don't do it, nobody else will". Instead of aspiring to power positions, many – perhaps most – of the local association leaders take their position as a moral obligation born out of a sense of responsibility.

Instead of making an associational field of their own, local associations struggle in larger political and cultural fields on behalf of the interests of their members. Associations operating in the same field or sector can compete for stakes, form coalitions and so forth, but the whole picture cannot be inferred from what happens in single localities. Rather, it has to be formed holistically, looking at small dispersed struggles as related parts of the whole "big" field. From this perspective many local associations are or have been also field actors in national or even international fields. Local party branches take part in political "struggles" at least during election rallies (c.f. Koebel 2009). People also speak out politically by leaving political organisations. Local trade unions and employers' organisations give their more or less influential contribution to the national or global labour market field by doing their share in various localities. During economic crises, the role of (also local) trade unions and political associations tends to grow as class factors become more salient and dominant, whereas in times of stable social development, class tends to be superseded by status group factors (*Stände*), such as cultural hobbies or consumption patterns, as bases of interest organising (see Weber 1976; Siisiäinen 1986).

The tendency of depoliticisation of politics ensuing from the economisation of political decision-making has, for its part, accelerated the flood of cultural and other hobby associations at the expense of party political associations and interest groups in the 2000s. In Lievestuore class factors were influential during the "pipe-factory era" until the 1970s. Since then the associational developments reflect the tendency of ideological discoloration. Visible remnants of political-associational subcultures, once so vibrant, have almost vanished. At the same time political decision-making has been centralised to national and international centres (c.f. Koebel 2009). The depoliticisation, in the disguise of economic rationalisation, has continued on the association level during the recovery from the economic recession of the 1990s, and the creeping dismantlement of the welfare state by all major political parties. Class factors can most easily be seen in the new divisions between socially excluded groups, such as the long-term unemployed and – at least relatively – well-to-do groups, who form the actual basis of local associational life.

The above-described tendencies are all prevalent in Lievestuore. The trajectories of local associations are affected by the developments in the large national and international economic, political and cultural fields. The time from the 1990s witnessed the growing dominance of cultural and other hobby associations in local life and publicity. The most important political influence of voluntary associations comes from their total impact. Associational pluralism is one of the basic preconditions for a democratic political system (see Baer 2007; Maloney & Rossteutscher 2007). Multi-functional local associations, complemented by small specific cultural associations, create and reproduce, oppose, transform and utilise in numerous ways operational preconditions and opportunities of the political and other fields and subsystems. The outcomes of the choices and strivings of local associations depend on the choices of all different agents in diverse social fields from the local to the national and global levels.

The choices of voluntary associations follow the logic of the causality of the probable. Similar to individual actors, voluntary associations tend to choose those alternatives which, against the backdrop of their past experiences, are reasonable, likely leading to good or at least bearable outcomes in the anticipated, contingent future. On the other hand, their strategies are realistic, adjusted to their disposable adequate economic, cultural and social capital. In Lievestuore the paper mill closed down, village schools and public services have been vanishing from the locality regardless of local associations' efforts and citizens' initiatives. But, on the other hand, there are also many examples of successful local projects by associations. Voluntary associations are still the main means of concentrating collective social capital and thereby the causal power in the collective participation in social fields and other domains of action. In Lievestuore the most prominent and visible associations that advance practical interests have been able to enhance the local quality of living in many concrete ways. This task is realised by concerted co-operation between active associations.

In these usually modest and non-dramatic ways, the associational social capital functions as a mediating factor, contributing to the transformation of cultural and social capital into economic and political

resources and potentials on both individual and local levels. Associations have also been able to politicise locally important issues (schools and services, environmental conservation, cultural events, hobby opportunities). These could be interpreted as examples of the causality of the probable: it may often be more realistic and effective to take small steps that have a high probability of success and whose consequences can be controlled by the local people and their voluntary associations. And this could also be, in the long run, once again a practical way to effect changes at the societal level. In Finland there are about 90,000 associations, most of them acting locally. Their power lies in their collective size, and in the consequences – both intended and unintended – of their concurrent choices and practices.

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Appendix: Data

The following data were collected for the research project *Resources, Locality and Life Course* (2005–2009) and utilised in the articles of the present compilation. In addition to data collected by the research team, data from PISA studies were used.

1. **Survey addressed to residents of Lievestuore in five age groups (n=373)**

The survey data were collected in 2006 using a questionnaire regarding the economic, cultural and social resources that people retain in their everyday lives. The collection of the data was carried out among the inhabitants of Lievestuore in five different age cohorts. The national Population Register Centre provided the contact information for people who represented these age cohorts and whose home addresses included the postal code of Lievestuore. The age cohorts were: children (aged 5 to 7 years, n=74), youth (15–16 years, n=105), young adults (34–36 years, n=59), the middle-aged (50–52 years, n=100), and the elderly (70–71 years, n=35).

To ensure a sufficient number of respondents in each age group, different methods were applied in collecting the data. The questionnaires for small children were sent to their parents to be returned by post. The youths (in either 8th or 9th grade) were contacted at their school of attendance; they filled in the questionnaire during school hours. The young adults and the middle-aged were mailed the questionnaire, but the elderly were primarily interviewed at their homes. Altogether 373 people responded to the survey, representing 69 per cent of all people in the above mentioned age cohorts residing in Lievestuore. As regards the survey by post, the response rate was lower (60%).

2. Participatory observation in a daycare centre (one pre-school group)

Extensive ethnographic fieldwork was carried out in one preschool group in a local day-care centre in 2006 and 2007. The preschool consisted of one group of 20 children who were 5 to 7 years old during the observation period. The fieldwork involved both participatory observation and interviews with children and staff (two preschool teachers and one nursery nurse of the day-care centre).

3. Interviews with women between 30 and 40 years of age (n=8)

Eight semi-structured, qualitative interviews were conducted in early 2010 among women living in Lievestuore and within a somewhat broader age range than the 'young adults' participating in the survey. A (modified) snowball sampling method was applied to interviewee recruitment, aiming at tracing some of the processes of women's local networking. In addition, informal discussions were held with a group of women participating (with their young children) in a 'family café' gathering.

4. Interviews with women around 50 years of age (n=15)

In-depth life-course interviews were carried out with 15 women living in Lievestuore, aged approximately 50 years (44–56 years). All but one were interviewed at least twice between 2008 and 2010. The interviewees were chosen so that they would represent the overall profile of local women around 50 years old (n=56) in terms of occupation, educational level and 'family history' according to the survey data collected in 2006. The interviewees also represent roughly three different trajectories of working careers.

5. Survey addressed to voluntary associations functioning in Lievestuore (n=23)

The survey for voluntary associations in Lievestuore was conducted in 2008 by a questionnaire with items that were for a large part similar to those in a previous survey for associations in Jyväskylä in 2002. The associations were asked about the guidelines of their activities, volunteering, cooperative networks and future challenges. Relying on the information provided by The Register of Associations and the website of the municipality of Laukaa, the associations functioning in or with a home address listed in Lievestuore were selected for the sample. A survey questionnaire was sent to 41 officially functioning local voluntary associations. In total, 23 associations (56 %) returned the questionnaire

6. Newspaper articles dealing with Lievestuore (250 articles covering the years 1984–2009)

A large collection of articles with issues pertinent to Lievestuore was provided by the local newspaper Laukaa-Konnevesi from 1984 to 2009, complemented by the articles in Keskisuomalainen, appearing in the province centre of Jyväskylä. The news archive has been collected by a local inhabitant who offered it for the research project use. Laukaa-Konnevesi is the only single source covering the development of various sectors in the development of Lievestuore during the last few decades. Roughly 250 articles or news reports dealing with substantial activities of voluntary associations in Lievestuore were selected for analysis, one hundred of them published in the 2000s. For the analysis, the articles and news were listed one after another in a table, analogous to composite score. The interpretations of concrete processes were also tested by comparison with documentary sources and by commentary by locals (i.e. a kind of triangulation).

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Social transformations and globalization processes bring attention to the significance of locality. These changes have also caught the attention of social scientists, increasing their interest in studying locality and local communities. Fields and Capitals presents the results of an interdisciplinary research project in which a team of researchers, inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's research programme, took up the challenge of studying one small locality in Finland. Bourdieu's theory and some of his key concepts – field, capital, habitus – open up possibilities to describe local communities as a social field and a network of various local fields.

The authors of the book analyze the generation, distributions and transformations of economic, cultural and social capital in the locality. A range of local, interconnected fields are identified, and the ways in which various capitals are used and transformed by residents are analyzed, within different age groups and over the course of life.

Fields and Capitals provides a unique depiction of a small community in Central Finland. For the first time in Finland, Bourdieu's sociological approach is applied in a broad-based analysis of locality and local capitals and fields.

Cover: Martti Minkkinen

LIEVESTUORE