Approaches,
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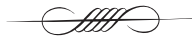
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From Young Workers to Older Workers: Eliasian Perspectives on the Transitions to Work and Adulthood

Abstract

Since 2000 we have been undertaking a detailed re-study of Norbert Elias's lost *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* project from 1962-1964. Our interest in this project began over ten years ago when we rediscovered 850 interview schedules that had, since the late 1960s, simply been left in an attic office. Led by Elias, the project team interviewed nearly 1000 young people in Leicester, UK exploring every aspect of this cohort of young peoples' lives. What the researchers produced were detailed interview schedules that richly documented the experience of leaving school in the 1960s. From the outset it was clear to us that these interview schedules, left largely unused for over forty years, represented an extraordinary opportunity to both revisit the transitional experiences of these young workers and to retrace some of the original respondents to explore their subsequent lives and careers. As Laub and Sampson (2003: 302) suggest, this data afforded us a fantastic, if very rare, opportunity to 'examine within-individual variability over nearly the entire life course'.

We have two main aims for this paper. First, we provide an overview of the original 1960s phase of the research and outline Elias's theory of 'transition'. In his lost writings on youth, Elias argued that the transition to work requires the young person to become 'civilized', learning adult behavioural standards as well as job related skills. Yet inevitably, according to Elias, difficulties arise in the transition process as the 'norms' of working adults differ considerably to those adults the young people are already familiar with. Second, following on from our re-interviews with a sub-sample of the original 1960s respondents, we examine the extent to which the initial predictions for this group actually came true in terms of their early transitional experiences. These interviews reveal that their work histories did not follow exactly the linear and smooth trajectories predicted for them. Instead, careers were characterised by greater levels of individual complexity, insecurity, multiple 'transitions' and 'critical moments' that could not be fully explained by family background, social class or education. We conclude by reflecting on the implications these two for contemporary research on the transition from education to work and by highlighting Elias's legacy in this area.

Keywords   Norbert Elias; Young Workers; Complexity; Shock Hypothesis; Adulthood

Introduction

> *It is the work, the occupation, the whole undreamed of reality of the adult world which is responsible for the stresses of adolescents in that situation…I have always preferred the term "shock-experience", to the term "shock". The most precise expression of which I can think at the moment is probably "reality shock". (*Elias 1962. 1.*)*
> *… the current generation of young people are making their transitions to work in a period of turmoil and as a consequence may lack the clear frames of reference which can help smooth transitions on a subjective level. In this respect, entry to the world of work in the 1990s is characterised by a heightened sense of risk. (*Furlong – Cartmel 1997a. 12.*)*

Compared to the 1950s and 1960s, this so called age of later modernity (Furlong – Cartmel 1997) is characterised by high levels of risk, uncertainty, insecurity and individualization. It is suggested that transitions from school to work have changed from a mass homogeneous process, where young people are conditioned by class, family and education into accepting their labour market destination, to a process where successful destinations are dependent upon the individual abilities to effectively navigate the risks and opportunities that come their way. Yet treating both the past and present in such a dualist and static manner, and ignoring the view that past and present transitions are linked as part of the same (but ever changing) long-term social process (the movement of young people from the confines of school and childhood to adulthood and work), often means that the past remains 'unquestioned' sociologically.

> *The immediate present into which sociologists are retreating, however, constitutes just one small momentary phase within the vast stream of human development, which, coming from the past, debouches into the present and thrusts ahead towards possible futures. (*Elias 1987. 224.*)*

The point is that young peoples' transitional experiences do not s*uddenly* become more stressful and problematic as compared to before, but instead change over time. As Elias (1987) suggests 'one cannot ignore the fact that present society has grown out of earlier societies' (Elias 1987. 226.). Therefore, the past cannot be ignored and it needs to be interrogated. For example, if one wants to understand the emergence of complex transitions it would be useful to reflect on past transitional experiences and explore the extent to which they were also stressful and problematic? Of particular interest here is the notion that transitional experiences generated 'shock' amongst young people on first entering work. From the archived material associated with the *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* project, it is clear that Elias had developed the whole research agenda around an interest in examining the extent to which young school leavers experienced difficulties in making the required adjustments to work and adult roles. Elias suggested that is project was

> *…concerned with the problems which young male and female workers encounter during their adjustment to their work situation and their entry into the world of adults. When they go to work, or begin to train for work, young workers have to make a wider adjustment to a situation and to roles which are new to them, whose implications are often imperfectly understood by them and by the adults concerned, and for which they are in many cases not too well prepared. The project will differ from other studies in investigating this wider adjustment*

which young workers have to make in their relationships with older workers and supervisors in the factory or workshop; to the problems and to their role as workers; and to their roles as money earners in home relations and in their leisure time. (Young Worker Project 1962. 2)

The specified aim of the Elias project contains a certain resonance with later research interests and agendas. How the individual in this study deals with the problems of leaving school, becoming a worker, entering unfamiliar situations for which they are unprepared, adjusting to earning money, changing family relations, adjusting to leisure time, and working with others beyond the close circle of school friends, does not sound too dissimilar to the more recent explorations of labour market restructuring and the uncertainty and risk faced by young people.

Although in the past, the outcome of transitions were seen as largely predictable (Carter 1962; Ashton – Field 1976; Willis 1977), it is possible that the young workers subjective experiences were neither predictable, uniform nor unproblematic. As Lawy (2002) suggests, the transitional experience and the transformation of young people is 'necessarily a personal, individual and psychical affair' (Lawy 2002. 213.). As such, in the past some young people may have coped with the experience far better than others. It is also possible that some members of earlier generations of youth felt exactly the same levels of risk and uncertainty as the current generation of young people.

Separation of Children from Adults

According to Rojek (1986) 'Elias maintains that socialisation is basically a process of status acquisition. Being born into a family at a certain time, the individual is empowered with resources to participate meaningfully in everyday life' (Rojek 1986. 587.).

Norbert Elias, perhaps one of Europe's most original sociologists, was keen to develop a processual or figurational approach to sociology that would allow sociologists to understand the social world around them via a long term, dynamic (rather than static) framework that emphasised the interrelationships between individuals. For Elias, human beings are 'interdependent, forming figurations or networks with each other which connect the psychological with the social, or habitus with social relations' (Krieken 1998. 49.). The constantly changing relationship of habitus with social relations Elias conceptualised as the inter-relationship between *sociogenesis* and *psychogenesis.* Sociogenesis is the processes of development and transformation in social relations with psychogenesis being the processes of development and transformation in the psychology, personality or habitus that accompany such social changes (Krieken 1998). In this sense habitus, or an individual's personality makeup, is not inherent or innate but 'habituated' and becomes a constituent part of the individual by learning through social experience and, according to Krieken (1998), develops as part of a continuous process beginning at birth and continuing through childhood and youth (Krieken 1998. 59.). Understanding this link between processes of change in social relations and changes in the psychic structure was the main aim of Elias's most important text *The Civilising Process* (Mennell – Goudsblom 1998; Hughes 1998).

Elias's ideas and approach to sociology have been used to understand a wide variety of social phenomenon. Indeed, Elias also explored a range of issues, from sport to community relations, and was keen not to be associated with one strand or subject area within sociology. The fact that Elias also developed an interest in the processes through which young people become adults is

of no real surprise to those familiar with his work. Indeed, Elias made a serious commitment to studying these processes during his final year as a reader in the Department of Sociology at the University of Leicester and in 1961 Elias was successful in applying to the UK Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) for a grant of £15,000 to fund the research project *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles*. The data was to be collected via interviews with a sample of young people drawn from the Youth Employment Office index of all Leicester school leavers from the summer and Christmas of 1960 and the summer and Christmas of 1962. The target group was to include all those with one year further education. This sample was then further stratified by the school attended (secondary, technical, grammar or other), by the size of firm entered in first job and whether they were trainees or not. The sample was divided up into five sub-groups and using a table of random numbers a target sample of 1150 young people were identified. From the 1150 individuals, the research team were successful in contacting 987 of which 105 refused to be interviewed and 882 interviews were completed. An additional 28 interviews were undertaken as part of a pilot study in a near by town. Of these a total of 851 interview schedules (including 28 from the pilot study) have been recovered.

The interview schedule was semi-structured but the responses tended to be open-ended, textual and reflective in nature. It contained a series of 82 questions in 5 sections (including Work, Family and Expenditure, Leisure, School and Work, and General). The interviewers were asked to write all answers to questions verbatim if possible and always in as full detail as the time and circumstances allowed. The interviewer was also asked to make a series of general comments at the end of the interview schedule giving the interviewers general impression from the interview, noting any problems connected with work, family or leisure. The fieldwork began in 1962 and ended in 1964.

However, there are two important points to make about this aspect of Elias's work. First, the *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* was to mark a radical departure in Elias's approach to research - moving away from the analysis of secondary sources to the collection of quantitative data via a large scale survey. Throughout his career Elias had used empirical material largely derived from historical secondary sources. For example, in *The Civilising Process* Elias drew upon the writings of Erasmus to illustrate how the changing nature of etiquette codes accompanied a corresponding shift in behaviour (Hughes 1998. 141.). However, the *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* project was a large-scale, publicly funded research project that utilised a large-scale survey methodology. From Elias's biography it is clear that the *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* project was the *only* time Elias had engaged in this type of research that involving large amounts of fieldwork.

> *In the early 1960s Elias also successfully applied for a major research grant…to investigate school leavers' adjustment to working life. The results of this 'Young Worker Project' eventually appeared in publications by colleagues at Leicester, not by Elias himself. (Mennell 1992. 21–22.)*

Second, this aspect of his work remains largely unknown beyond those at the University of Leicester or those fully familiar with Elias's work and biography. It is surprising that no one has engaged directly with, or explored fully, Elias's interest in youth transitions or his foray into the arena of large-scale government funded research in this area, this despite assertions that the main

aspects of Elias's life and work are well researched and well known. Indeed most introductions to Elias do not mention this research at all (see FLETCHER 1997; KRIEKEN 1998; HUGHES 1998) nor does Elias mention the project in his autobiographical writings (ELIAS 1994). The exception to this is MENNELL (1992) in which the young worker project receives the very briefest of mentions.

Whilst this is certainly a tantalising reference, MENNELL (1992) does not explore the reasons why Elias did not publish the findings himself nor does Mennell provide any additional detail on this 'major' research grant obtained by Elias. There are, perhaps, a number reasons for this, and it is possible that Brown (1987) points the way

> Someone who had thought so long and to such good effect about sociological problems as he had could find it difficult to understand why others did not see things as he did, or to take on board ideas and points of view different from his own. There was in my experience one major disagreement about the conduct of a research project which proved quite damaging to all concerned and to the progress of the research (BROWN 1987. 538.).

One possible reason for the lack of exploration of this project is perhaps the controversial manner in which the research was undertaken and the fact that the project ultimately collapsed and remained unfinished. From the records it is clear that 1962 the researchers involved with the project were unaware that Elias, despite having this large research grant, had already arranged to take up a Chair in Sociology at the University of Ghana from the October of that year. Although Elias attempted to direct the project remotely via a research committee, the project then became characterised by acrimony, distrust and feelings of failure, and entered the 'Leicester air' as something never again to be referred to. By the time the fieldwork had ended, and 882 interviews plus a pilot study of 32 interviews had been completed, the research team had resigned and the project effectively ended. The bulk of the data emerging from the *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* project was never analysed or published. With the exceptions of KEIL *et al* (1963), and ASHTON – FIELD (1976) in which a sample of the cases or background literature were used, and despite being one of the largest government sponsored projects on young workers of the time, the data remained unanalysed and unexplored for over forty years (for a full discussion see GOODWIN – O'CONNOR 2002). However, we rediscovered 854 of the original interview schedules archived in an attic office (see GOODWIN – O'CONNOR 2002). Of these we traced (mainly using last know address, telephone directories, electoral register and social networking websites and local print and broadcast media) 157 of the original respondents and re-interviewed 97 of them to find out what had happened to them in their subsequent careers.

Conceptualising the Transition to Work and Adulthood

A central concern from Elias in the *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* project was the role that the transition to work played in the broader process of the transition to adulthood. However, he felt that much of the early research on young people was essentially 'adult centred', with adults trying to apply their norms and values to young people or researching those issues relating to youth that concerned the adults themselves (for example delinquency). For Elias such work was inadequate as it did not explore the experiences or concerns of the young themselves. In the grant application Elias stated that this project was

…concerned with the problems which young male and female workers encounter during their adjustment to their work situation and their entry into the world of adults. When they go to work, or begin to train for work, young workers have to make a wider adjustment to a situation and to roles which are new to them, whose implications are often imperfectly understood by them and by the adults concerned, and for which they are in many cases not too well prepared. The project will differ from other studies in investigating this wider adjustment which young workers have to make in their relationships with older workers and supervisors in the factory or workshop; to the problems and to their role as workers; and to their roles as money earners in home relations and in their leisure time. The factors to be examined will include differences between age groups, between sexes, in size of organisation, in nature and status of job, and between young workers from working class and middle class home backgrounds. (Young Worker Project 1962. 2.)

From this position emerged five specific areas of enquiry – adjustment to relationships with older workers and supervisors; adjustment to job problems; adjustment to role as workers; adjustment to role as 'money-earner' in home relations; and adjustment to role as 'money-earner' in leisure time.

For Elias, the development of habitus in young people and acquiring the adult norms and standards of behaviour was not a smooth process, and he speculated that many of the young people would experience difficulties, anxiety or even 'shock' when entering adult world of work. Elias suggested that the transition from school to work not only required the young person to learn new technical skills and the skills required to do the job but also to learn the broader relationship skills and the norms of the adult world.

…adjustment to relationships with older workers, supervisors etc. in factory and workshop (e.g. learning new codes of behaviour, problems of competition and co-operation, conforming and non-conforming in factory and workshop, coping with tensions in social relations etc) (Elias 1961. 1.)

At the heart of the research was Elias's assumption that the transition from school to work, or the process of learning adult behavioural norms, could be characterised as a 'shock' experience in that young people can experience real difficulties in adjusting to their new role as adults and workers. This hypothesis and the problems surrounding this research project has been examined and explored fully elsewhere (see Goodwin and O'Connor 2002). From the archive material and Elias's writings on youth transitions, it is clear that Elias identified eight specific problems relating to the transition to adulthood that contributed to the experience of transition as a one of shock. They are: (i) *The prolonged separation of young people from adults*; (ii) *The indirect knowledge of the adult world*; (iii) *The lack of communication between adults and children*; (iv) *The social life of children in the midst of an adult world with limited communication between the two*; (v) *The role of fantasy elements in the social and personal life of the young vis-à-vis the reality of adult life*; (vi) *The social role of young people is ill-defined and ambiguous*; (vii) *Striving for independence through earning money constitutes a new social dependence (on work rather than parents);* (vii) *The prolonging of social childhood beyond biological maturity.*

In the research, Elias wanted to examine how young people experienced the transition from school to work, not only how people learned to do a job, but also how the young workers acquired

the prevalent adult standards or norms of behaviour. In doing so he focused on their problems of adjustment to work. For Elias, difficulty arose in that the norms, the behaviour and attitudes of adults in the workplace differed considerably to those adults the young people were familiar with. Indeed, unlike previous societies, in our current society when the young person begins to make the transition to work and adulthood their role is not clear. This Elias argues is due to the limited amount of contact between young people and adults over and above family, friends and teachers. For example, at a meeting of the young worker project team Elias argued that

> *The central problem arises from the fact that a complex society such as ours requires customarily a prolonged period of indirect preparation and training for adult life. By indirect I mean from the age of 5 to 14,15 or 16 the growing up children of our society are trained for their adult tasks in special institutions which we call schools, where they learn, where they acquire the knowledge about the adult world past, present and future not by direct contact with it, but largely from books. Their actual knowledge of the adult world, their only contacts with adults, are relatively limited. (Young Worker Project 1962. 2.)*

According to Elias, the limited contact with adults and the fact that school leavers had been taught very little that would prepare them for the reality of starting work mean that the experience of making the transition from school to work is a "shock" experience. To support this view Elias quoted an example of the shock experienced by a young worker at being told not to work too hard and argued that he wanted to understand how the young worker *experienced* the norm of not working too hard. For example, it could be argued that shock emerges in that the young adults have moved from a situation where adults, in the form of teachers at school, have instructed the young adults to work hard and have administered punishments to those who did not, to a situation where unfamiliar adults are instructing, advising and encouraging the young people to behave in a way that was previously discouraged. The existence of the young worker is threatened by the fact that their social world changes and they come into contact with behaviours and norms that are totally unfamiliar to them. These changes to the social reality of the young worker according to Elias caused anxiety or shock.

> *Before they enter their job, adolescents have a highly selective and still rather unrealistic perception of the adult world and of their life in it. The encounter with reality enforces a reorganisation of their perception. This is a painful process for a least two different reasons. First, because every strongly enforced reorganisation of perceptions is painful. Second, to all intents and purposes the "social reality" to which the youngsters have to get used, is unsatisfactory and the gap between the adult reality as it turns out to be is very great indeed. This is the objective situation…We are after the actual experiences to which it gives rise…"shock-experience" or "reality-shock" understood as something which may have a variety of forms, which may sometimes be sudden and biting and sometimes slowly coming over the years ending in a final shock of recognition that there will never be anything else but that, seems to me our best bet. (ELIAS 1962. 1.)*

A further contributing factor to the 'shock experience', Elias suggests, was the degree of difference between fantasy and reality held by the child versus the reality of the adult world. Given the absence of relationships between children and other adults, the differences between

the fantasies of future adult roles and the actual reality of adult life, and the encounter with reality, which enforces a reorganisation of perceptions during the transition from school to work, all lead this experience being one of shock. The reality of work is different from the perceptions of the young person and, for Elias, the realisation that nothing will ever be the same leads the young person to experience a 'reality-shock'.

Elias (1964) suggested that it was possible to classify each 'interview' in terms of a particular 'reality types'. According to Elias (1964), one of the reality types was the '*types of relationship between expectation and reality*'. Elias argued that there were three main possibilities that the young workers would experience. First, that expectations of the job would be more or less like school but the reality was that work was indeed very different. For example, the supervisors at work were not like teachers and, whereas at school it was possible to 'mess about' (or act in ways not approved of by adults) when not directly supervised, at work it was not possible to 'mess about' at all. Second, the expectation that work will be terrible and the reality was that work was not as bad as expected. For example, that work would be hard and the young person would be made to work like slaves, whereas the reality was different with less control of the young person and great possibilities for controlling the pace of work. Finally, the expectation that the freedom from school would be 'marvellous' but the reality of work and adult life were less 'marvellous' than expected. Leaving school would be almost like an escape from the prison like or controlled realities of education. However, on escaping the young person finds that work is also controlled and provides little opportunity for the individual expression they so desire.

Elias's aims were to explore how the young people in the sample actually experienced the transition process and to examine whether or not work made the young people more adult, or in his terms quickly adopt the norms and behaviours of the adults around them. In the '*Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles*', the young workers were asked a series of questions about work and the transition to adulthood including '*what sort of things make a boy/girl become an adult?*' '*do you think of yourself as an adult?*' and '*if a young worker and an adult do exactly the same work, should they be paid the same?*'.

'Shock Experiences' in the Adjustment to Work

As suggested above, Elias's aims were to explore how the young people in the sample actually experienced transition from school to work and to examine how the young people experiences the acquisition of the adult norms and behaviours visible around them. In the '*Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles*' interviews the young workers were asked a series of questions about work and the transition to adulthood including '*what sort of things make a boy/girl become an adult?*' '*do you think of yourself as an adult?*' and '*if a young worker and an adult do exactly the same work, should they be paid the same?*'. Some anxieties/fear of 'real' world but the YW wanted to be like older friends/adults. What does the data actually reveal about shock experiences? In the main the data suggested that the young workers did perceive the world of work to be 'Adult' – and that it was not yet and an adult world where they felt (yet) they belong ('you'd feel like the odd one out'). It is also clear for many in the study, as Elias suggests, their aspirations and the reality of work did differ – they also perceived the wider choices that work would offer but none of its limitations. They had also been given a negative image of work from teachers - work is hard and 'slave' like yet this also differed in that many were surprised at the

limited amounts if effort required no had they fully understood the monotony of working day in day out. In the main, despite an eagerness to leave school, most not regretted it and wished they had stayed on longer at school and they missed the freedoms and opportunities it would bring. The following quotes are illustrative.

Oddly enough it didn't hit me till the day. The headmaster's speech showed the finality of it you know. I suddenly realised your whole life was going to be changed completely. As soon as you walk out of the gates you are no longer leading the school life which is very different to the working life. You don't know what's ahead of you and you think it's quite a frightening thought for a second or so.

Not much - about longer hours - shorter hols. But to me nobody can explain what its like when you go into a factory. (P) I mean at Corah's real different to what I thought it would be (P) People walking around looking at you - I just freeze up - didn't know what to do. Scared of doing job wrong - do it wrong for first time - have to be there to find out for yourself - nobody can explain it to me.

Very interesting example of disillusionment with higher education and jobs associated with it. R did well at school and transferred to the tech college (from a sec. mod.) to undertake a two year GCE course. After one year he knew he wasn't doing any good and he left to take a job. He saw an advertisement for a trainee cost clerk and got the job. He was very unhappy in it, found office work incredibly boring and a waste of time. [see Q28. He gave no marks at all to the office work] and changed (again answering a newspaper ad) to the semi-skilled job of machine minder in a very small hosiery firm. He thoroughly enjoys this (and has worked 55-60 hours or over last two months) and voluntarily attends evening classes, 3 times a week on the hosiery trade machinery as he hopes to do something on the technical side.

I think this R could qualify as one of Dr. Elias' "Youth islanders", for she seems to live in a two-thirds dream world. This consists of black leather coats, coffee bars, Art and Tech etc. She obviously yearns to be one of the college set and was proud of her affiliations to it. She seems happy at work despite this; but I should imagine that conflicts with her parents (which seem to be quite numerous and make her seem one of the conventionally unconventional rebellious adolescents.) partly rose from her 6 months waiting period during which she tried to get herself fixed up in hairdressing. Her ambitions - modelling, air hostess, own salon by 20 are all very out of track with reality. Perhaps her maturity has been put off partly as a result of being an only child of rather old parents.

An interesting character who seemed to typify Norbert Elias's "Culture Shock". This is to some extent and whose job choices seemed to be rather haphazardly and irrationally chose. Obviously a boy who disliked hard work and enjoyed the more than occasional skive "this is a very good job. It might not lead to anything but I think I will keep it until I can buy my motor bike. The foreman isn't looking over you all the while and you can have a 10 mins rest every barrow. You don't have to bend over your work and really keep at it just in case the foreman comes round and gives you the sack". Also: "I just lark about sometimes. if I didn't mess about every time when I have finished a rack I could get 3-4,000 shoes done a day. But sometimes I only do 1,000". But his main ambition was to become a skilled mechanic and he was obviously in the wrong job and hoped to join the army and get a skilled trade.

This boy gave some evidence of having experienced a 'shock' on going to work. It took him, he

said, a month to get adjusted. He had his mind set on a draughtsman's job in drawing office, mentioning it several times. He found his training rather narrow and liked the tech because it gave him a chance to broaden it. Noticeably work centred boy.

R was the first case I have met of a real traumatic shock on entering work. Her mother said that in her first job which only lasted a week she cried every night, couldn't eat her food and couldn't sleep. She wasn't shown how to do anything, the people were snobbish, and she found it generally too much for her. It was quite different at her second job, where, although she had criticism, she seemed to identify strongly with her office group.

R expected too much of work altogether. She thought she'd go straight onto big money and it took sometime to realise that it could only be done gradually. R now feels (in her 6th job) that she will settle down. Some type of shock exposed in frequent job changes? Very interesting that she should have moved from office to factory work (which her S recommended after several jobs and considerable discontent.)

My impression is that he has not yet come to terms with himself and that any adjustment he may have made to society is precarious. He tries to give the impression that he is doing a job he enjoys with good prospects, that he reckons his friends in dozens and that he enjoys "punch ups", sports, motor cycles, fishing, "boozing" and "birds". But he also gives the impression of being solitary, fearful and melancholic.

His problems at work seem, (a) a dislike of dirty work..,(b) difficulty to adjust to adult sarcasm or obliqueness…and, (c) over anxiety about his exams.

R is suffering from a sense of failure after being successful and happy at school. So far as I can see he is going to continue being unhappy. He is quite conscious of this problem [Respondent was thrown out of college]. Unfortunately he considers he was let down by the YEO and that source of advice is therefore closed. However, he did mention that he occasionally sees his former schoolmaster - perhaps he will get some help from that quarter. His plan now is to enter business with his father who is a butcher. But several times during the interview R showed that he considers shop work to be inferior…He is a pleasant, sensible boy who's sustained one or two bad shocks.

R gives impression that he didn't think much about work when at school, and has quickly defined work as boring, monotonous, but with good money. However his job demands speed, some physical fitness and some skill. He is orientated towards sport had many cups from school. Note that now looks back with some regret on school...and a fact that didn't realise hardness of work.

Becoming Adults?

Entry to work and the economic independence this brings are often seen as key factors in the transition to adulthood. Jones (2002) for example defines adulthood as 'the achievement of economic independence' whilst Pilcher (1996) has described the transition to work as also being a transition to adulthood. In the Elias interviews respondents were asked to reflect on their decision to leave school and start work. For most of the young workers in this sample the prospect of leaving full time education and entering the labour market was welcome. The commencement of full time paid employment was seen as an important life change to be looked forward to and for those in our sample, like those who took part in Willis's (1977) research, '…

the prospect of money and the cultural membership amongst real men beckon[ed] very seductively…' (Willis 1977. 100.)

> *I wanted to stand on my own two feet and begin to look after myself, earn my own keep…*
> *I wanted to get to work to be like the rest of my friends … they start talking about work and you feel left out…*
> *However, not all respondents were so keen on starting work, and some were fearful of this life change for the same reasons that others looked forward to it. The fears that were expressed in the interviews focused on the prospect of entering the 'real world' and being 'amongst real men'.*
> *I was a bit apprehensive, I had heard so many things about the big world, that it was harder than school…*
> *For many of our sample, whether they were looking forward to leaving school or not there was a certain fear and uncertainty about what lay ahead:*
> *I wanted to leave school, but I was frightened about starting work.*
> *I wasn't glad to be leaving. I liked school but I wanted to get a job. But I was a bit worried about what things would be like - what the people would be like and if I would get on alright.*
> *The dominant theme from the data however, is that whatever their feelings about leaving school, the majority were keen to start work and were looking forward to their new lives, particularly the prospect of earning money and becoming more independent. Indeed, money was the single most important factor which seemed to override all other positive aspects of starting work:*
> *No I just wanted to leave to earn my own money; to buy own clothes.*
> *Fabulous, I thought it was a great idea. (Why?) Because I thought I would get more clothes, more of everything.*

In other studies of that time, such as Carter (1962), it is often highlighted how, earning money and the independence this would provide, was the further defining feature of adulthood. However, the experiences of earning money were less clear-cut and for many spending, and the associated freedoms that spending (and earning) might give, did not materialise in a way that was expected. For example, Carter (1962) found that the earnings that the young people obtained were, by and large, administered by their mothers and it was the mothers who decided how much 'spending money' the young workers were allowed. Similarly in the Elias study, whilst as school leavers the possibility of earning their own money had been something to look forward to, the young workers idealisation of earning their own money and becoming independent was often not realised. Like the children in Carter's research, earning money did not symbolise the freedom to spend that money as they wished. When asked what happened to their wages, the data reveals that far from being domestically and financially independent fewer than half the respondents kept the money themselves (47%). Many had to pass their wage packet to their mother (45%) or to share it equally with her (5.5%) or, for a small number, give it to their father (2.5%). Their parents would then allocate money for the young workers to spend on themselves. Once they had their own 'allocated' income, their patterns of consumption also identified the young workers as not yet being adult. For many their own money was not spent on the pursuit of an independent life style but on 'sweets' or 'going out' and buying clothes, records and cigarettes.

Alongside the anticipation of having their own source of income once they started work respondents explained that they were also looking forward to being treated more like adults and

being less 'controlled' than they had been at school. This finding is consistent with later studies of school leavers, for example, Griffin (1985) found that girls in her study looked forward in particular to being treated as adults, feeling that at school they were still seen as children and treated as such. When the members of the Leicester sample were asked the question 'is there anything you like about being at work compared to being at school?' many of the respondents also cited their new 'adult' identities as being a positive factor:

> *I think you are looked upon more as a grown up than at school*
> *At school you were always told things, you were treated as a child. But at work they make you feel old and they leave you alone.*
> *I think you're looked upon more as a grown up than you are at school. You have more to spend.*
> *I think you have more freedom at work than at school. Your parents treat you as an adult rather than as a child - they leave you to make decisions.*
> *Certainly then there was a sense amongst this group that on entering work they were treated more as adults but when they were questioned in more depth about this issue what transpires is that the young workers themselves still did not feel like adults. In the following section we look in more detail at their perceptions of adulthood.*

Complex Transitions?

Alongside shock experiences, the data reveals the transition from school to work for many of the young workers in this sample was non-linear and complex, more individualised and lengthier than any previous studies had suggested. An uncomplicated transition is characterised by the absence of major breaks in employment, divergences or reversals (Furlong *et al.* 2002. 7.) whereas non-linear or complex transitions 'involve breaks, changes of direction and unusual sequences of events' (Furlong *et al* 2002. 8.). A 'usual' sequence of events for youth transitions in the 1960s would be a linear, smooth transition with you people entering labour market position based on their family, class and educational background. An unusual transition for this time would include periods of unemployment, changes in direction, frequent job moves with the young workers experience none of the certainties that are said to characterise employment at this time. However, the data reveals that many of young workers in the study did experience changes of direction and reversals with some of the young workers changing their jobs as many as seven times in the first year of employment. Contrary to popular belief that this was simply done due to the availability of work, many suggested they were changing jobs because of poor training, poor pay, poor working conditions, not being able to sign apprenticeship papers, and workplace bullying. For example, when asked why they left certain jobs some young workers commented

> *Wanted to be a fitter but just to work in sheet metal dept. Passed exam to be apprentice but told me there was no vacancy.*

> *Felt not getting on in job - wanted an apprenticeship but not given one.*

> *The strain on my eyes on some of the work - I had to wait a month for glasses - they filled the post machinist job and said I'd have to be a runabout for 2 years so I left.*

They started timing the jobs and if you didn't do it as well as the person before had hey would tell you off. An older man was before me and they expected me to do the work in the same time. It was just slave labour as far as I was concerned.

Likewise, many experienced breaks in their employment and periods of unemployment, with some also having a sense of 'fear' about being out of work. As the interviewer notes reveal

He couldn't get a job to start with so he had an uncle in carpentry who … gave him pocket money.

It took quite a few weeks until I found the right job…

The respondent has had fears of unemployment and general economic insecurity. It came out several times in the interview.

He was worried when it came to leaving school in case he didn't get a job: took the first he could get because it was better than being unemployed.

Another key feature of Ashton – Field (1976) and Carter (1963) and subsequent discussions (Roberts 1995), is that transitions are a 'homogenised' process with all those sharing a similar biographies entering similar work at the same time (Roberts 1995. 113.). As we have reported elsewhere Goodwin – O'Connor 2005), the respondents in the *Adjustment of Young Workers* project were asked 'did anyone else you know have the same sort of jobs as you?' and 'was there anyone you knew working in the same firm?' Both questions capture the elements of Roberts (1995) argument and reveal the extent to which the transitions were homogeneous or individualised. Out of the 851 respondents, around fifty per cent young workers did not make the homogenised transitions and forty nine per cent of the respondents suggested that they did not work in the same sort of job as their friends or relatives. Fifty two per cent of the respondents indicated that they did not know anybody working in the same firm.

A point that struck me is that I left a year earlier than I could and one of my friends stayed on for the extra year.

No, I don't think I really did know anybody in the hosiery industry because as I say all my friends of the same age all practically at the same time moved into different types of job.

A key feature of contemporary transitions is that they have become lengthier, prolonged and not single step, whereas in the past it is argued that the transition process was much short with young people finding a job, getting married and leaving home in a relatively short space of time. However, again data from the *Adjustment of Young Workers* project questions this orthodox view as, whilst the vast majority of young workers did leave school as soon as they could, most of young workers in this study reminded dependent on their family for housing, money and decision making long after starting work. For example, many of the young workers relied on their mothers or fathers to resolve any problems they had a work and it was not uncommon for a parent to the workplace.

We started at Tech for one year and then he stopped us going the following year. My father got the trade union in and the secretary went to see the boss. He got it so that we shall carry on at Tech next September.

I was told by the personnel officer when I started in my first year that if I did well at night school should be given a day release but I wasn't sent although my report was very good. I saw the personnel officer, I showed report. He made excuses said that every boy couldn't go. Parents went to see him too and were told the same.

Likewise, the majority were still living at home, despite having left work up to four years previously, and the young workers had not financially 'disengaged with their family of origin' (Hubbard 2000. 97.) with many handing over their entire pay to their mothers and fathers in return for which they received pocket money from sweets and going out.

I give it all to mother and she gives me spending money - about a £1 and if I want something…

[Mother has] All my wage packet, I have spending money…

Say I come home with £6 she gives me £2 spending money then 12-6 for my dinners and bus fares.

As well as exploring the complexity of the transition process, the data reveals the reality of the young workers initial experiences of work. As in Carter's (1963) study, the majority of these school-leavers were pleasantly surprised by their early experiences of work and, of those who responded to the question, 62 per cent suggested that work had not been what they had expected. They found that overall it was very different to school life and in general a more positive experience than school had been perhaps because of the 'dignity and freedom' (Carter 1963.) the young workers were given. For example, the workplace was found not to be strict or monitored and there was a lack of discipline compared to school. The work itself was easier than expected and the young workers found that they were treated as adults, able to work at their own pace and allowed to stop and talk to their colleagues. In this respect work was also less restrictive than had been feared and the older, established workers were friendlier than had been anticipated.

…It was much easier. They didn't stand over you watching everything you did like I thought they would…

…Everyone friendly - if you did anything wrong you would be told but not told off…

…everybody just talking to each other and if you want a word with each other just switch machines off, put tools down and go and have a chat…

I thought I was going to have to work really hard & do as I'm told & all sorts but then it's not really like that at all once you know what you're doing & you're on your own time you please yourself.

However, others had less positive experiences than their expectations and reflected that

When you go into a shop you tend to think of glamorous side of it, and not the dirty jobs you have to do.

If you make a mistake you have to stand by it but at school it is just written off. at work there is no way of passing it off.

I think that being a prefect, I got used to not being treated like a child, but at work I was the lowest kind of worker.

The machines were small and not as efficient as I'd expected. There were no breaks. The conditions weren't good…. The girls didn't bother with their appearance. Language wasn't what it should have been.

Conclusion

At the time that the original data was collected Elias's concept of transition as a 'shock experience' was never 'tested'. The data was archived before a full analysis had taken place and it has only been in recent years that the data has been subjected to a full analysis and Elias's ideas examined in more depth. Without doubt we have found cases where the transition to work was experienced as something of a reality shock and in many cases, some forty years later approaching retirement respondents could recall in some detail their feelings of 'shock' at entering the world of work.

Our access to data collected some forty years ago, and equally importantly, the opportunity to revisit the original respondents as they are approaching retirement has provided a unique dataset. The data collected has enabled us not only to examine the impact of early transitional experience on future career and employment paths but also to 'test' predictions made forty years earlier. Although we found some support for the predictions made by Ashton and Field (1976) we have argued that work histories were ultimately far more complex and fragmented that originally predicted. This was particularly true for those identified as having 'extended careers'. Amongst those in the careerless and short term career group the predicted paths were more likely to be followed. In these groups we found evidence of less stable careers and a reliance on skills developed in the early part of individual careers.

In many respects little has changed and we have argued that contemporary transitions have much in common with historical transition experiences. The move from full-time education to employment has always been fraught with risk, uncertainty, insecurity and individualisation. Although in the past, the outcome of transitions were seen as largely predictable (Carter 1962; Ashton – Field 1976; Willis 1977), it is possible that the young workers subjective experiences were neither predictable, uniform nor unproblematic. As Lawy (2002) suggests, the transitional experience and the transformation of young people is 'necessarily a personal, individual and psychical affair' (Lawy 2002. 213.). As such, in the past some young people may have coped with the experience far better than others. It is also possible that some members of earlier generations of youth felt exactly the same levels of risk and uncertainty as the current generation of young people. Indeed, as Furlong – Cartmel (1997. 34.) argue: 'Young people's transitional experiences can be seen as differentiated along the lines of class and gender. Indeed we suggest … continuity rather than change best describes the trends of the last two decades'. We would go further and suggest that continuity best describes trends in youth transitions not just over the last two decades but also over the past fifty years.

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A striking trend identified from this unique longitudinal data set is that few individuals are retiring from the same industries in which they began their careers. Drastic changes in the local labour market over the past forty to fifty years mean that once well-established local industries and companies have all but disappeared from the industrial landscape and jobs and trades once thought to be 'secure' have disappeared alongside this. These traditional industries, which historically employed huge numbers of school leavers in factories manufacturing knitwear, hosiery and boots and shoes, have largely been replaced by the service industry based employers. Snack and sandwich manufacturers and call centres have replaced traditional industries as large employers yet these jobs are not seen as providing young people with long-term career paths (Furlong – Cartmel 1997; Worth 2005). There is, perhaps, a far greater degree of continuity in transition than it would appear. Whilst the school leavers of the 1960s may originally have perceived their jobs as secure ultimately this was not the case and the rigorous training provided by highly valued apprentice schemes ultimately gave little job security as traditional industries disappeared. ✴

Acknowledgements

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The Time of Our Lives: towards a Temporal Understanding of Internet Gambling

Abstract

Based on a study examining Internet gambling in the home this paper problematizes the current ubiquitous focus on the solitary, isolated gambler. It does so by considering the insights provided by a focus on how internet gambling practices and the internet gambler become seen as a 'problem'. We argue that understanding such identity migration (from gambling to problem gambling; addict to non-addict; gambler to non-gambler) requires us to move beyond a focus on the individual, and consider how participants' families contextualise and are re/produced in this reshaping of identities. In undertaking these analyses, we found that re-articulations of time were core to participants' narratives which described shifting experiences of time, its expansion and its contraction in gambling; that meanings of 'time' were emotionally charged; and crucial in how problem gambling was addressed and resolved, within families. Finally, we consider how reshaping practices within and by families around their own and the gamblers' identities explicitly depended on the temporal re-integration of the 'addict' into their family timescapes.

Keywords   internet gambling, interdependency, time, family, timescapes.

Introduction: Internet gambling and the home

The emergence of the internet has opened up new spaces of gambling; it is estimated that already there are over 2,332 internet gambling web sites owned by 436 different companies listed at *www.online.casinocity.com* making this one of the fastest growing forms of betting (Williams – Wood 2007). The actual number of people who gamble online has been estimated to be between 14–23 million, with between 28–35% (4 million) of these being from the US, 49% (7 million) from the Asia-Pacific region, and 23% (3.3 million) from Europe (with the UK accounting for one third) (American Gaming Association 2006; RSeConsulting 2006). One such new online space is the home, leading some commentators to suggest that on-line gambling in the home is more psychologically enticing than off-line forms of gambling because it offers gamblers *anonymity* (e.g. individuals can bet without the social embarrassment of being seen by others), *accessibility* (e.g. people can gamble any time of the day/night) and (controllable) *interactivity* (therefore making it more tempting than some other forms of gambling) (Griffiths 2001). In connection with these ideas, there has been the suggestion that internet gambling marks a shift from 'social' to 'asocial' gambling (Fabiansson 2008) through the removal of gamblers from the 'sociable' locations or playgrounds in which they can gamble (Abbott *et al.* 2004). Nevertheless, it does so by shifting them into global participation through a technology which has been described as transcending geographical and temporal boundaries in a giant global casino, offering immediate access to credit and linking players and betting opportunities globally (Reith 1999. 124). In effect, the world is seemingly available at the touch of a button, from the privacy of one's home. Research with off-line gamblers suggests that those who are more likely to experience problems are people who play on their own; and problem gamblers report that at the height of their addiction it is a solitary activity (Griffiths 1995; Griffiths and Parke 2002). Such findings play out within a broader theorisation of how and in which ways gambling becomes *problem* gambling.

Problem gambling, both off and online, has been considered particularly within the disciplines of psychology, which grapples with discourses of addiction in understanding the compulsion of gambling (Black – Moyer 1998; Steel – Blaszczynski 1998; Welte *et al.* 2001; Clarke *et al.* 2006) and sociology, where writers have extended these ways of thinking in 'adding' sociology to these approaches (Bernhard 2007); incorporating epidemiological accounts of vulnerable populations, such as those espoused during recent debates about the building of super casinos (Volberg 1994; Quinn 2001); or more broadly of vulnerable underclasses, where vulnerability is less a consequence of emotional inadequacy and more related to deficits in educational or social opportunity (e.g. Blaszczynski *et al.* 1999). Pervasive throughout all these approaches is what we suggest is a problematic focus on the isolated, individual gambler. In her comprehensive review of the emergence of the 'pathological' gambler, Gerda Reith demonstrates how predominantly medicalized accounts constitute a subject 'through its opposition to the values of modern neoliberal societies in terms of its loss of autonomy, reason, and control; its at-risk status; and its requirement for therapy' (Reith 2007). This notion of the individual gambler plays out in questions preoccupying much debate of whether internet gambling creates new forms of participation, whether the isolated character of participation inhibits or exacerbates 'problem gambling', and what the effects may be of the potential 'leakage' of gambling opportunities into spaces such as the home produced by the internet.

The purpose of this paper, in contrast, is less to consider the individual psychology of prob-

lem gambling than to explore relational textures and temporalities of intralocal (e.g. familial) gambling practices. In a study funded by the Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Responsibility in Gambling Trust (RiGT) as part of a broader initiative supporting a range of studies examining different aspects of problem gambling,[1] we posited that the home has become a key site to study internet gambling, not only because it is a space where 'new' groups of gamblers like women, young people, and older people can more easily access such activities *via* the internet (Fisher 1993, 1999; Volberg 2000), but also because families themselves are so deeply implicated in pathways into and out of gambling (Ciarrocchi – Reinert 1993; Abbott – Volberg 2000; Abbott 2001; Darbyshire *et al.* 2001; Krishnan – Orford 2002; Abbott *et al.* 2004; Kalischuk *et al.* 2006; Petry 2006; Wardle *et al.*), much work largely relies on gamblers' own, rather than their family's accounts. Importantly, there is a dearth of sociological research on how families/family practices may shape opportunities to gamble on the internet, and how definitions of *problem* internet gambling are produced within these relationships. In consequence of such lacunae, and an overwhelming preoccupation with the individual gambler, we argue there are associated difficulties with current approaches seeking to address the 'problem' of gambling.

Currently, support for people seeking help for their gambling is provided by public and voluntary therapeutic agencies (e.g. GamCare, Gamblers Anonymous, Gordon House). Within these broader agencies, however, there is considerable slippage and uncertainty around theorizations of 'problem' and 'pathological' gambling where the first draws on psychological models of harm (e.g. to one's life circumstances, to significant others, and so forth) and the second on bio-medical models of addiction (Blaszczyniski–McConaghy 1989; Berridge 1990; see also May 2001; Shaffer 1999; Yellowlees–Marks 2005; Giddens 2006; Hughes 2007). These uncertainties are reflected in an unresolved question concerning which social agency or therapeutic treatment is most appropriate for problem gambling. This ambiguity is exacerbated by a lack of rich data on who, when and with whom 'problem' gambling is identified/defined, and fails to address how gamblers move in and out of self-identified problem gambling without formal agency support or help (Abbott–Williams–Volberg 2004; Reith–Dobbie 2012). We suggest this ambiguity is further compounded by a continued focus on 'the gambler' as a conceptual abstraction: a focus on the isolated, individual gambler and the quest to uncover the 'essence' of his or her 'problem' gambling. Viewed thus, a gambling problem is something that gamblers *have* rather than something they *do*, or produce and reproduce. We consider there is a need, then, for a shift from 'the gambler' towards a fundamental engagement with the relational character of internet gambling in the home and, in particular, to explore how and when internet gambling becomes understood as 'problematic', who decides it is problematic and how, if at all, 'problem' gambling is addressed. In effect, we are exploring what meanings are invoked (about family, identity, etc.) when people talk about problem gambling, and in this way investigate 'processes of relating' (Mason 2004).

Internet gambling and the lens of time

Analyses of time in the reshaping of narratives of people who are moving away from addiction, (e.g. Reith 2007; Klingeman 2000), describe a re-orientation to the future, and 'to the self which involves both a re-articulation of time as well as an increasing sense of agency'

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[1]   Valentine, G, & Hughes, K, 'New forms of participation: problem internet gambling and the role of the family ' ESRC (ES/D00067X/1), March 2006-March 2008

(Reith and Dobbie 2012: 2). This paper adds to these debates to argue that such identity migration (from addict to non-addict; gambler to non-gambler) requires us to move beyond a focus on the individual, and consider how participants' families contextualise and are produced in the reshaping of identities. Preliminary thematic analyses of our data overwhelmingly indicated that re-articulations of time were core to participants' narratives which described shifting experiences of time, its expansion and its contraction (see Reith 2006) or compression (Giddens 1984, 2006; Adam 2006) in order that they *could* gamble. Additionally, meanings of 'time' were emotionally charged and crucial in how internet gambling emerged as problematic, and to how problem gambling was addressed and resolved within families. And finally, reshaping practices within and by families around their own and the gamblers' identities, moving from 'spoiled' to 'recovered/ing' problem gambler, explicitly depended on the temporal re-integration of the 'addict' into their family timescapes.

In consideration of time for this paper, we draw particularly on Adam's notion of 'timescapes' which requires us to engage with the times and timing of our participants' lives, including their timeframes, temporality, timing, tempo, duration, sequence and temporal modalities (past, present, future) (Adam 1998). In particular, our analyses concern the extent to which processes of becoming, diachronicity, etc., are considered as ontological bases for social life (see also Nowotny 1992). As part of these temporal analyses, we develop a concept of 'time horizons' (xx 2007) and, additionally, 'debt horizons'. 'Time horizons' fundamentally concern how far in the future the internet gambler can exert control over their circumstances in order to gamble. 'Debt horizons' refer to the future point at which the gambler will no longer be able to pay for their gambling (e.g. where banks foreclose on debts or credit cards are 'maxed'). Both these time horizons reconfigure and dominate peoples' 'timescapes' (Adam 1998) wherein their identity and living practices bend towards managing, holding off or succumbing to an anticipated future crisis in the context of their family relationships. In this way, drawing together our ideas around practices, and considering them through the lens of social time (Elias 1974) we are concerned with ideas of time as relational and therefore worked through and understood within lived experience. We are particularly indebted to Elias's notion of social time as it demonstrates how time can be conceived of as a symbolic expression of the character of extended networks of interdependencies, wherein people are required to do things at certain times in certain places. Time, for Elias, is something we utilise for orientation, regulation, control, co-ordination, and synchronisation of human activity. By emphasising its symbolic power in synthesising practice and meaning, Elias demonstrates how time emerges as a tool for social interaction and, through a consideration of his theory of social time, we are able to understand ourselves as compressed into more tightly regulated temporal flows through increasing extension of our networks of interdependencies. Elias's notion of 'social time' is crucial to understanding how our everyday practices are relationally constituted and, for the purposes of this paper, how particular 'times' serve to characterise and fix emotional meanings implicit in (non-gambling) practices. These ideas will be taken up in greater detail later.

Background to the study

Our study sought to address two main questions. First, whether internet gambling generates new forms of participation for people who would not consider traditional gambling and, second, to explore family contexts of internet gambling and elicit new information on what are currently described as 'self-correcting' strategies (Abbott *et al.* 2004) in prob-

lem internet gambling, and considering how families identify what 'problem gambling' is.

In order to gather data on the family contexts of internet gamblers we developed a multi-method, qualitative longitudinal design for the study that built on previous web-based research (Holloway and Valentine, 2002). First, we devised an online scoping survey, links to which were posted on gambling and non-gambling websites, especially gambling discussion boards. In addition to general demographic information about participants, this elicited information about peoples' gambling preferences on and offline, relational and spatial contexts of gambling and, importantly, operated as a recruitment tool, requesting survey participants to contact the research fellow if they were willing to be interviewed.[2]

The data for this paper were generated with 26 internet gamblers, 22 of whom identified themselves as 'problem gamblers', using qualitative longitudinal life-history interviews, gathered twice with a three-month interim period. Twenty were men and six were women. We also conducted one-off in-depth interviews with those whom we designate for the purposes of this paper as a significant other, elected and approached by the gambler (n=69 interviews), to capture data concerning processes of meaning formation around 'problem' gambling. Most often the significant other was a partner, with other nominated significant others including a child, sibling, parents and a non-kin personal assistant. Participants were recruited from across the UK, in both rural and urban areas and, with one exception, all interviewees were white, from nineteen to fifty five years, ranging from unemployed through to professional. The interview schedule for the first interview was developed in conjunction with the questions for the online survey and data gathered were subjected to systematic multi-stage qualitative analysis (Baxter – Eyles 1997). Building on previous research under the ESRC Research Methods Programme, (Emmel et al, 2005) analyses involved inter- and cross-case comparison, identifying linkage and divergence with existing survey data (Emmel and Hughes, 2009). The interviews were conducted by a fieldworker who travelled to different locations in the UK, and in several cases conducted telephone interviews with a significant other (e.g. the father of one of the participants lived in Ireland), and in one case with a participant (who lived on an island off the coast of Scotland).[3] The interviews provided data as to why people gamble and continue to do so despite extreme losses, and the emotional and social benefits and harms they gain from this activity. The time gap (an average of three months) between the first and second interviews with the problem gamblers, and a one-off interview with a significant other in-between, provided real-time accounts of individuals' experiences of internet gambling, including in some cases individuals' efforts to reduce or stop this activity because of the effects it had, or they feared it may have, on their finances, family and work. This modest longitudinal (diachronic) element gave us the opportunity to interrogate participants' understandings of change and similarity in their internet gambling practices; examine how their significant other viewed and understood their internet gambling; and, unexpectedly, provided considerable data on how the interview process had

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[2] The results from this survey will not be discussed here although it is worth noting the dimension of time emerged as statistically significant. Analyses of these results are forthcoming.

[3] It is beyond the remit of this paper to consider in-depth the limitations and otherwise of telephone interviews. Nevertheless, it was noticeable that the telephone interviews were shorter than face-to-face, although all questions were answered. One significant other expressly mentioned that 'it was different over the phone'. Our analyses, however, were specifically concerned with how people understood what was problem gambling and with providing an account of how the gambler's gambling had become problematic. These tape-recorded telephone interviews provided these sorts of data.

been deliberately used by the internet gambler as a therapeutic mechanism (Hughes et al 2008; Valentine and Hughes, 2012 2012). Our recruitment strategy allowed us to access a diverse sample of interviewees with a diversity of gambling histories. Some participants had been gambling for years and were still gambling at the end of the research process. Others had gambled intensively for short periods (e.g. six months), losing thousands and in some cases hundreds of thousands of pounds, but who no longer gamble. Others had lost significant amounts of money but this had not resulted in major financial difficulties. Nonetheless, they all self-identified as 'problem gamblers'. When the term gambler is employed to describe the interviewees it is used as shorthand for problem internet gambler.[4]

Finally, as our intention was to collect situated accounts it is not surprising that our data are embedded within, and dependent upon, the participants' relational contexts. However, our interview schedules were constructed so as, initially, to elicit life history accounts of participants' internet gambling. These life histories, without prompts for relational narratives, engaged precisely with what Mason (2004) terms a 'relational layer'. The analyses presented here seek to contribute to these debates by forwarding a conception of relationality as integral to processes of identity formation and maintenance (see also Ribbens-McCarthy 2012). While, as Ribbens-McCarthy suggests, the language of families provides a key discourse in contemporary western society, we seek to extend these analyses by situating such identity formation and maintenance in practice rather than reducible solely to narrative.

New forms of participation? Beginning internet Gambling[5]

Our sample includes people with a diversity of gambling histories of varying lengths of participation, with very different degrees financial loss, or no financial loss at all. Participants also engage/d in a diverse array of internet gambling activities, including bingo, slots, poker, sports betting including football, rugby, cricket, horse racing, dog racing, etc. However, all the participants for this paper identified themselves as 'problem gamblers'. Our recruitment strategy, which encouraged participants to self-identify as problem gamblers without providing a structured definition of 'problem', was deliberately chosen such that we could explore any variation in definition, and the contexts in which participants had developed their own definitions of problem gambling. In providing narratives of their gambling experiences, participants generated what could be termed as accounts of *multi-phased trajectories of participation*. Without intending to posit an invariant account of 'becoming problem gamblers', it is nevertheless useful to consider participants' explanations of how internet gambling practices describe trajectories of gambling, moving from phases in which they 'maintain' their gambling, to problematic compulsion, to immersion in gambling. In considering these shifts in practice and meaning, we are able to observe negotiation processes entailed in reworking these practices as problematic. The following sections therefore piece together aspects of the different temporal textures of these trajectories of participation.

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[4] All the names included are pseudonyms; other information which could compromise the anonymity of the informants has been amended or removed to protect the disclosure of their identities. All the quotations used are verbatim. Three ellipsis dots indicates that a minor edit has been made to remove repetitions or verbal stumbles in order to enable the quotation to be more readable. Where a more substantive edit has been made this is marked in the text in square brackets.

[5] From this point, unless specifically indicated, gambling refers to *internet* rather than offline gambling.

Opportunities of time and circumstance

> *Interviewer: So when did you actually start, start this?*
> *Man: Probably 2002 so I think I was bit bored. I was living in a house on my own so I just nothing really to do… I'd split from the girlfriend, you know, and then it was just spending the nights in front of my computer from then onwards, you know. It was quite… like I'd never gambled before at all. So it was a real new thing and didn't realise it was building from that. So it did.*
> *Man; 25 yrs, Slots, Instants*

A common motivation for beginning gambling was *boredom,* linked with particular times in their relationships where their partner was absent through work, or because the relationship had ended, or they themselves were absent from their home for a time. In this way, participants present time horizons unconstrained by the presence of their significant others who may prefer to sit in a different room in the evening, sometimes each family member sitting in a different room, or even simply staying up later at night than other family members. These open time horizons provided opportunities to gamble without explanation to, or observation by, others. The other aspect of opportunity was that of *circumstance*: internet access, and enough money to begin playing:

> *So what has triggered it recently is some money flooding in; what stops it is a huge loss or periods of activity of work. I think if I'm involved in work I have less tendency to gamble ...*
> *Man, 44yrs, sports betting, horses*

Boredom and circumstance emerged as key time dimensions in which to gamble. However, participants frequently described these together with an overall context in which gambling was possible, and went on to discuss emotional histories which they felt underpinned their gambling. One woman, for example, described how she started gambling at the time her young son tried to take his life, and her closest brother was diagnosed with inoperable cancer. A large number of participants talked about difficult family circumstances in their childhood which they felt provided an emotional history to their problem gambling. These, and other participants, also felt their gambling was attributable to particular relational contexts such as dissatisfaction or boredom with their relationship; a broken relationship; or as an escape from particular aspects of their family relationships (e.g. too much time with the children, not enough time alone). Thus time horizons – here, times in which to internet gamble – are shaped through gamblers' intimate circumstances.

Timescapes of play: Pace, speed, skill

Participants chose games they felt reflected themselves and what they enjoyed. They described their early involvement with internet gambling as one of trying out different types of game and navigating to those which responded in the time frames they preferred. The type of game upon which they ended up concentrating was usually determined in large part by the tempo, speed and skill level required. Slots, for example, offered instant results, and the opportunity for hundreds if not more games per hour. Betting, however, required patience; waiting for the results of a game or a race. For some participants, this required continuous research online about form,

conditions, odds, and so forth. Global opportunity was important in sports betting in that it was accessible at any time of day or night depending on which country the race was being held. The unique time configuration of gambling practices in sports betting was indeed global (an observation that has been made elsewhere; see Reith 1999; Griffiths–Parke 2002). Similarly, poker was played internationally, although not always. The degree of skill and amount of research that was required was also discussed in terms of how this reflected the participants' identity, their relational history – learning about different sports through their partner, their parents or other relatives, being taught by friends, and so forth (see Valentine and Hughes, 2010).

Through these configurations of time, opportunity and circumstance, participants presented accounts of commencing what might be helpful to characterise as 'maintenance' phases of internet gambling. In other words, the contexts in which they began to play, the time they spent playing, the amounts they won and lost, the extent of withdrawal from participation in other relational networks was not considered to be problematic. Our analyses suggest people can 'maintain' internet gambling and the losses associated with it for years by: controlling their budget; stopping for periods of time until they are able to afford gambling again; hiding their gambling from their family, and maintaining participation in their social networks. However, changes in *duration* of play emerged as a key signifier of 'the beginning of the problem.' Through increasing duration, different timescapes of participation began to emerge. These timescapes included increasing withdrawal from family and friendship practices; changing inhabitation of their home, such as using different rooms at night, for much longer periods; and for some internet gamblers participation in national and international gambling activities (bingo, betting, poker, casino) entailed meshing with different global time zones. Adam's notions of *tempo* and *pace* are particularly relevant here, where the intensity of participation changed: more games in longer periods of time. Participants described these changing timescapes of prolonged duration of play at different times of day and night, as intimately linked to a (problematic) *compulsion* to play and concomitant loss of control.

Compulsion to immersion

Participants indicated they identified their gambling as problematic when they were no longer able to 'hold off' the gambling from shaping their broader relational practices. *Intentional* shaping practices involve activities such as deliberately starting an argument so that the internet gambler can withdraw from the family. Involuntary shaping practices might include dealing with or (more frequently) ignoring debt no longer manageable within family finances, or struggling to manage work relationships as jobs are threatened by less time at work. In this move from maintenance of internet gambling, participants described feeling less able to stop than they had previously, whilst simultaneously recognising the futility of 'chasing' wins; and the consequences of their gambling as having physical effects (sleeplessness, moodiness, etc.).

> *I would finish work early to come home, I would come home in uniform, sit down, switch the internet on and that would be say three o'clock in the afternoon. Three o'clock the following morning I would go to bed, get up at seven, leave for work for half seven having gone back on the internet again, and then the cycle would begin again, three o'clock in the afternoon come back. Never ate, never drank, lost loads of weight, …*
> *Man, 36 yrs, Black Jack/Casino*

Compulsion to immersion has been described elsewhere in the literature (Quinn 2001; Reith 1999, 2006; Wood and Griffiths 2007). For the purposes of this discussion, meanings of immersion, often described by participants as 'being in the zone', linked the *character* of their play; their sense of *escape* from others; their dissatisfaction with their lives; and, for some, their sense of connectedness with other internet gamblers who understand what it is to be 'in the zone' or who provided the social contact they lacked in their home circumstances (e.g. online bingo, poker). However, these analyses contribute to existing debates in this field by demonstrating how narratives of 'escape' and 'disconnectedness' (see Mason 2004) for internet gambling in the home were always relationally framed and constituted. The emotional tenor of disconnectedness was illustrated through descriptions of how they no longer intersected with their families; where, for example, their sense of day and night was changing as it became increasingly caught up in gambling times. In effect, the gamblers timescapes could be described as disconnecting from those of their family and workplace, and of their friends. Crucially, here, the *practices* in which gamblers participated produced experiences of fragmentation, and disconnection within their families, exacerbating experiences of gambling as problematic and provoking significant others who were aware of their gambling to protest against how much time they spent outside the family, or how 'different' they had become.

> *… the amount of time that she spent on the internet … was one of the things I was kind of mainly upset about because she was spending so much time on that. And then the money was a kind of secondary factor…*
> *Husband; wife a poker player, in her 40s*

Thus, meanings of family belonging and participation were re-invoked where gamblers failed, in the view of their significant others, to *do* family and *be* that person in ways that were expected.

Importantly, in accounts of how gambling shifts to *problem* gambling, participants identify how the inconsistencies engendered by the idea of using internet gambling to 'escape' begins to break down as the consequences of their gambling precipitates them increasingly quickly into particular confrontations. Such confrontations include those with banks and other credit institutions, with their partners and significant others, with work and, in one case, with formal health and social care agencies. As these confrontations gain temporal imminence, participants describe processes of reframing their understandings and engagement with internet gambling by questioning what their internet gambling has become – what it began as, what impact it has had so far on a gambler's life, and what it has become now – particularly in terms of consequences and loss.

> *…so all these monsters suddenly appeared in the space of a week and I thought, oh shit I've pushed this as far as I can now I'm facing, you know, imprisonment for not paying a fine that I've had lots of chances to pay, and possible death, you know. I just thought, if I don't do something about this I'm finished. Well not to put too fine a point on this, I thought if I don't do something about this I'm fucked, I've got to bounce back. And I'd finally realised, just for once and for all just realised that I just hated the idea of gambling, I didn't want to do it anymore and I really wanted to stop.*
> *Man, 50 yrs, poker*

In this way, time compression engenders a re-evaluation of internet gambling, and the meanings and experiences of *internet gambling* themselves migrate (e.g. from leisure or pastime, to problem). Through this process of problem migration, internet gamblers' timescapes are re-configured along axes of relational identity: in recalling what one did before internet gambling, ideas of one's identity as 'spoiled' through internet gambling emerge (McIntosh – McKaganey 2000) and contribute to the gamblers' reworking of their internet gambling as a problem. Dale, for example, gives an example of how his identity as a *father* was spoiled through his internet gambling:

> It affected my behaviour towards my son because I mean I've done some terrible things. I mean I've never done anything to harm anyone else or anything criminal you know, but emotionally in some of the things I've done are really bad. Like I've literally sprinted down the street because I've been on the internet, to pick him up from school, because where we used to live was literally 200 yards from the school. … he'd be basically the last one to be picked up … And then I've picked him up, dashed down all of a fluster and come home and, you know, rather than taking an interest in what he's done at school or his homework I'd sort of, you go onto the PlayStation or what you do now is stick a DVD on, and … shoving him on his PlayStation … Man, 40yrs, sports betting

In response to the *meaning migration* of participation in internet gambling, internet gamblers describe trying to solve the problem by winning enough to pay back the debt, rather than playing for play's sake or playing to 'escape'. These changes engender corresponding shifts in understandings of self-actualisation (Goffman 1972) through internet gambling: both the character of participation and anticipation of its future duration changes. In effect, internet gambling fails as a set of practices through which it is possible to reformulate experiences of oneself as 'beyond' or 'outside' everyday responsibilities; these are carried into the internet arena and tensions and anxieties induced by internet gambling are further played out in increasingly desperate attempts to win. Experiences of relational constraint and conflict (Mason 2004) are exacerbated and, as debt and other horizons close in, gamblers are often thrust into processes of disclosure to significant others. In these processes, definitions of problem internet gambling are reformulated and elaborated as they are renegotiated through and, in turn renegotiate, the gamblers' relational networks.

A problem shared? Problem gambling and problem migration

Disclosure and problem migration

Disclosure emerged as a key practice in defining the problem, a strategy for controlling the problem (often understood as the compulsion) and, importantly, for controlling potential loss for the internet gambler (of partner, children, house etc.) (Valentine and Hughes 2010). While we interviewed some participants whose families were aware of their gambling all along, many participants described delaying disclosure to significant others until a crisis occurred. Others disclosed to national media as a means of telling their whole story without being interrupted by their partner and for 'getting it over and done with in one go' (woman, 51yrs, poker). Incidences of disclosure were described as marking either the 'end' or the 'beginning' of the problem for different people as first, 'the problem' is defined, and second, as it migrates over time. S and K's narrative is a good example of these accounts:

Interviewer: And what was it that kept you from telling K about this debt?
S: I think it was, obviously the amount of debt, but I think the main thing I was worried about was losing her and the kids, and I didn't want that to happen, and I knew she was going to find out eventually, but I don't know, I just was hoping like, someone would come along and pay it all off sort of thing, and not worry about it. So I was just hiding and cheating meself as well so, and not being honest.
Man, 29yrs, Poker, Blackjack, Casino

The extent of S's debt was discovered by accident. S, however, considered the point of disclosure marked the end of his 'problem' which he describes as an unacknowledged addiction, characterised by an out of control compulsion. Within his narrative, this compulsion was consistently situated in talk about how it lead to escalating debt, and in turn what it would mean to disclose the debt to his wife. For S, disclosure was a process of taking control over the problem, even though this entailed shifting responsibility to his compulsion, and importantly to his wife, K. As soon as K discovered his debt, she took control of family finances, his internet access, his access to cash, decisions about their financial assets and decisions about her return to work in order to earn enough to keep up with repayments. In this way, S effectively 'self-excluded' himself from internet gambling, thus thwarting any compulsion he may experience.

For K, 'the problem' *began* at the point of disclosure rather than ended and was the start of a process of 'problem migration'. Initially, K describes herself completely preoccupied with the financial consequences of the debt S had racked up. Once they developed strategies for dealing with the debt (selling off an investment property they had, K going back to work full-time and becoming the primary earner), the financial problem migrated to a series of emotional problems.

I mean it's an awful lot of money, but, you know, we'll settle…from a practical point of view, you know, I can kind of cope with that … It's the high end of emotional things that you go through, what a change you see in your relationship with your partner from one day to the next, you know, because it really, really as I say did feel like I was going from being with a partner and [several] children to go… the whole responsibility and much more debt that I thought we had and [having one more child] … I was just trying to understand because that was my biggest worry as I say at the start I couldn't understand. I couldn't understand why anybody would do that. Why anybody from a non-gambler's point of view, it's such a selfish thing to do to lock yourself away for hours … and, you know, spend thousands of pounds that you didn't have, which is taking money away from the family. And, you know, it just seemed so selfish and I was really after an answer to why would anyone do that.
K, wife, 4 children

K goes on to describe how she struggled with feelings of anger as emerging aspects of her husband's behaviour occurred to her. For example, she describes her anger and distress when she realised that the days he had been at home ostensibly taking care of their children, he had been neglecting them for internet gambling. In this way, S's identity as a father is 'spoiled' for K; he is reduced to 'another child' rather than a partner in her narrative, and the very texture of their relationship changes as she can no longer trust or rely on him.[6] This 'spoiled' identity

is reinforced through S's sense of his own failure towards his family as a provider and a father. Further, the problem of his gambling participation is reworked through therapeutic discourses, as one which implicates her:

> *So I still don't know what it was, but, you know, there's a nagging doubt at the back of my mind that it was down to, you know, there's something down to me.*
> *K*

This was not consistent across the sample; however, a number of significant others considered either themselves or others (e.g. the gambler's parents) as having responsibility in the formation of the 'problem'.

Across the sample, then, the meanings and significance of debt and money problems migrate over time and are reframed as emotional problems for the gambler and their significant others. Even where participants had not accrued debt, disclosure revealed the extent of their compulsion or involvement in internet gambling and regular spending which partners often resented or deplored. Money spent was reframed as lack of responsibility, wasted opportunity and a normative gulf between the internet gambler and their significant other. Processes of disclosure, therefore, entail reworking meanings and understandings of 'the problem'; not once, or twice, but over long periods of time. Further, in identifying 'what happened' and 'what the problem is' gambling discursively accrues an ontological position/state which requires particular sorts of attention depending on the characteristics of 'the problem' – for example, whether it is an addiction, an habituation, a problem of debt, or a problem of time. The process of defining 'the problem' is also one that *anchors* it in time, positioning a moment from which people date subsequent events (I then went to therapy; I haven't gambled for x number of days). Thus, a dominant tendency is for gamblers to 'fix' the character or nature of practices (inherently dynamic, changing, processual) as 'some-thing'. In other words, fixing the problem can be seen as a process by which practices accrue an ontological presence, a substance that is characteristically rendered as the pivot to a new form of self-relationship.

Additionally, disclosure and 'fixing the problem' fundamentally involves reworking identities within these relationships, often entailing reconfiguration in broader nexuses of relationships (changing jobs, going to prison, going into therapy). In this way, ideas of 'problem gambling' as something the gambler *has* might reflect rationalisations of 'addiction' used within these relationships in order to displace responsibility from either the gambler or their partner; yet to concur with this way of thinking entrenches us in either explaining the problem, or rejecting ideas of addiction. In doing so this obscures the processes whereby 'the problem' is something the internet gambler and, in turn, their significant others negotiate and *do*, interwoven with meanings of family, and how the problem shifts over time.

Different visibilities: now you see me, now you don't

We suggest recognition of the reconfiguring practices in which internet gamblers engage in processes of identity migration (becoming non-gamblers, recovering 'spoiled identities' in their own and others' eyes) engages us in considering how they emerge within and disappear from different relational networks in which a key characteristic of participation is *time*. Those

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⁶ See REITH – DOBBIE 2012. for a fuller discussion of 'spoiled identities'.

participants who described themselves as working on their 'recovery' from problem gambling identified a core set of practices around which such 'recovery' was 'displayed' (Finch 2007; Hughes and Valentine, 2008). 'Recovery' in the transcripts was not confined to discourses of addiction (e.g, from an illness); other processes of recovery included recovering lost trust; recovering damaged relationships; partners recovering from effects of disclosure and gambling; recovery of spoiled identities and developing a non-gambling identity; and recovery for the family of their losses (money, financial stability, emotional trauma). Practices of displayed 'recovery' involve working on and within relationships with significant others (parents, partners, children), around meanings of engagement and visibility, often summarised as *being there*.

Being there

Spoiled identities, betrayal of trust, negotiations around responsibility and reintegration within relational networks, such as familial networks, involve *being there* as an ostentatious practice of 'display'. In this way, internet gamblers characteristically seek to knit together their and their family's timescapes through engaging in specific, and emotionally charged practices, in order to demonstrate they are no longer gambling, but also that they are actively seeking reintegration within particular relationships.

> But I think you know, over the last… certainly a year maybe we've made a lot… we've made a good attempt to do things together, going out more. Not doing anything special I mean just for example on Friday night he came home from work and I said right, let's take the car out and let's nip down to Peebles, I fancy a fish supper. You know, this nice fish and chip down there, you know, so it's an hour's run, you know, so let's do that, let's walk along the high street, you know. … We'd done nothing special but we did it together, you know, and that's what counts. Woman, mid-40s, online poker

Such practices also include help-seeking, such as attending GamAnon meetings, or other therapeutic venues. Several participants began attending these forums for their partners but, as time progressed, increasingly for themselves as they engaged in processes of identity formation of non- or ex-gambler. Maintenance of this process of identity formation is achieved through reworking space–time practices of everyday life. Thus, in addition to reinvigorating previous friendship networks, participants describe displacing longing to gamble by engaging in new hobbies and pastimes, re-engaging in family practices such as doing more with their children (part of recovering a spoiled parental identity) and doing more domestic work around the house. Thus, these practices of reworking relational identities involves a fundamental shift in visibility for gamblers. They become visible for *not* doing something they were doing invisibly before and, further, become visible in both formal and informal relational networks such as self-help groups, and with financial organisations.

Strategies for *financial* recovery, where people engage with credit agencies, banks, financial support and advice services, etc., are also infused with emotional meanings. Engagement in these networks signifies taking control and responsibility, being honest and facing up to things, getting 'better' (illness, moral recovery), and moving beyond addictive behaviour. Across the sample, however, even where debt was being successfully managed within families, participants continued to apportion responsibility to credit agencies for the extent of debt which they had 'been permitted' to accumulate. This parcelling out of responsibility carried across into signifi-

cant other interviews, surfacing in their discussions about who or what was to blame, who or what was the problem, and how 'things' had ended up this way. In this manner, the ubiquitous discourse of 'problem gambling' as something an individual has, rather than a relational practice, continues as a discursive 'stumbling block' for families who continue to seek to discover 'an answer' despite a history of meaning formation and negotiation they have provided at interview.

Conclusion

In this paper we have sought to problematize a widespread focus on the isolated, individual gambler as the primary unit of analysis for internet gambling. In doing so we have reframed the question of whether the isolated character of internet gambling participation inhibits or exacerbates '*problem* gambling', and instead considered *how* internet gambling practices are problematized in the home. In brief, we suggest the myriad of interdependencies that are shaped as gamblers pursue opportunities to gamble, opportunities to disclose the consequences of their gambling practices, and opportunities to display recovered identities, underscores a fundamentally relational character to internet gambling.

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We suggest temporal dynamics are particularly important to understanding the case of internet gambling which has some important differences from other forms of gambling relating centrally to the temporal qualities of 'online play'; and to how gamblers strategically position temporal practices within, and as part of, family practices, in order to produce opportunities to gamble on the internet. In relation to this undertaking, the paper has focused upon the *multi-phased trajectories of participation* of online gamblers; in doing so, it centrally explores how discursive categories of ‹problem gambling› are produced and reproduced, interpreted, maintained, resisted, and contested by gamblers, their significant others, and by other members of the broader social networks of which they form a part. Elias's notion of 'social time' is crucial to understanding how particular 'times' serve to characterise and fix emotional meanings implicit in (non-gambling) practices. For example, 'being there' at particular times such as meal times, engaging in family practices as part of being and doing family serves to 'display' emotional commitment to those within the family. Further, and crucially, these temporally-bound practices constitute practices of self-actualisation, comprising extended moments (time with the children) in which evidence of identity migration can be 'displayed' to others within the family and further serve to 'repair' spoiled identities. Most importantly, in this way we have sought to establish that identities within families, and meanings of family, are not only sustained through narratives or discourses of family, but are situated within and produced through particular *practices* over time. This paper thus offers an opportunity to consider the locality of embodied practice in the context of a ubiquitous and geographically unbounded technology.   ✳

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Terrorism and Civilisation: the Case for a Relational Approach

Abstract

'Terrorism' has been a major staple of news media for several decades and even more so since the 11th September, 2001 attacks on the United States. Research on the phenomenon has grown at an unprecedented rate in recent years. However, most social scientific approaches tend to regard 'terrorism' as having thing-like properties.

In this paper I seek to show that 'terrorism' should be approached in a relational and processual way and be considered as part of 'established-outsider' relations. In order to do this, I examine how the concept after it was first coined during the first French Revolution was closely related to the concept of 'civilisation'. Using the examples of Britain and France, I go on to argue that the concept of 'terrorism' developed in antithesis to the concept of 'civilisation' and was heavily influenced by intra- and inter-state processes between the two countries. Later, I explain how Britain's relationship with Ireland was also central to the 'sociogenesis' of the concept of 'terrorism'.

I also show how the relationship between the concepts of 'terrorism' and 'civilisation' is perhaps one of the few regularities involving 'terrorism' since its birth in the late eighteenth century and add that the fact that 'terrorism' is used as a label to delegitimise outsider groups by established groups forms part of the same 'double-bind' processes and relations in which those designated as 'terrorists' act according to those designations.

Keywords   terrorism, civilisation, established-outsiders, sociogenesis, double-binds

Terrorism and civilisation: the case for a relational approach

In this paper I examine how the concept of 'terrorism' first emerged and developed from the period of the first French Revolution and how it was closely related to the development of the concept of 'civilisation'. By doing this I show how 'terrorism' and 'terrorists' should be understood in relational and processual terms rather than in a normative sense that regards the phenomena as static and having thing-like properties. At the same time I make it clear that the 'power or established-outsider' relations within which 'terrorism' relations exist are fundamental to understanding the issue.

The paper is based on work I undertook for my PhD thesis, *Britain and terrorism: a socio-genetic investigation (2014)* and details the early stages, during the French Revolution, of how competitive inter- and intra-state struggles between the British establishment and its French Revolutionary rival during the nineteenth century played a central part in the development of the concept of 'terrorism'. I explain how these inter- and intra-state struggles should be understood as specific manifestations of more general established-outsider processes and relationships which were fundamental to the development of 'terrorism' figurations during the nineteenth century. I then go on to show how the concept of 'terrorism' developed further as part of the relationships between established groups in Britain, France and outsider groups in Ireland during the nineteenth century.

Accordingly, the problem of 'terrorism' has been a major staple of the news media and government rhetoric and policies for many decades. It is also the subject of a huge mass of academic research, which has been highlighted by the psychologist John Horgan (2005. xii.), who has pointed out that in the 12 months that followed the attacks on America on 11th September 2001 over 800 academic texts on 'terrorism' were produced in English alone, which itself is part of a huge growth in academic literature on 'terrorism' since the early 1970s. At the same time the subject has become one of the most regularly reported items in news media. This growth of research on 'terrorism' following the September 11th 2001 attacks shows that what are called 'terrorist' events often dictate the development of 'terrorism' research. Those attacks and the subsequent 'war on terror' were central to the large increase in the amount of academic work on the subject from the turn of the millennium. At the same time, how research on 'terrorism' is framed has contributed heavily to government and media responses to the problem, including the 'war on terror'.

The majority of academic research on 'terrorism' views the phenomenon from a normative standpoint, which means very little of it approaches the problem developmentally and relationally. Rather than 'terrorism' being thing-like, as most research and news reporting presumes, a developmental and relational approach locates 'terrorism' as part of certain established-outsider relations. That is, 'terrorism' can be regarded as a stigmatising and delegitimising term used by one group against another. It happens that 'terrorism' is usually used in contexts where violence or the threat of violence is present. Additionally, 'terrorists' then become the people who act according to the designation of 'terrorism' in the context of these established-outsider relations. At the same time these processes and relationships are not static – they change over time, as do the groups that are designated as 'terrorists' and the reasons why they are designated as 'terrorists'. We can ask, in figurational terms, therefore, what is the 'sociogenesis' of the concept of 'terrorism'?

The fact that 'terrorism' should be regarded developmentally gives rise to the question of how 'terrorism' was designated at earlier stages of human development, and it is widely believed

that the word 'terrorism' was first coined during the first French Revolution of 1789. But before examining the early sociogenesis of 'terrorism' during this period, it helps with our understanding of the phenomenon to consider something related to this – the etymological roots of the words 'terrorism' and 'terrorist'. This shows in a very clear way how language has changed to help people orientate themselves as the nexus of human relations changes in ways that are new and unfamiliar.

The etymology of the words 'terrorism' and 'terrorist'

Understanding the etymology of the words 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' can prove useful in gaining knowledge of the sociogenesis of 'terrorism' in a number of ways. This is because, as already stated, the development of words and concepts can help to highlight social changes. The emergence of new words and concepts shows that there is or was a social need for those new terms. The same is the case for the concepts of 'terrorism' and 'civilisation'. Their emergence highlights that it was necessary to develop concepts that could be applied to new and emerging social configurations.

Accordingly, the word 'terrorism' and its derivatives ('terrorist' and 'terrorists') first appeared in France and England around the time of the Jacobin ascendency, Maximilien Robespierre's rule and the *regime de la terreur* (reign of terror) during the first French Revolution. It is derived from the much older word *terror*, which has its roots in Latin. *The Barnhart Concise Dictionary of Etymology* (1995) lists the words as follows:

> *Terror (v) About 1375 terroure great fear, borrowed from Old French terreur, learned borrowing from Latin terror great fear, dread, from terrere fill with fear, frighten, terrify; for suffix see – OR. Latin terrere is cognate with Old Irish tarrach timid, Greek trein to tremble, flee, Lithuanian trisa tremble, Latvian triset to tremble, and Sanscrit trasati (he) trembles from Indo-European ters-/tres- from original teres (Pok.1095).*

> *Terrorism (n) 1795, government by intimidation in the Reign of Terror (1793-94) during the French Revolution; borrowing from the French terrorisme (Latin terror terror + French isme sism). The general sense of systematic use of terror as a policy is first recorded in English in 1798.*

> *Terrorist (n) 1795, person connected with the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution, in the Annual Register; borrowing of French terroriste. (Latin terror + French –iste sist). The sense of one who furthers his cause by the use of terror is first recorded in English in 1866, in connection with the activities of extreme radical or revolutionary groups in Russia.[1]*

That the word 'terror' had the suffixes 'ism' and 'ist' added to it is a significant change in language, which in turn represents an important change in how people were seeing the world. This change is highlighted by *The Barnhart Concise Dictionary of Etymology (1995).* Placing the

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[1] It must be noted briefly that the research on which this paper is based suggests that the last point in *The Barnhart Concise Dictionary of Etymology* (1995) – that the sense of one who furthers his cause by the use of terror being first recorded in English in 1866 – is not fully correct. There are many instances in newspapers and other sources that record this kind of meaning as appearing much earlier.

suffixes 'ism' and 'ist' on the end of the verb terror creates two new nouns and this is important because it relates to a more general development in language, which is to categorise and describe what people were experiencing as societies that were becoming increasingly more complex and enabled people to better orientate themselves in these new social formations. Part of this involved an increase in the use of these suffixes in the 1500s which represents, in a small way, part of a transformation that European societies were undergoing in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That is, the greater use of suffixes, which are specifically used to create words that categorise, shows that there was, at the time of the increase in their use a greater social need for categorisation, as more emphasis was being placed upon detached forms of thinking in conjunction with increasingly longer and more complex chains of interdependency, and a broadening of the social division of functions in England, France, the rest of Europe and globally. In other words, the increased use of suffixes like 'ism' and 'ist' form part of a wider process of 'scientificisation'. The words 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' are, therefore, parts of a process intended to generate better understanding of human affairs and therefore, to categorise particular forms of social behaviour. However, they were not developed within a vacuum of rational thought but within the cauldron of inter- and intra-state rivalries and conflict, which meant that their categorising function was soon to be as a form of stigmatisation and delegitimisation. In this way, certain 'outsider' enemies were categorised in a way that aimed to demean and dehumanise them.

The idea that the concepts of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' had and still have social functions is of great relevance, even though this fact is more often than not missing from almost all of the research on 'terrorism'. Related to this but on a more general level Elias (2009. 65–66.) examined the significance of the development of the suffixes 'ism' and 'ist', and their use as parts of words intended to convey new social ideals. He pointed out the idea that people today have social ideals is so obvious that no one asks what social conditions were required to make it possible and meaningful for people to have social ideals. He added that because people are so heavily involved in various ways for their social ideals against others, they become blind to the social functions that such ideals have. He said:

> *'One can see the problem better if one looks back to the age of the early sociologists. In their time, social ideals such as liberalism, conservatism, radicalism, socialism, communism and others appeared as something new. It was the [19th century] first century of the great 'isms'. The social beliefs which played so large a part in the approaches to society of the early sociologists were not necessarily identical with the nascent mass beliefs of their age, but although often more sophisticated, they were functionally related to them. One of the main levers for the study of society undertaken by the early sociologists was their desire to contribute, with the help of their studies, to the clarification of the aims, the programmes of action, the banners behind which social groups in society at large marched and rallied in their concerns with each other. One of the main motives in studying the past development of society was that of proving scientifically with the help of factual evidence that one's aims for the future were right.'* (Elias 2009. 65–66.)

As Elias mentioned, there were different social groups in the nineteenth century that had different ideals, which were often represented by words ending in 'ism' and 'ist'. These social groups developed concepts and words to represent in some ways the antitheses of their social ideals, and among those terms would have been words such as 'barbarism' and 'terrorism'. These two examples would have performed specific functions in helping to define the social positions of the groups deploying them, as well as the social positions of their enemies and rivals, as they

saw them. As already mentioned, the concept of 'terrorism' developed as part of a social need to categorise specific kinds of enemies by established groups. Those enemies have often tended to be groups who were opposed to established groups, such as working class organisations, groups from colonised countries, rival nation-states and so on. We can see these processes in motion in the period soon after the concept of 'terrorism' was first coined.

The earliest use of the concepts of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist'

As far as is understood, the concepts of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' first emerged during and immediately after the 1789 French Revolution and were used by and in relation to Maximilien Robespierre and his Jacobins as they implemented what they called the *regime de la terreur* (reign of terror) in 1793-94. Walter Laqueur (2001: 6) has pointed out that a French dictionary published in 1796 suggested that the Jacobins first used the terms in a 'positive' sense to describe themselves during the reign of terror. However, after the '*Thermidorian* reaction and the fall of Robespierre in July 1794, the terms 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' began to be used in a negative way. Laqueur wrote:

> '...[T]he meaning of terrorism was given in the 1798 supplement of the Dictionnaire of the Académie Française as système, regime de la terreur. According to a French dictionary pub-lished in 1796, the Jacobins had on occasion used the term when speaking and writing about themselves in a positive sense; after the 9th of Thermidor, terrorist became a term of abuse with criminal implications.' (Laqueur 2001.6.)

That change in meaning is significant and the delegitimising 'criminal' implications that the term 'terrorism' developed have been central to its function ever since.

There are other important but related issues concerning the sociogenesis of the concept of 'terrorism' not least its relationship to the concept of 'civilisation' which manifested through the concept of 'virtue'. Accordingly, during his brief rule, Robespierre claimed that 'Terror' was a legitimate and virtuous aid to ruling. The aim of the *régime de la terreur* was to intimidate, and in many cases put to death those thought to oppose the Revolution, and to help consolidate the power of the revolutionaries. Robespierre in 1794 suggested: '…[V]irtue, without which terror[2] is evil; terror, without which virtue is helpless… Terror is nothing but justice, prompt, severe and inflexible; it is therefore an emanation of virtue.' (1794, cited in Hoffman 2006. 3.).

Political scientists, Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (2007. 101.), point out that the apparatus which helped enable the *régime de la terreur* was set up early on in the Revolution, in 1789. The *Comité des recherché,* they say, was created to uncover counter-revolutionary conspira-cies. It was the precursor to the *Comité de sûreté générale*, which was instigated to administer the *régime de la terreur*. They point out the following:

> 'The Terror was...part and parcel of the Revolution: 'Launched to exterminate the aristocracy, the Terror had become a tool for crushing villains and fighting crime,' Gueniffey observes. 'It had become an integral component of the Revolution, inseparable from it, because only

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[2] Of course the word used here by Robespierre is "terror". The terms terrorism and terrorist were, however, also used at the same time by the French and the English to describe the régime de la terreur and its protagonists.

terror could ultimately bring about a republic of citizens...If the Republic of free citizens was not yet possible, it was men, warped by their history, remained evil; through Terror, the Revolution—history as yet unwritten and brand-new—would make a new kind of man.' (Chaliand – Blin 2007. 102.)

What Chaliand and Blin are describing is what today is often designated as 'state terrorism'. As such, it is unsurprising to discover that many 'terrorism' theorists refer to the reign of terror as an example of this kind of state violence.

The early relationship between 'terrorism' and 'civilisation'

However, it is through Robespierre and the idea of virtue, together with the French reform movement that we can see a very early relationship between 'terrorism' and 'civilisation'. Correspondingly, Robespierre's claim that terror emanates from virtue helps to show that there is a direct connection between the concepts of 'civilisation' and 'terrorism' through their relationship to the idea of virtue and the French reform movement. Crucially, as Elias (2000) pointed out, shortly after the Revolution the concept of 'civilisation' moved to the foreground as a 'rallying cry' for French aspirations and colonisation. But the concept was not one of the slogans of the Revolution, unlike Robespierre's famous line about the virtues of terror. However, the concept of 'civilisation' was still closely linked to the Revolution. The term was first coined in the second half of the eighteenth century prior to the Revolution by the French Physiocrat, Victor Mirabeau (otherwise known as the elder Mirabeau and whose son – Honoré Mirabeau – was a revolutionary) as part of the moderate opposition movement against the *ancien regime*. It was, as Elias (2000. 38.) has explained, part of a more general social criticism of governments' irrationalities in the face of social dynamics, at a time when the Physiocrats began to regard societies as having their own internal dynamics and that kings, governments and rulers were unable to regulate all human affairs, and as such, they argued, a more 'rational' form of governing was required.

The development of the word 'civilisation', according to Elias (2000. 39.), involved a 'transformation of the earlier civilisé into a noun, helping to give a meaning that transcended individual usage.' He suggested (2000. 39.) that Mirabeau contended that 'genuine civilisation' stood between 'barbarism' and a 'false, decadent civilisation' and that it was the role of a more 'rational' government to steer a course between the two. He went on to say that the concept of 'civilisation' increased in usage as the reform movement in France gained pace. It was the case, however, that reformist middle-class thinkers in France who were using the term 'civilisation' understood it as something not complete and that needed to be taken further. They thought that the masses needed to be 'civilised'.

A key part of the Physiocrats' concept of 'civilisation' was the ideal of virtue, which, as Elias (2000. 433.) pointed out, the emerging bourgeoisie counter-posed to the courtly frivolity of the courtly-aristocratic upper class. Relatedly, as we have seen, Robespierre claimed that virtue was helpless without 'terror', and, in fact, that terror emanated from virtue. Therefore, for him, 'terrorism' was a way of implementing and defending many of the values that had come under the umbrella of 'civilisation'. Discussing the sociogenesis of 'civilisation', Elias quotes Mirabeau on how he linked the concept of 'civilisation' to virtue:

'If they were asked what civilization is, most people would answer: softening of manners, urbanity, politeness, and a dissemination of knowledge such that propriety is established in place of laws of detail: all that only presents me with the mask of virtue and not its face, and civilization does nothing for society if it does not give it both the form and the substance of virtue.' (Mirabeau, 1760s cited in Elias *2000. 34.).*

We can see, therefore, that the concepts of 'civilisation' and 'terrorism' were born of the same movements – the related French reform and revolutionary movements of the latter half of the eighteenth century. The two concepts, at their birth, were inextricably linked. However, whereas 'civilisation' referred to a gradual process, 'terrorism' or the *régime de la terreur* was much more closely related to the most violent and radical aspects of the Revolution and in fact was used as a system to help force reform during some of the bloodiest years of the Revolution. In this sense, the two concepts are quite dissimilar: 'civilisation' meaning a gradual reform and 'terrorism' being a system with which to implement revolutionary reform, albeit in order to 'civilise' the population. Nevertheless, the use of violence and/or 'terrorism' to defend or expand 'civilisation' has been a common theme over the past 200 years. However, the defence or expansion of 'civilisation' through violent means must be understood in the context of established-outsider relations, and that the functional use of the concept of 'terrorism' only tends to be deployed successfully against a group or groups that rebel against 'civilisation'.

Accordingly, Elias (2000. 42.) has shown that, as the Revolution became more moderate, in the years immediately after the *régime de la terreur*, 'civilisation' came to be used as a 'rallying cry throughout the world'. He (2000. 43.) pointed out that in 1798 when Napoleon began his campaign of Egypt he was said to have shouted the following to his troops: 'Soldiers, you are undertaking a conquest with incalculable consequences for civilization.' This, said Elias, showed that nation-states, like France, now understood the process of 'civilisation' to be complete in their own societies and that this process needed to be exported to others; that they had a mission to 'civilise' the rest of the world.

Napoleon's Egypt mission can be regarded as one of the earliest examples, other than those already undertaken in France itself during the Revolution, of what have been referred to as 'civilising offensives' (see Van Krieken 1999, 2011) whereby established groups seek, often through violent means, to impose what they regard as 'civilisation' on groups they see as inferior and 'barbaric'. It may be useful to consider the idea that Robespierre's *régime de la terreur*, his 'terrorism', might be counted as a 'civilising offensive'. In this sense, Robespierre was seeking to 'civilise' the French people through 'terrorism'. In addition, the backlash against later European 'civilising missions' by rebellious peoples who had been colonised has often been referred to as 'terrorism'. This helps to highlight how the concepts of 'civilisation' and 'terrorism' have remained bound together since their inception – taken from the perspective of established groups in Western Europe, rebellious, colonised peoples have committed 'terrorism' against 'civilisation'.

Britain, terrorism and civilisation

The roots of the concept of 'terrorism' are clearly in France, as are the roots of the concept of 'civilisation'. However, the sociogenesis of both concepts can be observed in Britain. Accord-

ingly, the development of the concept of 'civilisation' was not limited to France. It also developed among established groups in other Western European countries from the end of the eighteenth century, including Britain. It did not, however, develop in other countries in isolation from each other. Ruling groups across Europe shared much in common and therefore, there was a great deal of cross-fertilisation of ideas, language (primarily French) manners, and customs among them. But the forms of 'civilisation' varied according to the structural peculiarities of each country. Jonathan Fletcher (1997. 9.), points out that the concept of 'civilisation' developed in England in much the same way that it did in France and that 'civilisation' in England referred to political, economic, technical and other social facts that originally expressed the social situation of the ruling elite of the aristocracy and parts of the bourgeoisie. Elias (2000: 428) pointed out how the process of 'civilisation' developed in England, saying that the 'English code' has features from the aristocracy fused with features from the middle-class, which include upper-class codes of good manners and middle-class codes of morals that were assimilated over a long and continuous period:

> *'Hence, when, in the course of the nineteenth century, most of the aristocratic privileges were abolished, and England with the rise of the industrial working classes became a nation-state, the English national code of conduct and affect-control showed very clearly the gradualness of the resolution of conflicts between upper and middle classes in the form, to put it briefly, of a peculiar blend between a code of good manners and a code of morals.' (Elias 2000. 428.).*

It is at least partially the case that the resolution of conflicts between the upper and middle classes in Britain over a gradual timeframe helped to immunise Britain from potential revolution in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the context of the French Revolution and the debates in Britain over its merits need to be understood, for the purposes here, in relation to the great historic rivalry between France and Britain. The enmity between the two countries and the pre-nation-state territories that were to become Britain and France, stretches back many hundreds of years. These rivalries, which included the so-called 'Hundred Years War' and the 'Second Hundred Years War', played a major part in the development of the two distinct nation-states and, by the time the boundaries of France and Britain had become more or less fixed in their current geographies, and by the time of the French Revolution, the two were great rivals not only on the European stage but on the world stage. Therefore, the way in which the British ruling elites viewed the Revolution must be understood in this context of long-term rivalries and conflict. In fact, in the years just prior to the Revolution, there was a growing sense in France of imminent war with Britain.

War between Britain and France broke out while the French Revolution was at its height, shortly after the execution of Louis XVI and just before Robespierre's *régime de la terreur,* in 1793 and lasted until 1802. The war was a direct result of the Revolution, which France had to defend at home and, as discussed, was attempting to export abroad.

As mentioned, in Britain there was a great deal of support for the French Revolution and its principles to begin with. The prominent Whig, Charles James Fox, is perhaps one of the best known politicians who supported the Revolution. Eric Hobsbawm (2011. 103.) has pointed out that there was a great deal of support for the Revolution in Britain from educated elites, including poets such as 'Wordsworth, Blake, Coleridge, Robert Burns and Southey'; scientists including the chemist 'Joseph Priestly and several members of the distinguished Birmingham

Lunar Society'; 'technologists and industrialists like Wilkinson, the ironmaster, and Thomas Telford, the engineer'. Other notable supporters included Thomas Paine and Mary Wollstonecraft.

Despite this support, the most powerful established political and military groups in European countries saw the French Revolutionaries as enemies. The official government stance in Britain, including that of King George III, was opposed to what was happening across the Channel. This is borne out by the wars during that period between France and Britain and other European powers. During this nine-year period of war, Britain had been allied against the French at various times with Austria, Holland, most of Italy, Prussia, Russia and Spain. As such, the attitudes of the British establishment towards France and the Revolution have to be taken in the context of these wars. As has been shown, these attitudes differed from outright support of the Revolution to total opposition. The official British government line was the latter and this is best exemplified by the famous Whig politician Edmund Burke, who's views on the French Revolutionaries typified the views of a large part of the British ruling elite in this regard. Relatedly and importantly for the purposes here, Burke can also be credited as one of the earliest examples of a member of the British establishment using the word 'terrorist(s)'.

Burke was no supporter of the old aristocratic order but at the same time regarded the French revolutionaries as tyrannical, and even went as far as describing revolutionary France as a 'barbarian power' that could no longer be accepted among Europe's 'civilised states'. For Burke, the revolutionaries were totally 'uncivilised', whereas, for him 'civilisation' did exist in the old order. Burke made clear his criticism of the Revolution in 1790 in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (2009). Later, in 1795, when discussing the revolutionaries in a letter to the Earl Fitzwilliam, Burke refers to events in 1793 and the way in which the Jacobins helped to consolidate their rule in France, and said:

> To secure them further, they have a strong corps of irregulars, ready armed. Thousands of those Hell-hounds called Terrorists, whom they had shut up in Prison on their last Revolution, as the Satellites of Tyranny, are let loose on the people. The whole of their Government, in its origination, in its continuance, in all its actions, and in all its resources, is force; and nothing but force. A forced constitution, a forced election, a forced subsistence, a forced requisition of soldiers, a forced loan of money. (Burke 1999. 358–359.).

Burke was speaking in 1795 during which time war between Britain and France was at its height. His comments, however, were in the context of a potential peace-making with France, which he called 'a Regicide peace' after the fact that the revolutionaries had executed Louis XVI. When speaking of France in this context, Burke was clearly speaking of an enemy. His opposition to the Revolution more generally and especially the tactics used by the Jacobins during the *régime de la terreur* compounds this. It would seem to contemporary eyes that his use of the term 'terrorists' adds to the other stigmatising words he used to describe the revolutionaries, such as 'hell-hounds', and elsewhere as 'robbers' and 'murderers'. However, closer inspection reveals that his use of the term 'terrorists' was emulating the Jacobins use of the term to describe a certain section of their enforcers of the Revolution. In fact, as Laqueur (2001. 6.) pointed out, it seems at that time that the word 'terrorists' did not have quite the pejorative notions that it was later to take on. But the concept of 'terrorists' at this stage, and in Burke's hands was clearly used as the name of a group onto which a huge amount of stigmatising and delegitimising language was thrown. It was also used, when referring specifically to the Jacobins, against a group that by 1795 had

increasingly reduced power chances compared to more established groups in Britain and France.

Accordingly, there were a great many instances in which Burke used stigmatising, delegitimising and dehumanising language to describe the revolutionaries. For example, in the above quote, he calls them 'Hell-hounds'. Elsewhere he called them 'regicides', 'robbers', 'murderers', 'ruffians', 'thieves', 'assassins' and described their actions as 'crimes' and 'savage'. In addition, Burke stated the following opinion of the Revolutionary Committee in Paris:

> '*The Costume of the Sansculotte Constitution of 1793 was absolutely insufferable. The Committee for Foreign Affairs were such slovens, and stunk so abominably, that no Muscadin Ambassador of the smallest degree of delicacy of nerves could come within ten yards of them...*' (Burke 1999. 339.).

Burke's claims that his French revolutionary enemies smelled badly, is an example of a commonly used attempt at stigmatising outsiders by established groups. For example, in the eighteenth century during efforts to differentiate themselves from bourgeois groups, aristocrats would often refer to something they disapproved of as having the stench of the bourgeoisie. The claim that outsider groups are unclean is discussed by Elias. He (1994. xxvii) pointed out that when the power margins between established and outsider groups are great enough, established groups tend to experience outsiders as 'unruly breakers of norms' and as unclean. In addition, he added that there is a widespread feeling among established groups in this context, that contact with outsiders will contaminate them with both dirt and anomie 'rolled into one'.

This can be seen in the relationship between Burke, the social group he represented and the French revolutionaries, which was complex and multi-layered, but nevertheless, represented a clear example of the deployment of stigmatising language in the context of established-outsider relations. Burke's enemies, the Sansculottes (literally translated as without knee breeches), were an urban movement mostly from the labouring poor, and included small-scale entrepreneurs, craftsmen, artisans and shopkeepers (Hobsbawm 2011. 84.). They organised themselves through the 'sections' of Paris and political clubs. They were, says Hobsbawm (2011. 84.), 'the main striking force of the Revolution – the actual demonstrators, rioters, constructors of barricades'.

The Sansculottes, in terms of social stratification, existed between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat but were generally poor (Hobsbawm 2011. 84.). They represented an outsider group in relation to Burke who was a member of the established political elite in Britain. In this sense, there would have been a significantly large power differential between groups that Burke belonged to and the Sansculottes. But established-outsider relations, in this case, extend even further, in that Burke was a member of the English Parliament, and the Sansculottes were French, meaning that, for Burke the Sansculottes were outsiders in two ways – because they were of a lower social standing and because they were foreigners, i.e. French.

This only partially helps to explain the established-outsider relations that existed between members of the British political elite like Burke and the Sansculottes. As has already been made clear, France and Britain were great rivals and, as such, there were complex established-outsider relations involved between the two countries, and on the part of which stigmatising language was often deployed. In this case, however, the power differentials were relatively small. Given this, the increased power potential of the Sansculottes during the Revolution, although not huge, was enough to even up the balance a little between them and the British political elites of which Burke was a member.

Therefore, Burke's claim that the Sansculottes 'stank' can be seen as an attempt to stigma-

tise an outsider group that was gaining relatively greater power-potential in relation to Burke's established British political elite, which shared a great deal more in common with members of the French nobility and higher echelons of the French bourgeoisie, such as the *Noblesse de Robe* and the *Noblesse d' épée*. In this sense 'functional democratisation' was occurring across nation-states, as well as within them and as a result putting pressure on established groups to respond to perceived and real threats to their status. In *On the Process of Civilization (2012),* Elias discusses how the upper classes used similar stigmatising tactics when they were under pressure from below by the bourgeoisie. With respect to the upper classes Elias pointed out that: 'Anything that touches their embarrassment-threshold smells bourgeois, is socially inferior; and inversely, anything bourgeois touches their embarrassment-threshold.' (Elias 2000. 422.)

Burke's attempts at stigmatising the revolutionaries did not stop at claiming that they smelt. He also regarded them as criminals. In 1793, he wrote that the revolutionaries were the 'most dreadful gang of robbers and murderers that were ever embodied' (1999. 55.). In other words, Burke stigmatised the French Revolutionary 'terrorists' as having a terrible smell and as being barbaric criminals. 'Terrorism', therefore, very early on, become associated with what are considered to be some of the worst and most animalic aspects of people.

It is clear that Burke found the revolutionaries to be 'uncivilised' and the language he used against them was a clear attempt to devalue their human worth and legitimacy. This is significant for a number of reasons, not least because, although 'civilisation' was not one of the watchwords of the Revolution, its close relationship to the concept of virtue which was, shows that, on the one hand, the French revolutionaries saw their revolution as an extension of virtue (and therefore 'civilisation') but on the other hand, powerful members of the British establishment regarded their actions as the opposite of 'civilised' behaviour. In other words, who is 'civilised' depends on which side one is on – the revolutionaries regarded themselves as 'civilised', yet a large proportion of the British establishment, including Burke saw them as barbaric. Equally, who is a 'terrorist' also depends on which side one is on. The saying: 'one person's terrorist is another's freedom fighter' is pertinent in this respect.

In discussing the dangers of being conquered by France, Burke claimed that it was 'civilised' countries that would be conquered. He stated:

> 'This is the only power in Europe by which it is possible we should be conquered. To live under the continual dread of such immeasurable evils is itself a grievous calamity. To live without the dread of them is to turn the danger into disaster. The influence of such a France is equal to a war; its example, more wasting than an hostile irruption. The hostility with any other power is separable and accidental; this power, by the very condition of its existence, by its very essential constitution, is in a state of hostility with us, and with all civilized people.'(Burke 1999. 122.).

Burke's claim that revolutionary France was at war with 'civilised' people shows how the concept of 'civilisation' is relative to established-outsider relations – on the one hand revolutionary France is seeking to spread 'virtue' and 'civilisation' among its people and later seeks to export those ideals abroad; on the other hand this is seen by France's enemies as an attack on 'civilisation'. In many respects, these 'inter-state figurations' can be regarded as a 'clash of civilisations' between the British establishment version of 'civilisation' and the revolutionary French version.

We can see how the 'terrorism'-'civilisation' dichotomy has persisted since Burke, whose claims were echoed more than 200 years later, albeit in a slightly different context. In a speech

about 'jihadist terrorism' shortly after the attacks on London's transport system in July 2005, the then British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, said the following:

> *'What we are confronting here is an evil ideology. It is not a clash of civilisations – all civilised people, Muslim or other, feel revulsion at it. But it is a global struggle and it is a battle of ideas, hearts and minds... This is the battle that must be won, a battle not just about the terrorist methods but their views. Not just their barbaric acts, but their barbaric ideas.' (BBC News online, 2005).*

The similarities in Burke's and Blair's rhetoric in both cases show an attempt to delegitimise an outsider group, which exemplifies that the concept of 'terrorism' should be understood as a relational one, as part of established-outsider processes and as a means to stigmatise and delegitimise outsider groups. It has developed, in this context, and is still used today, in antithesis to the concept of 'civilisation'.

The context in which Burke used the word 'terrorists' is as important as the fact that the concept began to take on negative connotations in France relatively soon after it was coined. That is, the concepts of 'terrorism' and 'terrorists' developed negative connotations early on in both intra-state relations in France and inter-state relations between France and Britain. Later on, in nineteenth century Britain the concepts were used in stigmatising ways to describe, among others, rebellious Irish Catholics, trades unionists, reform groups such as the Chartists, anarchists and others that established groups saw as a threat.

The sociogenesis of the concept of 'terrorism' relative to the concept of 'civilisation' in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, during which time it became a term of abuse and delegitimisation, can also been seen in texts, other than Burke's, including British newspapers. This is an important development in the concept, as it shows that in certain circles it was becoming relatively well known. For example, both 'terrorism' and 'terrorists' are used in the context of the Napoleonic wars to describe the actions of Napoleon and the French, and very often refer to the implementation by Napoleon of 'systems of terrorism', which obviously relates closely to the *régime de la terreur* during Robespierre's rule. For example, the Scottish Caledonian Mercury on 7th January, 1809, reported a letter from Spain stating that a 'system of terrorism' is likely to be put in place in Madrid by Napoleon and the occupying French. This again highlights the idea of a clash of 'civilisations' as part of the British and French inter-state relations at the time. On the one hand Napoleon was fighting for France and for 'civilisation', but for established groups in Britain his implementation of 'civilisation' amounted to 'terrorism'.

However, as already mentioned, the sociogenesis of the concept of 'terrorism' in relation to the concept of 'civilisation' also developed in relationships outside of the immediate contexts of the French Revolution. The concepts' interdependent relationship expanded in the context of British-Irish relations. Accordingly, the sociogenesis of the concept of 'terrorism', involved a shift in its meaning from being solely related to the French Jacobins, other French revolutionaries and Napoleon, to a more general concept in Britain, which was applied to groups that rebelled against the British establishment.

The structural context of nineteenth century British-Irish terrorism figurations

The concepts of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' first appear in the context of Britain's relationship to Ireland around 40 years after the 1789 French Revolution. The use of the terms were used to describe rebellious Irish Catholics and this was a continuation of the process of its becoming a more general term that involved calling enemies with relatively fewer power chances, terrorists.

Inter- and intra-state processes on a variety of levels have been fundamental to the conflicts involving the British establishment and Irish Catholics and, as such, to the sociogenesis of terrorism in relation to these two groups. As such, inter-state competition between Britain and its rivals and consequently the monopolisation of physical force and taxation over increasingly larger areas by the rulers of Britain have been crucial to these processes. Again, the relations between the British establishment and its French counterparts are prominent with respect to Britain's relations with Ireland. The fact that centripetal monopolisation forces[3] were in the ascendency in Europe from the eleventh century has to be considered for the purposes here in relation to the competition between the rulers of what was to become France and what was to become England and later Britain. At times, for example, single rulers ruled areas that encompassed parts of what is now France and what is now Britain simultaneously. Both of these countries had developed the characteristics of nation-states by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, meaning that the populations in the geographical areas called 'France' and 'Britain' came under the control of centralised, monopolistic governing structures in the guise of monarchs and parliaments, and that the apparatuses of physical force and taxation were under the control of these centralised authorities. However, this did not mean that competition was over; there were still inter-state pressures, particularly between these two powerful nation-states. That pressure, as we have seen already, culminated in wars between the two countries following the French Revolution and a rejection of the principles of the Revolution in Britain by a significant proportion of the establishment. Furthermore, the competition between the two countries also encouraged them both, at various times, to increase their monopolies of violence and taxation to other jurisdictions – a process which is often referred to as colonisation. Britain, for example,

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[3] Elias (2000. 268.) points out that if one side of this monopoly process collapses then the other will follow. He also argued that societies tend to be balanced between centrifugal forces and centripetal forces. The former are decentralizing and dis-unifying, whereas the latter are monopolizing and centralizing. Until the 11th century in Europe centrifugal forces were in the ascendency. However, from that period centripetal forces became dominant. According to Elias, monopoly processes of violence and taxation can be summarized as follows:

'If, in a major social unit, a large number of the smaller social units which, through their interdependence, constitute the larger one, are of roughly equal social power and are thus able to compete freely – unhampered by free existing monopolies – for the means to social power, i.e. primarily the means of subsistence and production, the probability is high that some will be victorious and others vanquished, and that gradually, as a result, fewer and fewer will control more and more opportunities, and more and more units will be eliminated from the competition, becoming directly or indirectly dependent on an ever-decreasing number. The human figuration caught up in this movement, will therefore, unless countervailing measures are taken, approach a state in which all opportunities are controlled by a single authority: a system with open opportunities will become a system of closed opportunities.' (Elias 2000. 269.)

So for Elias, central to these processes are competitive pressures between different social groups, although, he points out that in reality there are a number of additional complexities that can add to the processes, such as a number of smaller groups overcoming a single larger one, and so on.

expanded its monopoly of violence and taxation to Catholic Ireland in part, at least, to help protect itself from invasion from Catholic France. We can see here, therefore, that the competitive interdependent relationships between Britain and France played a significant role in the relationship between Britain and Ireland. Accordingly, all three countries formed part of the same inter-state figuration, in which some people were labelled as acting according to the then designation of 'terrorism'. That came about as Britain attempted to increase its monopolisation of physical force and taxation to include Ireland. However, it was never able to fully subdue the rebellious (predominantly Catholic) Irish in the same way that other groups had been brought under monopolistic control in the rest of Britain. The resultant designation as 'terrorists' of those who did rebel forms part of attempts to stigmatise and delegitimise those who rebelled, in some cases violently and in others non-violently. We can see here the connection between, on the one hand, inter-state processes between Britain and France and the development of 'terrorism' in antithesis to 'civilisation'. The British establishment, driven by inter-state pressures, tried to pacify Irish Catholics in the name of 'civilisation'.

Conclusion

Understanding 'terrorism' and 'civilisation' in this relational sense is perhaps one of the few regularities that can be associated with 'terrorism' over the long-term. For example, we can see very similar established-outsider relations at play in more recent examples of 'terrorism' figurations to those discussed above. That is, in contemporary Britain (and elsewhere) there are groups who are called 'terrorists' that are said to be an affront to 'civilisation'. However, those same groups may not regard themselves as 'terrorists' but may even consider that they are defending their equivalent of 'civilisation' against 'barbarous' forces. Accordingly, when established groups refer to groups like the Islamic State as 'terrorists' and despite the horrific acts that this groups undertakes, the relationship between a self-styled 'civilised' established group and an outsider group that has been labelled as 'terrorists' should be taken into account. That the outsider group then acts according to the specific designation of 'terrorism' in that particular time and place is also a part of the same established-outsider power relations involved in these processes. Correspondingly, the labelling of a group as 'terrorist' as opposed to those who consider themselves 'civilised' is part of the same 'double-bind' process that involves the 'brutal' acts that are said to constitute 'terrorism'. It is the established-outsider relations that should be the focus of social scientific attention rather than trying to seek some kind of 'causal' reason for 'terrorism', as is often the case.

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With this in mind, as we have seen, inter- and intra-state processes involving Britain and France and later Ireland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were fundamental to the development of the concepts of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist'. This shows that the phenomenon must be understood in relational terms rather than as a thing, as normative approaches to terrorism suggest it should be. Accordingly, a major difference between a sociological approach that examines long-term processes and much of the social scientific work that has gone before on 'terrorism' is that the latter tends to lack what Elias (2007. 152.) referred to as adequate levels of detachment and that many social scientists tend to project the standards

and values of their own time onto people of the past. This has led them to argue that so-called 'modern terrorism' began with European anarchists (see Lizardo 2006; Rapoport 2004) because the tactics that European anarchists used bear some similarity to the tactics used by some present-day 'terrorists'.

Elias (2007. 154.) argued that a sociological approach requires a greater degree of detachment and higher level of synthesis. This means that research should be focused on longer-term developments, which tend to concentrate on timeframes beyond the scope of most work undertaken by those who research 'terrorism'.

Therefore, a historical or developmental sociological approach can produce knowledge that has a higher degree of 'reality congruence' and is also testable. Accordingly, an investigation of the 'sociogenesis' of the concept of 'terrorism' can reveal a great deal, including how normative uses of the concept have developed over time, and at the same time uncovers some of the wider structural processes (such as inter- and intra-state relations) at play that, at least in part, contribute to what is understood to be 'terrorism' in normative senses. Such an approach avoids 'essentialising' 'terrorism', as many mainstream terrorism theories (see Schmid – Jongman 2006; Pearlstein 1991; Crenshaw 2000; Laqueur 2000; Bjorgo 2005; Wilkinson 2006; Horgan 2005; Weinberg – Pedahzur – Hirsch-Hoefler 2004; Juergensmeyer 2006; Merari 1999; Gupta 2005 for example) tend to, and at the same time steers a course clear of more highly relativistic understandings of 'terrorism' that are often evident in social constructivist and post-structuralist approaches (see Oliverio 1998; Jackson – Smyth – Gunning 2009; Baudrillard 2001, for example). The point made in this paper is that 'terrorism' should be regarded as a relational concept that is very much related to the concept of 'civilisation' in the context of established-outsider relations.   ✳

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A Short Introduction to Happiness in Social Sciences

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Abstract

This article explores aspects of sociological and economical approaches to happiness research. It will first look at how the discipline of sociology has engaged with happiness research so far and what some of the future directions could be; and it will then look into the discipline of happiness economics (or behavioural economics as it is sometimes referred to), as it is one of the social sciences that have engaged with happiness research in ways that move beyond the traditional concerns in economics.

Keywords   happiness, wellbeing, happiness economics, social indicators, positive psychology, interdisciplinary research

Introduction

A significant body of research on happiness has emerged in recent years with scholars from different social scientific disciplines starting to express an academic interest in this topic. Considered one of the few examples of successful interdisciplinary research (Frey – Stutzer 2007), happiness studies have grown as a substantive field since the second half of the 20th century[1]. With a burgeoning body of literature, it would be beyond the limitations imposed by this article to review all of the key themes, concerns and controversies that have emerged and developed. This paper aims to be located in the field of existing sociological research, but also in the broader happiness literature, and thus it explores aspects of sociological and economical approaches to happiness research.

Despite the relative young age of the field of happiness studies, the last three decades have seen an exponential increase in the interest in happiness and wellbeing expressed by academics in different social scientific disciplines. The majority of studies in the field use the concept of *happiness* or *subjective wellbeing* as the objects of their inquiry, with an initial wave of academic literature focusing on correlates of happiness and social indicators. Happiness research shows a problematic divide between the two methodological approaches – qualitative and quantitative – which is not just in sociology, but also across the different social sciences implicated in happiness research. On the one hand, quantitative studies generally seek to measure happiness on a societal level across geography and across time periods – these can be transversal or longitudinal studies. On the other hand, qualitative studies include other variables, like culture, identity or emotions and seek to explore everyday experiences of happiness – this type of literature is scarce, but in recent years scholars have expressed an increasing interest in this type of exploration (see Hyman 2014 and Cieslik 2013). The lack of qualitative research is seen by some to be a good reason for sociologists to engage with and contribute to the field of happiness studies (Bartram 2011). Finally, there is one last characteristic that distinguishes the conceptual approaches in this article from the majority of studies on happiness, and that is questioning the rhetoric of 'the *science* of happiness'. Scholars across the social sciences seem to take the concept of 'science' for granted, without much room for debate as to whether happiness studies constitute a science or not. The University of California, Berkeley offers a course titled 'The Science of Happiness' (starting September 2014), while MIT[2] offered a course titled 'The Art and Science of Happiness' (2013), so in this case it is presented as both science and art. Furthermore, a search on Google Scholar for 'science of happiness' returns a large number of scholarly articles and books with both 'science' and 'happiness' in the title, and even the papers that offer a critique of the field or some critique of positive psychology[3] still do not question whether happiness studies can indeed be categorised as a 'science'. However, this article does not attempt to make the case for or against happiness studies as being a science, but rather open the subject to further debate.

For the remainder of this article, I will first look at how the discipline of sociology has engaged with happiness research so far and what some of the future directions could be; and

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[1]   In 1948, the World Health Organization (WHO) published the *Constitution of World Health Organization*, where it defined health as a 'a state of complete physical, mental, and social well being not merely the absence of disease or infirmity', and also proposed and developed ways of measuring and promoting the quality of life of people around the globe. (WHO 1948; Cieslik 2013).

[2]   Massachusetts Institute of Technology

[3]   Miller 2008.

second I will look into the discipline of happiness economics (or behavioural economics as it is sometimes referred to), as it is one of the social sciences that have engaged with happiness research in ways that move beyond the traditional concerns in economics (Cieslik 2013).

Happiness in Sociology

Turning a blind eye

The *Oxford Handbook of Happiness* (2014) edited by Susan David, Ilona Boniwell, and Amanda Conley Ayers, is a thick book of 1104 pages, described in the Oxford University Press catalogue as '[t]he most comprehensive handbook on happiness ever published, exploring psychological, philosophical, evolutionary, economic, and spiritual approaches to happiness in a single volume'. Searching the volume for the words 'sociology' or 'sociological' would return 20 results, almost all relating to names of university departments (e.g. *School of Sociology and Social Policy*), or to journal names in the bibliography section (e.g. *American Journal of Sociology*). It is, perhaps, at least peculiar that '[t]he most comprehensive handbook on happiness ever published' does not include any sociological research, critique or outlook on happiness. Similarly, the six volume set *Wellbeing: A Complete Reference Guide* (Wiley-Blackwell 2014) edited by Cary Cooper has no mention of sociological angles on wellbeing, and *The World Book of Happiness* (2010) edited by Leo Bormans that comprises the work of 100 researchers from 50 countries, includes but two sociological contributions.

Sociologists' reluctance and scepticism about happiness research seem odd when considered in the context of long standing philosophical traditions in this area – from Eastern philosophers and Ancient Greek stoics to Enlightenment thinkers – and also in the context of more recent psychological contributions. Writers from these traditions discuss the wishes and desires that everybody appears to have: to be happy and to enjoy life. There is perhaps 'no other goal in life that commands such a high degree of consensus' (Frey – Stutzer 2002. vi.). Moreover, early discussions about this apparent ubiquitous aspiration are presented in a larger context that, in fact, offers 'a sophisticated appreciation of the different dimensions of wellbeing that illustrate the enigma of happiness' (Cieslik 2013. 5.). Without extrapolating to all periods in human history (see Jugureanu et al. 2014. on the sociogenesis of the concept of happiness), happiness has been and is today, to some extent, a skill to be learned. Learning to live a good life and to be happy requires effort, time and dedication like any other prowess, as Aristotle attests in his Nicomachean Ethics, and the self-help industry today 'sells' happiness much within the same creed, that happiness is a practice, and a skill that can be learned. In this way, from Eastern philosophers and Greek stoics to modern day self-help gurus, life coaches, motivational speakers, and personal development professionals, what they all seem to have in common is the principle of teaching others about the skills necessary for a happy, balanced and flourishing life.

Despite its place in classic sociology (in the work of Weber, Durkheim, Marx, Simmel and Comte), the contemporary study of happiness remains both under-researched and under-represented in cross-disciplinary accounts. Although classic sociologists did not always clearly use the words 'happiness' or 'subjective wellbeing', their work often implied happiness in a certain context. Durkheim, for instance, looked at the relationship between anomie and social cohesion, and indicated that individuals should pursue happiness through a new moral order defined by community and by rituals (Durkheim 1961 [1912]); Comte, in his foundation of positivism

linked the intellectual and moral crisis with the pursuit of happiness (PLÉ 2000) and argued that people can only cultivate and attain their happiness in society (CASTRO 1997); Simmel held individualism to be the foundation for happiness (GLATZER 2000); Weber presented how life was defined by the protestant ethic and the extent to which individuals would make choices that would grant them divine redemption (WEBER 2002 [1904]); and Marx deduced that capitalism, concomitantly with alienation would make people clearly unhappy (Marx and Engels 1988).

However, sociology's scepticism towards approaching happiness as a domain of investigation can be traced to the early works of Marx and Durkheim (Cieslik 2013). Both Marx and Durkheim have argued that modern societies fabricate new wishes and needs, while encouraging an individualistic lifestyle that often equates consumerism with the key to being happy. Few contemporary sociologists (VEENHOVEN 2008; ABBOTT – WALLACE 2012; CIESLIK 2013, BARTRAM 2011) have attempted to root the dearth of sociological approaches to happiness research. CIESLIK (2013), referring to traditions in classical sociology, particularly to Marx and Durkheim's sociology, argues that '[t]hese analyses of the rise of individualism, the growth of egoistic conceptions of happiness and critiques of empiricist-reductionism theories established a powerful formula for many later sociological approaches to happiness.' (CIESLIK 2013. 5.). VEENHOVEN (2008), on the other hand, associates the absence of happiness research in sociology with three motives, which are pragmatic, ideological and theoretical. They are pragmatic because sociologists are generally concerned with human behavior rather than with emotions, ideological due to the discipline's preference for certain types of measurements (e.g. looking at social equality to measure objective wellbeing), and they are theoretical particularly due to how happiness is defined by sociologists, some consider it akin to a 'whimsical state of mind' (VEENHOVEN 2008. 44.). Indeed, a lot depends on how the researcher defines the object of study, as HYMAN (2011) observes; for sociologists, happiness appears to be an elusive emotion, a state or a process. Just like love, happiness is 'knowable only intuitively, at the level of feeling' (JACKSON 1999. 100.), it is something that humans experience at the level of the nervous system, and that makes it a subject that 'sits outside of the scope of sociological inquiry' (HYMAN 2011.106.).

Furthermore, some sociologists (MARCUSE 1964; RIEFF 1966; COHEN – TAYLOR 1976; LASCH 1979; FUREDI 2004) question both the place and the attainability of happiness in contemporary societies. Much of the prevailing criticism addresses the individualistic emphasis placed on how one becomes happy, the kind of very simplistic ways of approaching happiness perpetuated by the self-help industry and mainstream media that overlooks socio-economics conditions, but zooms in on the individual. Often, the picture of the simple ideas that people have about happiness and ways to achieve it is problematic for sociologists, as these ways are seen to corrode 'authentic political, and cultural ways of existence' (CIESLIK 2013. 4.).

Continuing the appreciation of happiness studies as 'self-help', some sociologists are inclined towards critically engaging with more 'negative' topics, like alienation or vulnerability, and view the act of researching happiness as naïve, partly due to the impression that happiness studies are a 'ground marked out by self-help writers' (BARTRAM 2011. 18.).

In recent sociology, BAUMAN (2008) in his book *The art of life*, associates happiness with good feeling and considers it to be central to his notion of liquid modernity, by virtue of underpinning the fluid and dynamic cultures. The consumerist promise of a happy life leads people to search for an elusive fulfilling way of life, as the commodified understandings of happiness are not enough, therefore people seem to be 'trapped in an endless search for a better life' (CIESLIK 2013.4.). Similarly, HOCHSCHILD (2003) also sees happiness as problematic evoking some of the

same concerns that happiness has lost its deeper sense and meanings as a result of long-term processes of commodification.

Traditionally, sociology has been known to be the study of social problems, of the structure and functioning of human society, being generally concerned with issues pertaining to the sphere of the pathological. Happiness research stems from the discipline of psychology, partly as a backlash against the prominence of 'negative' concerns, but this kind of focus on dysfunction has also characterised sociology 'where one finds a central role for concepts such as anomie, alienation, disenchantment, inequality and (more recently) vulnerability.' (Bartram 2011. 15.). Furthermore, a study of happiness, wellbeing or human flourishing appears to not sit well with any particular sociological subfield (Hyman 2011). For example, at each British Sociological Association Annual Conference of the last four years, happiness papers have been placed in different streams in search for an ideal fit, from *Medicine, Health and Illness* to *Work, Employment and Economic Life*. Arguably, happiness papers could fit in all of the streams, depending on the argument and research outlook.

Finally, scholars have also argued that happiness has actually always been a concern of societies and has been relevant to the study of society (Frawley 2012), however social scientists have only recently showed a renewed interest in happiness after a long period of being concerned with the negative. 'Sociology's blind eye'[4] for happiness can thus be explained by sociologists' long-held 'preoccupation with misery' (Veenhoven 2006. 4.), despite it having a bearing on '19th century founding fathers of sociology' (Veenhoven 2006. 3.).

How sociology can help

Despite, or perhaps because of 'sociology's blind eye for happiness', there are now few researchers who argue that the discipline of sociology has the necessary tools to correct the difficulty that happiness research is, as Reeves (2009. 24.) describes it, profoundly 'over-researched and under-theorised'. Over the past twenty years, happiness research across the social sciences has produced a large array of empirical results, from measurements and causes to correlates and determinants, however the ways in which these empirical results can be integrated into broader theoretical narratives (within sociology and social sciences more general) remain uncertain. This situation has led some to conclude that subjective wellbeing 'is often – and appropriately – viewed as an atheoretical research topic' (George 2010.332.), while others suggest that sociology, by contrast, is an academic discipline rich in theories relevant for wellbeing (Kroll 2011.). Moreover, sociologists could contribute to happiness studies by also considering the social conditions, as opposed to just an individualist position (common approach in positive psychology), as well as the inadvertent outcomes of implementing happiness research at policy level (Bartram 2011).

A number of studies refer to the increasing interest that scholars from different social sciences, especially psychology and economics have shown towards happiness and wellbeing research. At the same time, many of them suggest the need for a sociological response to the current literature, which is saturated with individualistic conceptualisations of happiness and biological views. In a review of developments in the sociology of mental health and illness, Horwitz (2002) writes:

> *Psychologists have paid far more attention to positive states of mental health than sociologists [...]. They often assert that the environment can only create short-term fluctuations in*

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[4] A phrase coined by Ruut Veenhoven (2006)

happiness, which is a stable individual or genetic trait [...]. It is time that sociologists met this challenge by examining the social determinants of positive states of well-being [...]. Happiness, no less than distress, ought to respond to changes in the social structure and culture (Horwitz 2002. 148.).

Due to the interdisciplinary characteristic of happiness studies, one could argue that sociologists would only add to the quantity of researchers in the field, and not make a distinctive contribution, however the argument is unconvincing, as there are many other interdisciplinary topics that sociologists study alongside other researchers and social scientists (Bartram 2011). Sociological accounts of happiness and of happiness studies not only fill gaps in the academic literature, but also have their place in contemporary societies, in public discourse, at policy level, and in political debates. Sociologists might be especially well suited to look into the ways in which people's perceptions of and actions on happiness vary, and analyse the observed variance with conventional sociological methods and tools – look at inequalities, power relations and other core sociological variables and concepts (Illouz 1997; Ahmed 2010). Furthermore, since 'individual characteristics alone are unlikely to provide a satisfactory account of the variation in happiness across individuals' (Firebaugh and Schroeder 2009:808), sociologists are particularly well equipped to contribute to happiness studies given their traditional emphasis on social context (Frawley 2015).

What sociology already does

The first two sections of this article looked at why sociology ignored, and how sociology can help the study of happiness. This section looks at how sociology already contributes to happiness research.

The economic and psychological approaches to happiness studies have largely informed the sociological research on happiness of the last two decades. Frawley (2015) puts together a list of scholars in the field, classified according to their research interests. For research on correlates and contributors to happiness, Frawley identifies the work of Burt and Atkinson (2011) on hobbies that lead to 'flow' – a concept first introduced by psychology professor Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1990); Hsieh (2011) on happiness, income, and the life cycle; Schnittker (2008) on genetic endowments; and Firebaugh and Shroeder (2009) on money and social comparison. Others explored happiness levels in certain populations, mostly by conducting quantitative research, for example Radcliff (2005) on union members, and Freedman et al. (2012) on older people with disabilities. And some scholars have looked at happiness and wellbeing in the context of health promotion, a topic of increasing importance – among others Cameron et al. 2006; Cropper et al. 2007; Carlisle–Hanlon 2007a, 2007b, 2008; Hanlon–Carlisle 2009; Carlisle et al. 2009; and Kobau et al. 2011.

Apart from the work produced by the above-mentioned scholars, sociological research on happiness and wellbeing continues to be published in journals like Social Indicators Research and the Journal of Happiness Studies, which are 'niche' publications (Frawley 2015), but also in special issues in more general or mainstream publications, such as the recent Sociological Research Online edited special issue on happiness studies (May 2014).

Extensive work has been done on determinants and correlates of happiness. One of the most researched areas includes correlations between income and happiness, an area influenced by studies in behavioural economics, which will be discussed in more depth in the remainder

of this paper. Other factors that influence happiness levels to a larger extent than income does include health, employment (specifically, the avoidance of unemployment), marriage or stable intimate partnership, religiosity and sociability (Bartram 2011); cross-sectional studies would often give different results than longitudinal studies. Married people or those living together with a partner in a stable relationship are happier than single people, however as people are different, for some marriage can lead to a long-lasting increase in happiness (Lucas et al. 2003), while for others happiness can decline after the initial stages of the relationship and sometimes return to the pre-relationship happiness level (Helliwell 2003). Unemployment is one of the strongest predictors that correlate inversely with happiness levels (Clark–Oswald 1994; Lucas et al. 2004). And religiosity can also influence happiness, however being moderated by a social context (Bartram 2011), and it is mostly conducive to happiness for those people who have a strong religious identity (Lim–Putnam 2010).

In terms of key demographics, there are few that make 'unambiguous independent contributions to happiness models' (Bartram 2011.8.). Bivariate analyses show that women are on average happier than men, but the difference in happiness tends to be insignificant in other more complex analyses, depending on the control variables (Dolan et al. 2008). Age also correlates with happiness levels, and a large number of studies show a U-shaped relationship, meaning happiness declines in early adulthood, and then increases after middle age. In recent years, several scholars (Safi 2010; Bartram 2011) have expressed an interest in the effect that migration has on happiness levels and found that immigrants tend to be less happy than natives; this phenomenon is difficult to explain due to it not being a straightforward causal relationship, so it can be either because migrants have unrealistic expectations about life in their new country, or because these people already experience lower happiness levels before migrating.

Apart from the key demographics, correlates and determinants reviewed in the above two paragraphs, researchers have investigated the effect of culture on happiness and wellbeing levels (Suh – Oishi 2004; Oishi et al. 1999; Uchida et al. 2004; Lu – Gilmour 2004). Most studies in this area imply broad distinctions along the individualist-collectivist axis (European/American versus East Asian). In individualist societies, happiness is dependent on variables like personal achievement and self-esteem, while in collectivist societies, happiness is defined in terms of the wellbeing of the *group* (of the family or of a close social circle) and of interpersonal connectedness.

The existing research includes many other aspects than those covered in this article and the literature is continually expanding in social sciences in general, but also in sociology in recent years. To look at some of findings in more depth, the next section looks at contributions from scholars in the discipline of behavioural economics, particularly at the Easterlin paradox and at the concept of utility in the context of happiness and wellbeing research.

Happiness economics

Contributions of the discipline

One of the most notable areas of interest to emerge from *the happiness movement* (both within academia and outside) has included correlations with wealth, measurements of economical progress and its potential detrimental consequences at societal level. These concerns have been taken into consideration by a sub-discipline in economics, namely *behavioural economics* (not equated, but sometimes referred to as *happiness economics* or *the economics of happiness*).

In economics, the 'rediscovery' of the concept of happiness can be traced back to a 1971 essay by Brickman and Campbell, titled *Hedonic Relativism and Planning the Good Society* (Bruni – Porta 2007). In their essay, Brickman and Campbell coined the term 'hedonic treadmill' (also known as hedonic adaptation) which describes the human tendency to go back to an initial and fairly stable level of happiness despite the impact of major positive or negative episodes in their lives. The 'hedonic treadmill theory' (developed later by British psychologist Michael Eysenck) accounts for one of the most common concerns in the field, namely that 'money does not bring happiness', and is based on the observation that as one's earnings increase, so do their expectations and wishes, and so there can be no lasting increase in happiness. Referring to Brickman and Campbell's essay, Bruni and Porta considered it to be 'the starting point of the new studies on happiness in relation to the economic domain' (Bruni – Porta 2007. xiv.).

A significant part of the social scientific corpus of literature on the measurement and correlates of happiness has been established in the discipline of behavioral economics. Some of the prominent academics in this discipline are economists Richard Easterlin (1974, 2001, 2010), known for the Easterlin paradox, Richard Layard (2005), whose work focused on the influence of better mental health on social and economic life, and the significance of non-income variables on aggregate happiness, Andrew Oswald (1994) who has looked at economic and social determinants of happiness and mental health, and Bruno Frey (2002) whose main interest was in the application of economic tools to happiness and wellbeing. Likewise, other social scientists also brought contributions to happiness economics, among them psychologists Martin Seligman (2002, 2011) and Daniel Kahneman (1999, 2006), who in fact won the 2002 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences, and sociologist Ruut Veenhoven (1991, 2004, 2006). The cross-disciplinary contributions to the economics of happiness can be justified given that it 'combines the techniques typically used by economists with those more commonly used by psychologists. It relies on surveys of the reported well-being of hundreds of thousands of individuals across countries and continents.' (Graham 2005. 41.).

Contemporary research into social indicators for the monitoring of societal progress has drawn attention to the importance of happiness and wellbeing measures at a national level to complement the more traditional economic measures like GDP (Hyman 2011). Following the example of Bhutan's Gross National Happiness, the UK has too developed its own Measuring National Wellbeing programme. Concurrently, a significant number of organisations are now promoting or researching happiness and wellbeing in the UK (the first country in the Western hemisphere to implement a complementary index to GDP – The Wellbeing Index – for measuring societal 'progress'). Comparable to Martin Seligman's activity in the USA, in the UK, Richard Layard has further popularised the idea that measures of what makes a good society should include, apart from those on economic growth, conceptions of wellbeing (Cieslik 2013). In consequence, Layard's work has influenced the activity of several organisations[5] in the UK, and has encouraged them to develop ways of measuring wellbeing and of talking about happiness to others.

Concerns about GDP measurements of 'progress' (Layard 2005, Easterlin 1974, Oswald 1997) shape one of the focal points of interest in the economics of happiness, with economists identifying a phenomenon that describes no correlation, and sometimes inverse correlation between increasing material wealth and happiness. This phenomenon, which was described as a paradox by Richard Easterlin in 1974, is now known as the 'Easterlin Paradox' and is based

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[5] Organisations such as Action for Happiness and the New Economics Foundation (nef).

on the observation that income increases at national levels do not correspond to increases in happiness levels. The Easterlin paradox, described as 'a touchstone of the literature' (Bartram 2011. 6.) is part of the rationale behind the increasing interest in and the 'need' for happiness studies, and has also brought in debates about interventions at policy level. Richard Layard, for example, opens the first chapter in his book *Happiness: Lessons from a New Science* with

> *There is a paradox at the heart of our lives. Most people want more income and strive for it. Yet as Western societies have got richer, their people have become no happier. (Layard 2005. 3.)*

He then attests to the accuracy of his statement, writing,

> *This is no old wives' tale. It is a fact proven by many pieces of scientific research. As I'll show, we have good ways to measure how happy people are, and all the evidence says that on average people are no happier today than people were fifty years ago. Yet at the same time average incomes have more than doubled. (Layard 2005. 3.)*

There are two statements worth taking into consideration here. The first one is the explanation of the paradox, by bringing awareness on the apparent discrepancy between people's increasingly more comfortable lives and their set levels of happiness that seemed to not have changed despite these reasons. Used this way, the Easterlin paradox is becoming instrumental in discussions at policy level about introducing alternative measures for societal progress. And the second statement is notoriously prevalent today mostly in the media, but also in academic writing in positive psychology and economics, and consists of calling attention upon *research* that is *scientific*, brings *evidence* and showcases *facts* that are *proven* about a particular matter, in this case about the paradox. In the quote above, Layard uses all these key words (that I have italicised in the previous sentence), as they give credence to his arguments right from the very beginning of his book, which was written for a general readership.

If we were to isolate the Easterlin paradox to the discipline of economics, its influence in politics and policy would perhaps be justified, but the question of the ambivalence of progress is one of the most prominent themes in discussions of modernity (Bulmahn 2000). It is not just social scientists who have asked whether the individual can lead a happier life in modern society, but also artists, composers, poets and writers. Long before Easterlin, Émile Durkheim proposed,

> *But, in fact, is it true that the happiness of the individual increases as man advances? Nothing is more doubtful. (Durkheim 1960. 241.)*

Durkheim, however, questioned this ambivalence by pointing to an essential difference between production, which can theoretically grow indefinitely and happiness, which is subjected to an upper limit. One other reason behind his logic is that considering how social change generally extends over multiple generations, some people who play a part in these social changes do not live long enough to benefit from those changes, if that were the case (Frawley 2012). Thus, Durkheim argues against utilitarian approaches to human progress and, referring to the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity and to other social changes, like the division of labour, he writes that if these changes happened solely with the purpose to increase human happiness, then happiness

would have arrived at its extreme limit long ago, just as would have the civilization that has arisen from it, and both would have come to a halt,
moreover,
[a] moderate development would have been sufficient to assure individuals the sum-total of pleasures of which they were capable. Humanity would have rapidly come to a state from which it would not have emerged. That is what happened to animals; most have not changed for centuries, because they have arrived at this state of equilibrium. (Durkheim 1960. 241.)

An initial interest among social science academics to better understand human happiness and collect data on levels and determinants of happiness has rapidly spread outside academia, in politics, leading several national governments to want to have access to such measures and use them in the monitoring of societal progress. In the UK, in November 2010, Prime Minister David Cameron announced the implementation of subjective wellbeing indicators as complementary measures to GDP (Gross Domestic Product). Six months later, such measures were included in the ONS (Office for National Statistics) Integrated Household Survey, with the general expectations to measure, in utilitarian terms, 'what matters most', as Jil Matheson, the national statistician at the time, said

[w]e must measure what matters – the key elements of national well-being. We want to develop measures based on what people tell us matters most. (Matheson 2010)

For the following section, I chose to look at the work of Bruno S. Frey and Alois Stutzer, in particular, as their 2002 book *Happiness & Economics* is the first to empirically connect happiness and economics, and also happiness and democracy. They discuss the extent to which utility and happiness are related and use findings from positive psychology, measurements of quality of life, sociological insights as well as data from political science.

Utility, happiness and subjective wellbeing

One of the central topics in the economics of happiness is that of *utility*, which is often associated with the idea that happiness is the ultimate goal of human life; this idea has been put forward by philosophers, but also by economists, starting with Aristotle who saw happiness as 'the meaning and the purpose of life, the whole aim and end of human existence', and William James who said 'How to gain, how to keep, how to recover happiness is in fact for most men at all times the secret motive for all they do' (1902:76) and ending with contemporary economists, like Richard Layard, who propose the utilitarian principle of happiness as the end goal. For many, happiness is the only value that is final and sufficient, and everything else is just a means to an end. While there is a large degree of consensus among happiness economics on this matter, that happiness is the ultimate goal of human life, others disagree and see happiness as merely one of the components of 'the good life', and distinguish other goals as being as or more important. Some of these are virtue, justice, freedom, companionship, trust and absence of pain (Frey–Stutzer 2002).

The 1930s saw a total change in the concept of utility, along with the development of a new branch of economics, *new welfare economics*. This new discipline favoured ordinal utility instead of cardinal utility to explain individual choices, so utility was to be reflected in shown beha-

viour. A few decades later, economics witnessed another 'dramatic change', as Frey and Stutzer describe it, that marked the beginning of a movement based on the idea that 'utility should be given content in terms of happiness, and that it can, and should be measured' (Frey – Stutzer 2002. 20.). The authors identify four major developments that have been conducive to this change. The first one is based on the evidence that individual preferences and individual happiness differ, mainly because observed behavior cannot be explained by self-concerned preferences alone (as it was previously theorised).

The second development is based on the fact that economists have moved away from the dependency on nonsubstantive utility, and one of the main arguments, proposed by enterprising economist Tibor Scitovsky in his book *The Joyless Economy* (1976), was that most pleasures in life are not for sale, do not have a price and cannot be bought. Today the message that life's pleasures are not for sale, paradoxically, sells in the happiness *industry* – especially when it comes to self-help or personal development.

The third development identified by Frey and Stutzer is linked to the advances in research on the concept and measurement of happiness made in psychology over the last six decades. The two authors argue that although there is virtually no connection between psychology and (theoretical) economics, the high level of rigour and empirical support that psychologists have shown in the study of happiness have made 'the new idea of measurable utility palatable to at least some economists.' (Frey – Stutzer 2002. 21.).

Finally, the fourth development comes from a bold claim in psychology, that people are generally not capable to choose the greatest amount of utility for themselves. One 'exaggerated' affirmation, as Frey and Stutzer consider it, that contributes to the claim comes from Nisbett – Ross (1980. 223.) who wrote that 'people do not know what makes them happy and what makes them unhappy'. To see what accounts for the discrepancy between substantive utility (meaning subjective wellbeing or happiness) and preference, Frey and Stutzer identify three types of reasons. Firstly there are contextual influences, i.e. when people compare themselves to others. Secondly, there are biases in cognition, which lead to asymmetries and thus people are prone to making distorted decisions. The authors distinguish four such biases: prospect theory, which explains a phenomenon where losses are more profoundly valued than gains of similar proportions; neglecting the actual duration, a phenomenon identified by Kahneman – Varey (1991) which explains that people rather focus on the intensity of pain, but not on how long they had endured it; the endowment effect (Thaler 1980) which explains that people prefer a certain object for the sole reason that it is in their possession, over another object (the same or similar) that they do now own; and overoptimism, a bias that explains how people in trust that the outcomes of certain events are better for them than for other people (e.g. when people underestimate the probability of being involved in an accident or contracting a serious disease). Finally, the third reason why people are generally not capable to choose the greatest amount of utility for themselves is their limited ability to predict their own future and future tastes. Most people, for example, would rather die in an accident than lose both legs or both arms, however studies done on quadriplegics do no report significantly lower levels of happiness than those of healthy people.

Apart from the transition to new welfare economics and its focus on ordinal utility, the discipline of economics has invested an interest into reported subjective wellbeing and measurement methods and techniques. The ways in which subjective wellbeing can be captured were not developed within economics, but rather in psychology; there are four ways generally accepted: first, through physiological and neurobiological indicators (specifically, brain waves), though so

far these indicators have not been widely used in practice; second, in observed social behaviour, however this method is not entirely reliable, as similar types of behaviour, like friendliness, elevated activity levels, outgoing personality can be also observed in people with lower happiness levels; third, in nonverbal behaviour, mainly in the relationship between frequent smiling, enthusiastic body movements and happiness, but like the previous two, observing nonverbal behaviour can also be unreliable because, Frey and Stutzer hold, these types of nonverbal behaviour can also be observed in unhappy people, so it would be difficult to determine a person's wellbeing based on these behaviours alone (suicide, for example, cannot be predicted); and fourth, capturing subjective wellbeing through surveys. By contrast with the earlier claim that people do not know what makes them happy or unhappy (Nisbett – Ross 1980), self-reported happiness is currently one of the best and widely utilised indicators of happiness. Research in economics and sociology has pointed out to the fact that people are able to routinely evaluate their own state of wellbeing. However, self-reported happiness measured through surveys disregards certain variables such as culture and cultural contingencies (Jugureanu – Hughes 2010), and often dismiss a qualitative approach to data gathering.

The first standard question used as a measure of subjective wellbeing was applied by the University of Michigan's SRC – Survey Research Center – and the NORC – National Opinion Research Center, and was formulated as:

Taken all together, how would you say things are these days – would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, *or* not too happy? *(Frey – Stutzer 2002. 26.)*

Similar to the initial standard question, but using a four point item instead of three, the World Value Survey asks:

Taken all together, how happy would you say you are: very happy, quite happy, not very happy, not happy at all?

The European Social Survey (ESS), the Eurobarometer Survey and the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) use similar questions, but require rating happiness levels on a Likert scale. The ESS asks:

Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are, 0 being extremely unhappy and 10 being extremely happy? (Please ring as appropriate)

Extremely unhappy										Extremely happy
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

In contrast to the World Value Survey, the Eurobarometer uses different terminology, and instead of asking about happiness, it asks about like satisfaction:

On the whole are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?

One of the most prominent measurements of subjective wellbeing uses multiple-item approaches and was developed by Diener and his colleagues. The 'Satisfaction with Life' scale uses five questions on a 1-7 scale raging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree':

'In most ways my life is close to ideal.'

'The conditions of my life are excellent.'

'I am satisfied with my life.'

'So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.'

'If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.'

These types of single summary measures (present in the World Value Survey, the Eurobarometer, The ESS, the BHPS, and the Satisfaction with Life scale) successfully measure happiness levels (Kahneman 1999). Psychologists and economists rely on such measures because they provide considerable intrapersonal stability and interpersonal comparability, which allows the measures to be applied without significant problems (Frey and Stutzer 2002). Such measures, though, do not give insight into determinants of happiness, an area where psychology has made significant advances over the last two decades. Frey–Stutzer (2002. 10.) distinguish five categories of determinants of happiness: **1)** personality factors, like self-esteem, optimism, extraversion and neuroticism; **2)** socio-demographic factors (gender, education, marital status etc.); **3)** economic factors, such as unemployment and income; **4)** contextual and situational factors, such as living conditions, health and interpersonal relations; and **5)** institutional factors that comprise political participation rights, and the extent of political decentralisation.

These determinants however are characteristic of individualistic societies – the US, the UK, Western Europe, Australia. To a large extent, the existing literature does not take into account cultural factors when it comes to measuring happiness levels across nations, which raises issues of reliability and internal validity of the quantitative techniques and methods utilised. Furthermore, it is especially problematic when different large-scale surveys yield significantly different results across nations – Costa Rica is the world's happiest country according to the 'Happy Planet Index', while Denmark is the world's happiest country according to the 'World Happiness Report'.

Concluding comments

This article has reviewed some of the social scientific literature on happiness. It explored sociological contributions to happiness research and the extent to which the discipline of economics has played a part in the development of happiness studies.

Much of the initial academic literature on happiness focused on correlates of happiness and social indicators and adopted an inter-disciplinary approach to research. In predominantly quantitative studies, happiness and wellbeing have been correlated with personality traits (DeNeve – Cooper 1998), with economic indicators at societal level (Easterlin 1974; Frey – Stutzer

2002), with major life changes like winning the lottery or becoming paralysed (Brickman et al. 1978), with unemployment (Clark – Oswald 1994), with culture (Oishi – Diener 2003; Lu 2001) and with constituents of 'the good life' and ways of maintaining or boosting one's levels of happiness (Seligman 2011; Lyubomirsky et al. 2005; Csikszentmihalyi 2002). Apart from correlates, research on social indicators (which gained popularity in the 1960s) followed a tendency to move beyond just economic indicators in the study of quality of life (Andrews 1989), and that indirectly lead to happiness and wellbeing becoming 'politically fashionable' (Marks 2011. 22.).

Furthermore, there is very little intra- and inter-disciplinary consensus on concepts and terminology in the study of happiness, and no universally accepted definitions. In economics and psychology, happiness is used interchangeably with wellbeing and subjective wellbeing, and in the study of social indicators, the terms quality of life and life satisfaction are preferred. In media and populist literature, *happiness* remains the concept people like to use, arguably for its weight and impact, especially in Western societies (US, UK, Western Europe, Australia), but it is also the terminology of choice for some academics (like LSE Professors Paul Dolan and Richard Layard).

Finally, happiness remains an under-researched area in sociology, while other disciplines like economics and psychology have offered theoretical support towards their versions of happiness studies. Sociological theory could largely inform already existing accounts of happiness and wellbeing, and could therefore enrich the rather empirically-oriented field of happiness and wellbeing studies. ✳

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Social Network Based Approaches in North American Religion Research: a Review

Abstract

This paper analyzes the situation of social network and religion related researches in North America. The goal was to find the instances of the applications of social network analysis related theory and methods on behalf of researchers of religion. The works were selected based on their usage of the social network method, social network theory and the research of different aspects of the religious field. The findings based on the review have shown that the links between social actors are being theorized in the articles, and there are measures introduced to map these links. Most reviewed articles were building on empirical methods, different survey researches concerning different characteristics of the social networks.

Keywords   social network, sociology of religion, social capital, SNA

In this study I plan to present the application of social network theory and social network analysis in the sociology of religion in North America through published works. I already conducted a similar review on Central and Eastern European articles (Nagy 2015). This paper shares methodology and theoretical background with the preceding article, but the North American works in the field of religion and social network research are explored. The research question of this paper is about the occurrence of the application of the social network theory and SNA method in religion related social scientific works by North American scholars. I am interested in the presence and in the absence of the concept and method in the works of scholars.

Social network analysis and the sociology of religion

The sociology of religion has much to gain from the application of the analysis of religious social networks. This approach of sociological study of religious faith and religious groups is usually based on empirical research and interpretation of the research results. The sociology of religion has a broader perspective in studying religious life, but the religious social networks usually mirror other characteristics of the studied religious entities and phenomena to make it an interesting subject of research. The network science, based on network theory is a fairly new and innovative field, and its approaches are ground-breaking in many aspects. The social scientific applications of the network analysis methods and concepts was built on the results of network science. Thus, the social network analysis of religious networks is grounded on the methodological principles and assumptions of network analysis, especially social network analysis as it has developed in recent years. The subjects of research can be members of religious communities or the communities themselves in this approach.

In the social network analysis method, the selected units of analysis, the cases are represented by nodes, and the connections between them are represented with lines. There can be many forms of connections among different nodes, so there might be different lines used to represent them. The mapping of a religious social network is supposed to be done on an empirical basis, and the results of the mapping shall be interpreted in an objective way. The graphical outcome of social network analysis – in other terms the graph – represents the place of the different actors in the network by points or nodes, and the connections between the different nodes with lines. The interpretation of the graphs is done by the researchers, with the help of the graphics and statistical measures. Conclusions can be drawn based on the viewing and statistical analyses about the characteristics of the social network. If the researcher wants to go into further detail, there are specific measures developed by network scientists to empirically test their different hypotheses about the network. This new method offers a whole range of new possibilities to do more detailed research on religious networks, but its diffusion among researchers of religion is very slow.

Theoretical and methodological innovations in sociology of religion

If we look at the general question of development of new theories, methods and techniques in sociology over time, we shall realize that the sociology of religion used to be a catalyst of new theories and methods in the era of the founding fathers of sociology. Although Karl Marx

did not consider elaborating a special theory on religion, and rather applied the approaches of the critical theory, others, such as Max Weber, Emile Durkheim and Ernst Troeltsch did so (Hamilton 2001). If we look at the theories of the classics, such as Max Weber's theory about the connections between religiousness, religious values and the capitalist value system (Weber 1958), Emile Durkheim's theory on the shared functions of different religions in different societies (Durkheim 2012) and Ernst Troeltsch's theory based on Weber's work about the church-sect typology (Troeltsch 1992), we can state that the sociology of religion used to be an innovator sub-discipline in sociology, and contributed largely to the general development of the field.

The first idea to imagine social structure in shapes and graphical structures occurred to sociologists in the 1930's. This was in very close connection with the "formal sociology" of Georg Simmel, and other German sociologists. Lines, points and shapes were used to represent social structure for the first time, connections became important elements of the graphical display of social relations (Scott – Carrington 2011).

It was Moreno, who was interested in the field and space of social relations, and social networks. Moreno called his methodological approach 'sociometry' and invented the 'sociogram'. The 'sociogram' used to be a visual representation of social networks with the help of points and lines. The method and its applications gained prominence in the educational science, and it was further developed in the US and Europe (Scott – Carrington 2011).

The application of social network analysis as a research methodology and theoretical framework became widespread in sociology since the early sixties. The first applications date back to the psychological work of Moreno and his colleagues, and the works of Kurt Lewin in sociology. The social network research field contributed to the formation of several research centres by the seventies. The developments took place in the US and Europe as well, and the development of the method was a shared enterprise of the scientists of both regions. Methodological innovations are continuous in the field even today (Freeman 2004).

The first instance of using social network analysis in a religious setting can be traced back to the work of Sampson, who performed the network analysis of eighteen trainee monks in a monastery (Sampson, 1969; cited by Herman 1984). There were other sociologists applying the traditional sociometric approach to religious groups in the sixties and seventies, for example for clique detection and clustering of individuals. The patterns of the social networks were not examined in the works of this era. (Herman 1984).

Another very important boost was given to the SNA method, when social scientists realized that the social network parameters of local congregations can be crucial in group development. The social relations developed in the local religious group – congregation settings were vital for the longevity of the group itself. Hoge and Roozen (1979) even realized in their research, that social factors such as relationships in a religious group can well be more important in normal cases than the theological disposition. Such result contributed to the widespread diffusion of the social network approach and the SNA method in the American sociology of religion.

I am following the concept of Freeman (2004) to identify works that can be categorized based on the usage of SNA methods. He states that the works can be distributed into four categories, based on the depth and methodological instances of SNA's application. The four categories are: the scientific work either or fully "(1) involves the intuition that links among social actors are important. (2) It is based on the collection and analysis of data that record social relations that link actors. (3) It draws heavily on graphic imagery to reveal and display the patterning of those links. And (4) it develops mathematical and computational models to describe and explain those pat-

terns" (FREEMAN 2004). The four categories are usually combined in contemporary SNA articles.

In this paper I did a review of the works of American sociologists of religion to see the extent of SNA usage in their articles. The review is not a complete review; it is based on a thorough search of academic journals and books, to find articles dealing with social network analysis and religion, articles about social network effects of religion or religious groups. There might be some important academic works left out, but I was trying to map the field accurately. In the case of North American sociology of religion, I tried to stick to articles with a strong social network orientation, to exclude articles about social capital and religion. I regard social capital as a very important theory, and social networks as the building blocks of social capital, but I had to select articles concentrating on the networks themselves, and not social capital. I present my findings based on Freeman's category system in a table.

Social network analysis in the North American sociology of religion

Social network analysis became popular in North America, as human relations and networks of human relations and interactions came into the centre of sociological attention and inquiry. The methods developed, and from network theories new methods of visualizing these relations were created, and complex network measurement methods were introduced. We can review many articles using social network related methods of religion research. I have divided the different articles into subsections based on their topics.

Social Network Analysis of a Congregation

The social network analysis of an Anglican congregation by Nancy J. HERMAN (1984) is a good example of an application of the method. Herman conducted her exploratory study in a 40 member Anglican congregation in Canada, using the methodology developed by WHITE – BREIGER (1975; cited by HERMAN 1984). 25 members were interviewed and filled the survey about social ties, the researcher was the member of the congregation. The congregation had 250 members prior to 1975, the arrival of a new pastor. The new pastor tried to modernize the congregation, which resulted in a huge decrease of membership: 40 members remained in the congregation. The clustering method identified four groups inside the congregation: (1) the reforms, (2) the conservatives, (3) the followers and (4) the isolate individual members. The reforms were a strong group, whose members had a high esteem for each other, who disliked the conservatives. The group included the minister. Conservatives were also a strong block, but the mingled a bit with the followers block in case of esteem. The conservatives are lower in status than the reformers. The followers are the weakest group, they have strong ties inside the group, but many unreciprocated ties towards the reformers and some towards the conservatives. The paper applied the social network analysis method, specifically the block model analysis for understanding the organization and the social behaviour of the religious group. The identified blocks were not only based on shared beliefs according to the findings, but also age, kinship occupation and length of time as congregation member. The block model analytic approach, which is a vintage approach in social network analysis, proved to be an excellent research tool (HERMAN 1984).

Interpersonal connections and social network's role in religious group life

STARK – BAINBRIDGE (1980) found out in their work that interpersonal connections between cult members and possible new recruits proved essential in the success rate of gaining new members for the American Moonies. When such interpersonal bonds did not exist or failed to develop during the recruitment process, the entire effort to draw in the new member was usually unsuccessful. The authors found examples that some people became Moonie cult members because they had strong personal connections to a person who was already a member. The full membership in the cult came with the day-to-day interaction of the members and the potential recruits, and it was largely dependent on the interpersonal connections between them. They conclude that membership in the cult did not come because the new members were attracted to the ideology, but rather because they have accepted the ideology because of persons they were tied to.

It is also interesting to note, that the first members of the cult in the US came from the immediate social network of the first converts. In conclusion it can be stated that social relations and social network have an essential role in recruiting new members to cults and sects. (STARK – BAINBRIDGE 1980. 1379.)

Samuel STROOPE (2011a) found that social networks are either directly or indirectly influencing the individual's style of religious participation in a Hindu setting. The attractiveness of a congregation-style worship model can be based on the social network advantages it might provide for its members.

Social networks and religiosity

CAVENDISH – WELCH – LEEGE (1998) wrote about social network data as predictor of religiosity among black Catholics in the United States. They tried to identify differences in devotional life and spirituality of black and white Catholics based on research results. Based on a general understanding of the social network theory, they state that gratifying social relationships inside a social network can be perceived as strong predictors of religiosity.

MCINTOSH – SYKES – KUBENA (2002) researched the social network of the elderly. The authors concluded that the most important characteristic of the elderly's social network is its religious likeness. Religiosity is a more prominent factor than ethnicity, friendship, shared membership in other voluntary associations, physical proximity of living arrangements or shared work experiences. The article also concluded that the stronger ties to kin and friends increase the likelihood of church attendance, but ethnically homogenous ties, neighbourhood network relationships do not. The greater role diversity in the network also increases the probability of frequent religious participation. Networks based on neighbourhood do not have these positive effects on religious attendance and participation among the elderly.

Personal health and life satisfaction

KRAUSE – WULFF (2005) researched the relationship between church based social support and satisfaction with personal health. They emphasized that social ties are generally perceived by sociologists to have a major role in having an effective and meaningful life. They examined

social support systems formed in the church environments, and its effects on health. They used the US Congregational Life Survey data for their empirical analyses. Their data has shown that those people, who are long-time members of the congregation continue to attend the services regularly with a higher chance. Those who attend regularly has a higher chance of getting emotional support from other church members. Those who are getting emotional support from the congregation setting feel more attached to the congregation, they have a stronger sense of belonging. And finally, those who feel to belong stronger tend to feel more satisfied with their health. The higher sense of belonging tends to promote better health, but there may be alternative explanations (Krause – Wulff 2005).

Brashears (2010) conducted a test of the Durkheim/Berger theory that people who are connected in the same religious group are protected from the effects of anomia because of a 'sacred canopy'. Their integrated social world is perceived as a sacred canopy, and as long as it is intact, it provides stability to the social structure. The research was trying to identify the element that provided the protection from anomia: the sacred canopy itself or the social network behind it. The data used were the 1985 and 2004 GSS waves, and the findings supported the basic ideas of Durkheim and Berger. The religious adherents were in fact protected by a sacred canopy from higher levels of anomia and forms of deviance. The strength of the sacred canopy's protection lied in one's degree of religious belief, and his or her interactions with fellow believers of the same religious ideas and beliefs, but did not rely on the frequency of participation in religious services. It seems that the protection is provided by the immediate social network of the individual, consisting of people who share the same religious beliefs and notions. Those believers, who are members of strong, religion-based social networks are protected against anomia, demonstrated lower levels of unhappiness and deviance (Brashears 2010).

Lim–Putnam (2010) researched the connection between religion and life satisfaction using the social network approach. They used the survey data of "Faith Matters" study from 2006 and 2007, which was examining the connections between religion and social capital in America. They found that the relationship between life satisfaction and the number of friends from the congregation is remarkably strong. They concluded that friendship networks inside the congregation mediated the positive effects of attendance on the individual's life satisfaction. They argue that congregational friendships have significance because they are embedded in a special social situation. Networks of congregants may be effective channels of social support because congregational friends might offer more valuable support than friends from other networks. The study states that the social network's effect on the individual cannot be traced back only to the number of ties and their strength, but also to the identities shared in the networks and the contexts they are forged in. The authors find it difficult to think about a non-religion based social network with the same effects on the individual's life satisfaction in a US context (Lim–Putnam 2010).

Religious social networks and solidarity

McPherson – Smith-Lovin – Cook (2001) stated that ties between members of the same religious setting are more likely to be close ties. These close ties might lead to giving emergency help, loaning money or giving trusted advice or even personal counselling to other group members, more likely than the ties between the members of a hobby or work social group.

Stroope (2011b) investigated the effects of personal congregational involvement and the

individual's social network on religiosity. The connections between congregants, their social embeddedness is studied based on the proportion of the individual's friends drawn from the congregation, based on Baylor Religion survey wave 2, conducted in 2007. The findings of the study underline that social embeddedness has a strong effect on the measure of the person's religious activity. The highest proportion of the individual's friends come from the religious setting the more active he or she will be. It was also found that congregational embeddedness has a less strong but still significant effect on the person's religiosity.

Religious social networks and civic engagement

Lewis – MacGregor – Putnam (2013) studied the background of the positive relation of religiosity to civic engagement. They hypothesized that social networks are in the background of this phenomena. They proposed that extensive social networks usually contribute to higher rates of participation, and that religious Americans are civically and socially more engaged than their less religious peers. They examined different aspects of religiosity, such as the effects of personal religiosity. They presented different views on the background of how personal religiosity shaped individual action: some authors concentrate on the message of the religious teachings and its effects on the individual. Others speak about a mechanism of cognitive framing, through which religiosity might raise the sympathy of the person for others, and make him or her act in a more civic way.

In the view of Lewis–MacGregor–Putnam (2013) religious life is happening in the congregation setting, and religious people can learn and practice their civic skills in them. Some explanations might be gained by focusing on the role and actions of the clergy, and the civic engagement level of the different religious groups. Participation is higher in the religious setting because through it, people can make new connections and grow their social networks. By making new friends people become more involved in the civic activities of the religious group, they will feel responsibility for other members of the group (Lewis – MacGregor – Putnam 2013).

The authors claim that religious networks have enhanced social support and more social resources, thus it might contribute more to civic engagement than any other social network. The religious networks also usually promote norms of social support and help, which make members more active. These social networks may also serve as recruitment networks for volunteering work, because people find it more appropriate to ask friends from such networks than from other networks, such as the network of a work place. And as a final argument, in religious groups there are a lot socially and politically involved people, who might inspire or draw others with them on different issues. These can be specialties of different kinds of social networks, such as trade union or Rotary Club members, the reasons behind the operation of the network do not necessarily come because of religious homogeneity, but because of the specificities of it. (Lewis–MacGregor–Putnam 2013. 333–335.)

If we want to summarize the research results, we can say "Strong religious social networks are a powerful predictor of civic outcomes and neighbourly activities" (Lewis – MacGregor – Putnam 2013. 344.), and based on the research results, we can conclude that the social network is more important than the belief system type, or the attendance rate inside the community.

The North American Articles

If we apply the fourfold categorization system of Freeman (2004) on the above reviewed works, we can conclude that most of them applied the social network theory, but only one of them applied the graphical SNA method itself. Herman did a bloc model analysis of an Anglican congregation, which can be categorized into the third category of Freeman.

Table 1 ❖ *North American Social Network and Religion Articles Categorized*

Author(s) and year	Category 1 (realize that links between social actors are important)	Category 2 (collects data about links among social actors)	Category 3 (uses graphic imagery to find patterns)	Category 4 (uses heavy statistics to analyze patterns)
Herman 1984	X	X	X	
Stark – Bainbridge 1980	X	X		
Cavendish – Welch – Leege 1998	X	X		
McIntosh, Sykes – Kubena 2002	X	X		
Krause – Wulff 2005	X	X		
Brashears 2010	X	X		
Lim – Putnam 2010	X	X		
McPherson – Smith-Lovin – Cook (2001	X	X		
Stroope 2011	X	X		
Stroope 2012	X	X		
Lewis – MacGregor – Putnam 2013	X	X		

Source: Own editing based on Freeman 2004

All other works remained at the stage that they realized the importance of social networks in religious groups, and gathered empirical data about them, but did not use graphic imagery to present them, and SNA related statistics to analyse them. This finding is suggesting that the social network analysis approach is present in the works of North American sociologists, but they do not use the social network analysis method to graphically display the ties between the subjects of research. They rather used the social capital concept elaborated by Robert D. Putnam. Putnam has built his social capital model largely on religious participation, and has devoted an entire volume together with Campbell to study the effects of religiosity on the individual's social life and social capital in America (Putnam – Campbell 2012).

Social capital revisited: the cement of social network norms

From the theoretical point of view, social network theory and the theory of social capital are closely interrelated. Both had started out from the same social scientific understanding of society, and their development used to be parallel to a great extent. The apparent bonds between the methods tie them closely together, as social capital is the cement and building block of social networks. The main difference is not in the theoretical part, but the methodological part: social network analysis has a strong applied facet. Social capital theory can remain only at the theoretical level, and may not present at the applied level.

If we would like to understand religious social networks, we should realize that these are complex systems of norms and values related to the basic religious group's norm and value system. The networks' operation is based on the creed and religious belief of the distinct religious community, combined with the value system of it, creating a set of norms recommended to follow by all members of the group. These norms and values govern connections among the group members, and the member's connections to the general society itself. The concept of social capital seems to be the most useful theoretical approach for the analysis of this complex intertwining of norms, values and networking. In the United States, the institution of religion generates more social capital than any other American institution. In the opinion of JA Coleman, religious communities in America often and clearly foster participation in civil society. Religious organizations provide information for their members about how they can serve both within and outside the organization. They also provide the necessary network, meeting point and organizational skills for this, thus practically everything that is necessary to turn good intention into action (JA Coleman 2003).

Robert Wuthnow writes that the role of religion and religious networks in the mobilization for participation in public life can be interpreted in several ways. Based on the above-quotes empirical evidence, which are based on the survey of Gallup, Wuthnow also notes that those who practice their religion regularly are more likely to give their money or time to support volunteer organizations, than people who do not practice religion regularly. This statement is true even if the supported organization is not connected to their church or denomination in any way (Wuthnow, 1999).

The social territory of a community underlies its social capital. Organizational characteristics, standards, the existing network and the institutionalized trust create the fundaments of civil life. According to the interpretation of Nancy Ammerman, social capital is partly trust and partly mutual responsibility – on the one hand, in the form of information in connection with the community, and on the other hand, in the form of standards, which foster communal behaviour and confine antisocial behaviour. People, meaning and relations are the three things within a community, which create social capital. This social product strengthens the community, makes it possible to "stay human among wolves", and create the possibility of social interactions (Ammermann, cited by Eiesland–Warner 1998).

Conclusions

This paper analysed the situation of social network and religion related researches in North America. The goal was to find the instances of the applications of social network analysis related

theory and methods on behalf of researchers of religion. The articles found were presented in Table 1, and the concept elaborated by Freeman (2004) was used to categorize the reviewed works.

The works were selected based on their usage of the social network method, social network theory and the research of different aspects of the religious field. We tried to exclude the topic of social capital and religion, and concentrate on those articles which had a clear social network related topic. We tried to clarify the connections between social capital and social networks to justify the selection of reviewed articles from the overlapping pool. The findings based on the review have shown that the links between social actors are being theorized in the articles, and there are measures introduced to map these links. Most reviewed articles were building on empirical methods, different survey researches concerning different characteristics of the social networks.

There was only one article by Herman (1984) which actually used a predecessor of the present day social network analysis method, the block model analysis. Otherwise, graphical presentations of social networks were missing from the reviewed articles. The statistics related to social network analysis graphs and patterns were entirely missing, conventional regression statistics were mostly being used to analyze the social network related variables in the different articles.   ✱

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The Contribution of Christian Roma Special College of Szeged to the Effectiveness of Higher Education and Labor Market in a Value Sociology Approach
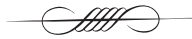
Abstract

In 2013, we started a research program among the students of Christian Roma Special College of Szeged (SZKRSZ). During our research we made interviews with final year students in autumn 2014 and spring 2015. The focus of our value sociology approach is how alumni of the Christian Roma College of Szeged interpreted the processes of value establishment and also what deeper patterns are outlined from the perspective of special college to higher education's effectiveness and to finding a place in the labour market.

Keywords   higher education, students, special college

Introduction

In studies that follow the career path of graduates the researchers use economic-labour market parameters (Hrubos 2008, 2012), yet never or rarely focus on higher education communities (Pusztai 2012, 2014), or community contacts (Fónai 2015; Utasi 2013), although all these impact higher education achievements (Pusztai 2011, 2015a; Bocsi 2015a, 2015b).

Previous studies carry little information about non-standardised higher education content and new institutional roles (consulting, mentoring, life-coaching) or their impact. New higher education content to be examined are: educational issues of micro-climate (Kozma 2004; Hrubos 2009; Fónai 2015), teacher-student relationship (Pusztai 2015b; Bocsi 2015b), non-traditional students (with disabilities, minorities) (Pusztai 2011; Trendl 2012; Forrai 2014, 2015). Non-educational actors (research groups, groups focusing on tradition preservation, professional circles and special colleges) in higher education scenarios may help us to get more significant information about the above mentioned topics (Pusztai 2011, 2015a; Kardos 2013; Ceglédi –Fónai – Győrbíró 2012), as well as about the value added to higher education content (example.g. in preparation for intellectual roles or contribution to success in labour market).

Within the framework of our study we consider Roma students as non-traditional students, because they belong to a group of students of cumulatively disadvantageous background from economic, cultural and relational capital points of view. In case of non-traditional university students we can talk about equal opportunities, if the importance of origin decreases as we go higher on the qualification scale (Alwin–Thorton 1984). In student groups like this peer groups (Gábor 2004; Jancsák 2013), relationship networks (Pusztai 2015a), and support organisations (Kardos 2013; Ceglédi 2015) gain further significance.

In 2013, we started a research program among the students of Christian Roma Special College of Szeged (SZKRSZ), with the aim to familiarize ourselves better with the life in the special college, especially with regards to the contribution of the institution to the alumni's success in higher education and in the labour market.

"So keres akanak" – is the Lovari Gypsy sentence which inspired the title of our book. "*What are you doing now?* What are you doing? What is happening now? So keres, SzoKeReSz?" These and similar questions fulfilled our everyday lives when in 2012 we decided to study the first years of Christian Roma Special College of Szeged (SZKRSZ), which was then in its initial phase, with visions and plans formed only on a theoretical level.

Our aim was to familiarise ourselves more deeply with the world of students members of the college and at the same time study what added values the institution contributes to the path in higher education and later in the labour market.

Apart from SZKRSZ there are six other special colleges at the University of Szeged: the Eötvös Loránd Szakkollégium established in 1956 and of great tradition, the Móra Ferenc Szakkollégium in Újszeged founded in the sixties and functioning as a special college since 2013, the Sík Sándor Piarista Egyetemi Szakkollégium started in 1993, the Karolina Katolikus Egyetemi Szakkollégium established in the new millennium, and the Szegedi Társadalomtudományi Szakkollégium founded by the students in 1998, as well as the Művészetközvetítő és művészetpedagógiai Szakkollégium started in 2013. The first four special colleges also function as dormitories; the last two are not physically bound to a dorm.

SZKRSZ had 16 people when it started, now there are 15. Almost two thirds of the students of SZKRSZ declare themselves having a Gypsy/Roma origin. Since autumn 2015 they have in-

troduced the concept of "external students", they do not live in the building at Indóház square, but in other university dorms or rented flats, but they have the same rights and obligations as the internal special college students.

SZKRSZ is a member of Christian Roma Special College Network (KRSZH) founded in 2011. KRSZH was established by four institutions (Jesuit Roma Special College, Hungarian Evangelist Church Roma Special College, Miskolc Greek Catholic Gypsy Special College, Wáli István Reformed Gypsy Special College) and the institution in Szeged joined as the fifth member. The number of students in special colleges varies from 15 to 50.

The controlling authority of the Special College in Szeged is the Roman Catholic Diocese of Szeged–Csanád. The college puts an emphasis on Christian values, as highlighted in the name of the college, but students of different religions have of course the possibility to practice their own religion.

The Special College in Szeged has a democratically student council elected by the students, which formulates proposals in accordance with the powers and opinions and also participates in the daily life of the institution and in shaping content for the special college.

One of the main aims of the college is customised development, so they provide students with a mentor, a tutor and/or peer support service. This approach leads to the fact that the college pays great attention to the students' individual development plan (IDP) - to its content, planning and implementation processes. Students are supported in achieving their goals by their mentors (university/college lecturers).

The special college's academic program consists of modules: the cultural model consists of courses which develop a dual (Roma and Hungarian) identity; the spiritual module aims to deepen the Christian values; a general education module strives to provide input which shall prepare the students of the special college for the intellectual life.

Community involvement and volunteer service are important parts of the SZKRSZ's "educational program". Students volunteer ten hours per semester in partner institutions, e.g. Roma study halls, retirement homes and charity, but this includes a request for information and sensitizing work carried out in secondary schools, which occasionally disseminates the world of higher education and special college life. More than one student of SZKRSZ came to know the institution on an information day like this.

The personal and social development of the most important content added values of the SZKSZ, but let us not forget the university (state) and other (funds, NGOs) scholarships and grants which complement special college scholarships and which the students receive either by being nuanced along several components or they receive them in a differentiates manner, according to levels. Newly admitted college students receive forty thousand forints per month, the others, based on their achievement, up to even fifty thousand forints per month according to the following: they get points based on a five-grade scale for contents in a given semester (implementation of IDP, proactive approach in special college's courses, study weekends, cultural events) and based on the ranking they shall be categorised into a certain grant group.

Methodology

The focus of the study therefore is whether (1) the life in a special college contributes and (2) how to the welfare of its students beyond the subject matter acquired in higher education.

Based on our studies in higher education and the relevant literature as well as through familiarising ourselves with SZKRSZ's "educational program" – as a result of professional in-

terviews with the director of the college (2013, 2014) – our initial assumption was that (3) the special college manages to implement an extended social expectation towards higher education and therefore to decrease vulnerability in the labour market. We also assumed that during the formation of a (4a) special college community consisting of Roma and non-Roma youth (4b) and via implementing an educational program, as a result of a planned and conscious personality development, a unique re-socialisation process is created and that this will be positively evaluated by the students from the special college.

In the qualitative phase of the first wave of our study we conducted interviews in autumn 2014 and spring 2015 with altogether 6 members of the special college. During the interviews we were interested in their opinion on the added value of higher education and the special college, as well as what they thought useful competencies are in the labour market. In the focus of our attention in this part of our research was how the graduates interpreted the value-creating processes present in the special college and also whether deeper patterns can be discovered from the point of view of the special college's contribution to the effectiveness of higher education as well as to achievement in the labour market. The questions of the interview focused on the following: How and to what extent did the membership in a special college improve your ability to cooperate in a community? How and to what extent did the special college increase the level of education through trainings and mentoring? How and how much did the special college contribute to strengthening and deepening your identity? How did the special college contribute to success in higher education? How does higher education contribute to success in the labour market? How does a special college contribute to achievements in the labour market? During the qualitative research we have conducted structured interviews with graduates from the special college, twice (in autumn 2014 and summer 2015), when we interviewed students who have finished their studies in the previous semester. Out of seven alumni one did not accept the invitation to take part in the interview and with others we recorded a personal 60-90 minute-long interview, which we analysed in the context of special college contents' contribution to effectiveness in higher education, complementation of higher education and added values.

Values of the special college and life in a special college added to the higher education and life period spent in higher education

Special college and higher education

With regards to higher education content, the alumni and students of SZKRSZ believe that it is the so-called expanded role expectations compliance, especially the professionally and personally supporting roles of the higher education teachers in which they are engaged beyond their teaching roles, to be the primary explanation for the effectiveness of one's studies.

> *"It is a great support, both the professional knowledge acquired during the university courses, both the experience acquired during all the practice. My experience so far shows that the teachers in this institution motivate the students to immerse themselves into their studies as much as possible, and they are glad to help even in scientific work, what is more, they are glad to be able to get the students involved in their own scientific work." (graduate kindergarten teacher, currently studying physical education and history)*

For students arriving from cumulatively disadvantaged social spaces and low socio-economic status, the positive supporting environment is a basic empowering factor. One of the first members of the special college, a once social worker major, talked about how important it was for him that during their university studies, in a higher education course, he was able to merge information about the special college and through that his identity, both of which factors represented positive feedback for him.

> *"I moved into the college and I was told I have to give a presentation about the topic of me living here. And I tried to figure out which course would be the best for this topic… I talked to the teacher and she was pleased. I stood in front of the others and told them what the special college is about and that I live there. I told my story and after that they asked me why I lived there. So I told them I am a half Gypsy, and that they could say what they want and even spit in my face, I don't care since I had my fair share of stereotypes. But no. They asked a lot of questions, even my classmate who I knew was especially biased. He asked questions which made me feel happy because one could tell he was really interested. We really paid attention to each other, and our teacher noticed immediately if something was wrong, since there were obviously some sensitive topics which we touched upon in classes, some people started crying, some left, but then we did not just wait for them to come back, we would go after them and talk to them."* (social worker)

Our interviewees emphasised the role model role of the teachers and their appearance in value transfer processes of the higher education's intellectual life patterns. This factor was high up in their assessment, as a value especially important for success in the labour market and as a value above professional knowledge.

> *"In my opinion, it is especially these added values that make a graduate more, because if the school acknowledges activities beyond the scientific life, the student will be motivated to take part in these extra-curricular programs. I believe these contribute to success in the labour market because in my opinion intellectual existence does not only mean mastering our own professional field of expertise. The more diverse a personality is, the better they can be in their work."* (graduate kindergarten teacher, currently studying physical education and history)

At the same time it is an important factor among students coming from families with poor economic resources that there is a certain material security attached to the life in the special college, which enables the students to focus on their studies, and the planned income motivates them not to look for occasional or student work, but to ensure economic resources based on their academic-professional results. These successes in higher education do not only make sense from an economic point of view, but also in the form of positive feedback. (There were many interviewees who, apart from the special college grant, mentioned other competition results, grants, e.g. winning the scholarship of the Republic.)

> *"I always worked while I was at the university, I worked night shifts in factories, and other things, to me the special college brought salvation, I got in, I received a grant, and I managed to get into a bunch of conferences and take part in numerous trainings, which of course was all time, but not more time than what I previously spent working. It was like a workplace*

to me, but not a monotonous job in a factory, but a rather interesting course. It was a very positive experience, I enjoyed it very much. (social worker)

"Almost all members of the special college come from a disadvantageous or cumulatively disadvantageous background (including myself), and their families would not have been able to finance their higher education studies. For many of them the college grant is a matter of existence, because if they do not get it, they are not able neither to start it, nor to finish their higher education studies." (graduate kindergarten teacher, currently studying physical education and history)

The internal educational program of the special college includes service to the community, spiritual module and getting to know the Roma culture. The implementation of individual development plans in each semester rests on the pro-active approach of the individual. Community service includes at least 10 hours of work (e.g. assistance in the Roma Tanoda (Roma study hall), teaching youth, distribute food to the homeless, etc.) The role of the spiritual module is in transferring Christian values. Within this framework they participate in a film club, in cooperation with the Franciscan community of Szeged, and in the other part they participate in a program organised by themselves (there were some who talked about taking parti in a rorate mass). One of the accentuated elements of the college's world is organising cultural events, visiting them, as well as community formation and community development. The essence of community formation is to enforce synergy within the college, and to enforce efficient communication, assertive protection of interests, the sense of belonging together. The students also partake in organising activities.

All our interviewees defined these extracurricular elements as added values which to a large extent contribute to the development of personality.

"For certain students the college program provides opportunities which may be the foundation for their intellectual existence. Many students would not have been able to go to a theatre or take part in excursions, etc. To summarise, I believe the college's educational system (spiritual, civic, cultural), which can be categorised into three groups, facilitates integration into the labour market, since it forms diverse, experienced and self-confident personalities (graduate kindergarten teacher, currently studying physical education and history)

During our research we have concluded that the students consider community as the major factor enforcing identity and shaping personality, and a factor that pervades all parts of the special college, its microclimate, its unique subculture, its manifested documents and implicit educational program. At the same time, we may be torn by doubt when, as a result of the individualisation process we experience that the feeling of being immersed in the community and the values of altruism are in contrast with the effects and crises of the consumer society. According to the special college alumni, the values of the special college and everyday life together bear great impact on personality development.

"We all took a risk; we didn't know how living together would work out, or what would come out of this whole thing, since there was no precedent, which would have given us some guidance. In a way, I was a first generation student in the special college, and it probably contributed to

an experience where I had to learn what it is like to be in a minority in a community where we are living together, but when I go out on the street, the other party is in the minority. How we can deal with this situation. And also other people's habits, and how we agreed on what to do on the weekends, because we spent a lot of time together even on the weekends, how people formed the groups to be together for the weekend. I believe the first one is an opportunity, or a chance. I can't formulate it better. And there is also another one, which is educational by all means, and ths is accepting living together. Establishing professionalism, so that everybody does what they do in the best possible manner." (law student)

Special college courses and mentoring

The college pays special attention to the students' studies. Each student has a peer assistant or a mentor. Their task is to help the special college student in achieving their individual development plan, but also to take part as a supporter in solving the student's problems. The special college sometimes gets help from further external teachers. The institution motivates and supports the completion of scientific work; consequently there were teachers who got involved in the scientific research in their area of expertise.

"I consider mentoring to be important because I am able to discuss my problems with an outsider, whom I can ask for advice, except for academically related questions, since she is an English and Biology teacher. But it is good to talk to her anyway, because she is competent in the topics of college programs, internal training, social integration, conflict management, I can basically ask for her help in any topic and get a relevant answer. The place of mentoring changes, depending on where we have things to do and depending on the aim. In winter we drank tee in the main street. Mentoring takes place once a week and lasts for an hour, hour and a half. If I have a problem, I can talk about it with the mentor and I get a certain solution to my problem, this is how talking to a neutral person helps. And sometimes I get solutions to my other problems, which I may have not even realised. I owe it to my mentor to have been able to reconcile with my roommates." (mathematics BSc)

"Maybe the most important thing, which enables my professional career, is the mentor program. I am grateful and lucky to have been able to get a mentor who is able to help me both mentally and professionally. During mentor meetings, which are an hour once a week, the many times mentioned individual development plan is designed and it is at the meetings that the elements of the plan are checked. Apart from this there is time to talk about school and private life issues, or even professional consultation. Thanks to my mentor I have gained a broader perspective of religious education. At our meetings my mentor always shows me with a little professional trick of the trade which I shall be able to use when I teach, and tells me what to pay attention to." (catechist, theologist)

Community, activities within the community

Life in the special college, beyond the courses, mentoring and tutoring primarily refers to living in a community of people, which community is formed along the lines of daily routine and lifestyle, this lifestyle however is not only enriched based on social and small community values, but living together also forms, enriches and develops the personality. Based on the analysis of the interviews, the special college alumni consider this re-socialisation phenomenon, i.e. informal

learning in a community, sensitisation to tolerance, acceptance, cooperation, solidarity, altruism to be one of the major characteristics of SZKRSZ.

> *"On the day I moved in I became part of a community where they have not known me beforehand, they did not know what I am like. I experiences this period as the first step towards independence. I got out of an environment where I was protected. I become part of a new community, where I could live together with other who are also of Roma identity, but with a different family background or from a different environment. We can learn from each other, share our thoughts with each other, help our non-Roma friends who are open and interested in us, to enable them to understand our culture. The aim of the special college is to educate responsible intellectuals – either Roma, or non-Roma – who are able to form themselves and their environment and also able to participate in a dialogue." (catechist, theologist)*

The special college students did not only emphasise community forming and community development as important values, but have expressed positive opinions about the community forming role as a part of the formal tasks of life in a college, i.e. as an element of planned and conscious personality development, is is also part of the educational program- Its development, formation and implementation however is based on the individual's pro-active approach.

It is an overt aim of the institution to get the special college students be participants of the society in a role model and value transfer manner. "For this we need intellectuals of strong identity, stable value system, and capable of dialogue, who can provide a healthy vision of future for the local communities" – said the director during our interview in 2013. Our special college student interviewees reacted to the above by reflecting on events and programs in which value statements are a certain mission.

> *"You have to want this very much. I have metaphors for it, too. I always tell them that this is something really great, since I have given many lectures in the college, we visited vocational students, too, I don't look down upon them, my best friend was a blue collar worker. I have Adidas or Converse shoes on, but only because they were on sale, and I buy them, since I wasn't able to have them when I was a child. This is a huge thing for me, that there is a girl in shoes like this. A student comes up to me and asks how I can afford it. I say: I bought it from the grant money. Because I go to university. I study well and I get a grant. And they eyes lit up, that you can get money for studying! I tell this to my kids at home. I always tell them to go to high school after primary school. There you will realise you don't get maths, but you are good at history, or the other way round. But I keep telling them this in vain, their teachers say something else. So I turned it around. I talked to a PE teacher at home, there are so many talented children here and I cannot do anything about it. Currently 10 children receive a grant, because I told the PE teacher there is a grant for this." (social worker)*

> *"I have never been a part of an environment like this. I had great expectations, but I have not regretted a single thing during my time spent here, I learnt many new things, and will learn some more, too, and my personal development is on the rise, too. I look at people differently now, it is not contempt I feel anymore, instead I think about it, if I weren't born as a Hungarian, but as a Roma, same things would happen to me, too. My standpoint shifted. But I have to thank for this to my roommates and my mentor, too. Although my friends and family have*

a different opinion about the Gypsies, I believe it is my responsibility to educate them or at least try to show them that what they think is not true." (mathematics BSc)

Our conclusions

The Christian Roma Special College of Szeged is an institution with a special group of tasks, and is a new participant in the higher education of Szeged. During the first phase of our research, between 2012 and 2015, we have followed the birth of the college through a holistic perspective. In our study we used quantitative, statistic data collection and analysis, as well as personal and focus group interviews based on qualitative methodologies. Our research (partly) studies labour market input and as such characteristically produces results serving the congruence of higher education and labour market (e.g. about the contents missing from the world of higher education and about their added value outside the institution but present in the effect), and its analysis can be interpreted within the framework of educational sociology, at the same time, in its approach it is far closer to pedagogical sociology and in the focus of its attention are value transfer processes and their effect.

The transformation of higher education in the new millennium affected non-traditional higher education students with a new vulnerability, namely the individualisation of the post-modern society and the credit system together (joined by the disintegration of study circles) led to a lack of university social relationships, which has created a doubly disadvantageous situation for the youth on the "shady side": the lack of invigorating relationships and due to that, the lack of access to useful information. Our study shows that the feeling of loneliness is present even among special college students and that it is paired with a "it-is-not-worth-making-an-effort-since-I-won't-achieve-it-anyway" sentiment. This feedback from students makes an argument for mental health support as a necessity. Our interviewees provided feedback on the importance of mentors in their response to this question.

According to the college members' feedback, the most important value is the community, the cooperative patterns and practices, which they considered to be the determining factor for academic achievement, similarly to the materialistic elements of the college (housing conditions, an environment supporting learning). The everyday life in the college is not characterised by scientific work, which is due to the wide variety of interests on the students' part, but this diversity is a resilience and identity strengthens when we talk about community and living together.

During the analysis of values we have established that there is a sense of strong trans-historical value in the special college students' post-materialistic universal value orientation and value judgment. These value judgments match those of the college's.

At the same time, when analysing the interviews, we have established that these values are also present in the students' everyday practice. Value creation and value assignment is therefore present not only in the college's manifest functions (director's interview, official documents, leaflets), but also in the students' implicit value judgment and value orientation. It is therefore present in the college's everyday life.

After closing the first wave of our research, we can reinforce our initial statement according to which the life and existence in the SZKRSZ special college contributes to youth successes and achievements.

The special college implements certain elements of extended social role expectations mani-

festing towards higher education in the area of labour market vulnerability (equal opportunities, community building, strengthening identity, talent management).

During the formation of the special college community involving Roma and non-Roma youth and via the implementation of the pedagogical program, as a result of planned and conscious personality development a unique re-socialisation process is created. The pedagogy of this process is based on non-formal and mostly informal methodologies. This added value is interiorised by the special college students in a sensitive manner and the alumni provide feedback on it, assess it positively, as a factor contributing to their achievement in the labour market. ✳

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The Relationship between Educational Inequalities and ICT Access and Use at Home

Abstract

The appearance of info-communication technologies caused a restructuring in the determining factors of educational inequalities. The aim of our article is to analyse the effect of ICT access and ICT use at home on student performance. For our analysis we apply the Hungarian subsample of the latest student-level dataset of the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) recorded in 2012. As we suppose that the relationship between ICT access, ICT use and student performance is affected by family background and student characteristics, beyond bivariate analysis we apply multivariate models to control for these effects. Our results suggest that the impact of ICT access and ICT use on student performance is rather positive even if family background and student characteristics are controlled for. However some modes of use seem to have rather a negative effect on performance.

Keywords   educational inequalities, ICT access, ICT use, student performance

1. Introduction

An important feature of education and the institution of school should be the moderating of inequalities among students by transmitting knowledge and skills indispensable in later life. However many scholars pointed out that school does not reduce inequalities among students but even strengthens them (e.g. Bourdieu 1974). The background of educational inequalities, the exploration of factors affecting differences in school performance has been in focus of many theoretical works and researches for a long time. Traditionally academic achievement is found to be mostly influenced by family background, namely socio-economic status, educational level of the parents, cultural capital in the family and so on. In Hungary in the 1970's Ferge (1980) drew attention to the fact that contrary to the ideological concept school does not diminish the differences among students from different social background but sustains them and even intensifies them (Ferge 1980). There has been not much change in this correlation recently, as international researches report Hungary to be one of those nations where the effect of social background mostly determines school performance (Vári 2003). In Hungary the biggest proportion of students from a disadvantaged background, where parents have a low socio-economic status and low educational level, belong to the group of students with lowest competencies (Róbert 2004).

With the appearance of info-communication technologies the traditional structure of factors influencing school performance has restructured (Ben-David Kolikant 2010). As ICT has become more and more available and used inside and outside of school we have to take in account its effect on learning and academic performance to reveal its role in educational inequalities. In the last decade ICT competencies have become a very important feature on the labour market and in everyday life as well. According to the growing importance of computer skills and digital literacy in society schools have been pushed by education policy internationally and in Hungary as well (Tóth – Molnár – Csapó 2011) to integrate ICT more and more in the school's infrastructure on the one hand and in the way of teaching and learning on the other hand. An important question sociologists have to deal with is what effect the integration of ICT in education has on educational inequalities? More precisely: in which way do the access and use of computers and the internet inside and outside of school influence student performance? The aim of our article is to answer one part of this question, namely: what effect does ICT access and use at home have on school performance in terms of mathematics, reading and science skills and knowledge? Two hypotheses can be drawn up regarding this issue. The first one assumes that the access and the use of ICT weaken school performance because these devices distract attention from learning and the unsuitable use sets back learning. However due to the other assumption ICT access and use enhance performance because ICT makes knowledge accessible for everyone and by its interactive, visual, collaborative features brings learning closer to the generation of 'digital natives'.

In the last decade many researches have addressed the correlation between dimensions of ICT access, ICT use and school performance. The results are contradictory and confusing as some of them found a negative relationship but others revealed rather a positive correlation.

In the first section we give an overview on the latest findings either positive or negative on the relationship between ICT access and/or use and academic performance. The next section presents in detail the data and methods applied for our analysis. Results are demonstrated in the third section. Finally in the conclusion the initial research question is addressed again in the light of the results of our analysis.

2. Info-communication technologies and school performance

Due to the growing penetration of ICT at home and at school, its effect on learning and academic achievement has become an important research issue. Another reason for scholars focusing on students' use of ICT and its effects is that this generation has been proclaimed a new generation of digital natives (Prensky 2001) whose socialization differs basically from the previous generations as they grew up surrounded by computers, mobile phones and the internet.

Some studies found a rather positive correlation between dimensions of ICT use and school performance. Eynon – Malmberg (2011) investigated the modes of internet use and its effect on learning among children and youngsters. The survey was conducted in Great-Britain among respondents 8, 12, 14, 17 and 19-years old. The questions concerned despite socio-demographic issues, ICT use and knowledge, attitudes towards ICT and quality of access. According to the results, four user profiles have been separated: peripherals, normatives, all-rounders and active participators. Peripherals tend to use the internet less as most of them do not have access at home. Normatives use the internet primarily for communication, entertainment and to gain information but they are not involved in creative and participatory activities on the internet. All-rounders do all kind of activities on the internet as for active participators are mostly involved in participatory activities. Authors conclude that all modes of internet use can contribute to learning and a better school performance in different ways if teachers are aware of the user profiles and the ICT skills of students. Similarly Jackson et al. (2010) found also a positive correlation between some aspects of ICT use and school performance. This longitudinal research in the USA intended to explore the effect of internet use and playing video games among 12-year old children. Results implied that reading skills were improved by internet use and video games if this skill had been below the average. However ICT use had no significant effect if reading skills had been above average. Authors point out the complexity of this relationship: socio-demographic factors have to be considered as they influence both dependent and independent variables in this case.

The Programme for International School Assessment of the OECD allows for diversified exploration of factors influencing school performance. As the survey includes an ICT questionnaire to reveal the extent of ICT access at home and at school and modes of ICT use, many scholars explored the relationship between ICT use and student performance. Analysing PISA data Anil and Ozer (2012) found a positive correlation between science skills and ICT access and use in Turkey in 2006. Computer and Internet availability at home and at school increased the achievement points on the science tests. The advanced use of ICT (using excel, use of educational software, etc.) also enhanced science skills and knowledge, but the use for entertainment had rather a negative effect on achievement. International analysis also confirmed the positive relationship between ICT use and performance. Based on PISA data from 2006 Spiezia (2011) revealed a positive impact of ICT use on science scores even after controlling for students' characteristics and family background. Nevertheless a distinction between the effect of ICT use at home or at school had been revealed. The effect turned out to be larger when computer was used at home rather than at school. In most countries computer use at school did not have a significant impact on science performance. Results from the assessment in 2009 also indicated a positive effect of ICT use on school performance. Delen – Bulut (2011) analysed the impact of students' exposure to technology and their familiarity with ICT on math and science performance in Turkey. Access and use of ICT at home had a larger impact on students' math and science scores than ICT use at school.

Besides the positive relationship between ICT use and performance some studies found rather a negative correlation. Fuchs – Woessmann (2004) pointed out that although bivariate analysis shows a positive correlation, multivariate investigation reveals a negative impact. In their study exploring the effect of ICT access and use on student performance applying PISA data from 2000, the initial positive effect turned into a negative one when possible influencing factors as student characteristics, family background and school characteristics were controlled for. In their study Mominó – Meneses (2007) also emphasized that the positive relationship between ICT use and student performance might be confusing as it just reflects the effect of a privileged family background. Therefore they claim that Internet use itself does not lead to a better school performance. Moreover a proper use of ICT in favour of learning is not the reason for but the consequence of a good academic performance.

The literature concerning the effect of ICT use on learning and school performance is somewhat contradictory as both positive and negative correlation has been revealed. Based on previous researches and results we hypothesize that the relationship between ICT access, ICT use and student performance is rather positive. However this correlation has to be investigated more in detail by taking into consideration other factors and effects that can influence this relationship, e.g. family background and student characteristics. Only after controlling for these variables can we tell something real about the effect of ICT use on learning and performance.

3. Data and methods

To investigate the relationship between ICT availability, ICT use and school performance, we use the latest student-level dataset of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) recorded in 2012. This huge, extensive international survey aims to evaluate education systems by testing student skills and knowledge in three main fields: mathematics, reading and science with a focus on one every three years since 2000 when the first survey was conducted. In each participating country[1] a random sample of the population of 15-year old students is involved in the survey from randomly selected schools. The main survey is supplemented among others[2] by an ICT questionnaire which gathers information about ICT access and use inside and outside of school. Throughout the five assessments so far from the year 2000, the ICT questionnaire went through some modifications and extensions. For this reason longitudinal analysis and comparison are limited. Our analysis is based on the Hungarian dataset as we focus on the Hungarian case regarding the impact of ICT use on student performance. The Hungarian sample comprises 4810 students from 204 schools. Analysis was undertaken on weighted data using the final student weight (OECD 2009. 36.).

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[1] In 2012 the following 65 economies took part in the test: Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Chinese Taipei, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic , Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong-China, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Korea, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macao-China, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Montenegro, Republic of Serbia, Romania, Russian Federation, Shanghai (China), Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Vietnam.

[2] The PISA assessment also includes a questionnaire for school principals who provide information about the schools' composition regarding students and teaching staff and also the teaching and learning environment of the school.

The PISA database includes several measures of computer availability and use both at home and at school. First we show bivariate evidence on the relationship between ICT access, ICT use and student performance in mathematics, reading and science. Relying on previous empirical works we suppose that other factors may have an impact on this relationship. Therefore multivariate analysis is applied to reveal the net impact of ICT access and use on achievement, by controlling for substantial variables that are assumed to influence the relationship between computer use and performance. In this section we build on linear regression models.

The dependent variables (Table 2.) in our analysis are measures of student performance in mathematics, reading and science. As the participating students in the survey fill out different combinations of different tests, the achievement scores are estimated by five plausible values in each field.[3] On large samples using one plausible value or five plausible values does not make a substantial difference between mean estimates and standard error estimates (OECD 2009. 44.). Therefore in our analysis we use the first plausible value of mathematics, reading and science achievement.

For both bivariate and multivariate analysis we explore first the relationship between ICT access and student performance and afterwards the impact of ICT use on achievement[4]. ICT access is measured in two different ways in the PISA survey in 2012. In the main student questionnaire respondents are asked about their home possessions among them computer availability for schoolwork and a link to the Internet. Thus these variables give information about computer access and Internet availability at home in a dichotomous way. However according to these variables we do not know whether the respondent uses them or not. Therefore in the analysis we included another measure of ICT access which reflects whether computer and Internet at home are used or not. We applied some transformation of the variables recorded in the ICT questionnaire to get a dichotomous variable. In the ICT questionnaire students give information about ICT devices available for them to use at home including desktop computer, portable laptop or notebook, tablet computer and Internet connection. As the answers possible were 'Yes, and I use it', Yes but I do not use it' and 'No' we transformed this scale into a dichotomous scale reflecting whether the device is used or not.[5] The first dummy variable (COMPUSE) includes use of desktop computer and/or portable laptop and/or tablet. In this sense we regard for instance the use of a tablet computer equal to the use of a desktop computer. The second dummy variable (NETUSE) measures the use of Internet connection[6].

To reveal broader correspondences we were not only interested in the relationship between the dichotomous measures of ICT access, ICT use and student performance but the correlation between the way of ICT use and achievement. The PISA ICT questionnaire included a set of items referring to the purpose of computer and Internet use. The students reported the frequency of use on each item[7]. In our analysis we used principle components based on these items (TABLE 1.). Three principle components were separated. The first (ENTCOM) refers to a frequent use of entertainment and communication activities on the computer and the internet except playing

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[3] The concept of using plausible values instead of other measuring methods is explained in detail in OECD (2009): PISA Data Analysis Manual: SPSS, Second edition.

[4] ICT access is considered both the availability (possession) of a computer and internet connection, and the use of these devices in a dichotomous sense (uses or does not use). Under ICT use we mean the purpose of use.

[5] The items were recoded as following: 'Yes and I use it'=1, 'Yes but I do not use it'=0, 'No'=0.

[6] Recoded the same way: 'Yes and I use it'=1, 'Yes but I do not use it'=0, 'No'=0.

[7] The answer categories were: 'Never or hardly ever'; 'Once or twice a month'; 'Once or twice a week'; 'Almost every day', 'Every day'.

games. The second one (PRACT) shows the frequent use of ICT for practical purposes. Finally the third principle component (PLAY) stands for a frequent use of playing games.

1. Table: Rotated component matrix of the principle components based on items of computer use

Items	Principal component		
	1.: Entertainment/ Communication (ENTCOM)	2.: Practical use (PRACT)	3.: Playing games (PLAY)
Social networks	0,822		
Browse the Internet for fun	0,787		
Chat online	0,749		
Download music	0,623		
Upload content	0,425		
Obtain practical information from the Internet		0,857	
Read news		0,842	
Use email		0,510	
Collaborative games.			0,858
One-player games			0,856

We hypothesize that both ICT availability and the way of use are related to student performance. Based on the literature we presume a positive impact of both ICT availability and use on performance. However we believe that these effects are influenced by other factors which moderate the initial (bivariate) correspondences. Therefore we do multivariate analysis based on regression models. There are different factors expected to influence access and use. We presume that computer access is affected by the students' family background, more precisely the socio-economic and cultural status of the parents. To test this hypothesis in the regression model we include controlling variables for the family wealth (WEALTH), the educational status of the parents (HISCED) and the cultural background indicated by the cultural possessions of the family (CULTPOS). The index of family wealth (WEALTH) is based on household assets which are believed to capture wealth better than income. The index of cultural possessions takes account of classical literature, books of poetry and works of art at home (OECD 2014. 316.). The parental education was classified using ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education) to ensure international comparability. As a controlling variable in our analysis we use the index reflecting the higher ISCED level of either parent (OECD 2014. 307.).

As for the way of using ICT we suppose that rather student characteristics are affecting it and therefore these characteristics might influence the effect of ICT use on performance. However in the regression models only one student characteristic, namely gender[8], was included as control variable because the sample comprises respondents who are the same age.[9] We believe that boys and girls use other features of ICT and therefore the effect of use on performance may partly reflect these gender specific differences. Not just for ICT access but for ICT use family background is regarded an important factor, therefore we control for these variables as well.

Table 2. and Table 3. present descriptive statistics on the dependent variables and independent variables applied in the analysis.

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[8] The gender variable was recoded: 0=Female 1=Male
[9] The PISA survey addresses 15-year old students, however the month of birth is also taken into account therefore the age of the Hungarian respondents ranges from 15, 25 to 16, 25.

2. Table: Descriptive statistics on dependent variables

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. deviation
Mathematics score (PV1MATH)	4810	144,19	789,69	485,39	91,34
Reading score (PV1READ)	4810	145,94	739,90	496,65	88,50
Science score (PV1SCIE)	4810	181,59	782,49	502,31	88,23

3. Table: Descriptive statistics on independent variables

		Frequency	Valid percent
Possessions computer at home (N=4745)	Yes	4512	95,1
	No	233	4,9
Possessions internet at home (N=4754)	Yes	4499	94,6
	No	255	5,4
Uses desktop computer/laptop/tablet at home (N=4593)	Yes	4396	95,7
	No	197	4,3
Uses internet at home (N=4630)	Yes	4329	93,5
	No	301	6,5

4. Results

4.1. Bivariate evidence on computer access, Internet access and student performance

Testing for the relationship between computer and Internet availability at home and the achievement scores in mathematics, reading and science we find a positive correspondence.

Possessions Internet connection at home
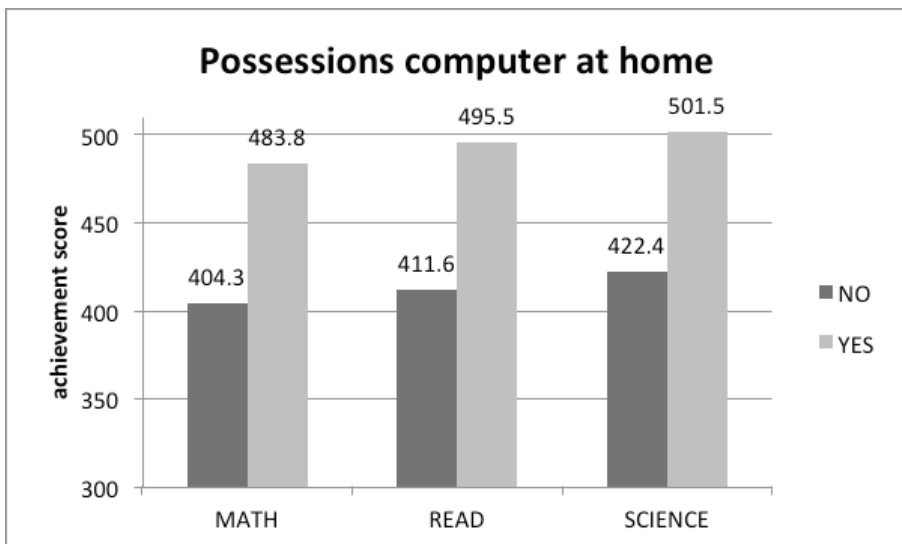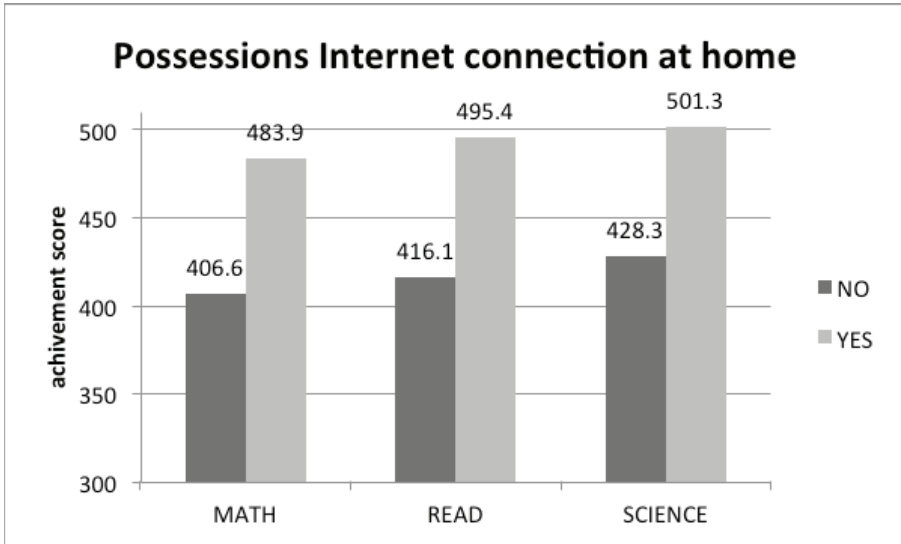
Those students who dispose of a computer or Internet at home perform better in all three fields of skills and knowledge than those who do not have a computer or Internet at home. Thus ICT environment at home enhances the academic achievement.

If we consider not only the availability - that is to say whether one disposes of a computer or Internet – but the use in terms of using the ICT devices or not, we get a very similar result.

Computer use at home
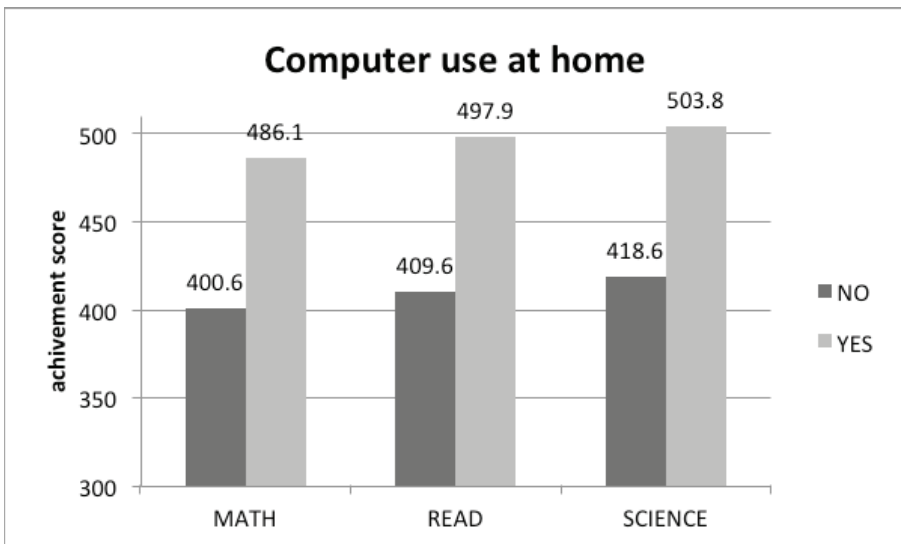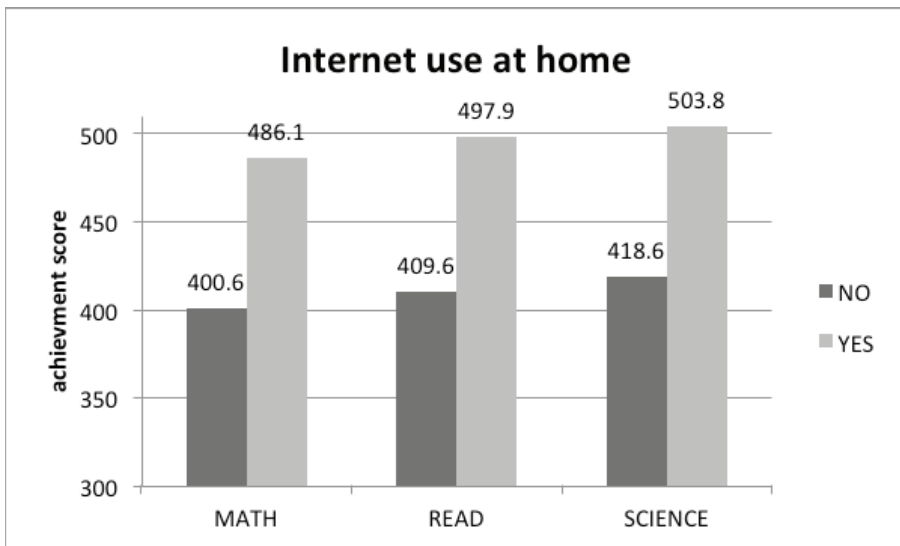
Students who dispose of a computer – equal if it's a desktop computer, a portable laptop/notebook, or a tablet computer – and use it, achieve higher scores on each test than those who do not use a computer regardless of whether they do have one at home or not. Internet use has the same effect, it increases performance in all three fields of skills and knowledge.

4.2. Bivariate evidence on ICT use and student performance

The purpose of ICT use indicated by principle components is related to student performance as in all fields of tested skills and knowledge the correlation is significant.

4. Table: Correlation matrix for student performance and ICT use

	ENTCOM	PRACT	PLAY
MATH	0,007*	0,106**	-0,075**
READ	0,077**	0,102**	-0,204**
SCIENCE	0,038**	0,128**	-0,079**

Notes: Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In case of ICT use for entertainment/ communication and practical use the correlation is positive. Thus chatting, participating in social networks, browsing the internet for fun, downloading and uploading contents somewhat increases performance, mostly reading performance and least of all mathematic performance. Practical use of the internet as obtaining practical information, reading news and e-mailing shows a stronger correlation with performance than the use for entertainment or communication. Playing games however is negatively correlated to performance, hence students who use the computer and the internet to play games achieve lower scores on the assessments. Mainly reading skills are negatively affected by the use of ICT for playing games.

4.3. Multivariate evidence on computer access, Internet access and student performance

Bivariate analysis indicates a positive relationship between ICT access and academic achievement. However this relationship might reflect the effect of other factors. For instance family background influences both performance and ICT access. Students with an advantaged socio-economic background tend to perform better in school. At the same time ICT access is more probable in privileged households. Also cultural capital might be an indicator that affects both ICT access and academic performance. Higher educated parents provide more inputs for their children's learning that's why these students perform better in education. The educational level correlates positively with ICT access as well. Another indicator of cultural capital is cultural possessions at home which we presume to affect both performance and ICT access. The advantaged cultural environment in terms of cultural possessions enhances learning and knowledge as well as the probability of ICT access at home.

Therefore in the next section we try to control for these factors to reveal the net effect of computer and Internet access on educational achievement. The controlling variables were included step by step in the linear regression models to follow up the changes of effects.

In all three fields of knowledge - math, reading and science – the effect of computer availability stays positive regarding the test scores after controlling for family background variables but diminishes as the control variables are included one by one.

5. Table: Computer availability at home and student performance in math

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*404,33*	*429,68*	*337,42*	*365,61*
Possessions computer at home	**79,48**	**61,90**	**51,93**	**45,26**
WEALTH	-	16,42	4,05	(0,46)
HISCED	-	-	21,46	15,20
CULTPOS	-	-	-	27,02
R^2	*0,041*	*0,058*	*0,15*	*0,225*

Notes: Dependent variable: Mathematics test score (PV1MATH). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

6. Table: Computer availability at home and student performance in reading

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*411,61*	*429,55*	*349,98*	*381,15*
Possessions computer at home	**83,88**	**71,44**	**62,83**	**55,03**
WEALTH		11,62	0,78	-3,09
HISCED			18,52	11,69
CULTPOS				30,28
R^2	*0,048*	*0,057*	*0,128*	*0,231*

Notes: Dependent variable: Reading test score (PV1READ). Significance level: 5 percent.

7. Table: Computer availability at home and student performance in science

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*422,39*	*445,00*	*359,52*	*389,14*
Possessions computer at home	**79,10**	**63,42**	**54,14**	**47,07**
WEALTH		14,64	3,06	-0,74
HISCED			19,88	13,30
CULTPOS				28,53
R²	*0,044*	*0,059*	*0,145*	*0,238*

Notes: Dependent variable: Science test score (PV1SCIE). Significance level: 5 percent.

In each table Column I. shows the effect of computer availability at home on the test scores without controlling for any other impact. As in the previous section, we found that students with a computer access at home achieve about 80 points more on the tests, than those who do not have a computer at home. When family background variables are added this advantage gets moderated. In the first step (Column II.) we controlled for the wealth of the students' family. The results implicate that family wealth has a significant effect on the correlation between computer access and performance, as in all three fields test scores lower for about 12-17 achievement points when wealth is controlled for. As a next step (Column III.) we added the educational status of the parents as a control variable. Again mean test scores in maths, reading and science reduce for about 10 points for students with a computer at home compared to the previous regression model. In the last column (Column IV.) in addition to the previous models cultural possessions are taken into account, which again lowers the effect of computer access on achievement for about 6-7 points. In conclusion we found that when filtering out the effect of a students' family background in terms of wealth, highest education of either parent and cultural possession, those who have a computer achieve on average 45,26 points more in maths, 55,03 points more in reading and 47,07 points more in science compared to those who do not have a computer at home.

Exploring the net effect of Internet access we get similar results to computer access. In all three cases of mathematics, reading and science Internet access increases mean scores even if controlled for family background variables. However the effect gets lower when adding the control variables.

8. Table: Internet availability at home and student performance in math

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*406,636*	*433,185*	*343,702*	*371,581*
Possessions Internet connection at home	**77,23**	**57,48**	**43,98**	**38,27**
WEALTH		15,026	3,238	(-0,343)
HISCED			21,666	15,29
CULTPOS				27,267
R²	*0,041*	*0,055*	*0,148*	*0,224*

Notes: Dependent variable: Mathematics test score (PV1MATH). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

9. Table: Internet availability at home and student performance in reading

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*416,093*	*433,41*	*355,933*	*386,911*
Possessions Internet connection at home	**79,31**	**66,42**	**55,33**	**48,45**
WEALTH		9,801	(-0,505)	-4,338
HISCED			18,665	11,708
CULTPOS				30,601
R²	*0,046*	*0,052*	*0,125*	*0,23*

Notes: Dependent variable: Reading test score (PV1READ). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

10. Table: Internet availability at home and student performance in science

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*428,316*	*452,32*	*368,738*	*398,079*
Possessions Internet connection at home	**72,99**	**55,13**	**42,93**	**36,84**
WEALTH		13,586	2,499	13,444
HISCED			20,143	-1,28
CULTPOS				28,802
R²	*0,04*	*0,052*	*0,141*	*0,235*

Notes: Dependent variable: Science test score (PV1SCIE). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

When controlling for all three family background variables the net effect of Internet access on performance is on average 38,27 points in maths, 48,45 points in reading and 36,84 points in science.

We hypothesize that the use of a computer or the Internet connection is also affected by family background. Therefore the effects of computer use and Internet use are also controlled for family wealth, educational level of the parents and the cultural environment, in terms of cultural possessions. The results are very similar to the results of computer and Internet availability.

11. Table: Computer use at home and student performance in math

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*400,58*	*425,03*	*335,11*	*362,03*
Uses computer/laptop/notebook at home	**85,51**	**67,86**	**56,08**	**51,33**
WEALTH		14,41	2,446	-1,227
HISCED			21,332	14,94
CULTPOS				27,128
R²	*0,043*	*0,056*	*0,148*	*0,225*

Notes: Dependent variable: Mathematics test score (PV1MATH). Significance level: 5 percent.

12. Table: Computer use at home and student performance in reading

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*409,60*	*425,87*	*348,86*	*378,40*
Uses computer/laptop/notebook at home	**88,26**	**76,50**	**66,97**	**61,72**
WEALTH		9,486	-0,802	-4,861
HISCED			18,174	11,16
CULTPOS				30,442
R²	*0,048*	*0,054*	*0,126*	*0,233*

Notes: Dependent variable: Reading test score (PV1READ). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

13. Table: Computer use at home and student performance in science

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*418,65*	*439,98*	*356,96*	*385,19*
Uses computer/laptop/notebook at home	**85,17**	**69,67**	**59,05**	**53,93**
WEALTH		12,308	1,202	-2,635
HISCED			19,634	12,969
CULTPOS				28,407
R²	*0,047*	*0,057*	*0,143*	*0,237*

Notes: Dependent variable: Science test score (PV1SCIE). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

The correlation between ICT use and academic performance is influenced by family background as the regression models show us. Involving control variables for family wealth, education of parents and cultural possessions reduces the effect of computer use on test scores. In the final models we find that computer use itself enhances achievement in math for 51,33 points, in reading for 61,72 points and in science for 53,93 points on average.

The regression models for the net effect of Internet use at home reflect the same tendency for all three fields of assessment.

14. Table: Internet use at home and student performance in math

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*409,52*	*430,28*	*339,17*	*368,49*
Uses Internet at home	**77,30**	**62,71**	**52,81**	**45,55**
WEALTH		13,576	1,785	-1,581
HISCED			21,193	14,82
CULTPOS				27,072
R²	*0,05*	*0,061*	*0,151*	*0,226*

Notes: Dependent variable: Mathematics test score (PV1MATH). Significance level: 5 percent.

15. Table: Internet use at home and student performance in reading

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*416,23*	*428,58*	*350,84*	*382,88*
Uses Internet at home	**82,61**	**73,95**	**66,05**	**57,93**
WEALTH		8,003	-2,121	-5,765
HISCED			17,984	11,058
CULTPOS				30,166
R²	*0,06*	*0,064*	*0,133*	*0,237*

Notes: Dependent variable: Reading test score (PV1READ). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

16. Table: Internet use at home and student performance in science

	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Constant	*427,17*	*444,79*	*360,67*	*391,29*
Uses Internet at home	**77,49**	**65,06**	**55,92**	**48,22**
WEALTH		11,327	(0,358)	12,927
HISCED			19,55	-3,14
CULTPOS				28,282
R²	*0,055*	*0,064*	*0,148*	*0,24*

Notes: Dependent variable: Science test score (PV1SCIE). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

Regarding not just the availability but the use of the Internet at home we found that aspects of family background are important factors in this case also as the effect is reduced when adding the control variables. It can be concluded that the net effect of Internet use at home is on average 45,55 points in maths, 57,93 in reading and 48,22 in science. The effect of use is somewhat higher compared to the effect of availability.

4.4 Multivariate evidence on ICT use and student performance

Correlation between the purpose of use and academic performance indicated a significant relationship. Two of the principle components of ICT use were positively related to performance: the use for entertainment/communication and practical use. The third mode of use, the one for playing games, showed a negative correlation with achievement. Applying regression models the extent of the effect of use on each kind of skills can be revealed. Moreover these effects can be controlled for background variables. In case of the mode of use we assume that personal characteristics as gender is an influencing factor. The means of factor scores for girls and boys show a significant difference.

17. Table: Gender specific differences in computer use

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	t-statistics	sig.(two-tailed)
ENTCOM	Female	43530	**0,131675**	0,95786	39,907	0,000
	Male	40247	**-0,14242**	1,024804		
PRACT.	Female	43530	**-0,02209**	0,962472	-6,631	0,000
	Male	40247	**0,023889**	1,038548		
PLAY	Female	43530	**-0,48146**	0,78475	-166,224	0,000
	Male	40247	**0,520736**	0,945322		

Girls tend to use the entertainment/communication function of ICT more than boys. Both practical use and playing games is less typical for girls than for boys, the discrepancy is bigger in the latter case.

Beyond the personal characteristics the relationship between the purpose of use of ICT and school performance might be affected by family background as well. We assume that the way students use their devices at home is somehow related to their socio-economic and cultural background. The correlation matrix confirms this assumption as the principal components of use show a significant correlation with family wealth, education of parents and the cultural possessions at home.

18. Table: Correlation matrix for types of computer use and family background

	WEALTH	HISCED	CULTPOS
ENTCOM	0,205**	0,015**	0,046**
PRACT	0,163**	0,123**	0,200**
PLAY	0,069**	-0,061**	-0,148**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The use of ICT for entertainment/ communication purposes is positively correlated to all three family background variables of which wealth has the strongest correlation. Practical use is also enhanced by an advantaged family background, the correlation coefficients are even bigger than in the case of the previous type of use. Playing is positively correlated to wealth however negatively correlated to the educational level of the parents and the extent of cultural possessions at home.

Relying on the correlation between the way of use and family background, during the analysis we try to reveal the effect of family background by adding these factors in the regression models after controlling for personal characteristics.

4.4.1 ICT use 1: Entertainment/ communication

The first regression models (Column I.) show the effect of the ICT use for entertainment/ communication on each test scores. These effects are rather low, in case of mathematics not even significant. The total variance explained by only this one factor is also minimal. However

results report that the frequent use of ICT for entertainment/communication increases reading achievement for about 6,14 points and science scores for 3,32 points on average. In the second models (Column II.), when gender is controlled for the effect of the use for entertainment/ communication changes most in case of reading performance. The last models regress for family background variables as well (Column III.). It seems that they are mostly relevant factors in case of reading performance. The effect of the use of ICT for entertainment/communication on reading achievement lowers for about 3 points compared to the initial model when controlling for gender and family background. The effect on mathematics and science scores shows just a modest change in the last models.

19. Table: Computer use for entertainment/communication and student performance in math

	I.	II.	III.
Constant	*483,649*	*478,363*	*406,896*
ENTCOM	**(0,676)**	**1,429**	**0,728**
GENDER		11,003	19,637
WEALTH			1,254
HISCED			14,237
CULTPOS			29,802
R²	*0,000*	*0,004*	*0,213*

Notes: Dependent variable: Mathematics test score (PV1MATH). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

20. Table: Computer use for entertainment/communication and student performance in reading

	I.	II.	III.
Constant	*495,175*	*512,687*	*448,355*
ENTCOM	**6,914**	**4,42**	**3,893**
GENDER		-36,451	-27,587
WEALTH			0,736
HISCED			12,62
CULTPOS			28,572
R²	*0,006*	*0,047*	*0,236*

Notes: Dependent variable: Reading test score (PV1READ). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

21. Table: Computer use for entertainment/communication and student performance in science

	I.	II.	III.
Constant	*501,35*	*498,858*	*153,861*
ENTCOM	**3,315**	**3,67**	**2,937**
GENDER		5,186	14,647
WEALTH			(0,124)
HISCED			12,852
CULTPOS			30,401
R^2	*0,001*	*0,002*	*0,224*

Notes: Dependent variable: Science test score (PV1SCIE). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

4.4.2. ICT USE 2.: PRACTICAL USE

Practical use is more related to performance than the previous mode of use as the effects on each test scores are higher. Mathematics scores are increased for 9,7 points, reading scores for 9,07 points and science sores for 11,17 points by a frequent practical use of ICT. Whether a boy or a girl uses the computer for practical purposes does not make a remarkable difference regarding the academic performance in each field. Family background however affects this correlation even more. In the last regression model the effect of practical use on each test score decreases notably compared to the initial models. When controlling for family wealth, education of parents and cultural possessions at home the effect of practical use of ICT remains just 0,5 points for mathematic scores, 1,3 for reading scores and 2,32 for science scores.

22. Table: Computer use for practical reasons and student performance in math

	I.	II.	III.
Constant	*483,649*	*478,763*	*407,273*
PRACT	**9,709**	**9,593**	**0,508**
GENDER		10,17	19,366
WEALTH			1,401
HISCED			14,202
CULTPOS			29,706
R^2	*0,011*	*0,014*	*0,213*

Notes: Dependent variable: Mathematics test score (PV1MATH). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

23. Table: Computer use for practical reasons and student performance in reading

	I.	II.	III.
Constant	*495,175*	*513,479*	*450,269*
PRACT	**9,074**	**9,511**	**1,304**
GENDER		-38,1	-28,922
WEALTH			1,733
HISCED			12,46
CULTPOS			28,29
R²	*1,733*	*1,733*	*0,234*

Notes: Dependent variable: Reading test score (PV1READ). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

24. Table: Computer use for practical reasons and student performance in science

	I.	II.	III.
Constant	*501,35*	*499,587*	*157,225*
PRACT	**11,173**	**11,131**	**2,324**
GENDER		3,669	13,534
WEALTH			(0,678)
HISCED			12,705
CULTPOS			29,969
R²	*0,016*	*0,017*	*0,224*

Notes: Dependent variable: Science test score (PV1SCIE). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

4.4.3 ICT use 3.: Playing games

Compared to the effect of the previous modes of ICT use, the effect of a use for playing games is reverse as performance is decreased in every case by this way of ICT use. Students who frequently use ICT for playing games achieve about 6,89 less in mathematics, 18,17 less in reading and 6,92 less in science. However these effects are strongly influenced by gender. If we control for the gender of the user, playing games lowers the mathematics scores even more (-12,74 points). The same trend of change reveals for science performance. The effect of playing games on reading performance however gets moderated when adding gender as a control variable, turns from -18,17 points to -11,67 points. Family background also plays a substantial role in the relationship of playing games on the computer and school performance. For mathematic achievement the effect is almost the same to the initial model when controlling for family variables beyond gender. The net effect of the use for playing games in the last model remains -6,81 points for mathematics test scores. Reading performance is decreased also for about 6,1 points when adding all control variables in the regression. Science scores are lowered at least of all by playing games in the last model, the effect remains -4,67 points.

25. Table: Computer use for playing games and student performance in math

	I.	II.	III.
Constant	*483,649*	*472,418*	*406,126*
PLAY	**-6,892**	**-12,74**	**-6,812**
GENDER		23,379	26,017
WEALTH			2,067
HISCED			13,829
CULTPOS			29,358
R²	*0,006*	*0,018*	*0,217*

Notes: Dependent variable: Mathematics test score (PV1MATH). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

26. Table: Computer use for playing games and student performance in reading

	I.	II.	III.
Constant	*495,175*	*507,65*	*449,18*
PLAY	**-18,166**	**-11,669**	**-6,101**
GENDER		-25,968	-22,9
WEALTH			2,456
HISCED			12,141
CULTPOS			28,118
R²	*0,041*	*0,057*	*0,238*

Notes: Dependent variable: Reading test score (PV1READ). Significance level: 5 percent. Put in parentheses if not significant.

27. Table: Computer use for playing games and student performance in science

	I.	II.	III.
Constant	*501,35*	*494,224*	*165,134*
PLAY	**-6,918**	**-10,628**	**-4,665**
GENDER		14,832	18,239
WEALTH			1,426
HISCED			12,485
CULTPOS			30,058
R²	*0,006*	*0,012*	*0,225*

5. Conclusion

The aim of our study was to investigate the relationship between ICT access, ICT use and school performance. Besides bivariate analysis we intended to reveal the net effects of ICT access and ICT use on achievement by applying multivariate analysis to control for possible influencing factors as family background and student characteristics. The analysis on the PISA 2012 data confirmed our assumption of a positive relationship: Computer and Internet availability increased test scores in mathematics, reading and science as well even after controlling for family background variables. Despite availability the use of these devices, in terms of using or not using, turned out to have a bigger impact on achievement after controlling for the students' family background. This result implicates that using ICT at home contributes to learning and a better achievement. However what to use a computer for to perform better in school? To investigate this question we analysed the effects of different types of use on school performance. The use for entertainment and communication, as browsing the internet for fun, chatting, uploading and downloading contents, etc. seems to contribute to a better achievement mostly in case of reading and science, but this effect is moderate. Therefore gender and family background do not have a strong influence on this relationship either. Practical use of a computer leads to a better performance regarding all three competencies. However the results implicate that this mode of use is strongly affected by family background as achievement points lower remarkably after controlling for wealth, education of parents and cultural possessions at home. Due to our results the third mode of use, playing games on the computer sets back performance. This effect is strongly influenced by gender and family background as well.

As our results show, ICT access and use at home do contribute to a better school performance. However the way of use also matters, as some enhance others set back academic achievement. Due to our results it seems that educational inequalities in Hungary are influenced by ICT access and ICT use. Although the students' socio-economic and cultural background has an impact on this relationship, the effect of ICT access and ICT use on performance remains more or less after filtering out the influence of these factors. We have to emphasize that our results are limited to Hungary and even if we tried to reveal the net effects by controlling for some variables, the results do not implicate a causal relationship as there might be other factors influencing both ICT access and ICT use and school performance at the same time. Further investigation should explore the effect of other or more possible influencing factors and reveal the relationship between ICT use and performance more deeply. ✳

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Hungary in the Rural Development Cooperation Network of the European Union

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to investigate the role and position of Hungary in the transnational cooperation projects of the rural development policy in the European Union between 2007 and 2013. On the one hand, we study – on a basis of official data – the main characteristics of the distribution of rural development projects among the EU member states by applying basic descriptive methods supplemented with certain concentration measures to quantify the inequalities of the projects and the funds this way exploring the role of Hungary in the process of project generation and fund absorption. On the other hand, we apply basic network analysis techniques and network measures to illustrate and describe the transnational cooperation network among countries in the European Union and the position of Hungary in this cooperation network. According to the results the distribution of both the projects and the financial resources allocated through these projects prove to be rather concentrated, and Hungary seems to have a kind of comparative advantage in the possibilities of the initiation of transnational cooperation projects.

Keywords rural development, cooperation, social embeddedness, network analysis

Introduction

In this paper we introduce some results from our explorative empirical investigation about the implementation of the European Union rural development policy. In the focus of our research the bottom-up character of EU rural development – and especially the position of Hungary in this processes – can be found as we concentrate on the analysis of territorial cooperation projects in the planning period between 2007 and 2013. After introducing the research issue theoretically in the terms of local development, social factors and embeddeness of development – with a specific attention on rural development – the data sources and methods are described. In the process of data analysis we employ on the one hand basic techniques and measures to reveal the main characteristics of the allocation of transnational rural development cooperation projects. On the other hand we apply network analysis techniques to explore the position of Hungary in the EU-level rural development cooperation network. According to the results available at the current level of the research the distribution of both the projects and the financial resources allocated through these ones prove to be rather concentrated, and Hungary seems to have a kind of comparative advantage in the possibilities of the initiation of transnational cooperation projects.

Theoretical introduction

Local development and social embeddedness

Considering the concept of *local development* from the general perspective of territorial development it can be defined as a rather comprehensive activity including a certain number of social and economic actors that complement each other. This process of joint activities happens in a specific local level and as a result of these activities the best possible form of utilization of local resources can be achieved leading to the development of the area implied. The activities and actions of the local *actors* can be found in the focus of local development processes who take steps in favour of the development of the area, and this specific aspect of local social embeddedness (Granovetter 2006) of development processes is rather significant (Reisinger 2010. 12.). The social background of local development highlighted above might be interpreted from a(n) economic) sociological aspect building on the concept of *social capital*.

The important role of social capital[1] – or as it is usually referred to by the literature; third sector (Birch –Whittam 2008) or civil sector (Kelemen 2005) – in the development of societies or communities is highlighted by Putnam's well-known thesis (Putnam 2006), but for our topic it is even more important that this role is also emphasized in regional development policy. The definition of this special kind of resource shows differences according to distinct authors who underline certain aspects of the concept – for some of the definitions, interpretations and misinterpretations see Sik (2006). However it is common to all of the concepts, definitions and interpretations of social capital that it is more or less connected to civil organization (Orbán–Szántó 2006. 139.; Füzér–Gerő–Sik–Zongor 2006. 340., 343.) as amongst the mechanisms of

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[1] The role of social capital in local development and development policy can be highlighted even more if development policy in general is interpreted as an intent to help public goods (Olson 1997) to come into existence – or rather to prevent public bad (Hirschman 1995) – employing institutional devices (Elster 1995) in order to enforce certain principles. In this aspect social capital can facilitate collective action and eventually the success of development processes.

social capital can be found – among others – community development based on social networks, competitiveness, collective action capacity and social cooperation (Orbán – Szántó 2006. 142.). The most important political function of social capital can be considered to expand and to strengthen civil society. The abundant amount of social capital is the criterion of a vibrant civil society, which in turn is essential to the effective operation of a democratic political system (Orbán–Szántó 2006. 144.).

Putnam (2006: 208) exactly states that the communities with adequate set of social capital enjoy the benefits of higher economic growth, lower crime, extensive socialization, improved mental/medical conditions or better school performance (Orban – Szántó 2006. 143.).

However, the sole existence of social capital is not necessarily the guarantee of competitiveness and development as it is also possible that civil society itself becomes the hotbed, glass culture of rent seeking (see Johnson 1999. 236–244.): certain actors of civil society over time are transformed into interest groups which may utilize community funds for their private purposes (Orbán–Szántó 2006. 144.).

This type of resource or capital raised also the interest of decision-makers and practitioners: from the 1990s – beside the academic interest – the attention of public policy towards these resources became more intense. Social capital might be interesting in the development policy for two reasons: (1) to grasp the impact of the (existing) social capital in the system , and (2) – in the light of methodological individualism – the creation or formation of social capital is usually an unintended by-product due to the tradition, the history of coexistence, shared historical experience, religion and related social factors – and as such, the government has only a limited direct impact on social capital formation (Orbán–Szántó 2006. 150.). Accordingly, various development institutions – e.g. World Bank, European Commission, even in Hungary (Füzér–Gerő–Sik–Zongor 2006. 337.) – started to build more significantly their activities aimed to foster economic growth and sustainable social development on social capital (Orbán–Szántó 2006. 139.; Füzér–Gerő–Sik–Zongor 2006. 336., 343.). In the research field of general regional development one of the main questions are the possibilities of social capital development (Birch – Whittam 2008). As there seems to work a special kind of interaction: social capital can be accumulated and developed by the third sector, and – in turn – the latter boosts and strengthens – by activating different actors in a network structure – sustainable regional development (Birch – Whittam 2008. 438.). At the same time the civil organizations gain more and more significant economic, social and political role to the transformation processes of EU development policy – primarily in the implementation of and decisions connected to local- and regional level territorial development programs (Kovách 2000. 185.; Kovách 2010. 26.; 184.), furthermore the focus on the principles of *partnership* and *cooperation* (Horváth 2003. 147–151.; Berky–Kullmann 2011. 9–10). As in the solution of the problems emerging from the rapid globalization of the economic and environmental changes, the increasing process of individualisation, the great changes in the political sphere – the collapse of socialism, the transformation of the European community – new forms of cooperative methods became necessary. In this context of regional development the civil organizations become involved in the integration of human and economic resources of sub-national (local, regional) level and in the fostering of the responsibility-sharing processes among different levels, cooperation and networking – providing a forum for bottom-up, participatory development practice (Kovách–Kučerová–Megyesi 2005. 109–110).

Features of EU rural development policy

In the system of the European Union rural development policy certain approaches and factors need to be taken into consideration regarding the micro-level realization or implementation of the objectives, i.e. to encourage the potential actors and stakeholders to mobilize their resources to reach the general aims through the realization of particular or individual aims. In this context *projectification* (Kovách–Kučerová 2006; Kovách 2007) proves to be an important factor implying that the overall process of development policy is organized through individual initiations; projects that include the individual intentions, motivations and resources of the participants. These projects in rural development policy play an important role – building on the role of *communities* and the principle of *partnership* (Kovách–Kučerová–Megyesi 2005) – in the *commercialization of rural goods and services* (Kovách–Kristóf 2007). A further relevant aspect of the projectified rural development policy is its emphasis on endogenous development and the role of *decentralization* (Csite–Kovách 2002, Davey 2003) and *locality* (Barca 2009) in a cooperative and network-based manner. In a general perspective Chanan (1999) describes the evolution of the participation of local actors through networks in a pyramid model (Chanan 1999. 38.). According to this scheme the possibilities of the local participants intended to facilitate and promote the development of their area begin at a phase when individuals start to *establish community groups* or take part in activities of such already existing groups. After one is a member – or even initiator – of a group the next step is to become active as a member of the group through gaining an essential – first of all developmental – role in the activities of the group. In this phase work is needed to assist group formation, to develop basic organizational skills, trust and confidence, the clarification of the objectives of the group. After a group has firmly established itself through the organizing work of some relevant members and with the possible help of already established groups or umbrella organizations the next step is to *find further actors* and/or other *group(s)* that might be partner(s) in reaching objectives. In this cooperative phase strategic planning of the activities of the groups is considered, the skills of the staff and the volunteers become more important, and this step may involve the widening of social or geographical base of the people reached by the group. When this cooperation amongst groups or organizations becomes sound and effective, certain *umbrella groups*, *forums* and *networks may arise*. In this phase it becomes possible for the groups to provide certain services to their members, the cohesion of the community and the voluntary sector is increased and the relationships with other sectors become more frequent. Finally, this organized agglomeration of individual actors through groups enters the public sphere by *representing* the members and stakeholders and by articulating the objectives and strategy of the cooperation. While acting in the official scheme it proves to be significant for the representatives of the network to be able to, or to have assistance in negotiating with authorities and different power-holders. In this context the possibility appears to shape the overall development of the locality and its population, and the final aim can be reached (Chanan 1999. 38–39).

If this evolution of participatory processes is managed successfully the involvement becomes mutually beneficiary between the different levels of development. This other pyramid model (Figure 1) highlights that after a certain level of organizational structure the networks evolved not only strengthen the groups contained but the networks support a scheme and – at the top of the structure – after a certain level the scheme itself starts to support the networks and through the networks the groups and finally at the lowest – local – level the participants, the individuals forming groups – i.e. those who were originally initiating the whole process (Chanan 1999. 39–40.).
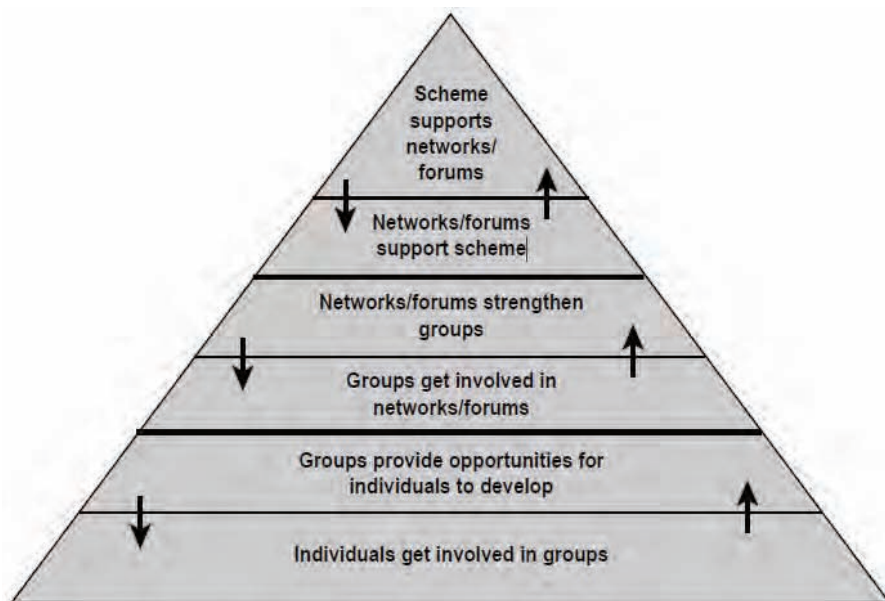
Figure 1 ❖ *The involvement pyramid (source: Chanan 1999. 40.)*

In our study these participatory and involvement models can be easily applied to introduce and interpret the structure and implementation of the European Union[2] rural development policy. As in this perspective the rural development policy was – at least partially – based on a rather similar structure as the aforementioned pyramid model: in each member states the rural areas were formally organized through the so-called local action groups (LAG) system. Local action groups could be formed – in this aspect – by local people and/or local groups and organizations[3] engaged in local development. After these local actors – or the groups of these

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[2] It is relevant even in *Hungary* demonstrated by the potential possibility – created by the Regional Development Act in 1996 – for local government to create associations (Micro-regional Development Councils) – which actually are a form of voluntary/non-governmental organizations. Furthermore all of those sub-regional level active social organizations can participate in the work of these Micro-regional Development Councils which cover at least half of the regarding population or settlements. In addition since 2004. it is regulated by governmental decree how – in an official form – civil organizations can articulate their opinions and express their interest in the process of local and regional decision-making and strategy-building. The scene of this formal representation is the civil forum, which may delegate members to the concerning development council (Nagy 2005. 15–16.; Kovách–Megyesi–Nagy 2005. 78–79.).

[3] This seem to be in accordance with the methodological problem of the measurement of the quantity of social capital. As in the literature there can be two different approaches distinguished (Orbán–Szántó 2006: 145): (1.) the one based on the number of groups and group members and (2) the other one based on the social level trust and the extensiveness of civil organizations. Orbán A.–Szántó Z. (2006. 145–147.) describe the following analytical model to measure social capital in the light of the former (1) approach:

$$SC = \Sigma (1/r_n)(r_p cn)_{1...t}$$

Where 'n' indicates the number of members of a certain civil organization and 't' signifies the number of groups concerned, 'r_n' indicate the radius of distrust – which comes into existence in the case of groups or

local actors – have gained the official representative role, i.e. the LAG status they could have become a possible member of a specific network of groups (European Network for Rural Development; ENRD). The motto of ENRD says '*Connecting Rural Europe*' and by joining this umbrella organization the potentials of local actors (or local network of actors) highly increases. As the European Network for Rural Development helps to coordinate and facilitate the information sharing processes in order to develop rural development networks through specific cooperation projects. This was achieved by a central webpage with a list of different project proposals announced by the initiator local action groups themselves and expecting other LAG's to participate as partner in the case when they have similar objectives. The successful cooperation project proposals can realize the desired rural development objectives in a cooperative structure with financial resources from the official budget. In this manner the scheme funded by the network of the groups begins to help the organizations and the (local action) groups, and through them the actors themselves to reach their specific, locally embedded aims and the scheme as a whole starts to work as an assisting structure.

Data and methods

In order to to investigate empirically the rural development policy of the European Union at first stage we assembled a project-level database. The source of this dataset was the official list of the transnational cooperation projects of the European Network for Rural Development in the period of 2007–2013[4]. Based on the information included in the project list some main features of the projects were gathered through variables[5] for a total number of 448 projects. So this ready-to-be analysed dataset contained all the projects officially notified by the policy-makers – until 2014.06.13. – which means that we have not applied sampling methods but investigated the whole population of the TNC projects[6]. At the second phase of the data management the initial project-level database was aggregated on country level – including only the European Union member states – resulting in a specific database[7] containing the paired values of overall (cooperation) links between the countries through transnational cooperation projects.

Accordingly in the course of data analysis, two kinds of units can be distinguished: while exploring the main characteristics of the distribution of projects and budget the units of analysis were the individual projects. Beside that the other unit of analysis were the aggregated data on country level containing the data of (one-fold[8]) country-to-country links.

organizations that inflict negative external effects on the whole of the society, i.e. harmful and dangerous –; 'r$_p$' means the radius of trust – namely when the cooperation norms of the groups spread out of the group as positive externalities –; and 'c' is a coefficient expressing the cohesion of the organization, i.e. the collection action ability of the group members. So in this approach the rate of social capital is in inverse relationship with the negative externalities produced by the groups, but it is increased by the capacity of cooperation beyond their organizational borders and by the cohesion of the group members (ORBÁN–SZÁNTÓ 2006. 145–147.).

[4] This phase proved to be rather time-consuming as the list of the notified projects was available only in pdf format and the information about the projects had to be recoded one-by-one in an Excel spreadsheet that difficulty might be important regarding some inaccuracy in the database.

[5] A more detailed description of the variables is attached in the appendix.

[6] Therefor in the course of data analysis we do not use significance tests, the results are explored from the population.

[7] In the case of four projects the lead partner is not nominated in the original project list so the relevant number of the cases in this second database is 444.

[8] In this stage of data analysis we recoded the information about cooperation in a dummy variable format.

The methods of data analysis included basic descriptive statistics about the distribution of the projects amongst EU member states supplemented with concentration measures (Hoover index, Robin Hood index[9]) to quantify the inequalities and correlation coefficients to express the relations between the variables. Beside that we apply basic network analysis techniques and network measures (Freeman's degree centrality) to illustrate and describe the transnational cooperation network amongst countries in the European Union.

Results of data analysis

Allocation of TNC projects

Regarding the distribution of the rural development TNC projects remarkable differences can be observed: some of the member states (Croatia, Cyprus, Malta, Portugal and Romania) have not joined – successfully[10] – the process of building EU-level rural development cooperation network as a lead partner. However the rest of the EU 28 countries also seem to vary considering
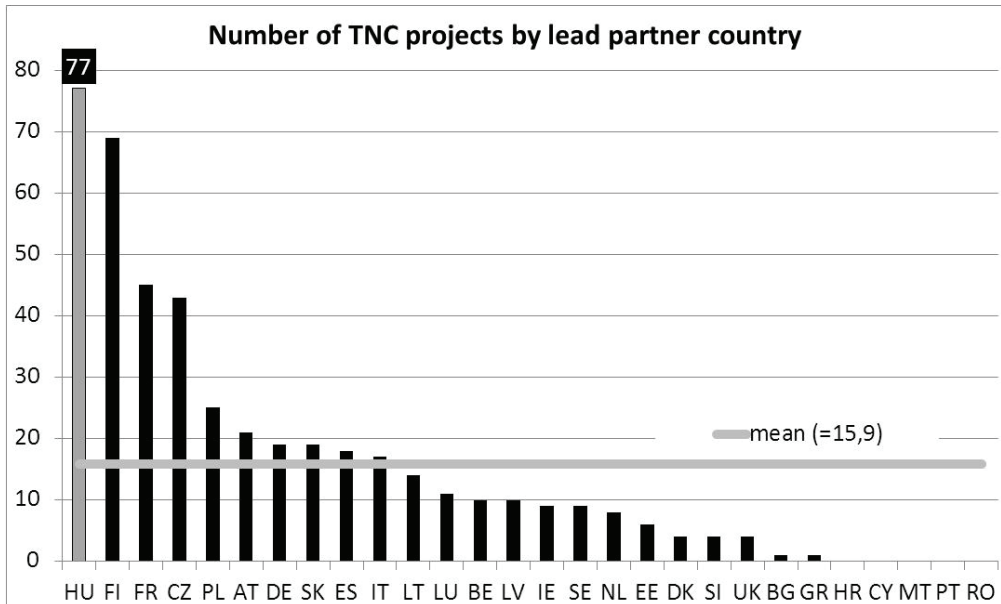

Figure 2   ❖   *Number of TNC projects by lead partner country*

That is in a case of a certain transnational cooperation project we only encoded if a certain country – or more accurately a local action group from a certain country – is part of the project as a lead partner or as a project partner, and it was not coded if more LAG's from the same country were part of the cooperation. Namely the data really reflects the country-level cooperation and not the LAG-level links.

9 Hoover index measures – by taking into account the distribution of two variables compared to one another – the rate of the quantity of one variable needed to be reallocated in order to fit the distribution of the other variable. Robin Hood index is a special form of Hoover index in the cases when the comparison is between the distribution of the population and the distribution of income.

10 As it might be that these countries also had project proposals and partner requests for certain activities however the notified database does not include any approved TNC projects from these counties.

their activity level to initiate cooperation as the number of TNC projects notified as lead partner is below the overall mean value (15,9) in the case of further thirteen member states (see Figure 2). That is the number of TNC project initiations in most of the EU member states is smaller than the overall average. Another group of the countries is the ones with a relatively higher level of activity (Poland, Austria, Germany, Slovakia, Spain, Italy); characterized by a number of EU rural development cooperation projects above the overall average. However there can be distinguished a kind of cluster of top countries (Hungary, Finland, France, Czech Republic) which prove to have the most initiative with an outstanding number of TNC projects – including Hungary with a maximum of 77 projects, 17,3% of all the projects – organizing them as lead partner. Thus the general pattern of the distribution of EU cooperation projects prove to be a rather unequal one with a high level of concentration: more than the half of the projects (52,7%) is initiated by only four EU member countries – only two of them are a kind of 'longer-term members' of the community (France as a founder and Finland since 1995) while the other ones are relatively 'newcomers'. The disproportionate pattern can also be demonstrated by the fact that these four top EU member states possessing more than fifty percentage of the projects incorporate – on country level – only less than one fifth (19,8%) of the local action groups (LAGs; total number = 2451 in this planning period of European Union rural development policy) authorized to launch, organize and manage rural development projects in the European Union.

In this context the distribution of TNC projects amongst countries seems to be only slightly connected to the distribution of local action groups organized in the member states. There can be measured a generally positive relation between the share of cooperation projects and LAGs on country level (see Figure 3): the higher the number of local action groups is, the more projects can be found in the countries as an overall trend (R=0,30), however several exceptions can be found. In the EU member states where the highest number of local action groups were organized (Poland, Spain, Germany) a relatively smaller percentage of projects were initiated. In the cases of for example France, Austria, Latvia, Ireland etc. approximately corresponding values can be measured, however regarding Hungary, Finland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia the share of TNC projects is much higher compared to the percentage of LAGs – that is these member states seem to be 'over-represented' in transnational rural development cooperation projects in relation to their relative importance or presence in the overall rural development space of the European Union.
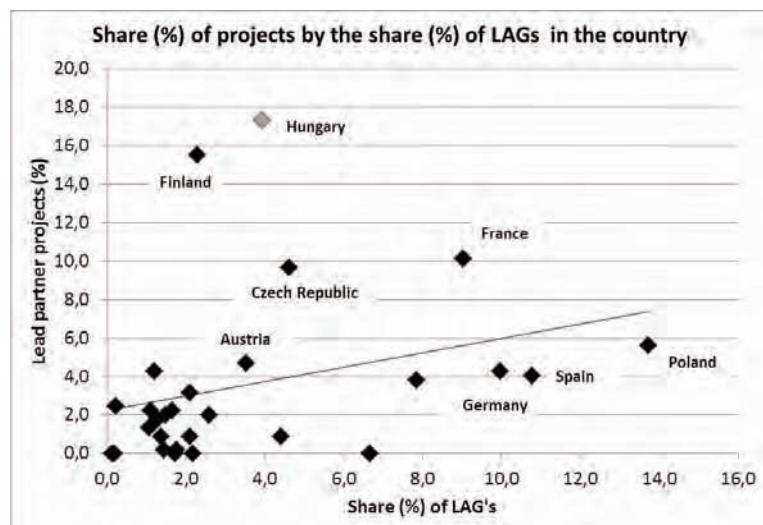

Figure 3 ❖ *Share of projects by the N of LAGs in the country*

Through the value of Hoover Index we quantify the degree of concentration and demonstrate (see Figure 4) the divergence between the distribution of the projects and the local action groups amongst the EU countries measuring a value of 43,7% which implies that more than two-fifth of the projects should be reallocated amongst the countries in order to fit the distribution of LAGs amongst the member states.
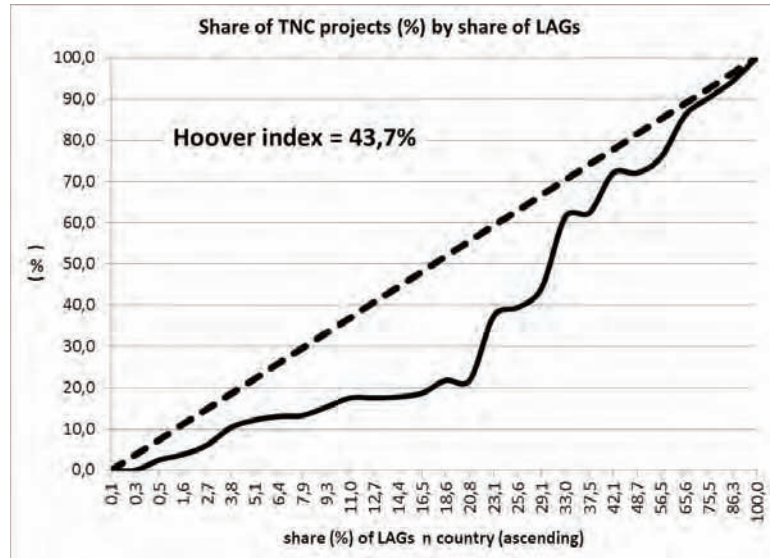

Figure 4 ❖ *Share of TNC projects by share of LAGs*

In the planning period between 2007[11] and 2013 a total budget of 68 535 086,1 Euro were allocated amongst the EU member states to fund transnational cooperation. The temporal dynamics of the fund allocation process (see Figure 5) reflects a kind of natural saturation through the years of the planning period; on the contrary in Hungary a kind of discontinued pattern evolves. In this case a total sum of 3 596 355,5 Euro were acquired as budget – only 5,2% of all the budget – for TNC projects and the process of fund absorptions proves to be rather uneven as in 2008, 2009 and 2012 no funds were procured in TNC projects with Hungary as a lead partner.

The relatively high number and the relatively low overall budget of the rural development cooperation projects of Hungary obviously explain that amongst the EU countries Hungary is the last one with the lowest mean value – considering the countries which have TNC projects as lead partner – in the sequence of budget per project. The group of countries characterised by the lowest values (Ireland, Latvia, Slovenia, Greece and Hungary) is followed by another cluster (including Belgium, Sweden, Estonia, Netherlands, Czech Republic, Lithuania, Slovakia and Poland) with also relatively unfavourable positions (see Figure 6).; i.e. budget per project values lower than the overall mean value (=158 313,3 Euro). Finland is also slightly above the mean, but Germany, France and Bulgaria, and even Luxembourg and the United Kingdom are the countries that have a mean value of budget per project exceeding the overall average. The group of the countries

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[11] The fund allocation process – i.e. the actual payments to finance actual transnational cooperation projects – begins in 2008 presumably due to that the first year of the planning period was utilized as a preparation including project generation, finding partners for project plans, projects submission, assessment and decision about granting.

at the top of the sequence is formed by Italy, Denmark, Spain and Austria – none of them is amongst the highest initiators.

Investigating the distribution of the total financial resources allocated for the EU member states to promote transnational cooperation an essentially similar pattern can be seen – at least concerning the countries characterised by the highest values (see Figure 7). Italy, Austria and Spain are again amongst the top countries – accompanied by Finland being the first one – accumulating the highest percentages of the TNC budget. Compared to the budget mean values per project Hungary in this aspect gains a relatively higher position – with the Czech Republic and Germany – as these countries acquire only a bit lower portion of the overall budget than the overall mean (=6,7%). All the other member states are more notably (Luxembourg, France, Poland and Denmark) or rather significantly (Slovakia, Lithuania, Belgium, Sweden,
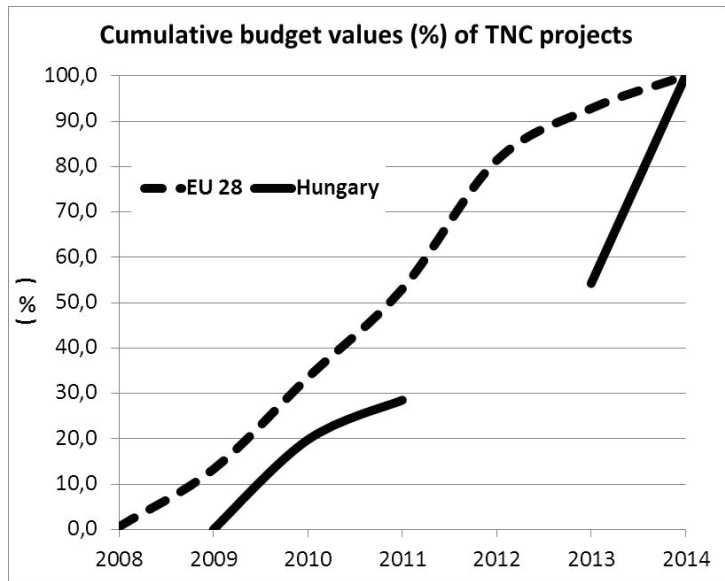

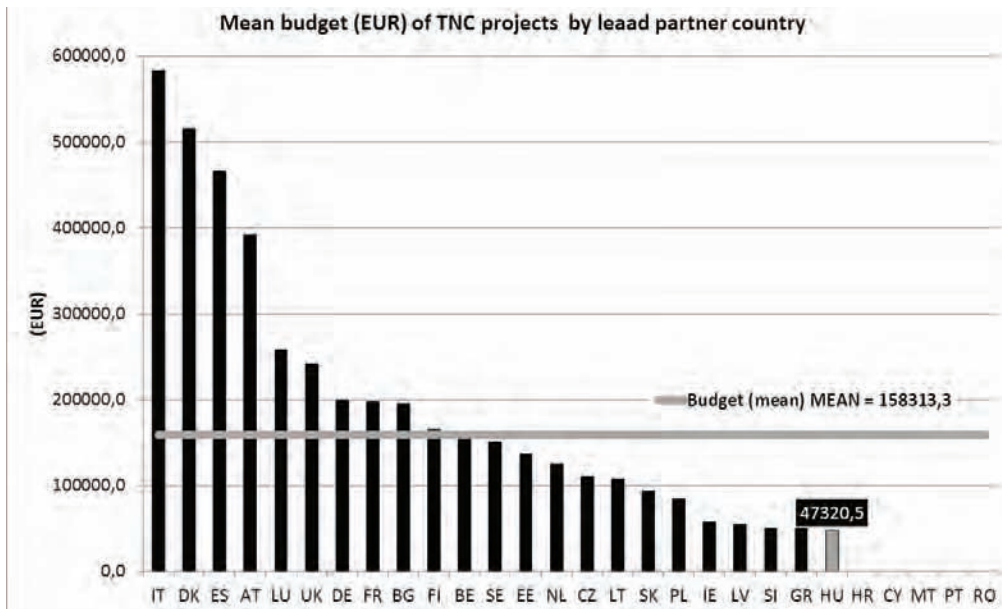FIGURE 5 ❖ *Cumulative budget values of TNC projects*

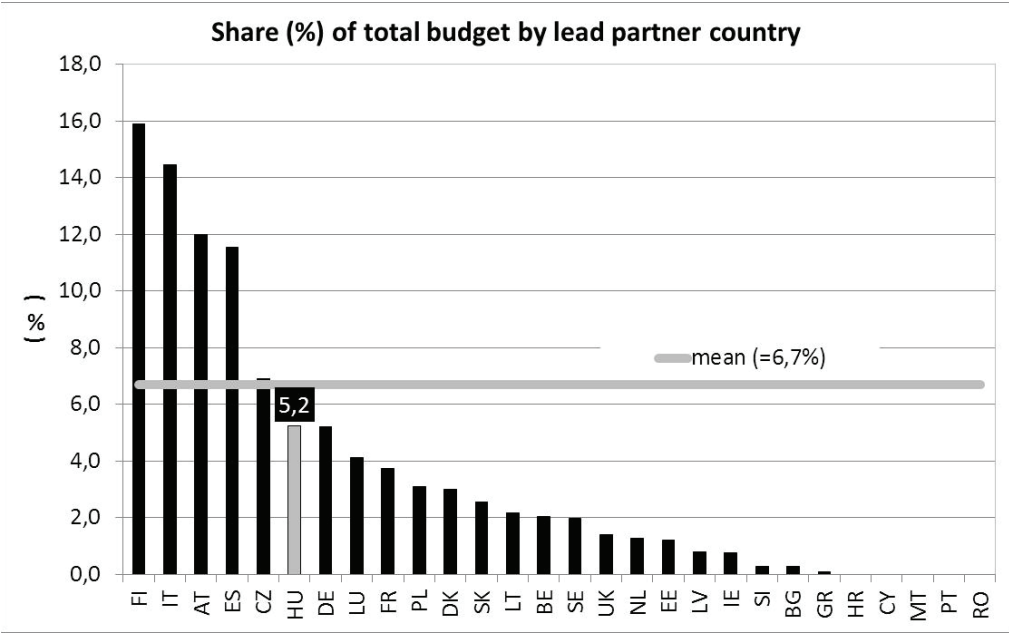FIGURE 6 ❖ *Mean budget of TNC projects by lead partner country*

FIGURE 7   ❖   *Share of total budget by lead partner country*
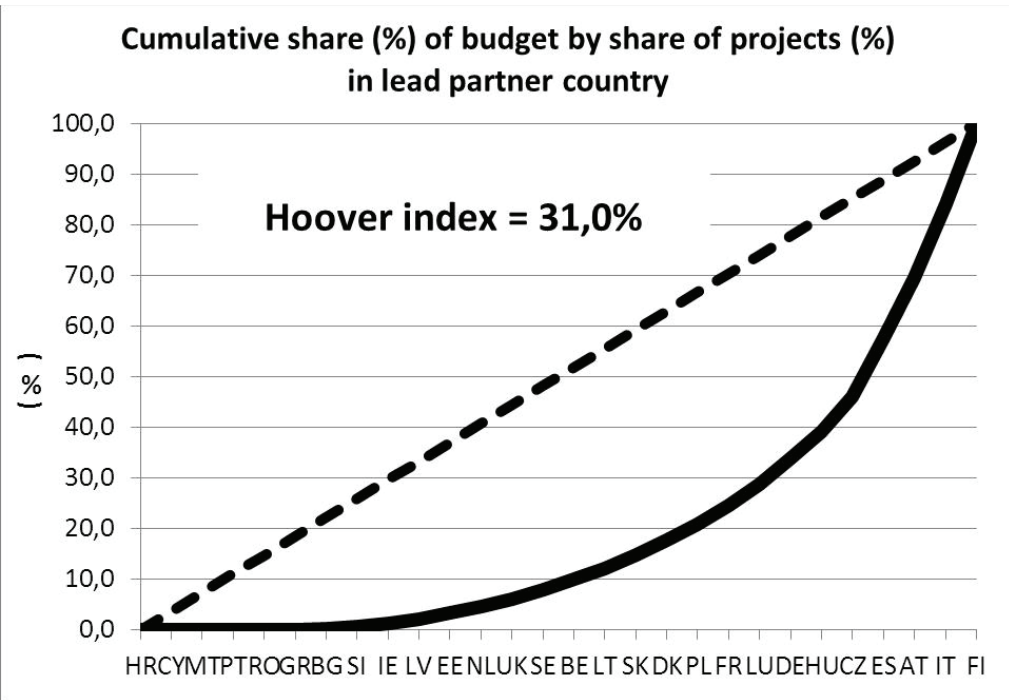

FIGURE 8   ❖   *Lorenz curve of TNC projects and TNC budget*

United Kingdom, Netherlands, Estonia, Latvia, Ireland, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Greece) below the mean value – not to mention the countries that do not have projects as lead partner (Croatia, Cyprus, Malta, Portugal and Romania). Accordingly the allocation of budget amongst countries proves to be remarkably unequal: more than the half (54%) of the budget expended is acquired by four lead partner countries. Furthermore it can also be ascertained that this high rate of the total financial resources covers only one-fourth (24,4%) of all the local action groups concerned (on country level), and less than one-third (28,2%) of the TNC projects.

The overall measure of inequality (see Figure 8) also highlights the lack of accordance between the country-level distribution of projects and financial costs: the Hoover index between the relative frequency of projects and share of total budget (HI = 31%) indicates that almost one-third of the accounts should be reallocated in order to fit the – country-level – pattern of the allocation of transnational cooperation projects.

Rural development cooperation network

The highest number of partner countries in the transnational projects can be measured in the case of Germany[12]: in the 19 TNC projects initiated by – local action groups in – the country an overall number of 64 LAG's in other countries took part in as partners leading to the average number of 3,4 links per projects (see Figure 9). Denmark, the United Kingdom and Spain forms the group of countries with a remarkably higher value, furthermore Slovenia and Italy are still amongst the countries over the mean value (=1,9 links). Relatively more lower values – compared to the mean – can be measured in the case of the Czech Republic, Sweden and Hungary also can be found in this cluster with average value of 1,4 links per projects. At the end of the se-

FIGURE 9 ❖ *Number of partner countries reached per projects*

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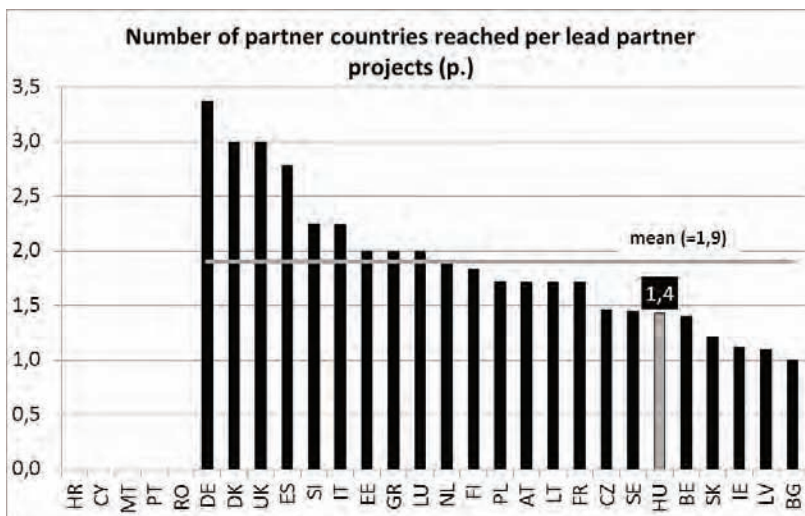
[12] Obviously those EU member states that do not have transnational cooperation project initiated – Croatia, Cyprus, Malta, Portugal and Romania – are excluded from this comparison.
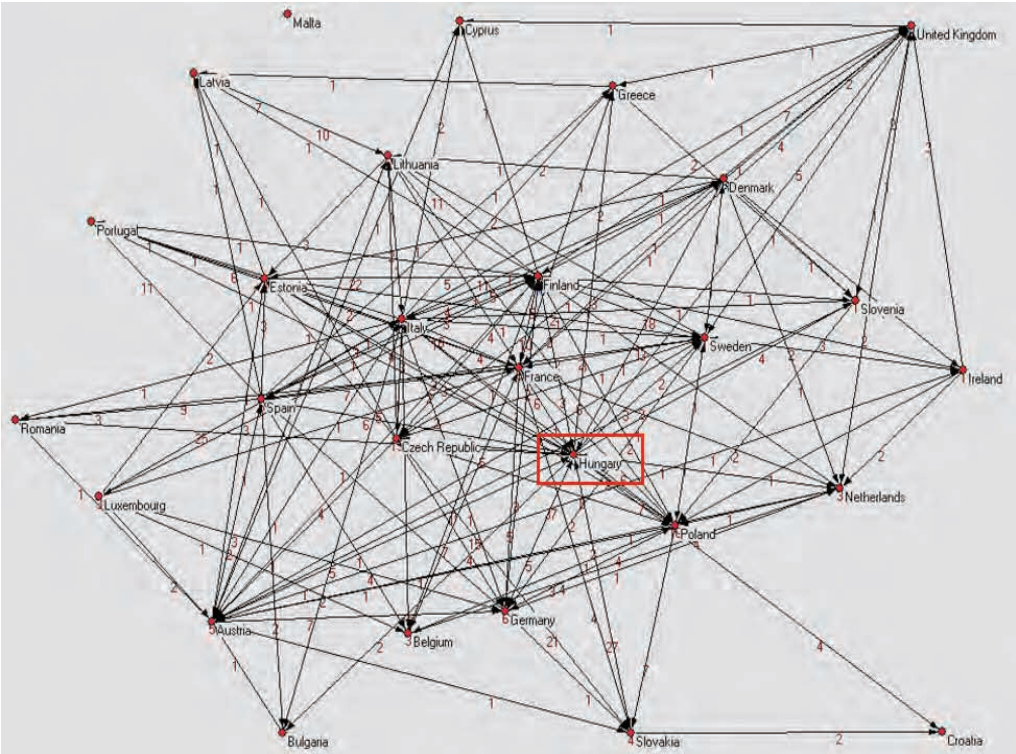
GRAPH 1 ❖ *Cooperation network between countries of EU TNC projects*

quence Ireland, Latvia and Bulgaria can be seen characterised by the lowest values (~1,1) of links per TNC projects.

The graph of the cooperation network between the countries (see Graph 1) shows a slightly different pattern compared to the above relative distribution of links per initiated TNC projects as – aside from one country; Malta that do not have any connections – all the member states of the European Union are embedded more or less in the cooperation network: at least as partner country in transnational cooperation project initiated by a different country. However there seem to be a kind of hierarchy (network centralization = 11,15%) amongst the countries in the system as some of them can be found in the inner part of the network while others at more further positions. It is also noteworthy that Hungary seems to be a rather densely embedded country in this network. Moreover it also can be said that if we consider this system as a symmetric one Hungary has the highest value (141) of links followed by Finland (107 links) and France (87 links).

Even that we distinguish between the relations amongst the countries as links initiated by the country ('out-degree') and links initiated by another country towards a certain country ('in-degree') Hungary still proves to have a main position (see Figure 10). As in this asymmetric approach of the network Hungary seems to have the highest value of out-degree amongst the EU member states in the rural development cooperation network. In the case of the measure of in-degree Slovakia has the highest value with a total number of 61 links but again Hungary has a central position with a relatively high value (53 links) thus being the second most popular partner in the cooperation network.

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FREEMAN'S DEGREE CENTRALITY MEASURES
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Diagonal valid?         NO
Model:                  ASYMMETRIC
Input dataset:          C:\Documents and Settings\Balogh Péter\Asztal\L\L_28


                          1            2            3            4
                      OutDegree     InDegree    NrmOutDeg    NrmInDeg
                     ------------ ------------ ------------ ------------
 13      Hungary      105.000       53.000       10.511        5.305
  9      Finland      100.000       41.000       10.010        4.104
 10       France       70.000       42.000        7.007        4.204
 11      Germany       58.000       42.000        5.806        4.204
  6 Czech Republic     44.000       22.000        4.404        2.202
 26        Spain       37.000       17.000        3.704        1.702
 21       Poland       33.000       39.000        3.303        3.904
  1      Austria       30.000       25.000        3.003        2.503
 15        Italy       25.000       23.000        2.503        2.302
 18   Luxembourg       19.000        7.000        1.902        0.701
 24     Slovakia       19.000       61.000        1.902        6.106
 17    Lithuania       18.000       39.000        1.802        3.904
 27       Sweden       12.000       35.000        1.201        3.504
  7      Denmark       12.000        3.000        1.201        0.300
 20  Netherlands       12.000       12.000        1.201        1.201
  2      Belgium       11.000       14.000        1.101        1.401
 16       Latvia       10.000       12.000        1.001        1.201
  8      Estonia        9.000       39.000        0.901        3.904
 14      Ireland        9.000        5.000        0.901        0.501
 28 United Kingdom      9.000       27.000        0.901        2.703
 25     Slovenia        8.000        9.000        0.801        0.901
 12       Greece        2.000        9.000        0.200        0.901
  3     Bulgaria        1.000        6.000        0.100        0.601
  5       Cyprus        0.000        5.000        0.000        0.501
 23      Romania        0.000       39.000        0.000        3.904
 22     Portugal        0.000       21.000        0.000        2.102
 19        Malta        0.000        0.000        0.000        0.000
  4      Croatia        0.000        6.000        0.000        0.601
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FIGURE 10 ❖ *Asymmetrical measures of the overall network*
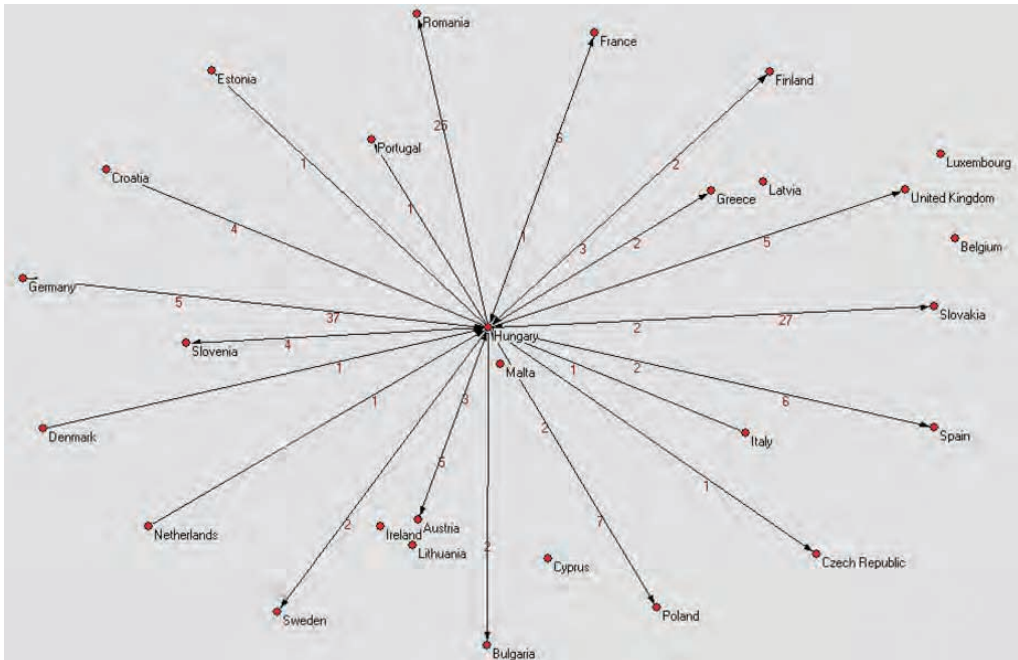
GRAPH 2 ❖ *Cooperation network of Hungary in TNC projects*

Limiting this overview only to the sub-network created by the connections linked to Hungary further remarkable outcomes reveal. This part of the overall network is obviously centralized (network centralization = 14,11%) by Hungary (see Graph 2) but it can also be ascertained that the composition of the links and countries is indicative in a certain sense.

In the case of the countries connected by Hungary a relatively high rate of the links point towards direct neighbour countries, namely 65 links; 61,9% of total out-degree is covered by 'cross-border' countries. The similarly measure – that is the neighbour countries choosing Hungary as a partner in transnational cooperation project – in the case of in-degree is 9,4% (see Figure 11). The tendencies explored might be interpreted as the main position of Hungary in the rural development cooperation network can be explained primarily by a strong local-regional embeddedness and it cannot be excluded that certain (former, even historical) sources as a form of social capital have an important role – in accordance with the literature resources that argue that the creation or formation of social capital is usually an unintended by-product due to the tradition, the history of coexistence, shared historical experience, religion and related social factors (ORBÁN – SZÁNTÓ 2006. 150.). Considering for example that the major part of the connections initiated by Hungary point towards neighbour countries with potential Hungarian-language local action groups or members of LAG's but at this stage of the research it can only be a presupposition and that might be a further objective to verify by an analysis on lower – local action group – level.

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FREEMAN'S DEGREE CENTRALITY MEASURES
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Diagonal valid?         NO
Model:                  ASYMMETRIC
Input dataset:          C:\Documents and Settings\Balogh Péter\Asztal\L\L28HUN


                          1             2             3             4
                     OutDegree     InDegree     NrmOutDeg      NrmInDeg
                    ------------  ------------  ------------  ------------
13        Hungary     105.000       53.000        10.511         5.305
11        Germany      37.000        5.000         3.704         0.501
 9        Finland       3.000        2.000         0.300         0.200
 1        Austria       3.000        5.000         0.300         0.501
26          Spain       2.000        6.000         0.200         0.601
24       Slovakia       2.000       27.000         0.200         2.703
21         Poland       2.000        7.000         0.200         0.701
15          Italy       1.000        0.000         0.100         0.000
10         France       1.000        6.000         0.100         0.601
 7        Denmark       1.000        0.000         0.100         0.000
20    Netherlands       1.000        0.000         0.100         0.000
 2        Belgium       0.000        0.000         0.000         0.000
 5         Cyprus       0.000        0.000         0.000         0.000
 4        Croatia       0.000        4.000         0.000         0.400
 8        Estonia       0.000        1.000         0.000         0.100
16         Latvia       0.000        0.000         0.000         0.000
 3       Bulgaria       0.000        2.000         0.000         0.200
18     Luxembourg       0.000        0.000         0.000         0.000
19          Malta       0.000        0.000         0.000         0.000
 6 Czech Republic       0.000        1.000         0.000         0.100
14        Ireland       0.000        0.000         0.000         0.000
22       Portugal       0.000        1.000         0.000         0.100
23        Romania       0.000       25.000         0.000         2.503
17      Lithuania       0.000        0.000         0.000         0.000
25       Slovenia       0.000        4.000         0.000         0.400
12         Greece       0.000        2.000         0.000         0.200
27         Sweden       0.000        2.000         0.000         0.200
28 United Kingdom       0.000        5.000         0.000         0.501
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FIGURE 11 ❖ *Asymmetrical measures of the network of Hungary*

Concluding remarks and further research perspectives

Considering the results of the analysis at the current explorative stage it can be stated that on country level (1) great differences can be measured in the distribution of lead partner projects between the European Union member states; 52,7% of the projects can be found in 4 countries and (2) this rather concentrated allocation pattern is not strongly affected (R=0,30) by the potential possibilities of project generation; i.e. the distribution of local action groups in the countries (Hoover index=43,7%). In the case of funds allocation similar tendencies revealed: also (3) great differences and wide range of mean budget values between the countries with a (4) remarkable centralization of funds (54% allocated to 4 countries) and unequal distribution compared to project distribution (Robin Hood index: 31%).

Beside the uneven allocation of projects and funds the country-level cooperation network also proves to be (5) fragmented characterised by wide range of average number of country-to-country cooperation links. According to the pattern of country-to-country relations (6) Hungary seems to have a *central* position and role in the TNC network being the most active lead partner country (with 141 initiated links) and the second most desirable partner (53 links). The latter result might be based on (7) a kind of positional advantage of Hungary as a remarkable share (61,9%) of the links initiated is directed toward neighbour countries.

The possible further perspectives of the research may include on the one hand (1) a wider comparison of project generation processes of the countries. It might also be interesting and fruitful to explore the main demographical, sociological and economic factors affecting the differences of the distribution of rural development cooperation projects amongst EU member states, not to mention the opportunity to build an explanatory model about the success of rural development fund absorption capacities. On the other hand it seems also promising to (2) execute a more detailed analysis of the cooperation network on a less aggregated territorial level. As in this first-stage explorative analysis the cooperation links were calculated between the EU member states, but the original initiators of the transnational cooperation projects according to the concerning policy are the local action groups. This approach of further research would demand – the rather time-consuming work of – (re)coding of the initial project-level data available in pdf format not on country-, but on LAG-level through identifying the nominated local action groups by the cooperation projects in the official LAG database but it might be rewarding in the sense that some of the outcomes revealed in this report could be more accurately verified. A possible further research perspective might be to (3) perform additional qualitative investigations: personal interviews with and focus group research among local action group members and/or leaders could be useful to explore the local factors and mechanisms behind rural development cooperation project generation processes.   ✳

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APPENDIX

A1: Description of the variables

Variable	Source	Level of aggregation
Number (share) of TNC projects	official data from the European Network for Rural Development webpage (archived TNC projects database)	country-level (EU member states)
Number (share) of local action groups	interactive database of the European Network for Rural Development webpage	country-level (EU MS's)
Budget (share) of TNC projects	official data from the European Network for Rural Development webpage (archived TNC projects database)	country-level (EU MS's)
Cooperation (partner relations) between countries in TNC projects	official data from the European Network for Rural Development webpage (archived TNC projects database)	project level
Number of partner relations between countries	own aggregation	country-level (EU MS's)

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The Social Theory of Trust and the Sociological Theory of Social Capital

Abstract

The paper offers a theoretical contribution to the post-millennial debates on social capital. The sociological theory of social capital is reconstructed via the social theory of trust. The paper shows how the various kinds of interpersonal and institutional trust, combined with norms of cooperation form themselves into social networks to be studied by the three ideal types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking social capital. This version of social capital theory lends itself to the complex empirical analysis of varied social phenomena from child abuse to projectification, shedding light both on the sunny as well as on the dark side of social capital, covering also its dynamic aspects.

Keywords   bonding social capital; bridging social capital; linking social capital; interpersonal trust; institutional trust

The much debated sociological theory of social capital is reconstructed here in a version that builds upon the social theory of trust – a theoretical reservoir rarely utilized by contemporary theorists and researchers of social capital. It is out of the three dimensions of trust, norms of cooperation and networks that we develop three ideal types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking social capital, and provide the rudiments of their operationalisation for empirical research purposes.

In comparison to other forms of capital, the key characteristic of social capital is that it cannot be possessed individually, like money or human capital: it is an essentially social resource which makes cooperation among people in and across groups possible. In very basic terms, bonding social capital is an asset based on intensive trust among e.g. family members; bridging social capital is made useful (or harmful) e.g. in collegial relations based on a weaker form of trust; whereas linking social capital is embodied e.g. in the potentials inherent in the relationships of the electorate and elected representatives.

The concept of social capital, however, became a success in contemporary social science in a much less differentiated version, finding its way into significance in the policy world as well. The concept has had a spectacular carrier in the social sciences. While the 1980s had been marked by the complex theoretical contributions of Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman (Füzér et al. 2005), the main protagonists of the 1990s were Robert Putnam and Francis Fukuyama: the two of them put the concept in the limelight for its political and economic significance and put forth two similarly formulated theses. Putnam's Neo-Toquevillian thesis (Berman 1997) on the need for a strong civil society (lots of bridging social capital) for stable democracy (Putnam 1993) and the destabilizing effects of weak or weakening civil society (depleted stocks of bridging social capital) and his analyses of processes threatening American democracy (Putnam 1995, 2000) as evidenced by the shift from bowling in clubs to bowling alone, resulted in an explosion of social science literature on social capital (Füzér et al. 2005. 12., 2006. 337.). The parallel thesis by Fukuyama (1995, 1999) on global competitiveness supported by spontaneous sociability (lots of bridging social capital) in certain economies and the limits of economies in familial societies relying primarily on bonding social capital, has had significantly less resonance in spite of being based on a theoretically much more elaborate conception of social capital. In the meantime, the practical wold of policy making too, has discovered and made social capital a success story: besides international development agencies (like OECD, World Bank or UNDP), many national development strategies too set out to develop social capital (in the UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand). In the US, the doyen of social capital research, Robert Putnam initiated a national social capital revival strategy in the form of the Saguaro Seminar and supported concrete projects in the framework of the movement, Better Together (Füzér et al. 2005. 25–65.).

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The triumph of the concept did not go hand in hand with its theoretical clarification backed by the research community, the anchoring of conceptual elements, the delineation of social spheres where social capital can play itself out or with the institutionalization of its modes of operationalization for empirical research. As many definitions and measurement tools as researchers – note many when faced with the Kuhnian pre-paradigmatic conditions. It is no wonder that parallel to the lines of success, traits of criticism have also built up around social capital. The concept has been criticized (e.g. by Portes 1998) for its undertheorized nature, and for the practice of using the concept as an explanatory tool for way too many types of favourable

social phenomena: better health, improving criminal statistics, better school performance, labour market successes, improving quality of life, good government performance, and, of course, economic growth – they have all been attributed to social capital according to these analyses (Fukuyama 1995; Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000). In the practical world of development policy too, the social capital approach invited criticism in its application as panacea for a wide array of social problems (Woolcook–Deepa 2000; Woolcook 2001). The thrust of these criticisms is well founded, for the literature on social capital is predicated upon distinguishing this approach from that of social network analysis (Csizmadia 2008; Szántó – Tóth 2006), and in doing so intends to ground the concept of social capital in three established sociological categories: trust, social norms and networks. The problem is that these categories have been handled theoretically, but especially empirically, rather casually. In the policy world, on the other hand, we see that the programs for the development of social capital are considered to be relatively inexpensive solutions for complex problems such as poverty or economic backwardness. This means that the optimism attached to social capital promises a less expensive alternative and not a complement to other, very expensive means of development (Füzér et al. 2005).

In response to criticisms, one of the most fruitful theoretical developments has been the introduction of distinctions among three types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking (Woolcook 2001. 13–14.; Field 2003. 42–43.; Halpern 2005. 26–31.). This move has allowed for reconnection to the sociological theories that have always stood in background of social capital and made possible a more complex and robust re-theorisation of how trust, networks and social norms intertwine in the three forms of social capital. The present undertaking joins these efforts, with the specific aim of anchoring the sociological theory of social capital in the social theory of trust.

The key concepts of the social theory of trust are reconstructed here on the basis of theoretical work and interconnected empirical inquiries in a number of academic contexts. The concepts of basic trust, particular interpersonal trust, generalized interpersonal trust, trust in abstract systems and institutional interpersonal trust in the representatives of abstract systems shall be elaborated below. The introduction of these interrelated concepts into the theory of social capital shall, I believe, help to establish the concept of social capital on solid theoretical grounds.

Trust is a universal social phenomenon, but it is not an innate human faculty: trust is a social capacity acquired in the course of socialization, rooted in infancy. Several psychological and social psychological schools (Giddens 1990. 92–110.; Fukuyama 2000; Erikson 2002; Bereczkei 2009) analysed the phenomenon of *basic trust* that develops in the course of early interaction with significant others: the presence of caregivers, the development of trust in their return, this elemental reliance on significant others is the key to both self-confidence as well as the capacity of interpersonal trust. This basic trust, "ontological security" (Giddens 1990. 92–100.), also termed strong attachment, develops only under the right conditions, and its deficiency can be traced back to the dysfunctions of early experiences of being taken care of, the quality of early interactions with significant others. Instable self-confidence, anxiety, excess aggression and a suspicious character tend to be rooted in the foundations of basic trust.

Interpersonal trust develops on the foundations of basic trust, the capacity to rely on self, others and the world, in a subsequent phase of socialization, one that embraces the normative dimension, the acquirement of the rules of social intercourse. (Homo sociologicus develops out of the figure of homo fidens.) On various terrains of socialisation (family, peer groups, educational institutions, media) the norms of social intercourse, the rules of cooperation expected in

diverse networks are inoculated. Children are introduced to and internalize the rules of how to cooperate with parents, siblings, relatives, friends and people in other roles, and at the same time develop a horizon of expectations of such roles, an (implicit) catalogue of other actors' motivations and the normative context of roles (Seligman 1997). Norms of cooperation related to interpersonal trust come in not too wide an array: the phase in which basic trust develops is not dominated by mutuality but by altruism assumed exclusively by care givers. Networks, in which interpersonal trust per se is embodied, are characterised by norms of mutuality such as honesty, trustworthiness, reliability. It is to be noted here, that distrust, even if psychologically burdensome, can very well be called for (Luhmann 1979; Barber 1983; Gambetta 1990a, 1990b) and is even explicitly expected in certain social contexts, to which we come back below.

Typical examples of networks involving interpersonal trust are friendships, partnerships, family relations, relatives, and communities that expect loyalty from members and enforce norms other than rule of cooperation among members, such as certain religious or ethnic communities. The norms of cooperation of interpersonal trust are predicated upon (frequently only implicit) ethical or moral principles which are expected to by followed by those who are part of such networks. Interpersonal trust is also presumed in organisations established and functioning with the assistance of spontaneous sociability, such as civil organisations, or "economic organisations", i.e. firms for that matter.

A decisive momentum of the social theory of trust for our investigations is that societies differ as to the rules of cooperation that form the background of interpersonal trust: there are societies in which boundaries of expecting and enforcing the norms of honesty, trustworthiness, reliability are rather narrowly confined. Societies with a *narrow radius of trust,* dominated by *particular interpersonal trust* are exemplified by so called familial societies (Banfield 1958; Putnam 1993; Fukuyama 1995; Utasi 2002; 2008, 2013), in which relations with family and relatives are defined by strong, almost unconditional loyalty, whereas in relation to non-kin, norms of cooperation do not demand honesty, trustworthiness or solidarity and in certain cases not only allow but in effect prescribe distrust and untrustworthiness (Banfield 1958). Examples of fundamentally familial societies are Southern Italy, France and also Hungary. A similar pattern of trust can develop in certain religious or ethnic groups: loyalty, honesty inside, distrust and lack of solidarity to the outside. Societies with a narrow radius of trust thus not only confine trust to particular groups but typically also display distrust towards those who are not members of these particular groups.

In another type of societies, particular interpersonal trust does not bar individuals from those outside family, kinship, religious or ethnic groups. Societies with a *broad radius of trust,* dominated by *generalized interpersonal trust,* socialize individuals for norms of cooperation with people outside particular groups: in the background of generalized trust stand requirements and expectations of honesty, trustworthiness, reliability relevant for all in society, and utilized in voluntary organizations such as associations, civil organisations, social movements, or businesses that go beyond the family (Putnam 1993; Fukuyama 1995). Further norms enforced in societies with a broad radius of trust are tolerance, cooperation, politeness, and solidarity with groups and individuals in unfavourable circumstances. Examples of such societies are Northern Italy, Scandinavian societies, Holland, Germany, Japan and the US.

The combinations of particular and generalized interpersonal trust are identified as key social factors of stable democracies (Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000) and successful economies (Fukuyama 1995, 1999). In societies, namely, where spontaneous sociability (Fukuyama 1995), the

art of association (Putnam 1995, 2000) is present, a strong civil society guarantees democratic stability, whereas corporations and their networks extending beyond entrepreneurial families but not run by the state, guarantee the success of these economies in the context of global market economy.

One frequently encounters the dichotomy of premodern and modern societies in the social theory of trust, and the concomitant setting against of particular interpersonal trust and generalized interpersonal trust along this dichotomy. As we have seen above, the two versions of interpersonal trust do show traits can be irreconcilable, but modernity does not necessarily bring along the diminishing significance of particular interpersonal trust. What it does bring along, is the challenge of new forms of trust related to (late) modern societies' differentiation, its abstract (chiefly technical) systems, and "impersonal" bureaucratic institutions. These can, indeed, be contrasted to the predominantly face-to-face relations of premodern societies. Modernity, we claim with Simmel [1908] 1973, Luhmann 1979, 1990; Barber 1983; Giddens 1990, 1991; Misztal 1996; Seligman 1997; and Sztompka (1999), constitutes a system of uncertainties and risks in which "we only have to know a person's certain external qualities in order for the trust required for our joint venture to vested in him … we no longer need actual personal knowledge" (Simmel ([1908] 1973. 323.). This condition of modernity is attributed by Simmel to "the thousand preconditions of life which the individual cannot trace and vindicate to its fundaments and in connection with which … one is to rely on trust" (Simmel [1908] 1973. 317.). The operation of innumerable technical systems and lots of institutions is predicated upon the confidence that considers their construction problemless, does not wish to understand or influence their workings. Let us think of air traffic, the internet or health care institutions: there are only very few who have expert knowledge about the workings of these abstract systems, and it really is not necessary for lay people to comprehend their workings. What is key is that we, as lay people, can commit ourselves to the expertise embodied in them. This phenomenon is termed **institutional trust**. Naturally, the human factor is never absent: we are also called upon to trust the representatives of abstract systems, as well as those who guarantee the expertise and integrity of those representatives (such as aircraft pilots, anaesthesiologist or teachers) via likewise institutionalized processes (such as regular psychological tests, or via supervisions). Thus beside institutional trust, we have to conceptualize **institutionalized interpersonal trust** as well.

The above outlined social theory of trust is capable of grounding a version of the sociological theory of social capital that conceptualizes three types of social capital along the various forms of trust discussed and the associated norms of cooperation.

Table 1 ❖ *The three types of social capital and the underlying types and sources of trust*

	bonding social capital	bridging social capital	linking social capital
forms of trust	particular interpersonal trust	generalized interpersonal trust	institutional trust and institutionalized interpersonal trust
sources of trust	- attachment parenting (basic trust) - indirect socialisation (family, peer groups, media) - community norms	- cultural habits - indirect socialisation (school, workplace) - group experiences - formal teaching of cooperative skills - group work	- direct socialisation (school education, hidden curriculum, socialisation at workplace) - experiences with operability of institutions, technical systems - political socialisation

norms of cooperation, sources of trustworthi-ness	- altruism - parental commitment - child's attachment - partnership fidelity - friendship loyalty - familial, kinship, religious, ethnic community loyalty - reciprocity	- trustworthiness - honesty - reliability - good reputation - goodwill - recognition - reciprocity	- (legal) rule following - competence - expertise - fiduciary responsibility - prestige - respect for authority - respect for tradition - equity
personality traits	- self-confident - copying skills - assertive - attachment, commitment	- truthfulness - veracity - tolerance - courtesy - patience - capacity for cooperation - spontaneous sociability - moral autonomy	- integrity - credibility - subjective competence

We conclude the reconstruction of the social theory of trust for the purposes of the present undertaking by highlighting the connection that the particular interpersonal trust that dominates societies with a narrow radius of trust, shows openness towards institutionalized interpersonal trust and institutional trust, while we find generalized interpersonal trust that dominates societies with a broad radius of trust, exhibiting an aversion towards institutionalized interpersonal trust (Putnam 1995, 1999).

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The manifestations of the three types of social capital shall be discussed in what follows by taking note of both positive and negative embodiments and by extending the conceptualization of social capital as a dynamic phenomenon to include the perspective of the erosion as well as the development, accumulation of social capital.

Table 2 ❖ *Manifestations of the three types of social capital*

	bonding social capital	bridging social capital	linking social capital
manifesta-tion of social capital with fundamentally positive over-all societal affect	- partnership - friendship - family, relatives - family business - certain ethnic com-munities - certain religious com-munities	- neighbourhood - condominium residential communities - school class communities, reunions - teacher-parent associations - sports/training in groups - team based workplace - teambuilding training - volunteering - (return of) favour - civil organisations, move-ments - religious organisations - political organisations - corporations - networks of corporations	- public safety - citizenship (rights and obliga-tions) - representative democracy - demonstration, petition - lobby - trade union - consultation - public services - development projects - tax paying - hierarchical, bureaucratic organisations (state, public company, hospital, school, army, church)

manifesta-tion of social capital with detrimental societal affect	- domestic violence - sexual abuse of chil-dren - sexual abuse (familiar perpetrator) - ethnic or religious conflicts, wars	- school bullying - harassment at workplace - cyber bullying - bad neighbours - usury (poor neighbourhoods) - intolerance - prejudice - totalitarian denunciation - cartel - organised crime - civil war	- corruption - nepotism - patron-client relations - discrimination - violation of secret keeping (confession, medical, legal infor-mation) - nomenclature - totalitarian claim to trustwor-thiness of citizens
lack or erosion of social capital	- one parent families - old age isolation - totalitarian atomisation - anxiety, angst - lack of self-confidence - aggression	- familism - isolation related to unemploy-ment - isolation affect of entertain-ment media - frequent changes in business law - circular debt - defensive driving - suspicion, ill will	- tax evasion - expansion of security and pro-tection markets - antisystem protest - extension of parochial political culture - Politikmüdigkeit (turning away from political institutions)
development or accumula-tion of social capital	- parental skills devel-opment in Sure Start programs - ICT supporting the cultivation of connec-tions: Skype, social media, chat apps	- pedestrian friendly streets - compulsory community work - stronger neighbourhoods (community coaching)	- civic education - compulsory community work - participatory methods in development policy (e.g. CLLD, foresight)

Above, we have uncovered the perspectives along which assets and changes in the stocks of the three types of social capital can be studied empirically. As a trait of ideal typical theory making, we have seen that the models of bonding, bridging and linking social capital have been, so to speak, hovering above social reality, having been delineated, as it were, as mere measure-ment tools: our references to empirical reality themselves have also touched only further ideal types. The proof of ideal types comes in their application to the interpretation of concrete social processes. As the starting point of any social capital research, it seems useful to sketch out on the basis of available knowledge, how the patterns of interpersonal trust are drawn out in the society/societies we plan to study: are we confronting societies with a narrow or a broad radius of trust? In case we are investigating Hungarian society, we are in a good starting position, for a series of excellent studies have concluded that we are confronted by a society with a narrow radius of trust (Utasi 1991, 2002, 2008, 2013). This is to be taken into account when formulating hypotheses, especially in case of comparative studies.

Whichever manifestation of social capital we plan to explore, our research questions and operationalisations should cover the forms of trust and norms of cooperation that stand behind the various types of social capital. It makes sense, furthermore, to consider whether our studying of social capital can be extended to cover the aspect of changes in social capital, the processes of its accumulation, or its erosion. The above discussion, we hope, contributes guidelines for such extension as well.   ✳

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Salutation for Péter Somlai

❖

Péter Somlai was born in 1941 in Budapest, thus he celebrate his 75th birthday in 2016. He is one of the greatest professors and researchers in the field of sociology of Hungarian and international social sciences as well. Professor Somlai belongs to the scholar-teacher generation whose members professionally established and grounded the framework of the institutionalization of the discipline of sociology at the Hungarian universities by their theoretical work, research and publication activity

before the change in 1989. There is no department of sociology at Hungarian universities where the middle generation of sociologists have not been either a disciple or colleague of professor Somlai. His half-century long career as a researcher, instructor, organizer, mentor, real and school founder played a substantial role in creating of conceptual, theoretical and empirical research directions of the diverse knowledge of the Hungarian sociology. We can hardly find a field in social sciences which does not wear his "hand prints". With his lectures, scientific publications, conference presentations or talks he always impresses the audience, conversation partners with his clear, eloquent style and the shaded richness of questioning and solutions.

After finishing his studies at the Faculty of Arts and a short by-pass at the Hungarian Theatre Institute, Péter Somlai started his tutorial and scientific work at the Department of Sociology founded by Tibor Huszár. His work has always been bound to the Eötvös Loránd University. He has been an active participant of the founding of the university's Institute of Sociology and the Faculty of Social Science. He gained imprescriptible merits for working out the formal and substantial model of the sociology program. As typical for the "founders", he has dealt with many fields of sociology. The main focus of his interest has developed at an early stage. After the publishing of his first book "Bureaucracy and intensive industrialization (1977)" his further monographs and publications focus on the research field of sociology of family and socialization. Beyond Zsuzsa Ferge his scientific and research orientation has been influenced by Cseh-Szombathy László. His academic dissertations: *Theory of family relationships* (1983) and in 1998 *The theory of socialization (Dissertation at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).* These works are results of his vaste, internationally remarkable empirical researches of more decades. The international interest at and appreciation of his works is indicated by his membership in the presidency of the Centre for Family Research (CFR) since 1994 and in the Centre of Family Research of the International Sociology Association. He was a visiting professor at many universities abroad: in 1986 he taught for six months at the Purdue University (USA) and in 1992 also for six months at the University of Hamburg. From the 1980's he had courses in the field of his research at the Masaryk University

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in Brno, The University of Vienna, The University Babes-Bólyai in Cluj Napoca and in Hungary at the University of Miscolc and Győr.

Meanwhile, he was busy in the Hungarian scientific life as well: he was president of the Sociology Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1999-2001), head of the Department of the History of Sociology (1990-1992, 1994-2006), member of the Doctoral Council and Habilitation Committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences, and active participant and member of the organizing committee of the National Scientific Students' Associations Conferences and of the editorial board of sociology journals (Review of Sociology, Papers of Sociology, Social Research). He is a founder or curator of many associations related to science or teaching. Péter Somlai obtained his habilitation in 1996, he was nominated a professor in 1997. In 2013 for his work he was given the *"Eötvös József-koszorú"* a high ranked award of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Besides the research and writing, the university lectures – as he admitted –were and still are his favourite activity. He always followed a two-way purpose in his lectures: on the one hand to familiarize the university students with the approach, theories and methodology of sociology, on the other hand to introduce and explain the most important processes, context and tendencies of the contem-

porary Hungarian society. In this endeavour the research topics and the issues of the lectures are in accordance as in the topics of his monographs and papers in the field of the sociology of family – like births, fertility, marriage, mortality, reproduction, the historical and contemporary tendencies of demography in Hungary and in the world: women's issues, modernization of childhood, the conditions of the elderly, the functions and the structures of family life, nuclear family and kinship, the process and sections of primary socialization, the role of the peers in the ontogeny, the models of learning: education and the reproduction of cultural capital, the education system and the world inside the schools: the hidden curriculum and group structure, deviancies, the normative order, the construction and following of the rules, the grades of conformity, the investigation of the presence and statistics of deviancies, certain deviancies in Hungary, the process of labelling – are all thematic units and the review of these topics in the lectures opened and opens alternative perspectives of orientation for the newest generation of researchers.

Professor Péter Somlai – youthfully as always – if is not in the process of researching, writing and lecturing, watches movies or goes jogging. In his seventy-fifth year we wish him to good health and continue his habits, for the pleasure of all of us.

Megjelent!
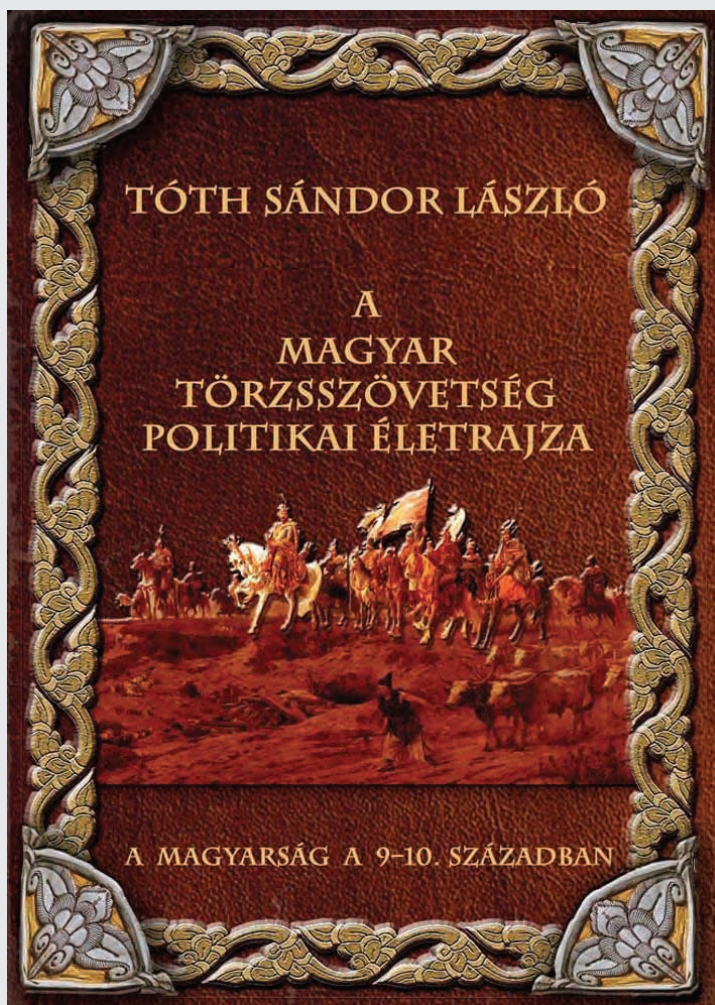
Tóth Sándor László, a szegedi egyetem tanára a korai magyar történetet és a 16-17. századi magyar történetet (15 éves háború) kutatja, több monográfiája látott napvilágot. Jelen nagyszabású szintézise a források és a szakirodalom alapján újszerű képet ad a steppei típusú magyar szövetségi állam életrajzáról „megszületésétől" (830-as évek vége) egészen „elhalásáig", a 11. század elejéig, amikor új politikai szervezetté, keresztény királysággá alakult át. A politikai életrajz követelményeinek megfelelően részletesen bemutatja a 9. század kiváló fejedelmeit, különösképpen Levedit és Árpádot, a törzsszövetség meghatározó kapcsolatait a kazár nagyhatalommal. Különös hangsúlyt kap a Kárpát-medencei honfoglalás részletes elemzése. A szerző alaposan tárgyalja a nemzetségekből és törzsekből felépülő Hétmagyar és Kavar törzsszövetség bonyolult struktúráját, működését, fejedelmi tisztségeit (nagyfejedelem, gyula, karha, kündü) és tisztségviselőit. A kötet kitér a honfoglalás kori, nomád gazdaság és társadalom bemutatására is. Részletesen elemzi a 10. századi magyar hadjáratokat, az ún. kalandozásokat, és azok hátterét. A monográfia az államalapítás külső és belső hátterének bemutatásával, Géza és István uralkodásának elemzésével zárul.

MEGRENDELHETŐ A KIADÓNÁL