OPPORTUNITIES AND SOME RESULTS OF MEASURING CULTURAL CAPITAL IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH PRACTICE

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Abstract: The article is devoted to the problem of measuring cultural capital in modern sociological practice. Following J. C. Alexander, authors focus on the significance of cultural structures in individuals' and groups' lives, which actualizes the need for a more detailed study of them. The purpose of the article is to identify indicators for cultural capital measuring and present empirical research results, which is an attempt to verify these indicators. Based on the results of studies by P. DiMaggio, C. J. Crook, N. D. De Graaff, such indicators of cultural capital are highlighted as the frequency of visits to theaters and cinemas, concerts of classical and contemporary music, museums, exhibitions, etc.; having a home library; the frequency of reading books, Internet articles, news, etc. These indicators, at the same time, are the resources of accumulation of certain types of cultural capital such as "status" and "knowledge-information" (author's typology). The results of measurements of the cultural capital of Ukrainian students using the above indicators are presented. It is concluded that the transmission of status cultural capital and the knowledge-information cultural capital is a powerful factor in influencing the processes of personal development and academic success of students.

Keywords: Cultural capital, Cultural structures, Empirical indicators, Empirical research, Students of Ukraine.

1 Introduction

The famous American sociologist Jeffrey Alexander considers culture as the "fabric" from which society and its social institutions are woven [1]. He focuses on the fact that each society (each state, country, etc.) is woven from its own special "fabric". The scientist believes the role of sociology in the search and study of "cultural structures", which are understood as internal, hidden, unconscious mechanisms of human activity formed in the context of relatively stable meanings of social life. He focuses not on the fact that not only are the meanings external to the actors but also internal. They are significant. These meanings are structured, socially produced, even if they are invisible. We could learn to make them visible" [1, p. 8]. This is necessary because culture plays a decisive role in determining social life parameters, and cultural structures create latent prerequisites for the reproduction of social inequality since the stable meanings of social life tend to be inherited.

Given the importance of cultural structures in individuals and social groups' lives, the need for a more detailed study is being actualized. A separate area of such study is related to the issue of cultural capital. According to Bourdieu, by cultural capital, we mean non-economic wealth (in the form of education, intellectual, moral, value, and socially significant characteristics, etc.) implemented in practical activities (mainly professional) will bring additional carrier benefits and privileges [7]. In addition to cultural capital, the scientist identifies other types of capital, such as economic, symbolic, and social. He draws attention to the fact that only economic capital is real "capital" capital in its essence. Therefore, all other types of capital are valuable only if they are convertible into economic capital [9].

Possession of large volumes of all types of capital should ensure that the individual enters the social elite [23]. Since cultural capital, like any other type of capital, it is possible to accumulate its volumes and limits of accumulation will depend on the family, educational institution, and the state, that is, the conditions that these institutions (re-) create [11].

However, suppose we consider culture not as subordinate but as a determining component of society (J. Alexander insists in his cultural sociology). In that case, it can be argued that there is an inverse relationship [1]. That is, the state's successful development largely depends on the quality and quantity of its citizens' cultural capital. Moreover, measuring the qualitative and quantitative parameters and characteristics of the cultural younger generations' cultural capital to the contouring of the future, it is believed that young people and especially students are the driving force behind society's innovative development. In connection with the above, the need to study the cultural student youth's cultural capital. In addition, the results of such a study can serve as a scientific basis for the purposeful development of the cultural capital of students in higher education (the formation of moral and ethical characteristics, motivational and labor culture, the development of values of rationalization creativity, etc.). The mission of higher education and the institution and as a whole is to optimize the intellectual and moral form of students' culture.

2 Literature Review

The analysis of cultural capital as a sociological category leads from M. Weber, E. Durkheim, G. Simmel, R. Collins, and T. Parsons's ideas [4]. These scientists did not write about cultural capital as such but paid great attention to the cultural component of a person's social life and social status. G. Becker, P. Bourdieu, Yu. Bychenko, N. Gorbunova, J. Coleman, F. Fukuyama, V. Radaev, I. Samarina, and other researchers developed and studied various forms of capital (economic, social, symbolic, human, etc.), as well as the processes of their accumulation, transmission, and inheritance [6, 7, 22, 23]. Some social scientists associate cultural capitalization with the final transformation of the social role and status of individuals [8, 17], and other modern sociologists studied students' specific cultural capital [2, 3, 16].

An analysis of the scientific works of Ukrainian and foreign scientists shows that the issues related to the empirical operationalization of the concept of cultural capital and its adaptation to sociological measurement procedures remain insufficiently studied.

In connection with the above, this article aims to identify indicators for cultural capital measuring and present empirical research results, which is an attempt to verify these indicators.

2.1 The Types of Cultural Capital, Its Accumulation, and Transmission

The author of the sociological theory of capital Bourdieu, writes that any capital, including cultural, can appear in three main types: incorporated, objectified, institutionalized (or certified) [7]. Next, we will describe these states more specifically.

Incorporated cultural capital is understood as a combination of "relatively stable reproducible dispositions of the mind and body and the demonstrated abilities of the holder of capital" [7, p. 242]. It is impossible to build up cultural capital through "second hand". This specificity of its accumulation significantly complicates the process of its measurement. Firstly, it is impossible to choose the time duration of cultural capital acquisition and/or its individual components as a standard. Secondly, it is important to take into account the earlier stages of education, including home education, evaluating the current learning outcomes (as an indicator of the quality of cultural capital).

Since the social conditions for the transmission and acquisition of cultural capital are more hidden than the conditions for the transmission and acquisition of economic capital, "cultural capital tends to function as symbolic capital, that is, to remain unrecognized as capital and recognized as a legitimate competence, in the form of a force affecting recognition (or non-recognition)" [7, p. 245]. Simultaneously, the specific symbolic logic of distinguishing brings to the owners of large cultural capital additional material and symbolic profit. For example, any cultural competence (the ability to read in the illiterate community) has a deficit value and brings profit to its owner [21].

Of extreme importance is the logic of the transmission of social life's meanings as the basic components of cultural capital. In families with already existing powerful cultural capital, appropriating objectified cultural capital begins without delay and time-consuming [25]. The connection established between economic and cultural capital is mediated by the time required to acquire them. Maximum free time must be devoted to the acquisition of cultural capital. This is not possible in low-income families that have to spend their free time satisfying primary (natural) and economic needs.

The objectified cultural capital means the adoption by the capital of materialized forms that are accessible to direct observation and transmission in physical, subject form [13] (for example, a home library, a collection of paintings or other objects of art; books and objects of art created by family members, etc.).

Institutionalized (or certified) cultural capital means of achieving a certain status embodied in rights, ranks, certificates. This is a form of objectification (for example, qualification obtained as a result of training) that endows cultural capital with original properties that are supposed to remain for a long time [18].

Academic qualifications allow you to establish the proportions of the exchange between cultural and economic prosperity by guaranteeing monetary value. No academic investment makes sense if there is no objective guarantee of at least a minimum level of their reverse conversion. In fact, strategies for converting cultural capital into economic capital are determined by changes in the structure of the chances of making a profit. However, cultural capital can also be institutionalized informally (public recognition, etc.) [7].

The process of accumulation and transmission of cultural capital proceeds latently and seems more hidden than a similar process associated with economic capital. The accumulation and transmission of cultural capital proceed latently and seem more hidden than a similar process connected with economic capital. The cultural capital accumulated in higher education is, as it were, "validated" by the educational system, brought into line with a certain qualification. Qualification, in turn, becomes a condition for legitimate access to dominant social positions. According to Bourdieu, in modern society, the family's role in the transfer (convertible into economic benefits and benefits) of cultural capital is very insignificant, while the role of higher education in building up such capital is very significant [7].

3 Materials and Methods

3.1 Indicators of Cultural Capital, Instruments, and Attempts for Its Measuring: Foreign Experience

Given the sociological focus of our study, it is important to identify indicators for measuring cultural capital. In the special scientific literature, the feasibility of measuring cultural capital through the values of individuals and social groups that are capitalized in the form of economic norms of behavior is most often justified. However, we do not completely agree with this point of view and support the opinion of Bolshakov, who argues that such an understanding interprets cultural capital too one-sidedly and cannot serve as a concrete guideline in empirical research [5, p. 5].

To measure the three types of cultural capital described above, various indicators are used. Probably, the easiest to measure is institutionalized cultural capital. The possession of a particular qualification can be recorded, first of all, through various degrees, diplomas, certificates, etc. It should be noted that foreign authors used such an alternative way of fixing the volume of cultural capital as the duration of education (total years spent on education). At the same time, it is recognized that cultural capital is influenced not so much by the length of study or the achievement of a certain educational level but by the type and prestige of an educational institution (school, college, university, academy, etc.) [20].

From our point of view, quite productive is the operationalization of the objectified cultural capital in the economic-sociological interpretation of Radaev [22]. In his opinion, objectified cultural capital is most easily determined through recognizable signs and symbols that are contained in certain material objects. Their essence is to achieve a certain level of prestige and respect in society, through which cultural capital should be indirectly measured through consumer tastes, ways of organizing work, habits, communication methods, etiquette, and a special language [22]. We support the position of V. Radaev that it is most difficult to build a system of empirical indicators for incorporated cultural capital, which is embodied in "practical knowledge that allows a person to recognize the strategies and principles of action of other social agents". The accumulation of such capital is associated with "the skills of socialization in a particular social environment - the assimilation and partial internalization of institutional constraints that allow acting according to the rules" [22, p. 23]. In this case, cultural capital can be measured by clarifying the characteristics of the environment.

The article of J. Nobel and P. Davis provides a detailed overview of earlier studies of cultural capital in education and its impact on school and university success. The authors note a strong dependence of the level of cultural capital on the respondent's family's social status and summarize the main categories used in the questionnaires on measuring cultural capital: participation in cultural events, cultural knowledge, cultural tastes, and ways of expression. The questions concerned both the respondents themselves (their literary, artistic, visual preferences and practices) and their families (parents' work and qualifications, number of books in the house, types of cultural activity) [20].

A number of scientific works attempt to reduce all these foundations and build a comprehensive tool for measuring cultural capital. For example, P. DiMaggio, in his research of students' cultural capital, identifies three vectors of study: attitudes (interest in specific types of cultural activity, as well as self-assessment of the level of culture); practice (experience of creating music, art, public speaking, etc.); awareness (knowledge of certain historical and cultural events and names) [15].

Having studied the approaches described above, we have gained relevant knowledge for our empirical operationalization of cultural capital, that is, to move from an abstract theoretical concept to observable variables.

Foreign experience of operationalization and interpretation of the three types of cultural capital can be summarized in the following theses: ways of spending leisure time [6]; the frequency of certain leisure activities; ability to understand meanings; subjective assessment of the ability to understand the essence of the literuty work or artwork; subjective assessment of the ability to understand the idea of the author; the level of education; formal academic qualification(s); total duration of study (in years); frequency of visits to cultural institution[12]; literary, artistic and visual preferences and practices [20]; the frequency of visits to theaters, museums, exhibitions, galleries of art, cinemas, conservatory, philharmony; knowledge and horizons; subjective assessment of horizons [15]; nature of labor; subjective assessment of the nature of labor (physical/intellectual); availability of free time; characteristics of the socializing environment [22]; parents' educational level; place of residence during studying at school; age of first visit to the theater; prestige of education; subjective assessment of the prestige of the school; subjective assessment of the prestige of

the afterschool education level(s); ownership of literature and art objects; subjective assessment of the number of books at home; the presence of art at home; knowledge of foreign languages; subjective assessment of the level of foreign languages knowledge; experience of publishing own literary or scientific work; embedded meanings [22]; cultural and linguistic competence [24]; subjective assessment of the level of knowledge of the language rules; subjective assessment of well-read and vocabulary; quality of household communication; the most common topics of communication with relatives, friends, etc. [5].

In Ukraine, there is no modern comprehensive sociological research of students' cultural capital, or we are not aware of them. This is primarily about empirical research since, theoretically, the concept of cultural capital has been deeply developed. Studies of cultural capital conducted by Ukrainian sociologists are primarily theoretical and focused on analyzing the very concept of cultural capital, deepening and clarifying its interpretation, etc. Therefore, we decided to conduct our own research of modern student youth's cultural capital in Kharkiv.

To implement such research, we turned to foreign researchers' experience, particularly P. Bourdieu, A. Sullivan (analyst of the works of P. Bourdieu), Di Maggio, De Graf, R. Crook [7, 10, 12, 24].

It is known that the studies of Bourdieu were not focused on cultural capital as such, but on revealing its role in the process of social-class structuring and cultural reproduction of class inequality [8]. Bourdieu was an ardent critic of the modern education system. From his point of view, this system functions in such a way as to "legitimize" class inequality. Successes in education are achieved by those individuals and groups who are the owners of cultural capital and carriers of higher-class habits. Those students who are representatives of the lower strata of society have neither cultural capital (insufficient volume), nor such a habitus, which explains their low academic performance and lack of desire for educational achievement [17]. This, according to P. Bourdieu, explains class inequality [7]. These facts are ignored both by the public and the state, and success and failure in education are considered as the result of individual efforts, high (or low) level of intelligence, etc.

A. Sullivan, without disputing this point of view, argues that the concept of cultural capital, despite its vagueness and fuzziness in the works of P. Bourdieu and the lack of distinct contours of operationalization, seems to be more applicable in practice than the concept of habitus [24].

According to P. Bourdieu, cultural capital includes elements of society's dominant culture, and especially the ability to understand and use a specific "language of education" [7]. Cultural capital is not equally distributed between different classes. At the same time, cultural capital is what the education system legally owns, so inclusion in education implies this capital's possession in large volumes. This makes it very difficult to educate the lower classes. P. Bourdieu emphasizes that there is an inefficiency of the educational process (translation, acquisition, and assimilation of knowledge), since the educational system requires everyone to have cultural capital (which, in fact, only some have) [8]. As a result, most students literally do not understand what the teacher says. According to the scientist, this becomes especially obvious precisely in universities, where students are very afraid of revealing their ignorance.

A. Sullivan criticizes P. Bourdieu for his lack of accuracy regarding which particular resources of the upper class are capitalized and converted into cultural capital, and then find practical expression in the diploma [24]. In other words, there is a resource fuzziness of cultural capital. The main problem of its empirical operationalization is connected with this. Nevertheless, the great merit of the scientist, according to A. Sullivan, is that he emphasized the intangible resources of high-status class groups as representing the subject of inheritance [24]. No educational reforms aimed at expanding and maximizing access to education for representatives of all social strata without exception will not change the reproduction of class inequality since intangible resources (related to cultural capital) play a decisive role in determining students' educational success. In this regard, according to P. Bourdieu, cultural capital deserves the special attention of sociologists [7].

A. Sullivan believes that in order to vivification P. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital in practice, it is necessary to conduct such studies that would prove that: a) "children inherit parental" cultural capital; b) "children's" cultural capital is converted into a diploma (or higher grades); c) indicators of education play a large role, making up the mechanism of social reproduction [24].

In empirical sociology, none of the key points of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital has been refuted [8, 17]. Studies conducted both by P. Bourdieu himself, and his followers only confirmed this theory. Since our article's goal does not involve immersion in the problems of social inequality, analyzing the results of these studies, we paid attention, first of all, to the empirical operationalization of cultural capital.

According to the operational model constructed by P. Bourdieu based on the results of his researchers, the cultural capital of a particular social group (for example, such as students) can be estimated in relation to culture and "participation in culture", that is, by the degree of interest in various cultural events and involvement in these events [6, 7]. The factor analysis carried out by a scientist in the course of one of his studies (on the respondents' self-assessment scale, which includes 10 elements for (self) assessment) showed that a factor conventionally designated as "cultural capital" included such components as love for beautiful things, interest in symphonic music, participation in cultural events, visiting concerts, reading literature, etc. In addition, this factor included categories characterizing respondents as active participants and not just "contemplators" of cultural life. It is about such categories as enthusiasm for drawing, passion for acting, interest in reading books, including books of a certain genre. Correlation analysis showed that students' academic progress studying technical specialties is very weakly connected with cultural capital. This connection is much stronger in the group of so-called "humanities" (Gunn, 2005).

In 1996, American researchers, led by DiMaggio [15], conducted a study of parents' cultural capital with reference to the cultural capital of their adult children. The cultural capital measurement scale included gradations reflecting elements of cultural resources in the house: the presence of a library and books in general, the presence of musical instruments, stereo equipment, classical music recordings, modern musical equipment, and also photo equipment. The level of reader activity and genre preferences in the readable literature were also revealed. Scientists have found that the social class is very weakly connected with a cultural capital in its "classical" view (as P. Bourdieu interpreted) [7]. But there is a connection with the so-called "household" cultural resources (described above). The conclusion of scientists that the process of cultural capital transmission had a gendered outlook is also noteworthy. This capital was transferred only by fathers to their sons. But the level of education was inherited by daughters from mothers.

DiMaggio also writes about the different types of cultural participation that are inherent in different social-class (but not only such) groups [15]. Some types involve the processing of large volumes of information, others – smaller and much smaller volumes. In accordance with this, various types of cultural capital can be distinguished. For example, passion for reading classical literature is a form of cultural participation, which involves processing a large amount of information. Visiting cinemas and consumption of modern cinema products is a type of participation that does not involve processing a large amount of information. Thus, participation in cultural life and academic success are related because successful students can process complex information in large volumes (that is, those who own the appropriate type of cultural capital).

It should be noted that DiMaggio did not name these types, which opens up prospects for us to manifest our interpretation of them, which will be discussed later [15].

Another well-known cultural capital researcher, N. D. De Graaf, also emphasized the unequal importance of different types of cultural capital, but from a slightly different perspective [12]. In particular, he considered visiting theaters as a "status" activity and nothing more, while reading was considered an activity that develops and strengthens cognitive abilities. Cultural capital was measured by this scientist based on an analysis of answers to questions about interest in politics, philosophy, other cultures, reading prestigious magazines, and about "reader behavior" in general (the number of books in the house, the number of books read last year, etc.). It was expected that parental interest in all of the above types of cultural activity should correlate with the degree of cognitive abilities of their children studying in the first grade of the gymnasium (the most prestigious form of secondary education in Germany). Factor analysis results confirmed that (1) reading (the number of hours per week devoted to reading, as well as the number of visits to libraries per month) and (2) formal participation in cultural life (the number of visits to museums, theaters, galleries, concerts, etc. per month) are two different factors corresponding to different types of cultural capital. Moreover, De Graaff proved that the formal participation of parents in cultural life has no effect on the cognitive abilities of their children, while parents' reading practices have a certain effect [12].

Australian scientist R. Crook also distinguishes two similar types of cultural capital, conditionally designated by him as "reading" and "fine arts". During data collection, respondents (teenagers and their parents) provided information on both types, characterizing their own cultural preferences. The conducted factor analysis confirmed the division of cultural capital into two types. The first type corresponding to a factor characterized by the following features: visiting ballet, opera, classical music concerts, museums, theaters, listening to classical music at home (the range of factor loads is 0.69–0.75). The second factor combined the signs of the frequency of reading "serious" and "frivolous" literature, as well as visiting libraries and the total number of books read over a certain period of time, having a library in the house (range of factors load 0.57–0.75). Thus, Crook analyzed the cultural capitals of both parents and their children (teenagers). He confirmed a correlation between the types of parents and children's cultural capital, but such a correlation is not direct. He also confirmed that the "reading effect" still has an impact on children's educational success [10].

Crook also tried to assess whether the profession of parents is related to the type of their cultural capital [10]. But no such connection was found. The profession is strongly related to the level of education and specialization.

In general, it should be noted that the results of Crook's research [10], as well as De Graaff's, confirmed that reading of both the children themselves and their parents significantly affects the success of children in education [12].

4 Results and Discussion

Close acquaintance with the results of research by foreign scientists allowed us to determine the direction of our research of Ukrainian students' cultural capital.

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors. It was carried out within the framework of scientific research topics of the Department of Sociology and Humanitarian Disciplines at Kharkiv University of Humanities "People's Ukrainian Academy", namely as "The role of life-long education in the development of social partnership" (2017–2018) and "Life-long education as an innovative component of the knowledge society" (2019). The research team included master students and PhD-students of the department. It was conducted under the leadership of prof. I. Nechitailo.

Based on DiMaggio, Crooke, and De Graaff's conclusions, we identified two types of cultural capital: "status" and "knowledge-informational" [10, 12, 15]. We highlighted these two types because, first of all, they are accumulated through different combinations of resources, and second, they are subsequently converted into different forms of capital.

In addition, the following types were distinguished within each of these subtypes: "status classical" (visiting theaters, classical music concerts, etc.) and "status modern" (visiting concerts of modern musicians and contemporary music, etc.); "knowledge-developing" (owning a home library, frequency of reading books, visiting museums, etc.) and "informational" (the frequency of reading Internet articles and news, etc., reading "easy" literature) [14].

It should be noted that these types (as well as their subtypes) are those "ideal types" (based on the terminology of M. Weber) that in their pure form do not exist in practice. In fact, visiting cinemas may provide new information and knowledge, while reading some classical books may be useless. Nevertheless, we typologies the cultural capital of modern Ukrainian students in precisely this way, relying on cultural capital research schemes tested and verified by foreign sociologists.

In this regard, our empirical research aims to identify which type of cultural capital is modal (the most common) for modern Ukrainian students and in what proportions are the types described above presented in the social group of students.

At the same time, we emphasize once again that our article's purpose is not to identify the mechanism of inheritance. Therefore, the questionnaire did not include questions focused on the subsequent comparison of students' cultural capital and their parents.

Using the questionnaire method, we interviewed 512 students from Kharkiv Universities studying at various courses and faculties.

List of universities whose students participated in the survey as respondents:

- National University of Pharmacy;
- Kharkiv University of Humanities "People's Ukrainian Academy";
- V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University;
- Kharkiv National University of Radio Electronics;
- Kharkiv Petro Vasylenko National Technical University of Agriculture;
- Simon Kuznets Kharkiv National University of Economics;
- Kharkiv National Agrarian University named after V.V. Dokuchaev (added in 2019).

The main data array (n=392) was complicated in 2017. In 2019, this array was supplemented by questionnaires of representatives of agricultural and agrarian specialties and balanced by gender. Such changes were implemented in order to repair the sample and improve the accuracy of the research results. As a result, the array we worked with amounted to n=512. The sample is random, multi-stage, quota (quotas by gender and specialization), a representative for the general population of 171.3 thousand students in Kharkiv in the 2016-2017 academic year and 154.8 thousand students in Kharkiv in 2019-2020 academic year. The sampling error is 4.8%; reliability is 95%. Data were processed using SPS Statistics (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

To begin with, we draw some features of the socio-demographic portrait of students who entered the sample. We divided all students conditionally into those who study in the specialties related to 1) social, humanitarian, and behavioral sciences, as well as arts (19.9%); 2) mathematics and mechanics (17.2%); 3) computer technology, informatics, and programming (19.3%); 4) medicine and pharmacology (19.7%); forestry and agriculture (19.3%).

Gender distribution is balanced: male students – 49.1% and female students – 50.9%.

The level of the financial situation (according to respondents' self-assessments) of most students could be characterized as "medium": 50.3% noted that they generally have enough money, but the purchase of durable goods (branded mobile phones, etc.) seems difficult. Extreme financial positions (low-income and very wealthy) are represented by approximately the same frequencies (13.2% and 14.1%, respectively).

Since we planned to study cultural capital and its specific type with the students' educational attainments, we put the corresponding question in the questionnaire. After all, the level of academic performance is one of the main status characteristics of a student. As a result, we got the following picture (according to respondents' self-assessments): about 25% of students noted that they have the highest academic performance and corresponding grades; 57% of students noted that they have average academic performance; about 18% of respondents noted that they have the lowest academic performance.

Based on the research of P. Bourdieu, we suggested that parents' professional status may influence the students' cultural capital and its quality (type). According to Bourdieu, those students whose parents are engaged in intellectual work are having a higher quality of knowledge and more convertible into high grades cultural capital [6, 7, 8, 17]. Therefore, our questionnaire included questions concerning the type of professional activity of students' mothers and fathers. The results of a one-dimensional distribution show that 36.2% of respondents' to one-dimensional distribution leads ranking as "laborers" (and "farm laborers"), lower-level employees and service staff are represented in approximately equal proportions and in total amount to 37.0%. As a separate group, we identified mothers who have their own business, including farming (11.3%). And also, homemakers were separated (15.5%).

Regarding respondents' fathers' professional status, the general distribution pattern, in this case, differs significantly from described above. Most fathers are engaged in physical labor. Among them, "laborers" (and "farm laborers") make up 39.7%, as well as drivers (10.2%), lower-level employees (4.7%), and service staff (2.2%). Only 12.4% of fathers are engaged in intellectual work, and 30.8% are entrepreneurs, including farmers.

Now we turn directly to the distribution of students by type of cultural capital, allocated depending on the nature and quality of their cultural participation.

Using the terminology of the Ukrainian sociologist O. Yakuba [25], we clarify the "knowledge-developing" subtype of cultural capital as a "basic" (progressive, positively affecting personality and its cognitive abilities) for modern students. Both A. Sullivan and Di Maggio proved that cultural capital corresponding to this subtype connected with its owner's educational attainment [15, 24].

4.1 Knowledge-Informational Cultural Capital

Coming to the description of this type, it necessary to note that, in our opinion, the age of the onset of interest in books and reading in a quarter of respondents (25.3%) is quite late – from sixteen to eighteen years old. As we can see, such an interest matured only at the time of high-school graduation and the beginning of studies at a university. At the age of nineteen and older, this interest arose in 12.8% of respondents, and 13.3% of students noted that they were not at all interested in reading.

In 7.9% of respondents, interest in reading books arose quite early – from three to five years old. But for most of the respondents, its occurrence coincided with the period of study in primary and secondary schools (40.7%). At the same time, 23.2% of the students noted that they read books extremely rarely, and 11.8% spend less than 10% of their free time on this. Most respondents spend about a third of their free time reading books (about 40%), and 17.1% spend about half their free time on this. 5.7% of students noted that most of the time they spend reading books.

In general, despite the widespread stereotype of "un-reading youth," our study shows that most of the modern Kharkiv students can be characterized as "reading-books-people", and about 23% of them as "actively-reading books-people". A similar distribution is observed in the frequency of reading journal articles, while the frequency of reading Internet news and articles, as expected, is significantly higher. About a quarter of all respondents spend most of their free time on this, and about a third of them spend 50% of their free time. 19.1% of students noted that they spend about 30% of their free time reading such information.

We emphasize that the content of the literature and information that students consume is of great importance for determining cultural capital quality. More than half of all students mainly read fiction and scientific literature (52.1 and 32.7 %%, respectively). 40.5% mainly read news information, and 20.8% read articles in the journalistic genre. About 11% of the respondents mainly read articles and other publications on a political topic.

About one-third of the respondents (33.1%) confirmed that both they and their parents have a home library, and 47.8% noted that only parents have such a library. 18.1% of students do not have a home library, as do their parents.

Based on our research results, we can say that a significant part of students read books and scientific articles. But the proportion of those who rarely read books and articles is still large. To a large extent, modern students are "Internet readers" and "consumers" of relevant news information. That is, there is a more widespread representation of the "informational" subtype of cultural capital, although the proportion of carriers of "knowledgeable" cultural capital also seems quite significant, especially given the fact that a third of students have their own home library.

4.2 Status Cultural Capital

Assessing the ownership of modern students (by the example of Kharkiv students) of status cultural capital, it should be noted that the vast majority visit museums, although the frequency of such visits is not high. 44.9% of respondents noted that they visit less than one time per year. At the same time, 27.1% visit museums from one to six times a year (18% of them visit no more than twice a year). The data show that students attend exhibitions more often, namely: 34.2% – less than one time per year and 25.0% – one or two times a year. As we see, the frequency of visits is also not high.

Students visit theaters more often than museums and exhibitions, namely. 29.2% do it with the optimal frequency for the average student one or two times a year. Those who do it three or four times a year or more, we would rather characterize "lovers of the genre." The proportion of such among our respondents is 11.8%.

The percentage of students who do not attend the places indicated above generally varies from 25% to 27%.

Students attend classical music concerts much less often. More than half of all respondents (55.6%) noted that they did not attend such concerts at all. Little less than a quarter of respondents attend classical music concerts less than one time per year. 10.8% of students visit such cultural places one or two times a year. And only 6.5% of respondents attend classical music concerts relatively often – from three to six times a year.

Students attend modern musicians' concerts more often than classical music concerts: 24.8% – one or two times a year; 12.1% – three or four times a year; about 6% – five or six times a year. In other words, in general, this happens on average once every two months. There is an assumption that the frequency of visits would be much higher if the cost of tickets for such events

were lower since many respondents noted this in the questionnaire in a special column for comments.

The frequency of students visiting cinemas is significantly exceeding all previous indicators. More than half of the respondents (50.3%) do this with the maximum (according to our questionnaire) frequency – five or six times a year. 28.5% visit the cinema three or four times a year. 8.1% visits this cultural place one or two times a year, and 6.7% – less than one time per year and 6.4% of students surveyed do not attend movie theaters at all.

Assessing the overall quality of the status cultural capital, it should be noted that its "modern" subtype prevails. Museums, exhibitions, and theaters are visited, although rarely. The attendance of classical music concerts is much lower (despite the city's favorable objective conditions: the presence of an opera house, organ hall, etc.).More often than classical music concerts, students attend concerts by modern musicians. The frequency of students visiting cinemas is significantly exceeding all other indicators. Every second student visits cinemas on average once every two months. Obviously, most students have large volumes of status cultural capital, which we characterized as "modern", and a few own " classical" status capital.

We also set the task of tracing the process of accumulation and temporary transmission of various types of cultural capital, starting from childhood. In this regard, in the questionnaire, students were asked a series of questions related to the frequency of visits to various "cultural places" in childhood. It is noteworthy that respondents visited museums, theaters, and especially exhibitions in childhood much more often than they currently visit. Both classical music concerts and the concerts of modern musicians, they attended quite rare in childhood. In principle, this situation can be explained by age and the corresponding specificity of interests and material dependence on parents. Perhaps, for the same reasons, the frequency of visiting cinemas in childhood is noticeably lower than at present. Nevertheless, the cinema is the most frequently visited "cultural place" in childhood.

Making a general conclusion on the results of the one-dimensional distribution, it should be noted that, in general, modern Ukrainian students' cultural capital (in particular, Kharkiv students) is represented by resources that have little effect on intellectual and cognitive development.

However, the results of the one-dimensional distribution could not fully satisfy our goal. In order to more deeply analyze the types of student cultural capital, we turned to correlation analysis, the results of which are supposed to confirm (or refute) the following hypotheses:

1) There is a relationship between the type of cultural capital and students' academic performance as one of the most important indicators of their social status;
2) There is a relationship between the students' academic performance and the professional status of their parents;
3) There is a relationship between the type of cultural capital of students and the professional status of their parents;
4) There is a relationship between the frequency of attendance of various "cultural places" in childhood and the frequency of similar visits during the student years (time transmission of cultural capital).

Before presenting the results of the analysis, it should be noted that the correlation that corresponds to a coefficient above 0.6 is considered to be strong. However, this is a theoretical model. It has been proved in practice that the larger the sample size, the lower the correlation coefficient should be expected. And even low correlation coefficients may indicate the presence of a statistically significant correlation.

It should be borne in mind that linear correlations are impossible in the study of social connections and dependencies. In other words, a single social event tends to be influenced by many factors. The strength of their combined influence is theoretically equal to 1.0. For example, it is known that a profession's choice does not depend only on gender, although in practice, there is a differentiation between "female" and "male" professions. In addition to gender (f1), level of the financial situation (f2), education (f3), health (f4), number of family members (f5), and other factors can influence the professional choice. If all these factors are reflected in the research tools (questionnaire, etc.), and if we imagine the ideal model of each of them is equal influence, we get that each of them affects the professional choice with force corresponding to a correlation coefficient of 0.2.

The correlation coefficients we obtained generally did not exceed 0.25. However, based on the foregoing, even such relatively low coefficients seem very important to us. Moreover, we focused on the classification of correlation coefficients, taking into account the sample size. Therefore, we considered only coefficients with a high level of statistical significance (not lower than 0.01, which is the same as 1%).

So, first, we analyze the correlations and dependencies that characterize the knowledge-informational cultural capital. We have revealed a statistically significant correlation between the number of time students spent reading (books, journals, and Internet articles) and the type of professional activity of their mother and father. Correlation coefficients in all cases are about 0.2 to 0.3, and they are statistically significant. Although on the basis of only these coefficients, we cannot conclude about whose children read more – intellectual or nonintellectual workers.

It should also be noted that there is a statistically significant correlation between the mother's profession and student academic performance (T=0.29; Tc=0.3). However, there is no connection with the father's profession.

There is a statistically significant positive correlation between the number of time students spent reading books and academic performance (T=0.25; Tc=0.25) – those students who read more study better. At the same time, we emphasize that our questionnaire included a question about the content (genre) of readable sources. Consequently, there is no connection between students' academic performance and the content of sources read by them.

It is important to emphasize that one of the highest correlation coefficients that we found as a result of the two-dimensional distribution procedure (T=0.3; Tc=0.33) indicates a connection between the age when respondents began to read books with their current reading activity actively. This indicates the time transmission of cultural capital, the process of its accumulation, and more precisely, the importance of childhood as the starting stage of this process. In addition, there is a statistically significant correlation between the age of interest in books and the profession of the mother (the corresponding correlation coefficients areT=0.2; Tc=0.23). There is also a statistically significant relationship between the age of interest in reading and students' assessment of their parents as "well-read people" (T=0.2; Tc=0.2). More specifically, students who started reading books early in childhood are more likely to characterize their parents as "well-read people".

It should be noted that such a resource of cultural capital as owning a home library (both students and their parents) is linked with the type of professional activity (intellectual or nonintellectual) of students' parents (the corresponding correlation coefficients are T=0.24: Tc=0.25). But the correlation of this resource with students' academic performance is very weak and statistically insignificant.

We divided all students into three groups according to their academic performance in order to see qualitative differences in the cultural capital structures of the most academically successful students, students with average academic performance, and students with low academic performance. As a result, we found significant differences in the time spent on reading books (Table 1).

Table 1: Distribution of students' answers to the question, "How much time do you spend per day reading books?" (% to all respondents)

Time costs	Students with the highest academic performance (n=111)	Students with average academic performance(n=282)	Students with low academic performance (n=91)
Mostofthetime	**34,2**	**5,3**	**3,1**
About 50%	25,1	28,5	17,5
About 30%	21,8	15,1	22,8
About 20%	0,3	19,2	15,5
About 10%	9,1	16,2	14,3
"I read little and rarely"	**9,8**	**15,7**	**26,8**

The results of the correlation analysis are presented by Chuprov's (T) and Cramer's (Tc) and Goodman's (lambda) coefficients, which are based on the Chi-square method. Chuprov and Kramer's coefficients vary from 0 to 1 and show the strength of the connection between the signs (the closer to 1, the stronger the connection). The lambda-Goodman coefficient varies from -1 to 1 and shows not only the strength but also the direction of communication, as well as the strength of the influence of each individual attribute on another. Coefficients tending to -1 show strong feedback. Coefficients tending to 1 show the presence of a strong direct connection.

4.3 Social Cultural Capital

According to our assumptions, based on foreign scientists' conclusions, the status cultural capital should probably be converted into social capital (that is, to contribute to consolidation in status groups, the establishment and strengthening of social relations, etc.). In this regard, we expected to see correlations between resources corresponding to this type of capital (visiting various "cultural places") and the circle of students' communication and their hobbies. Unfortunately, we did not find any statistically significant correlation.

However, we found a statistically significant correlation between the frequency of visits to various "cultural places" and individual features of students, such as the ability to adapt when the situation changes (T=0.25; Tc=0.25). The desire is to be "different", and this desire is stronger among those who visit exhibitions often (0.2); the desire to acquire new knowledge (T=0.23; Tc=0.25). Moreover, this desire is stronger for those who often visit theaters (but not museums, cinemas, concerts). The desire to stand out and this desire is brighter expressed among those who often attend concerts of classical music (T=0.2; Tc=0.2) and especially those who attend concerts of modern musicians (T=0.27; Tc=0.29); desire for self-fulfillment (T=0.23; Tc=0.25), and those students who are more committed tend to visit cinemas often.

Students' assessment of their communication abilities (how quickly and easily they establish contact with strangers) correlates with the frequency of attending classical music concerts (T=0.22; Tc=0.23) and the frequency of attending concerts of modern musicians (T=0.22; Tc=0.23).

Students' assessment of themselves as "cultural people" correlates with the frequency of visiting theaters and concerts of classical music (T=0.24; Tc=0.25) and, to a lesser extent, visiting exhibitions (T=0.2; Tc=0.2). This indicates the "status value" of the corresponding cultural capital resources. Perhaps students visit these "cultural places" in order to maintain the status of highly cultured people.

It is interesting that some resources of status cultural capital and knowledge-informational one correlate with academic performance [14, 19]. For example, a statistically significant correlation was found between the frequency of theater visits and student grades in the grade book. However, in this case, Goodman's (lambda) coefficients indicate that academic performance affects the frequency of theater visits, so in this case, it is hardly possible to talk about conversion. On the contrary, such a correlation emphasizes the status significance of visiting "cultural places", that is, such activities seem to come from the respondent's status as a successful student.

It should also be noted that the quantity and quality of visits to "cultural places", particularly theaters and concerts of modern musicians, correlate with the specialty which students are studying (the corresponding correlation coefficients are T=0.2; Tc=0,22 and T=0.25; Tc=0.23). The students' specialty is associated with the type of professional activity of their mothers (T=0.3; Tc=0.33) and, to a lesser extent, their fathers (T=0.22; Tc=0.23).

5 Conclusion

Making a general conclusion, we note that an analysis of the scientific works of such Western European and American scientists as P. Bourdieu, P. DiMaggio, C. J. Crook, N. D. De Graaf, A. Sullivan allowed us to identify and empirically verify the following indicators of cultural capital: the frequency of visits to theaters and cinemas; concerts of classical and/or contemporary music; museums, exhibitions, etc.; the home library; the frequency of reading books, Internet articles, news, etc. Based on these resources' differentiation and distribution, we have identified the following types of cultural capital: status (classical and modern) and knowledge-informational (knowledge-developing and informational) [6, 7, 10, 12, 15, 24].

An analysis of our empirical research data showed that there is a time transmission of cultural capital (both the frequency of reading books and the frequency of attendance of various "cultural places" by modern students correlate with the frequency of similar activities in their childhood). This conclusion is quite consistent with the one that was made by Bourdieu, which we mentioned at the beginning of this article [7]. Families with significant amounts of cultural capital tend to encourage their children to read books and attend cultural ones from an early age; that is, the process of appropriation of cultural capital begins without delay and time-consuming exactly in families with the powerful cultural capital.

Besides, we traced the tendency of cultural capital conversation into symbolic capital, which Bourdieu also wrote about. At the same time, the scientist argued that the prospect of such a conversation brings the owners of large cultural capital additional symbolic profit. Our research showed that by visiting various "cultural places" (theaters, museums, exhibitions, etc.), students maintain their privileged statuses, that is, those that positively distinguish them from others.

The results of our study confirmed another thesis formulated at the beginning of this article. We mean that with the help of grades and ratings of performance in the education system, the measurement of the cultural capital accumulated during the training process and its alignment with a certain qualification is carried out. Our correlation and comparative analysis proved that the knowledge-informational cultural capital, in fact, tends to be converted into students' academic performance, ratings, and grades.

In general, an analysis of the scientific literature and the results of our empirical research shows that cultural capital is a powerful factor in influencing the processes of personal growth and social status mobility. In this regard, we consider it necessary to constantly monitor the conversation of students' cultural capital to find out whether their cultural capital affected their career achievements and professional self-realization after graduation.

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