

Chapter 6 Cultural Capital

As the terms cultural capital and social capital have been used intertwiningly in many western studies, it is better to explain the relationship between cultural capital and social capital. This will help us grasp the discussion flow and way of analysis adopted in this chapter.

The coverage of cultural capital is wider as compared to that of social capital. Apart from measuring the dimension of relationship, which is the main theme of the social capital, the cultural capital also covers creativity and innovation, economic and social inclusion, as well as participatory democracy (Jeannotte, 2002). It can also be explained by the fact that the cultural capital is the base and thus may determine the quality of social capital. As Gould argued, “a complex web of relationships and beliefs, values and motivations...this system operates on personal and communal levels and may be a barrier to, or a catalyst for, the development of social capital” (Quoted in Jeannotte, 2002). Therefore, this chapter will focus on the value aspect, and the section on relationship between family members, neighbourhood, school or workplace will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Cultural values and norms have great impacts on the behaviours of individuals. Activities that embody or encourage positive cultural influences are important factors on individual well-being in terms of economic (in Bourdieu's sense), psychological (i.e. self-esteem) and social (i.e. adaptability to social change) aspects. Conversely, cultural activities may also have negative outcomes, such as vandalism and graffiti (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001).

Measuring the cultural capital, as well as cultural awareness and cultural identity of the youth would help us have better understandings of their attitudes towards their cultural heritage and the impacts of different cultural activity participation on their development. The study also ensures that the youth has adequate access to cultural products, activities and facilities that encourage positive cultural influences. For example, sport teams based activities develop people's ability to cooperate, promote personal endeavour and local identification.

6.1 Definitions of cultural capital

The definitions of cultural capital are not universal, which is considered as eluded concepts. According to Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952), there were 160 different

definitions of culture. A diversity of specific culture concepts was grouped into different categories and shown in table 7.1 as follows.

Table 6.1: Different definitions of culture

Definitions	
Topical	: Culture consists of everything on a list of topics, or categories, such as social organization, religion, or economy
Historical	: Culture is social heritage, or tradition, that is passed on to future generations
Behavioral	: Culture is shared, learned human behavior, a way of life
Normative	: Culture is ideals, values, or rules for living
Functional	: Culture is the way humans solve problems of adapting to the environment or living together
Mental	: Culture is a complex of ideas, or learned habits, that inhibit impulses and distinguish people from animals
Structural	: Culture consists of patterned and interrelated ideas, symbols, or behaviors
Symbolic	: Culture is based on arbitrarily assigned meanings that are shared by a society

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is widely adopted by different academic studies. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is defined as 'the attitudes and ways of behaviour accepted and even expected by the dominant groups of society. These are internalized values, which manifest themselves in suitable manners, good taste, language use, special skills, abilities and competence'. In other words, cultural capital can be defined as the shared sense of meaning that determines a group's way of life. The individual acquire this cultural capital primarily through socialization in family and reinforced through schooling.

Huxley categorized culture into 3 components, including mentifacts, artifacts and sociofacts.

6.1.1 Mentifacts

It is the ideological subsystem, consisting of ideas, beliefs, and knowledge of a culture and of the ways in which these things are expressed in speech or other forms of communication. They relate to the human mental ability to think and forgo ideas, and they form the ideals and images against which other aspects of culture.

6.1.2 Artifacts

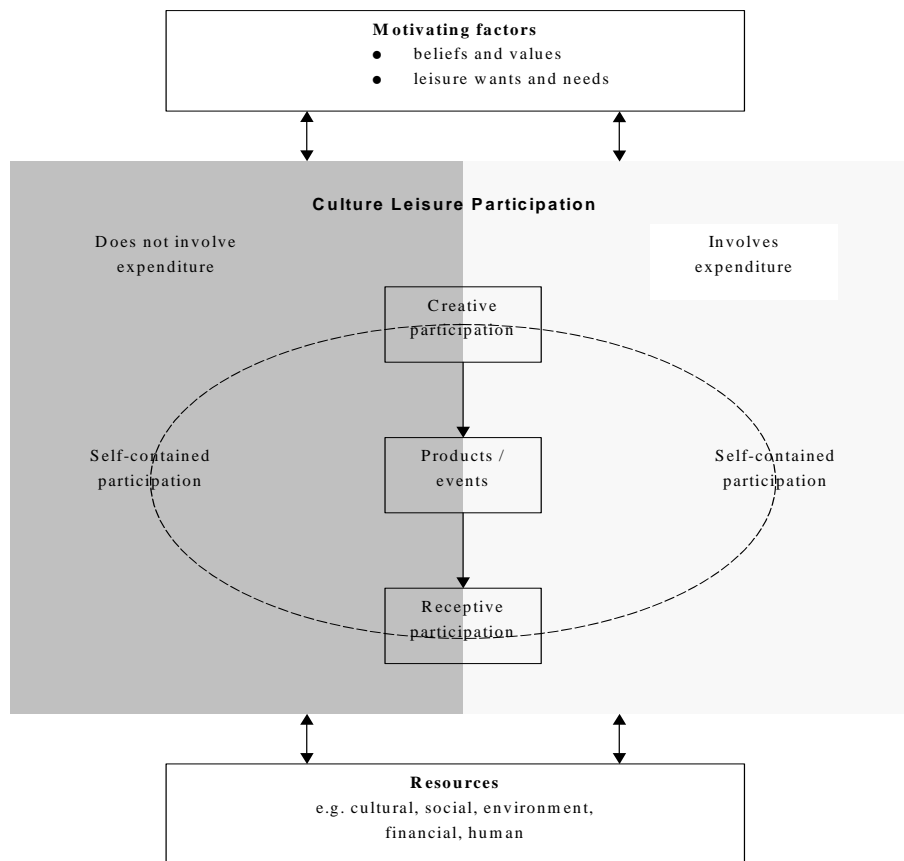
It is the technological subsystem, composing of material objects, together with the techniques of their use, by means of which people are able to live. These materials and techniques provide basic needs for human to live, such as food and tools.

6.1.3 Sociofacts

It is the sociological subsystem, composing of the sum of the expected and accepted patterns of interpersonal relations that find their outlet in economic, political, military, religious, kinship, and other associations. These aspects of culture determine the communication and interaction between individuals and groups. At individual level, it includes family structures and child rearing. At group level, it includes institutions, laws and rules of society.

According to *Dictionary of Modern Sociology*, 'Culture' is the total, generally organized way of life, including values, norms, institutions, and artifacts, that is passed on from generation to generation by learning alone (1969: 93). The current study on Youth Profile 2002 discusses cultural capital in a broader sense, including cultural participation, cultural identity and values, as well as factors and resources for participation.

Figure 6.1: Culture and Leisure Participation Framework²⁰



²⁰ Figure reproduced from Chapter 10 of the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Measuring Wellbeing: Frameworks for Australian Social Statistics.

6.2 Measurement of cultural capital

Culture and Leisure Participation Framework was adopted and modified accordingly for the current study to measure the cultural capital (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001). As shown in figure 6.1, there are interrelationships among 3 key elements, including *motivating factors*, *resources* and *culture and leisure participation*. It will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

6.2.1 *Motivating factors*

Motivating factors refer to beliefs and values that encourage higher level of participation in culture activities, such as individual religious faith and life aspiration. In Hong Kong, cultural heritage is heavily influenced by pop culture, 150 years of British culture and 5000 years of Chinese traditional culture (Choi, 2002). All these factors should also be taken into consideration.

6.2.2 *Resources*

Resources refer to full ranges of cultural, human, financial, environmental, social and personal resources and capital utilized in participation in culture activities. Resources play a crucial role in supporting participation in cultural activities, such as the existence of venues and equipment.

6.2.3 *Culture and leisure participation*

Culture and leisure participation can be measured by a group of indicators, such as habits, lifestyle, and attendance of cultural events. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, culture and leisure participation can be classified into 3 types:

- *Self-contained participation* involves activities that are created and consumed simultaneously; and often do not involve many people or much preparation.
- *Creative participation* involves activities that make culture or leisure events happen, or create culture or leisure products.
- *Receptive participation* involves activities that receive (i.e. watch and purchase) culture or leisure events or products.

Examples of indicators of cultural capital are shown in table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Indicators of cultural capital

Dimensions	Examples of Indicators
Participation and time use measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Youth usage and participation pattern (including frequencies and duration) of culture, leisure, religious, and civic venues / activities ■ Youth in culture, leisure, religious, and civic groups / organizations ■ Public library youth borrowers registered ■ Public library materials borrowed and/or consulted ■ Attendance of public library extension activities ■ Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of those youth attending, participating or borrowing ■ Types of cultural/ leisure venues youth most frequently visit and activities participate in ■ Types of cultural products such as music/ movies/ TV program /books/newspapers/periodicals youth listen to, watch and read
Work measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Youth working in the cultural, leisure and religious sector ■ Youth studying full-time and part-time in the areas related to culture, leisure and religions
Expenditure and output measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ownership of cultural and leisure equipment/facilities (TV sets, radios, VCRs, computers, etc.) by households with youth ■ Number of cultural and leisure and religious products (CDs, books, paintings, etc.) owned by households with youth ■ Expenditure on culture, leisure, religious, and civic equipment/facilities/products/services by households with youth
Belief, values and knowledge Measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ethnical Identity ■ Religious faith ■ Attitudes toward social institutions and practices (e.g. government, society, religions, family, school, mass media, arts and culture, youth subculture, etc.) ■ Number of language spoken and fluency ■ Public exams (e.g. HKCEE) results in language and cultural related subjects

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (2001)

6.3 Data availability

Table 6.3 shows the obtained indicators of cultural capital among the youth. Data related to (i) their frequency to go to library, (ii) types of books they prefer to borrow, and (iii) ownership of cultural and leisure equipment/facilities by households with youth is not available in hand. The unit of measurement for the third indicator is “households” because family is usually regarded as one of the major primary socializing agents for the development of youth. In order to gain a better understanding of the means of the youth in gaining values and knowledge about the culture in Hong Kong context, the number of cultural and leisure equipments owned by households may be one of the

objective indicators to illustrate this and data collection in this aspect is needed in the long run.

Table 6.3: Obtained indicators of cultural capital

Dimensions	Obtained Indicators	Source
Participation and time use measures	■ Profile of audience analyzed by program type	■ LCSD
	■ Frequency of activities done by youth in leisure time (always/ sometimes)	■ Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong
	■ Types of activities pursue most often on the Internet	■ Breakthrough
	■ Reasons for using ICQ	■ Breakthrough
Work measures	■ Youth working population (aged 15-24) by creative industries	■ Census and Statistics Department
	■ Student population in art-related programs	■ HK Art Development Council
Expenditure and output measures	■ NA	■
Belief, values and knowledge measures	■ Primary Identity	■ Hong Kong Social Development Indicators
	■ Whether traditional Chinese Values suitable to Hong Kong situation	■ Hong Kong Social Development Indicators
	■ Reasons for having a sense of belonging to Hong Kong	■ Commission on Youth
	■ Views on Family value	■ The Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups
	■ Comprehension of Filial Piety in the present society	■ The Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups
	■ Youth able to speak selected languages/ dialects, 1991, 1996 and 2001	■ Census and Statistics Department

6.4 Discussion

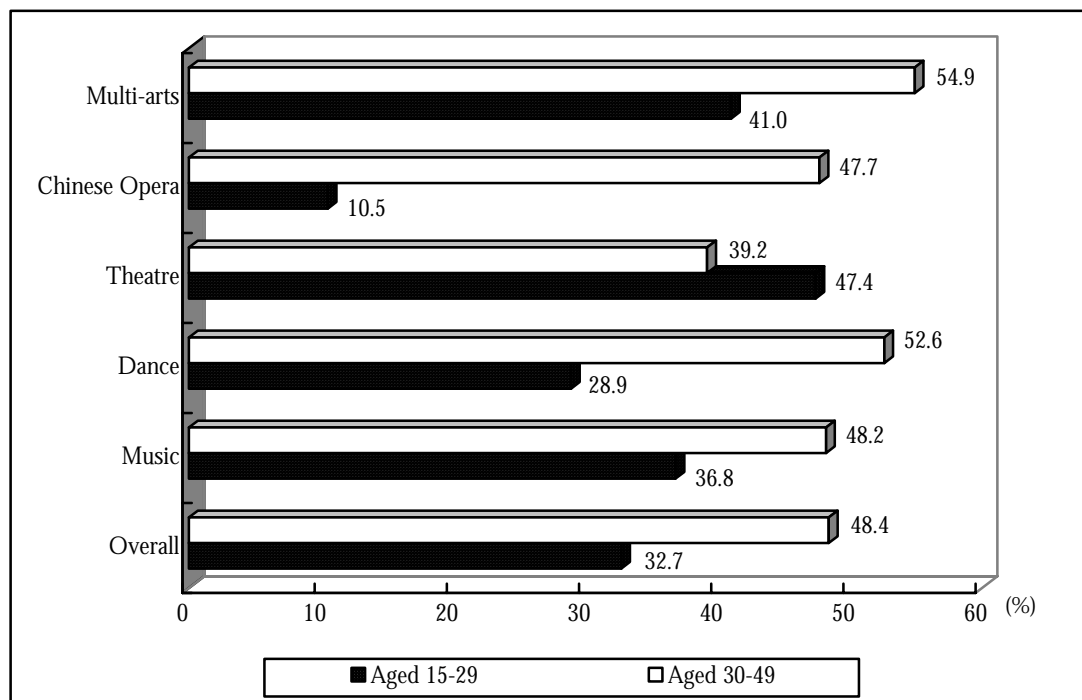
6.4.1 Participation and time use measures

The participation pattern of the youth for leisure can be identified as two forms. One form is to participate in the activities organized by the formal institutions, such as Youth Centers and schools. The other form is to take part in the activities in informal basis that is initiated by their friends or by their own.

The discussion of youth participation pattern in formal channels will focus on the number of registration in public libraries borrowers, as well as the activities organized

by the Leisure and Cultural Services Department that the youth most frequently participated in. Only one-tenth of youth registered as public libraries borrowers as at June 2002. The number of youth aged 15-19 (14.2%) had been registered as public libraries borrowers were higher than those aged 20-24 (12.1%) and aged 25-29 (10.3%) respectively. This could be explained by the fact that those youth aged 15-19 was still studying in their secondary education and they had identified the public libraries as one of their major sources to search reference materials. However, the number of public libraries youth borrowers registered only helped reflect the usage of public libraries by the youth. It is insufficient to reflect their reading habit. In the long run, the exploration of the reading habits among the youth in different channels, such as the Internet, is needed.

Figure 6.2 Profile of audience analyzed by program type (2001)

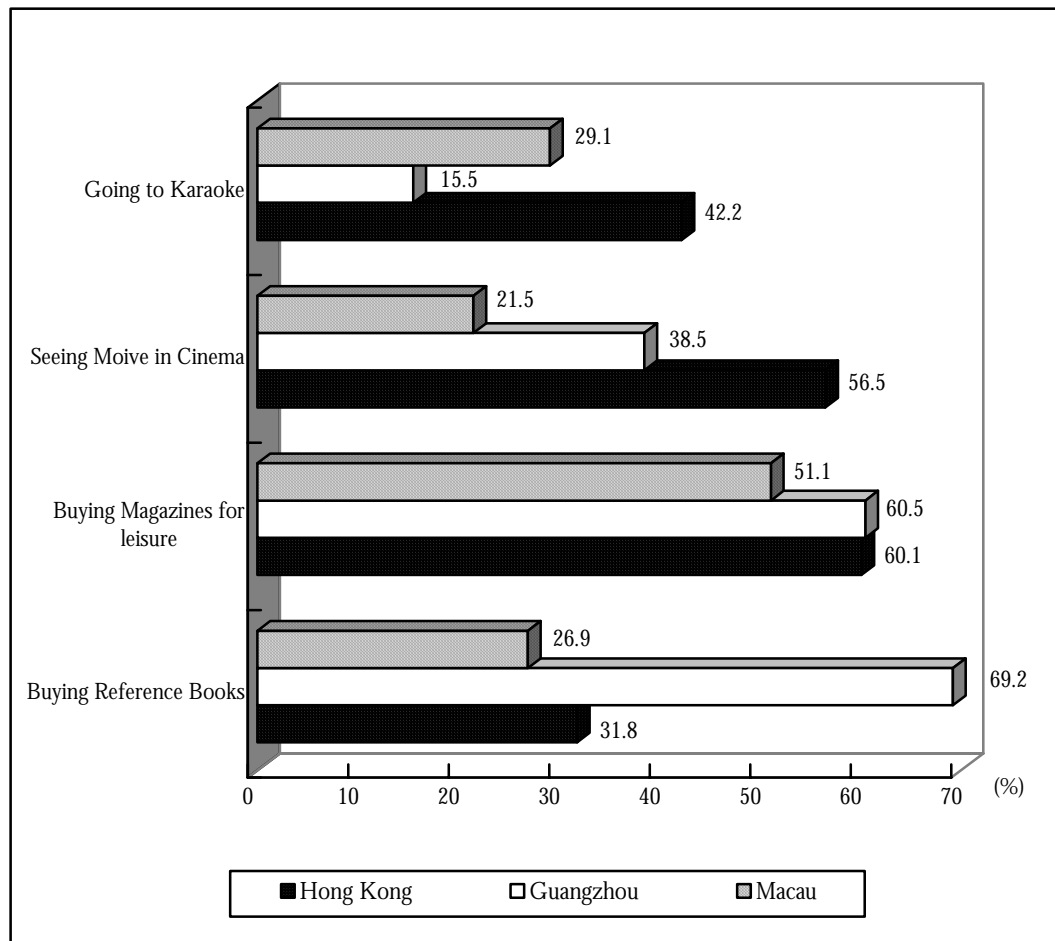


Source: Leisure and Cultural Services Department (2001)

According to the Leisure and Cultural Services Department, the top three program types that the youth aged 15-29 were interested in taking part in were theatre (47.4%), multi-arts (41.0%) and music (36.8%) in 2001. In general, the proportion of adult audience (48.4%) attending the programs organized by the Leisure and Cultural Services Department was more than youth audience (32.7%) (Figure 6.2). This is especially true when compared the percentage of the two groups participated in Chinese Opera and dance. The ratios were 1:4.5 and 1:1.8 respectively. One exception was the program of theatre. It was the only program recorded by the Department that the

percentage of Youth aged 15-29 (47.4%) participated in was higher than those aged 30-49 (39.2%) respectively.

Figure 6.3: Frequency of activities done by the youth in leisure time (Always/Sometimes) (2002)



Source: Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong (2002)

The other form of participation in the leisure time is to spend time on the activities initiated by the youth themselves. *The comparative study of the consumption model of youth in Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Macau*²¹ (2002) showed that the frequency of buying reference books, buying magazines for leisure, seeing movie in the cinema and going to karaoke were distinguishable among the youth in the three places (Figure 6.3). The findings reflected that more youngsters bought reference books (69.2%), while the numbers were 31.8% in Hong Kong and 26.9% in Macau respectively. The frequency of buying magazines for leisure was similar among the youth in Guangzhou (60.5%) and Hong Kong (60.1%), compared with those in Macau (51.1%). The youth in Hong Kong

²¹ The study was conducted by the Hong Kong Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong in 2002, with sample size 647 of F.4-F.7 youth in Hong Kong, 598 of Higher School 1-3 youth in Guangzhou and 241 of F.4-F.7 youth in Macau.

were not quite interested in buying textual products. However, they were more interested in participating in visual and audio activities, compared with those in Guangzhou and Macau. The frequency of youth in Hong Kong going to the cinema (56.5%) and karaoke (42.2%) was higher than those in Guangzhou (38.5% and 15.5) and Macau (21.5% and 29.1%) respectively. This may reflect the differences in living styles and cultures among the youth in the three places.

Besides, many young people would like to spend time on the Internet. According to *A Study of Youth Values through their Behavior on the Internet*²², over 80% of the respondents would spend less than two hours on the Internet per day (82.8%). *A Study of the Behavior of Youth on the Internet*²³ reflected that over 40% of the respondents would like to ICQ with friends (45.4%) and over 30% of the respondents would like to browse webpage aimlessly (35.8%) on the Internet (Figure 6.4). In fact, 60% of the respondents of the study on *Youth's love with ICQ*²⁴ would spend less than five hours per week on using ICQ. *A Study of the Behavior of Youth in Using ICQ*²⁵ indicated that the main reason for using ICQ is to kill time (41.8%), many still used it to keep connection with friends (29.8%) and make new friends (25.1%) (Figure 6.5). However, the impact of getting access to the Internet on the youth is still under-researched. For example, the findings of *A study of the Internet Crisis on Youth*²⁶ reminded us that the Internet indulgence was harmful to the youth especially in weakening the relationship with their family members. However, some surveys like *A Study of the Behavior of Youth in Using ICQ*²⁷ had claimed that over 90% of the respondents thought that the relationship with their family member (90.4%), as well as the time spent with their family (90.5%) remained unchanged even after using the Internet. It is important to keep track on this issue as the Internet usage is so popular and common in nowadays society.

²² The study was conducted by the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups in 2000 with sample size of 652 aged 11-29 and 6 aged 30 or above

²³ The study was conducted by Breakthrough in 2000 with sample size of 1166 aged 12-25.

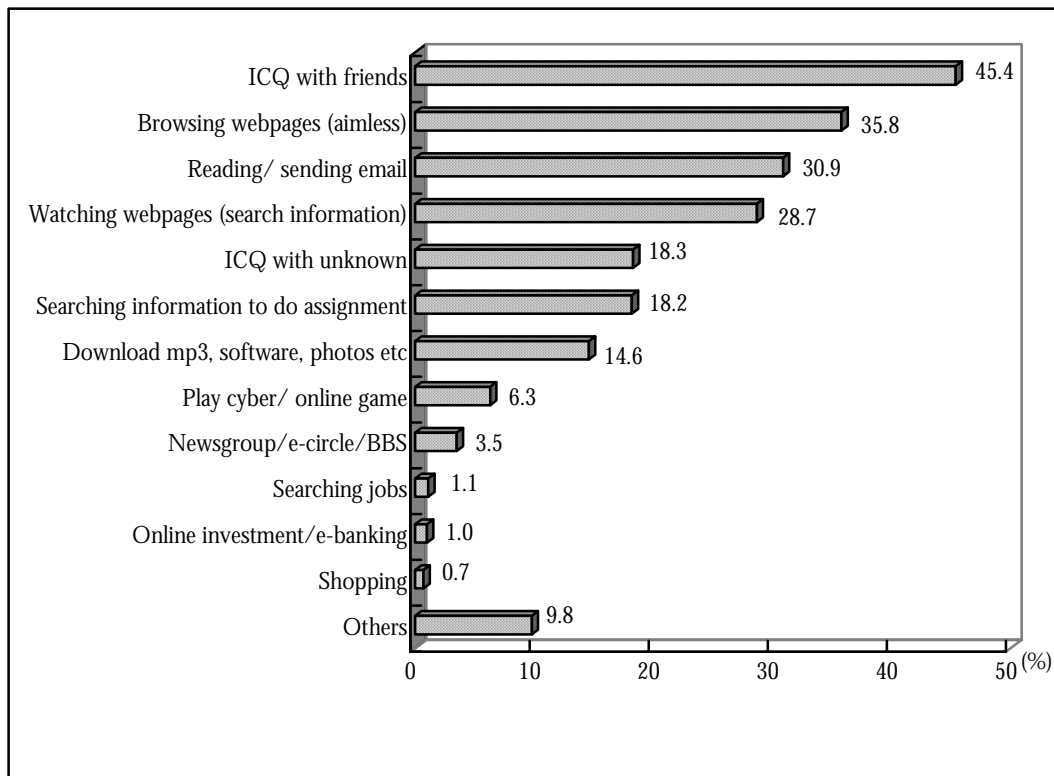
²⁴ The study was conducted by Breakthrough in 2002 with sample size of 506 aged 15-29.

²⁵ The study was conducted by Breakthrough in 2000 with sample size of 1409 secondary school students.

²⁶ The study was conducted by Breakthrough in 2001 with sample size of 1058 aged 10-29.

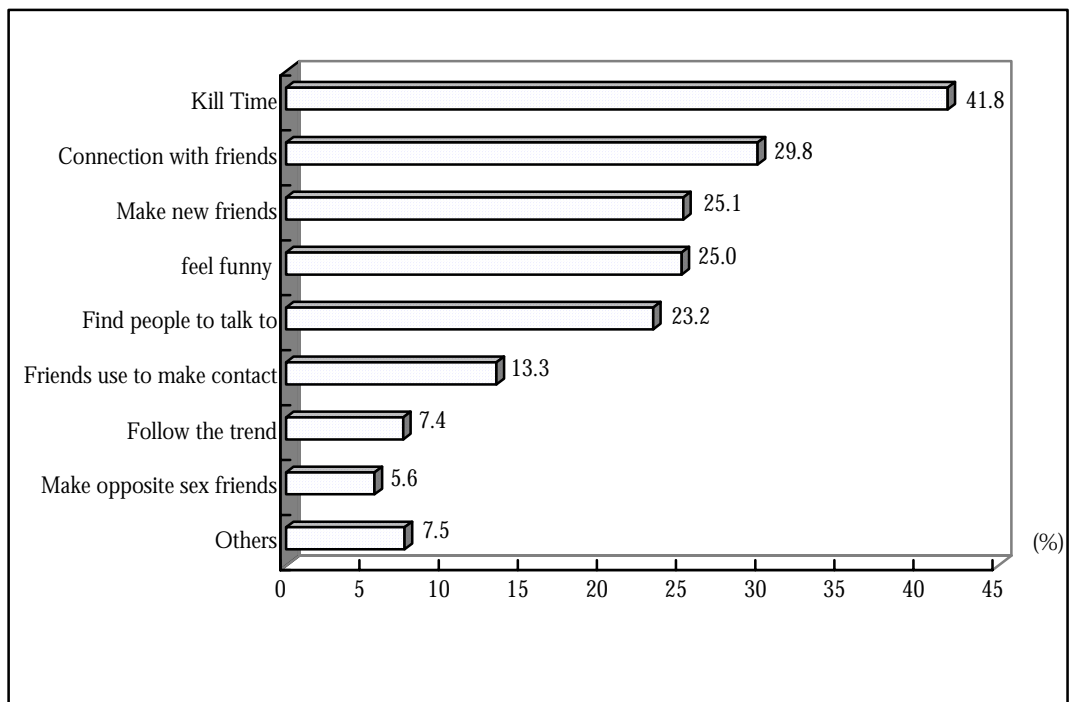
²⁷ The study was conducted by Breakthrough in 2000 with sample size of 1409 secondary school students.

Figure 6.4: Types of activities pursue most often on the Internet (2000)



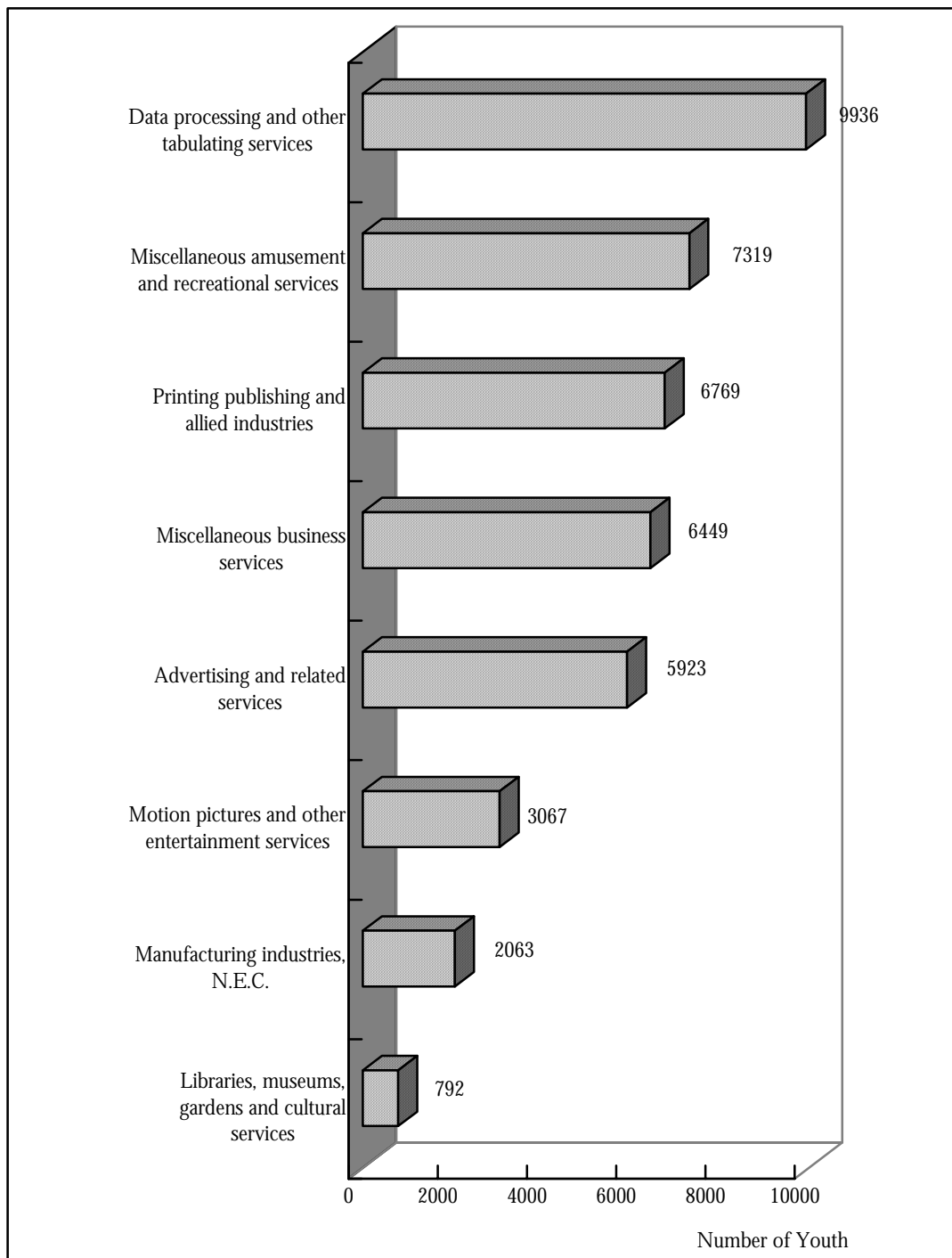
Source: Breakthrough (2000b)

Figure 6.5 Reasons for using ICQ (2000)



Source: Breakthrough (2000a)

Figure 6.6: Youth working population (aged 15-24) by creative industries (2001)



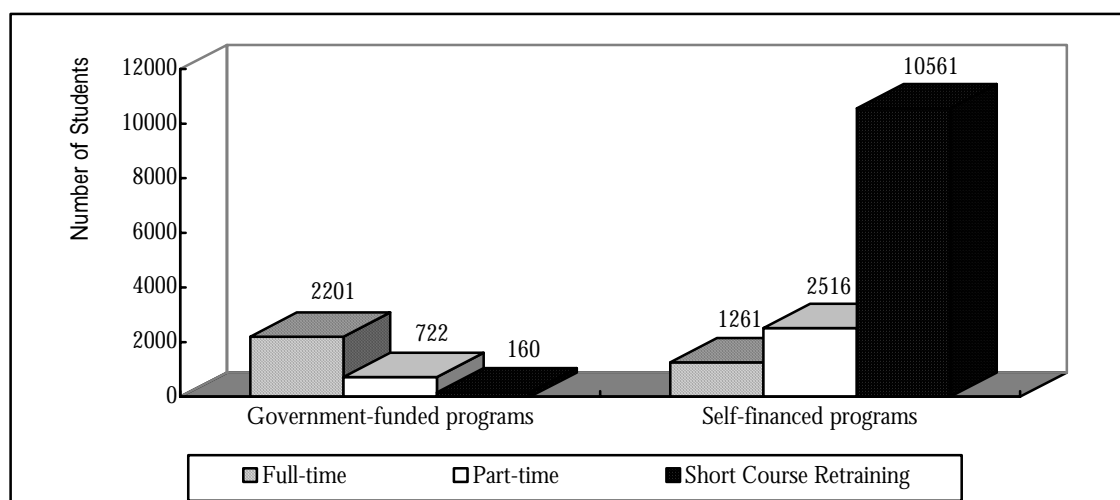
Source: Census and Statistics Department

6.4.2 Work measures

Based on the data from the Census and Statistics Department, there were totally 45,995 youth aged 15-24 working in the creative industries²⁸ and it accounted for 10.4% of the whole youth working population (aged 15-24). The top three types of creative industries that the youth was engaged in were: “data processing and tabulating services” (n = 9,936), “miscellaneous amusement and recreational services” (n = 7,319) and “printing, publishing and allied industries” (n = 6,769) (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.7 shows that those who are interested in arts tended to gain the formal training related to art subjects from self-financed short-term courses. There were not many students studied in the government-funded programs, compared with that of the self-financed programs. It implied that government support for the art-related programs is needed in order to cultivate and promote art culture in Hong Kong. The present study focused on data in 2001-2002, whereas the data on age breakdown and the trend data on the interest of the youth in studying the art-related programs (i.e. the number of enrolment) are yet to be collected and analyzed.

Figure 6.7: Students population in art-related programs (2001-2002)



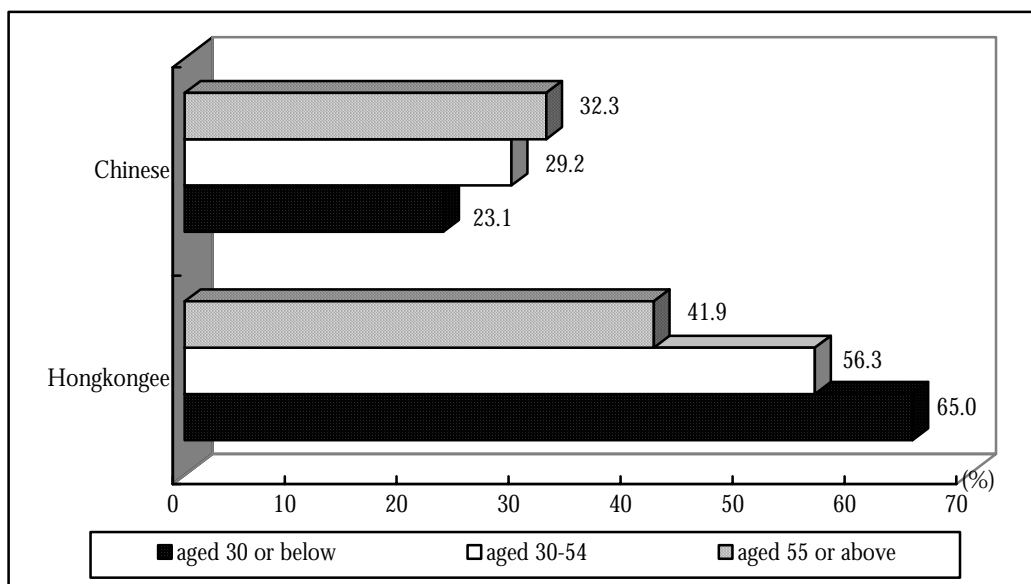
Source: Hong Kong Arts Development Council (2002)

²⁸ Scope of Creative industries include: advertising and related services such as advertising, public relations services, market research, convention and exhibition services; architecture (architectural design services); arts and antiques markets, crafts (auctioneers, galleries, arts and antiques traders; manufacturers of metal, jewellery, wood, plastic products); design (fashion, graphic, interior and product design); film and video (film production, film studios, motion and video pictures production and allied entertainment services); music (music production and allied entertainment services); television and radio (TV and radio productions and related services); Interactive leisure software such as software and computing services (data processing, and tabulating services—for example, data processing services, computer programming, the Internet application, network system design, web design, tabulating and charting services, etc.); performing arts; publishing (printing, publishing and allied services)

6.4.3 Belief, values and knowledge measures

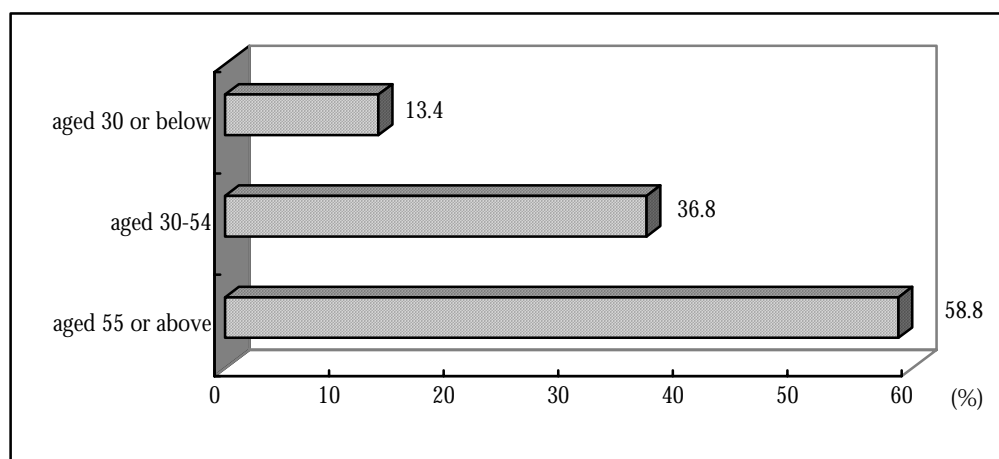
The discussion on the “ethnic identity” is mainly based on the three studies conducted by The Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups in 1994, 1999 and 2000 respectively. The findings indicated that an increasing percentage of the youth claimed to be proud of being Chinese. It increased from 52.2% in 1994, to 57% in 1999 and 59.7% in 2000 respectively. In addition, the study conducted by the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies in 1997 showed that the youngsters (aged 30 or below) tended to claim themselves as “Hongkongee” (65%) than Chinese (23.1%). In fact, the identity as being Chinese was stronger for the group aged 30 or above (32.3% for those aged 55 or above and 29.2% for those aged 30-54), compared with 23.1% for those aged 30 or below (Figure 6.8). This observation is consistent with their belief in the traditional Chinese values. As compared with those aged 30 and above, more youngsters aged below 30 tended to think that the traditional Chinese values were not suitable to Hong Kong situation. 36.8% of adult aged 30-54 agreed that the traditional Chinese values were suitable to Hong Kong situation while it was only 13.4% of youth aged 30 or below agreed with this statement (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.8: Primary identity (1997)



Source: Hong Kong Social Development Indicators (1997)

Figure 6.9: Whether traditional Chinese values suitable to Hong Kong situation (1997)



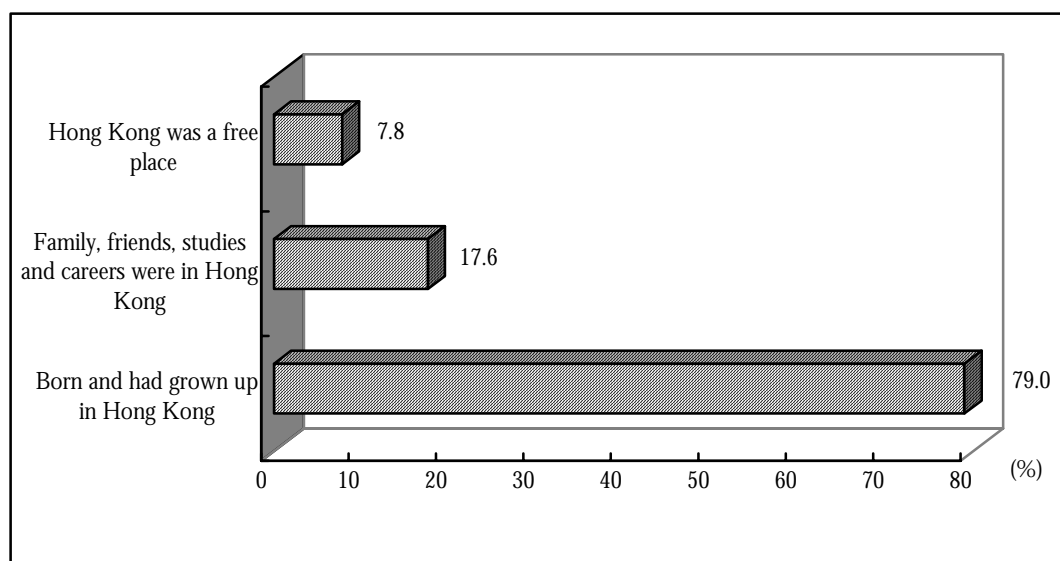
Source: Hong Kong Social Development Indicators (1997)

To a certain extent, there seems to be no conflict between being Chinese and at the same time having a strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong. *The Youth Trends in Hong Kong 2000*²⁹ shows that many respondents claimed that they were Chinese (96%), however, many of them also had a strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong (80%). They were willing to serve the community (78.2%) and had social commitment towards Hong Kong (77.7%). In fact, the major reason for their belonging to Hong Kong, as indicated by *Study on Civil Awareness and Moral Values of Youth*³⁰, was that they were “born and had grown up in Hong Kong” (79%) (Figure 6.10). This might reflect the strong attachment of youth to Hong Kong and took Hong Kong as their root. Also, 17.6% of the respondents in the study claimed that they had sense of belonging to Hong Kong as their family, friends, studies and careers were in Hong Kong. It was notable that some who had attachment to Hong Kong depended on whether it was a free place (7.8%). This might echo the reasons of not having sense of belonging to Hong Kong justified by the respondents in the same study. The major reason was the lack of knowledge about society (27%). Also, it was because they were not satisfied with the living conditions in Hong Kong. 18.5% of the respondents claimed that the “living, working or economic environment was not good” and 14.3% of them think that Hong Kong had many social problems. This reflects that the youth take Hong Kong as their root, but if the living environment of Hong Kong is getting worse, their attachment to Hong Kong may be decreased accordingly. It seems that cultural knowledge cultivation and satisfaction of the living place may be two important factors to maintain the attachment of the youth to Hong Kong.

²⁹ The study was conducted by The Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups in 2000 with the sample size of 875 aged 15-39.

³⁰ The study was conducted by Commission of Youth in 1998 with sample size of 965 youth people aged 10 to 24.

Figure 6.10: Reasons for having a sense of belonging to Hong Kong (1998)



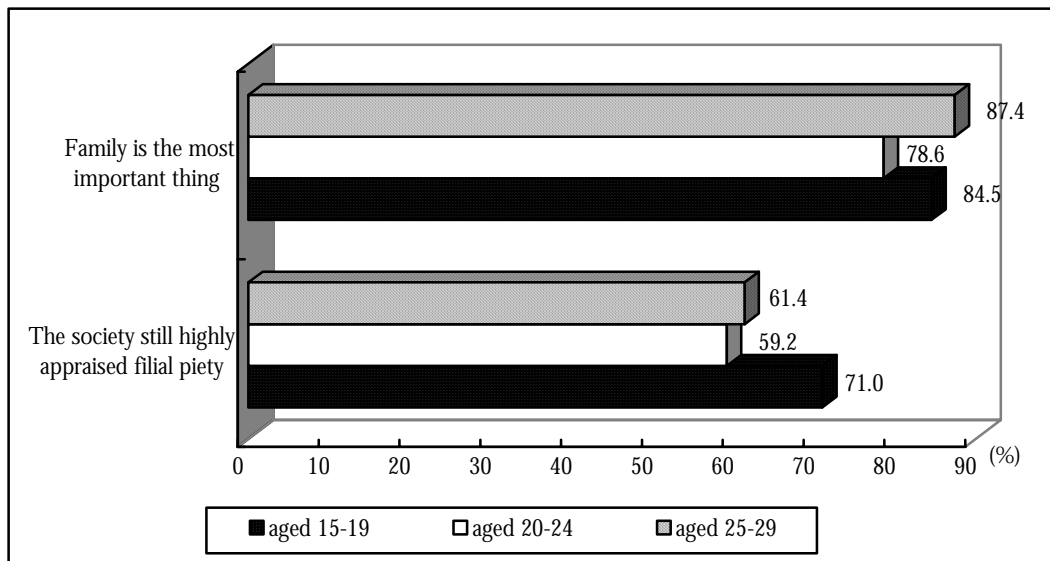
Source: Commission on Youth (1998)

Cultural value is a broad and vague concept which may include any kinds of value that is prevailing in the Hong Kong context. Owing to the limited available data in hand, we could only focus on values related to family in this discussion. Although many youngsters (aged 30 or below) mentioned above no longer thought that the traditional Chinese values were suitable to Hong Kong, the value towards family was still highly appraised by society. According to *Tuning in to Youth: The setting up of Hong Kong Youth Indicators*³¹, about 80% of the respondents thought that family was the most important element in society. They were 84.5% for those aged 15-19, 78.6% for those aged 20-24 and 87.4% for those aged 25-29. More than half of the respondents claimed that filial piety was still highly appraised by society. It was 71% for those aged 15-19, 59.2% for those aged 20-24 and 61.4% for those aged 25-29 (Figure 6.11). The findings of the study on *Beijing-Shanghai-Guangzhou-Hong Kong Comparative Youth Study Series: Topic 8: Family and Fertility*³² (1996) showed that the meaning of filial piety to the youth nowadays is most likely to be comprehended as “living together with parents” (35.9%). Also, only a small number of the youth took “supporting parents financially” as a way to express their filial piety (5.6%). Their views were quite different from the youth in Guangzhou (47.5%), Shanghai (38.7%) and Beijing (45.6%), who most likely regarded filial piety mainly as “respecting parents’ experiences” (Figure 6.12).

³¹ The study was conducted by the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups in 1997 with the sample size of 1029 aged 15-39.

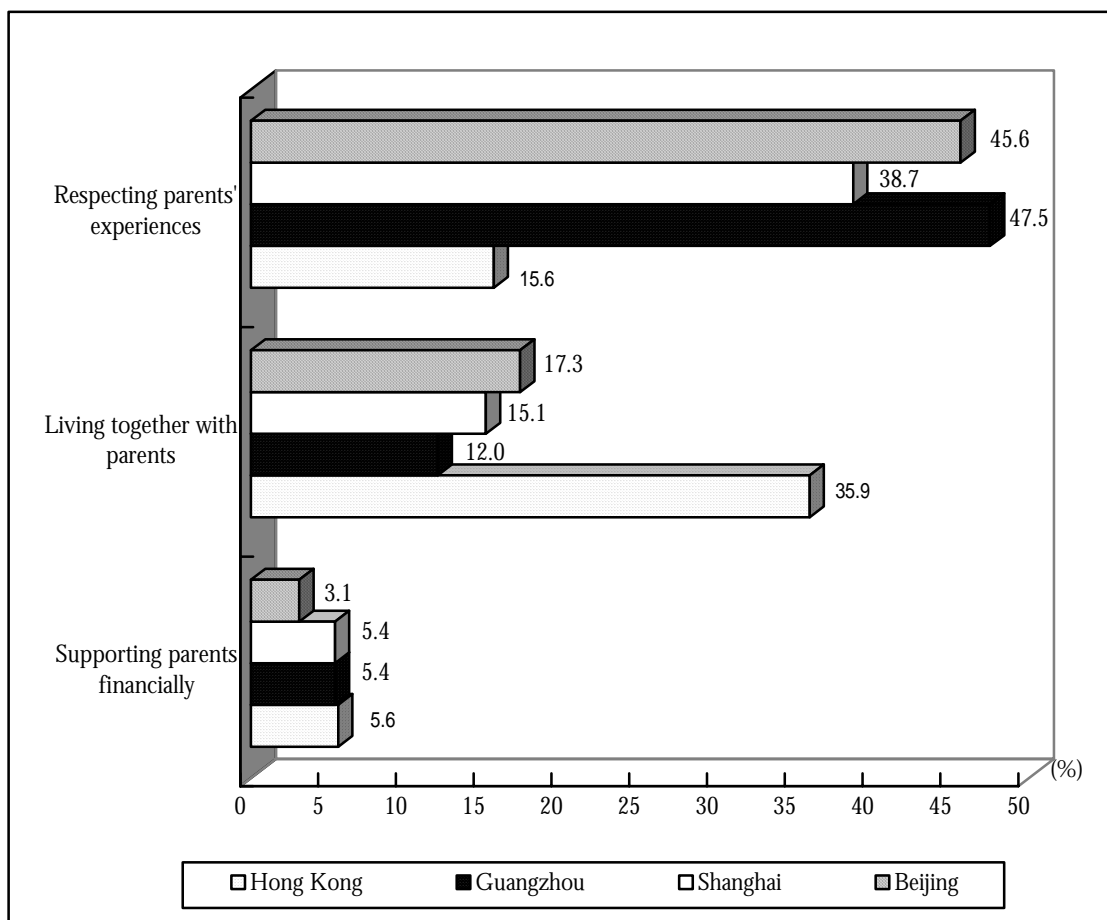
³² The study was jointly conducted by Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Youth and Juvenile Studies Institute of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Guangzhou-Hong Kong-Macau Youth Research Institute and Social Sciences Research Centre, University of Hong Kong in 1996. The sample size is 551 for Hong Kong, 517 for Guangzhou and 508 for Shanghai, all with the age of 15-29.

Figure 6.11: Views on family value (1997)



Source: The HKFYG (1997)

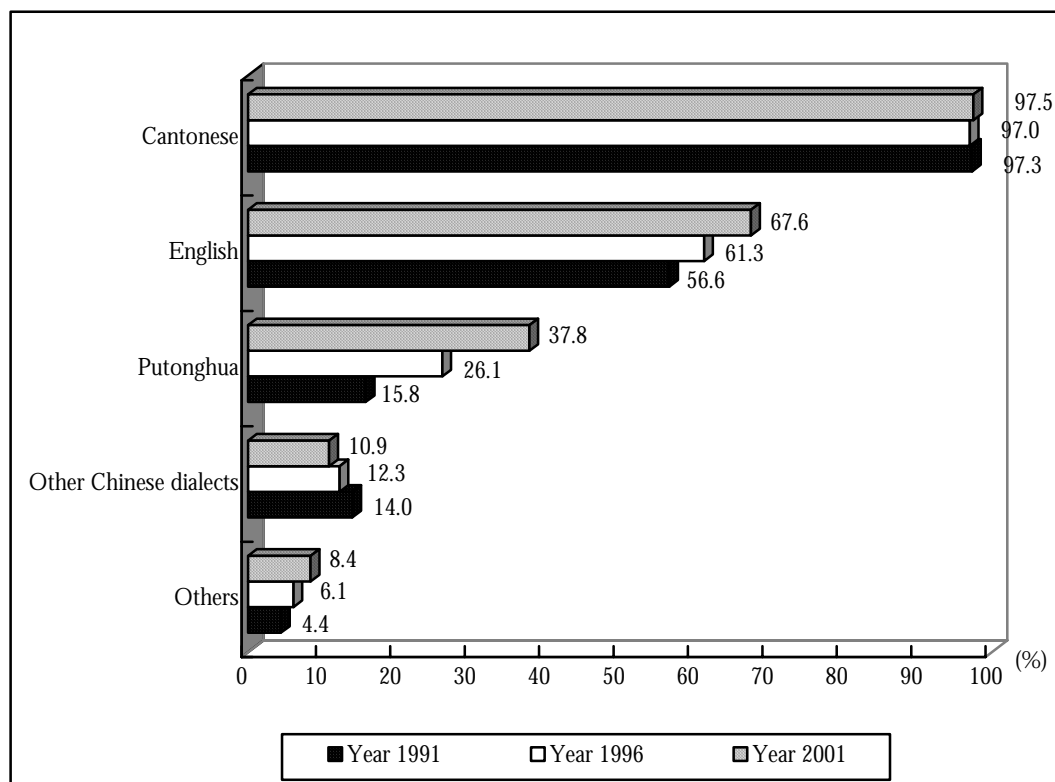
Figure 6.12: Comprehension of filial piety in the present society (1996)



Source: The HKFYG (1996)

Language proficiency is very vital for the transmission of cultural values among the youth. According to the Census and Statistics Department in 2001, the proportion of spoken language capability of the youth in English and Putonghua increased. The percentage of spoken language capability of the youth in English rose from 56.6% in 1991 to 67.6% in 2001, while the proportion of spoken language capability increased from 15.8 % in 1991 to 37.8% in 2001 (Figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13: Youth able to speak selected languages/ dialects (1991, 1996, 2001)



Source: Census and Statistics Department

6.5 Summary

We have discussed youngsters' leisure participation and time use, involvement in art-related jobs, expenditure patterns on cultural aspects and their cultural belief, values and knowledge. However, the collected data cannot fully reflect the cultural awareness and cultural identity of the youth in Hong Kong. It is therefore hard to draw any conclusive correlation between the values attached to and participation pattern among the youth. More comprehensive data is needed in the future to measure the cultural awareness and cultural identity. Data related to "values" in this section such as the family values are useful measurements of social capital will be discussed in detail in the next section.