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'Those who are good to us, we call them friends': Social support and social networks for children growing up in poverty in rural Andhra Pradesh, India

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Introduction

Ideas about 'social capital' (variously derived from Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988 and Putnam, 2000[1]) continue to circulate in research literature across a spectrum of disciplines, including sociology and development studies, despite numerous critiques (Fine 2010). It is broadly accepted that social networks and social resources, and social support (social capital), in the form of personal, familial, and community-level relationships are crucially important to children as they grow up (Morrow 1999, 2001). Yet this is an under-researched topic in developing countries, where the unprecedented pace of change puts pressure on children to pursue particular trajectories through formal schooling, while traditional values simultaneously insist that they follow pathways constrained by norms that are patterned by gender, class, caste and ethnicity and intergenerational norms of reciprocity and responsibility. Drawing on qualitative data gathered from children from the Young Lives study [2] in Andhra Pradesh, India, we analyse children's descriptions of sources of support, whom they turn to when in difficulty, and why. This chapter is a preliminary attempt to use Bourdieu's distinctive theoretical ideas about social capital as relational, interconnected and underpinned by economic capital, to explore patterns of inequality in developing countries in the 21st Century. Sociological concepts are important here and not least because traditional societies are modernising rapidly. In a Bourdieusian sense, the number of fields grows, all of which have their own logic - institutions (such as formal schooling, social welfare provision, social protection schemes) and modern states are evolving rapidly. Bourdieu developed his ideas about social capital to explain the operation of social class and social reproduction in a specific time and place - 1980s, France. However, his earlier work based on ethnographic research in Algeria where he developed concepts of habitus, and field, is also relevant here (Bourdieu 1979).

First, we summarise Bourdieu's ideas about forms of capital, field and habitus. Then we briefly review research on children's social relationships and sources of support in developing countries, before turning to some empirical examples from two sites in rural Andhra Pradesh (AP). We analyse the role that social capital may play in supporting or constraining children and young people over time. We find that parents, siblings, extended family and friends are crucial, and that while new social policies, like the expansion of formal schooling and the increasing 'institutionalisation' of children, are successful in enrolling children in school, other poverty-reduction schemes may be vulnerable to manipulation by higher status groups to benefit themselves.

Bourdieu: capital, field and habitus

As summarised elsewhere (Morrow 1999 and 2001), Bourdieu distinguishes between cultural and social capital, in *Distinction* (1984) and more explicitly in 'Forms of Capital' (1986). Cultural capital can exist in various forms: institutional cultural capital, (that is, academic qualifications); embodied cultural capital, (particular styles, modes of presentation, including use of language, forms of social etiquette and competence, as well as a degree of confidence and self-assurance); and objectified cultural capital (material goods such as writings, paintings, and so on). Social capital consists of social networks and connections, and the sociability needed to sustain networks:

> Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them' (Bourdieu 1986: 51)
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> ...The reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed' (Bourdieu 1986: 52).

Bourdieu's theorising is primarily concerned with how economic capital underpins these other 'disguised' forms, how these forms of capital interact with wider structures to reproduce social inequalities, and how the day-to-day activities of social actors draw upon, reproduce and sometimes challenge structural features of wider social systems.

In his discussion of field, Bourdieu uses the term 'space' to mean not only physical space, but also in a metaphorical sense, social space.

> In this latter sense, actors are conceived of as occupants of multiple places within multiple relatively autonomous domains – *fields* – that together constitute the total social space. These multiple fields in turn constitute the status, class and social positions of the actors, their place in society (Alanen and Siisiäinen 2011: 16).

In what follows here, we see the fields of family, and school, interconnecting. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus,* developed in his research in Algeria is also useful. Habitus is defined as:

> A set of dispositions, reflexes and terms of behaviour people acquire through acting in society. It reflects the different positions people have in society, for example whether they are brought up in a middle class environment or in a working class suburb. It is part of how society reproduces itself. But there is also change. Conflict is built into society. People can find that their expectations and ways of living are suddenly out of step with the new social positions they find themselves in. ... Then the question of social agency and political intervention becomes very important (Bourdieu 2000:19)

Habitus is revealed in practices: 'the nature of various habituses can be detected and tested in the practices of distinct social fields' (Alanen and Siisiäinen 2011: 21). For Bourdieu, field, and not individuals, is the true object of social science[3].

In earlier research within the UK, it was suggested (Morrow 1999) that a conceptualisation of children could be used to explore how children themselves actively draw on, generate or negotiate their own social capital, or indeed make links for their parents, or even provide active support for parents. Siblings may support each other (which we see below). Many of the studies that 'measure' social capital seem to assume that individual children are influenced only by family structure and school (see Coleman 1988, and see Chapter 6); such studies use an individualistic notion of social capital, as opposed to Bourdieu's relational conceptualisation. They do not give an account of local social context, friends, social networks, activities such as paid work, and children's membership of associations. Nor do they pay much attention to structural constraints and how these impact on social capital, and these constraints may be differentiated according to gender, ethnicity and location.

Bourdieu is not noted for his attention to gender relations in childhood, though he recognised that women are responsible for maintaining affective/familial relationships (Bourdieu 2001). In many majority world countries, there are powerful gender norms whereby experiences of puberty, rites of passage, and social values related to family honour and reputation operate to structure girls' social and physical mobility (that is, whom girls marry, as well as the extent to which girls may travel independently, and so on). At the same time, modernity requires girls to go to school, and this raises questions about how the two fields – family and school - intersect. Here, we focus some of our analysis on gender relations in childhood and youth,

since this is both a somewhat neglected area and also timely, given the unprecedented focus in developing countries on girls' education as a means of raising the social status of families and future generations (Koffman and Gill 2013).

Bourdieu is 'good to think with' and his concepts are useful heuristic devices, because he is concerned with how

> the routine practices of individual actors are determined, at least in large part, by the history and objective structure of their existing social world, and how... those practices contribute - without this being their intention - to the maintenance of its existing hierarchical structure. (Jenkins 1992: 141).

Bourdieu does not focus on 'community' in his formulation of social capital. (The word 'community' in French has rather negative connotations, meaning a small, closed society.) Rather Bourdieu uses the concepts of social space and field, where capitals reside. 'Fields are analytic notions, and do not refer to everyday notions of (institutional) arenas or domains of activity. They are determined through research (eg Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 94-110) and their 'influence' therefore needs to be demonstrated. Specific sorts of cultural capital may be valued in one field, and less valued in another. In what follows, the physical as well as the social 'spaces' and 'fields' in which children are located are clearly influential in profound ways to their experiences.

There is very little research on children's social capital in the form of social networks in developing countries, yet 'social capital' was (and to some extent still is) expected to help people to survive in or indeed enable them to move out of poverty (Fine 2010 for a critique). The literature on social support networks for children and young people is mostly limited to children growing up outside parental/familial homes, such as street children (see, for example, Ennew 1994, Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi 2010) and children affected by HIV/AIDS (Ansell and van Blerk 2004, Bell and Payne 2009, Evans 2011, Payne 2012) or conflict/genocide (Pells 2011). However some studies on social support include: Ansell (2004) on rural young people in Lesotho and Zimbabwe, Camfield (2012) on urban children in Ethiopia, Morrison et al (2005) on girls' access to information in rural Jamaica, and Punch (2002) on children's relationships in rural Bolivia. Dyson's (2010) research on children's friendships and foraging work in rural Himalaya shows how the creation of the category of 'youth' in many parts of the world means that girls now have opportunities for close relationships for example, if the age of marriage is delayed, partly through extended schooling. Jones and Chant (2009) in research with young people in Ghana and The Gambia

find that educational qualifications are by no means a clear route to employment and suggest that finding work is 'a matter of 'know who' not 'know how', with the 'knowing who' involving a complex array of familial, ethnic and religious contacts' (Jones and Chant 2009: 192-3). From a Bourdieusian perspective, this is how social inequalities are reproduced. Hulme and Moore (2010, drawing on Putnam's notion of social capital) note that in international development discourses,

> the role of the family and informal civil society institutions in poverty alleviation and reduction ... tends not to be adequately recognised ... informal action and institutions are undervalued because they are difficult to measure and to programme... At the same time, we need to move away from the tendency in contemporary development policy thinking to uncritically laud civil society and to see social capital automatically as favourable and in need of 'building'. Civil action can be beneficial to the poor, but it can also keep poor people poor (Hulme and Moore 2010: 93).

The next section of the chapter explores what these points might look like in interpreting data from young people growing up in poverty in Andhra Pradesh (AP), India. On the whole, parents and children have embraced the dominant discourse about education via formal schooling as the route to development, with vastly raised expectations about the capacity for cultural capital in the form of educational qualifications to lift children and their families out of poverty. This is a global phenomenon, though the capacity of schooling to deliver what it promises seems to be in doubt. At the same time as expressing an acute awareness of the importance of education, and a desire to succeed, as we will show, young people also describe a strong sense of filial duty to their parents, especially sons for their mothers, a reflection of what may be understood as 'traditional' values (see Morrow 2013). In a Bourdieusian sense, children are ambiguously positioned at the intersection of the fields of school and family.

Case-study examples

Here we present longitudinal qualitative data[4] from two sites in Andhra Pradesh, and case-studies of children and the role their friends, family- and, other people have played in helping them and/or supporting them/or, indeed, constraining them. In 2010, young people aged 16-17 were asked, in individual interviews and in group discussions, to map their social networks, and to discuss who provides support, what kind of support, gaps in resources, opportunities for reciprocity, barriers to using available resources. Children had previously been interviewed at age 12/13, and 13/14. Here, a case-study approach has been utilised, by

examining all interviews with children over the successive data collection rounds. In this chapter, to enable comparison, we focus on one tribal (remote rural) site and one rural site. The two sites reflect a diversity of cultural contexts in rural AP, and a boy and a girl have been selected from each site to enable exploration of a range of experiences illustrative of the kinds of social relationships and resources that are available to children. The experiences described are reflected in trends from Young Lives survey findings – in other words, these are more-or-less typical cases. Young Lives research has been conducted at a time of rapid social change- and, in order to make sense of the children's accounts, it is important to understand the context of shifting social policies. Numerous government programmes are in place in both communities.

Patna, a remote tribal community

The first examples are two young people from *adivasi*/tribal backgrounds in Patna, a very poor rural community in Srikakulam district of AP. The two tribal groups living in the area are Savara and Jathapu. Jathapu people speak Telugu, but Savara have a different language and script, and some children find school difficult. Produce and goods are traded through a barter system, though the introduction of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) guaranteeing adults 100 days work a year for a minimum wage) has meant that a cash economy is developing rapidly. Numerous government programmes and interventions, including schools, are run by the ITDA (Integrated Tribal Development Agency). The *sarpanch* (head of the village *panchayat* or council) represents the opposition party and thinks that the flow of public funds and sanction of programmes are limited compared to the *panchayats* represented by the ruling party. Children attend local primary schools, then move to nearby towns in order to continue in secondary school, staying in hostels. The ITDA is a source of employment for young people, who are being recruited as community teachers, even those who have only basic schooling (ten years) and no further training.[5] There are now more educational opportunities for children - new schools and hostels, more seats in residential schools; and increased private transport means children can travel to school (see also Behera 2007). Younger cohort children attend residential schools and as we see below, some older cohort children are children are moving on to higher education.

Two cases: Yaswanth, and Santhi

Yaswanth's father died when he was in 1st Grade (about 7 years old) and he had always helped his mother by fetching water, buying provisions, and his mother had high hopes for him finding a 'small job'. By 2010, when he was 16, his sister was married but the family had incurred debts for the dowry, and Yaswanth worried: 'If we don't repay them they will mortgage my house'. When interviewed in 2007 and 2008, he wanted to continue to study and go on to university but realistically could not afford it and he struggled at school. By 2010, he wanted 'anything that will earn me and mother to lead a happy life... anything, like repairing vehicles ... We must have the capacity to earn'. He anticipated that when he married, his wife would come from a poor family and he would not ask her family to pay a dowry, because of his own family's experiences.

Yaswanth described how two years previously, he had been ill with jaundice and tonsillitis, and his mother paid for an operation to remove his tonsils. At the time of his sister's wedding his paternal uncle and his maternal aunt helped his family with cash gifts that were used as dowry for his sister. Other relatives gave her some gold, some cooking pots, and household appliances like a TV, gas stove and a steel *almirah*/cupboard . If they had not helped, his mother would have had to borrow from money-lenders at very high interest rates. As it was, she secured a loan from the local Self-Help Group (SHG). Because of this he was strongly opposed to the dowry system 'it is a bane for ... families'.

Yaswanth recounted how his friends helped him to pay school fees whenever his mother was out of the village, and sometimes gave him pen and pencils. Some of his friends had helped him study at exam time. He too supported his friends, sharing food with them, and even though he was poor, he paid the examination fee for a friend whose parents had temporarily migrated (for work). He also felt that teachers were encouraging children to score good marks, and he said he had helped his teachers, getting tea, breakfast and lunch for them. He helped his mother to learn how to sign her name, and he was able to explain to her the details of the SHG [6]. Just as Bourdieu reflected on his own 'split' habitus, as the son of rural postman who became a member of the French intellectual elite, so Yaswanth's description of helping his mother reflects his own advancement. Notably, Bourdieu also speculated that at times of rapid social change this split would become more common (Bourdieu 2004).

The ways in which children's knowledge and skill, for example, in literacy, has implications for generational relations was discussed by Yaswanth, who also talked about the Indiramma housing scheme[7], and said that poor, Backward Caste and single parent families/widows did

not get the help they were entitled to, because government officials and political leaders were 'corrupt, partial and cunning' – favouring their relatives and Forward Caste who had wealth and influence.[8] Rajesh, another Scheduled Tribe boy, complained that despite having a letter sanctioning the building of a new house, and demolishing their old house, they had still not got the money and were struggling to live in a small hut – and during the rainy season, he and his older sister went to his relatives' house to sleep. All the young men in the group complained about corruption and bribery related to getting jobs, and felt that this kind of corruption is a barrier for poor children. Yaswanth complained that a minister had sanctioned mines located in Patna to his own son, and because of examples like this, poor people missed out on opportunities and were exploited by politicians. Both Rajesh and Yaswanth complained that caste discrimination means that capable and worthy candidates are not getting employment. On the other hand, the young men spoke favourably about the Rajiv Udyoga Sri (employment for youth) scheme where the ITDA provides training and placements in different trades where there is a demand. Yaswanth said that if he failed 10th class, he would attend this training. He also mentioned that the Self-help Group (SHG) gives women whose children are studying 9th grade and above a scholarship.

For Yaswanth and his mother, the main sources of social capital seemed to be extended family, with some support from a local SHG. Yaswanth expressed an acute awareness of how powerful people in the community (who are also more affluent) have access to services that he and other young people like him are excluded from. Their difficulties are underpinned by their lack of economic capital – their precarious financial situation, which is exacerbated by debts incurred because of Yaswanth's sister's marriage.

Santhi is also Scheduled Tribe, but 'middle class'. Her father is a teacher in a Government school, posted to a tribal area about 30 km away. Her uncles and cousins are engineers. The family moved to a town about 13 km away from Patna to take advantage of better schools. In interviews in 2007 and 2009, she said she wanted to be a paediatrician. Santhi described the great pressure she felt from her parents and family to succeed:

> They worked hard and got me admitted into this college... so the only way to repay their support is to study well, score good marks and achieve a good position in society about which my parents feel proud, and be happy without any worries.

Her comment resonates with Bourdieu's (1999) exploration of intergenerational debt. She did well at school, despite experiencing ill-health and great deal of anxiety about her tests and examinations. During 10th grade, she suffered from chest and stomach pains for six months,

and missed school, which caused her anxiety: 'the pressure was mounting on me more as I fell behind'.

By 2010, Santhi was studying at an intermediate college, and staying in a hostel. Initially, she was studying Biology, Physics and Chemistry for medicine, but had been ill on joining college, so had shifted to Maths, much against her will. Her parents had been worried that if she studied medicine she would work too hard, and fall ill again. She was upset about this, but after talking with a sympathetic teacher, had modified her ambitions. After 12th class, she planned to study Engineering, and then look for a job. She describes how indebted she felt to her parents, who sought out a college with a good reputation.

The family had financial difficulties, because of ill health (Santhi described how her brother had been very ill), and Santhi's schooling was no longer free because there were tuition and hostel fees. The family had received marriage proposals for Santhi, but her mother said: 'We told them it is not possible for 4-5 years because she is studying'. Santhi constantly worried that her studies will be stopped for marriage, and refused to discuss the possibility with the interviewer.

Santhi listed a range of sources of social support including her friends, her chemistry teacher and her uncle. She described how she sought his guidance on which college to go to. Initially he wanted her to go to a nearby town to study, but Santhi was worried that it was far away from her parents, in case her health deteriorated. 'He agreed and told me to join anywhere... My father said he will let me join only if my uncle agrees'. She talked at length about how her parents have supported her, but her uncle was clearly very important. The interviewer asked why:

> From [when I was] small, my uncle does everything I need about my studies, health, and what will suit me... he takes the decision, so I like him very much. ..Elders will have a brief idea about their children and what they like and what suits them, what they will be able to study, and how much stress and pressure they can handle... In every matter, I consult him only.

Her uncle also encouraged her to seek advice from others 'He told me if I ... doubt what he said, he asked me to consult my sister too, but I believe his decision, so I took MPC (Maths Physics and Chemistry) . ... he thinks and knows all things'.

Santhi described how she offered support to her friends:

> When they are not feeling well, I write fair notes and give to them. I go and ask them if they have any problem. If they are not well, I go to the hospital and visit them...and tell them about the class and lesson details..... we use each other's support.

She had also helped her father with correcting homework (though this had stopped, presumably when she had too much homework of her own to do and she was living in the hostel). She described receiving good support from her teachers in the past:,

> The Maths teacher, he gave me good support, like if I miss class also if I go and ask him ... he will clarify without any scolding. There is another [teacher] who taught me from 5th class to 7th class, he even now comes and enquires about me...he is such a nice person.

At her current College, she turned to her Chemistry teacher for support:

> She is special to all of us, if we have any problems we go to her only first. We don't see her as madam [a teacher] we all treat her as mother. She also takes care of us more than other teachers. She tells us to treat her as our mother. We have stopped calling her madam, we call her mother. She tells us if she has any problems in her house... She not only understands us, she understands everything, whether it is small or big, any type of problem, she understands and give suggestions.

Santhi's social networks can be interpreted as acting as social capital – in this case, the social capital that resided in her extended family, particularly her uncle who seemed to be a vital source of information and advice about schooling. Santhi also had access to a range of 'role models' within her extended family. By moving away from the tribal site, where there was a perceived lack of connections, her family enabled Santhi to expand her networks and possibilities (though whether she is able to continue and to resist marriage remains to be seen). Yaswanth, on the other hand, remained in Patna with a powerful sense of responsibility to his mother, and his priority was to find a way to look after her.

Poompuhar, a poor rural community

Poompuhar is a poor rural community in southern Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. The main occupations are in agriculture, and daily wage labour. Children are involved in cotton seed pollination work which has meant they miss school for two to three months each year, though this declined between 2007 and 2010 (Morrow et al, 2014). A new local secondary school recently opened, on land donated by the *sarpanch*, and by 2010 children were attending school regularly. The *sarpanch* and the local government were keen on reducing child labour in cotton seed pollination. The Mandal Revenue Officer, the school headmaster,

sarpanch and teachers went around the village telling parents not to send their children to work. The headmaster has also introduced a small fine for every day of absence at school, or children had to clean the school premises. In order to avoid this, children pleaded with their parents not to send them to the cotton fields. Seasonal migration (February/ May until June/July) was common, but the introduction of the national rural employment guarantee scheme (NREGS) means that wages have risen. There is plenty of work in public works (a railway track, and canal work) as well as subcontract work on small farms, but this has unintended consequences for children, as they may substitute for parents by working on family land while their parents undertake wage labour.

Two cases: Harika and Ranadeep

Harika is the only daughter in her family. She has a younger brother. When interviewed in 2007, her father was unable to work because he had injured his leg, and Harika's mother spent most of the day working at the family fields. Harika did most of the household work, while also working at pollinating cotton (see Morrow and Vennam 2010). She found it difficult to manage school and work. Harika said: 'If I go to the fields, I won't get an education.' A year later, there had been several changes in Poompuhar, and in Harika's situation. She had obtained a scholarship of Rs 6,000/- a year, payable conditional on completing school, that is, continuing education beyond Class 10[9]. Generally, children were undertaking less cotton pollination work. Harika's situation had improved, because her father had recovered, and 'he is going to the field now… I used to go in his place every morning'. She was attending school more regularly. She occasionally monitored the wage labourers while attending to work herself, effectively replacing her mother when she was away at market selling vegetables. She explained that she is absent once in two or three weeks: 'when my mother goes out somewhere, when she goes out of the village. I have to go to the farm …'.

In 2010, aged 16, Harika had passed 10th grade and she was attending a college in a nearby town, staying in a hostel. She described how at first her parents did not want her continue her education, but with the help of her older brother and her mother's elder sister's daughters, she was able to persuade them:

> They told my parents that it will be good to send me for further education. In case, if they plan to get me married in between, than to stop my education after 10th grade, otherwise to send me for further education. Also now my parents are sending me for

> further studies. I feel I am studying because of them [my cousins] and that makes me feel good.

She described a number of sources of social support – her younger brother was a support to her because he accompanied her everywhere:

He is with me the entire time... he comes along wherever I go. This is the first time I am staying away from them all of them [family]... he used to come with me when I would go to the fields or school. When he is with me, I am not scared. ... when I go alone, I get scared, but when my brother is there, I feel confident'.

He also did some of her errands and domestic work. Harika also explained that when she wasn't sure about something at (intermediate or secondary) school, she felt confident enough to go to teachers to ask for clarification. Her Headmaster at Poompuhar school was a support to them when they were doing exams.

> We did not know about the National Talent Test, he told us and explained about it. Even though I was the only girl who signed up for it, he gave me assurance and confidence that he is behind us and we should take the test. Sir helped up to open an account in the bank. He did everything for us... Sir bought us the books, from 7th to 9th class. ... gave us coaching, after the last class, he would take half an hour to coach us'.

At college, there was another girl, 'my sister who is related to me...' (a cousin from Poompuhar) who was studying for the final year of her degree there.

> When we would go to her and tell that we are scared here and want to go back (home), she told that till we feel accustomed to the Hostel, we can sleep in her room, and she gave courage and confidence. ... in College, I get scared to ask the lecturers... maybe because I am new, so I ask my friends in the hostel and they clear my doubts.

Harika described how the family turn to 'our brothers, my mother's elder sister's sons, if we need any money they are there to help us'. She said: '[people] cannot do anything alone, they learn what to do on the basis of others' advice'. Reflecting back on the time when she missed school to work because of her father's injury, she said she 'knew that there was a shortage of money in the house, so I didn't ask for things'.

Thus, Harika recognised the importance of sources of support, advice and information. In her case, an interested headteacher seemed to have been the catalyst for her academic progress. Her wider kin networks supported her decision to continue in school, and there was a tension for her because her parents will want her to marry. Apart from her teacher, her social

connections seemed to be limited to familial networks, and these networks operated as capital insofar as they supported her aspirations and her decisions about education.

When interviewed in 2007 and 2008, **Ranadeep** was ambitious to migrate away from Poompuhar, to run his own business and open a small shop. By 2010, he had failed his 10th Grade exam . Five of his friends had also failed. Ranadeep was now farming. He still aspired to go to College, and had applied to re-take his exam. He had worked pollinating cotton, but his uncle had told his parents not to make him work. The family needed labour because the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme had pushed up the price of local wages. Ranadeep described how his uncle, who was a teacher at a college in Gadwal, was teaching him in preparation for the exam in March. 'I am learning and working at home, my uncle comes and he is teaching me'. His uncle had told his parents not to make him work on the land, but

> my parents never listened to him... there is nobody to work in the fields, and there is no labour coming, and we need to pay Rs100/- as wages every day, and we were not able to afford it, so they stopped me from going to school. (My parents) told me I need to do both work and studies.

This had led to friction and arguments since he failed, because his father blamed his mother for sending him to work:

> My father knows, he has studied so he knows the importance of tenth class, but my mother is not educated... so she does not know... she will not listen**....** she says we will not get jobs even if we study, so she will tell us to come to the fields and work. I told her 10th class is important, and I will be a waste if I don't complete my 10th class, ...still she will not listen. My mother never listened. So my father took me to the fields to work, they stopped me from going to school for month. During that time they (fellow schoolmates) covered most of the chapters (syllabus).

Here, family operates as a social field, with family members taking differing approaches to cultural capital in the form of educational qualifications. Informal social networks in the form of friends also operate as social capital. Ranadeep described how his school friends helped him when he missed school to work:

> I used to borrow the notes from my friends in the night, and used to say the answers when the teachers asked me. I used to ask my friends what they learned in school that day, and used to update myself... my friends helped me a lot....Those who are good to us, we call them friends.

He described how he is now closer to his friend Prahalad,

> he also failed, he told us that in our fate it is written that we must only do agriculture/(be farmers). There is no way we can go to college. He also felt bad....

When asked specifically about sources of social support, he mentioned his friends helping him with exams and school; his family supported him financially, within limits; his paternal uncle taught him maths. He mentioned relatives providing emotional support, and 'I am expecting help from the government in the form of a scholarship for continuing my higher education'. He abandoned the idea to open a shop – he said he didn't want to tell his family and, like Harika, he didn't want to ask for help: 'I know they are struggling in the house, so how will I ask?' A recent crop failure meant further debts. However, we know that by 2012, he had successfully passed his Grade 10 exams, and was at college.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, then, Ranadeep was acutely aware of the importance of school qualifications (a form of cultural capital), and saw himself as a 'waste' if he did not continue in formal education. He saw his family's poverty as the explanation for not asking for financial support. Yet his uncle had the resources to support him in re-sitting his exams and indeed, this strategy was successful in the short term because it enabled Ranadeep to continue in college. Further rounds of data will show whether or not he is able to escape from a life of farming.

Discussion

In a Bourdieusian sense, powerful norms, values and social hierarchies govern people's capacity to negotiate systems. The economic situation of children and young people only partially determines what happens to them – the relationship between cultural, social and economic capitals, and how these interact and are translated into other forms of capital, is the important point here. These forms of capital are always specific, some are legitimate in some fields, some in other fields, and they intersect dynamically. So, for example, it remains to be seen whether Santhi can convert the social capital in her social networks into cultural capital in the form of qualifications, that will then lead to a well-paid and rewarding job and career. Somewhat counter-intuitively, her acquisition of qualifications may inhibit her marriage prospects, if she has 'too much' schooling. This is where fields are in contradiction/tension, as modernising institutions of education and schooling intersect with the traditions of patriarchal societies.

Thus, children and young people's location in specific fields is also significant for mobility and access to markets, other livelihoods and services such as health and education. Formal

schooling (another field) has expanded exponentially over the past 15 years and vast numbers of children are now enrolled in primary school. But how formal schooling operates to enable some children to progress and others to be left behind, and what processes of discrimination lie behind this need to be better understood. Despite numerous social policies aimed at reducing discrimination, social status according to caste and poverty status is still acutely felt and experienced. The young people described here do not lack social capital (in the sense of strong social networks) but the social capital they do have is bound up with other forms of capital and this is likely to inhibit their capacity to escape from poverty and disadvantage

In Patna and Poompuhar, and for all four young people described here, parents, brothers, sisters and extended family seemed to be the first line of support that young people and their families turned to. Our interviews with them led to numerous mentions of uncles, cousins, and so on. This has implications for social reproduction – if wider networks linking young people to more powerful or more affluent others and to sources of information are not available, then this limits young people's possibilities. Family-based sources of social support/social capital will not help young people to move on and up out of poverty unless they include kin who have managed to escape the cycle of poverty and secure more affluent and respected positions, like Ranadeep's uncle. The young people provided detailed description of reciprocal support, mostly family- and friendship- based. This is structured by gender - the young men's expressed desire to support their parents/mothers highlights the interdependency of family members, and the ways in which boys' contribution to the domestic economy extends into adulthood. This also has (hitherto) unexplored implications for relationships between generations, because children's knowledge (cultural capital) will exceed that of their parents, leading to possibilities of 'split' habitus and *'déclassement'* (the process whereby individuals leave their social situation/milieu).

In the case of the two girls, Santhi seemed to be well-connected socially, Harika less so, though she appeared to be have overcome initial difficulties, with the support of extended family and the headteacher at her primary school. The girls mentioned some individual teachers as vital sources of support, and in Poompuhar, the *sarpanch* seemed to have played an important role in encouraging children to go to school. Indeed, some social policy interventions appear to be experienced positively. However, this has to be balanced by description of corruption and discrimination, at least in the case of Patna, where Yaswanth described how more affluent, higher caste villagers use their power to favour their own kind and thus exclude poorer families. In Poompuhar, it seems that the *sarpanch* has been

instrumental in bringing about an improvement in children's lives in that more children now go to school.

However, in emphasising children's social networks and social support systems, there is a risk that we overlook the powerful impacts of other constraints on children's lives, such as the provision of educational opportunities, as well as economic factors relating to persistent poverty and widening inequality, that underpin their accounts. Simplistic understandings of social capital may inadvertently pathologise children in poverty, constructing them as deficient because they lack supportive and/or constructive social networks and contacts at the level of family. A more nuanced understanding based on Bourdieu's interconnected forms of cultural, social, economic capital combined with sociability, that is, the capacity to sustain and utilise social networks, as demonstrated by Santhi and, to an extent, Ranadeep, can advance our understanding of the practices of everyday life that children describe, and helps to explain how these practices constrain or enable young people to move out of poverty. By coupling Bourdieu's formulation of social capital as in relation to other forms of capital and as rooted in the practices of everyday life, with a view of children as having agency (albeit constrained) we can link micro-social and macro-social structural factors. We can use 'social capital' as a tool or heuristic device for exploring processes and practices that are related to the acquisition of other forms of capital (see also Morrow 1999).

Finally, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social space seems to be crucial, and is arguably underplayed in his formulations of social reproduction as being mostly family-based. However, in *Weight of the World* (1999), Bourdieu documents the ways in which social spaces have effectively marginalised poor sections of (French) society. He suggests we need to go beyond seeing 'material poverty as the sole measure of all suffering' because this 'keeps us from seeing and understanding a whole side of the suffering characteristic of a social order which, although it has undoubtedly reduced poverty overall ... has also multiplied the social spaces and set up the conditions for an unprecedented development of all kinds of ordinary suffering...' (Bourdieu 1999: 4). Similar processes appear to be taking place on a global scale, as societies modernise and develop in highly uneven and iniquitous jumps and starts, and as 'traditional' and modern notions of self and identity collide, causing some to be left behind in what they see as undesirable situations.

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[1] The turn of the 21st century witnessed a wave of 'social capital' research based on Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital as consisting of formal informal and community social networks, levels of trust, reciprocity, civic engagement and community identity. Putnam's work did not focus on children and youth. Coleman's research on youth in USA focused on social capital within families and communities and the causal effects on individual children's outcomes. See Morrow 1999 for a review.

[2] Young Lives is a 15-year study investigating the changing nature of childhood poverty in four countries, Ethiopia, Peru, the state of Andhra Pradesh in India and Vietnam. The study aims to improve understanding of he causes and consequences of childhood poverty and the role of policies in improving children's life chances, in the broad context of the Millennium Development Goals. Young Lives collects data from two cohorts of children in each country: 2,000 born in 2000–1 (the younger cohort) and 1,000 children born in 1994–5 (the older cohort). A survey is carried out every three years with the full sample of children and their caregivers, and is complemented by qualitative research with a sub-sample of 50 children in four communities in each country, their parents/caregivers, and other key figures in the community, including teachers, local health workers, community leaders. See www.younglives.org.uk, and Crivello et al (2013) for further details.

[3] In development studies, the concept of social capital received a vast amount of academic attention during the late 1990s/early 2000s (see Fine 2010), though this did not focus on children and young people, who remain somewhat marginal subjects of study in international development, where human capital models dominate. However, social capital research with or related to children and young people in UK underwent something of a boom period during the 2000s, and a more refined approach can be seen for example, see Knight (this volume), Allan et al, 2009, Weller, 2006, Reynolds, 2009).

[4] We draw here on data from three rounds of qualitative longitudinal research, conducted in 2007, 2008 and 2010, with twenty-five children born in 1994/5. Fieldwork is conducted by local research teams, fluent in local languages. A range of qualitative research methods are used, including one-to-one interviews, group discussions and creative activities. Interviews are conducted in homes, fields, or in village community premises, and are voice recorded, transcribed, and translated. Interviews are structured around specific questions, and last from 30 minutes to 2 hours. Data are coded by themes, using Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software. Data are divided into different domains such as education, work and aspirations, and creating a narrative for each domain (see

Crivello et al 2013 and www.younglives.org.uk for details of methods, ethics, and analysis). Names of children and places are pseudonyms.

[5] Passing the 10th grade exam is necessary in order to proceed to the next stage: intermediate college.

[6] Self-Help Groups: groups of 10-15 poor women who save together and lend each other money from a common fund. The aim is to reduce poverty by enabling women to have access to credit without needing collateral. The Government gives credit to these groups, on certain conditions, to assist them with lending. SHGs are a deliberate attempt to 'build social capital'.

[7] Rural housing scheme to build *'pukka'* houses.

[8] Scheduled Castes (SCs) are the lowest in the traditional caste structure and were earlier considered to be 'untouchables'/dalit. SCs have been subject to discrimination for years and had no access to basic services, including schooling. Backward Castes or Classes (BCs) are people belonging to a group of castes who are considered to be 'backward' in view of their low level in the caste structure. Scheduled Tribes are indigenous communities, who are traditionally disadvantaged and live in forests and mountainous areas.

[9] These scholarships are to encourage education and are given to various groups (SCs, girls) through different programmes. This particular scholarship was based on an aptitude test for which Harika was coached by the head teacher.