DOI: 10.61905/wwr/202830

„Wychowanie w Rodzinie" t. XXXII (1/2025)
"Family Upbringing" vol. XXXII (1/2025)

Piotr Kwiatkowski
Institute of Pedagogy, Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences, University of Wroclaw, Wrocław, Poland

Piotr Kwiatkowski https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4283-0278

Self-report Measure of Cultural Capital – Content of the CulCap-15 Questionnaire and Preliminary Assessment of its Psychometric Properties

Samoopisowy pomiar kapitału kulturowego – treść kwestionariusza *CulCap-15* i wstępna ocena jego właściwości psychometrycznych

Submitted: December 19, 2024 – Accepted: March 10, 2025

Abstract

Aim. This article serves to introduce into scientific circulation a new questionnaire for measuring cultural capital, called CulCap-15. The questionnaire diagnoses three interrelated constructs: good manners (kindness, good upbringing), participation in high culture and orientation to educational success.

Methods and materials. The research method was a survey of two samples of adults (n=1239, n=835) collected using the *snowball* method. In some analyses, the two samples were combined into one set. The material includes factor analyses to confirm the assumed structure of the tool, an analysis of the questionnaire's internal reliability, and a path analysis documenting the tool's associations with dimensions of the family of origin's

Corresponding author: Piotr Kwiatkowski, e-mail: pkwdomx@gmail.com,
Instytut Pedagogiki, Wydział Nauk Historycznych i Pedagogicznych, Uniwersytet Wrocławski,
Dawida 1, 50-525 Wrocław, Polska

CC BY SA

educational functionality and level of psychological capital.

Results and conclusion. The research confirmed the 3-factor structure of the tool with the pre-postulated dimensions of cultural capital. These are good manners, participation in high culture and a sustained orientation to knowledge acquisition (educational success). These dimensions are correlated with each other, but their correlations with each other are moderate. For this reason, the recommendation is to consider them as relatively separate in multivariate analyses. The subscales of the questionnaire are factorially homogeneous and have a satisfactory level of internal reliability. Path analyses make it possible to consider the subscales as mediators in the relationship between family factors (parents' education, the climate of the educational relationship in the family of origin, orientation to the child's educational success and the child's participation in high culture) and the level of psychological capital. This result confirms the accuracy of the measurement.

Keywords: psychological capital, cultural capital, research tool, functionality of the family, CulCap-15 questionnaire

Abstrakt

Cel. Niniejszy artykuł służy wprowadzeniu w naukowy obieg nowego kwestionariusza do pomiaru kapitału kulturowego, nazwanego CulCap-15. Kwestionariusz diagnozuje trzy powiązane wzajemnie konstrukty: dobre maniery (kindersztuba, dobre wychowanie), uczestnictwo w kulturze wysokiej i orientację na sukces edukacyjny. **Metody i materiały.** Metodą badawczą był sondaż przeprowadzony w dwóch próbach osób dorosłych (n=1239, n=835) zbieranych metodą „śnieżnej kuli". W niektórych analizach obie próby były połączone w jeden zbiór. Materiał obejmuje analizy czynnikowe w celu potwierdzenia założonej struktury narzędzia, analizę rzetelności wewnętrznej kwestionariusza oraz analizę ścieżek dokumentującą powiązania narzędzia z wymiarami funkcjonalności wychowawczej rodziny pochodzenia oraz poziomem kapitału psychologicznego. **Wyniki i wnioski**. Badania potwierdziły 3-czynnikową strukturę narzędzia – z postulowanymi wstępnie wymiarami kapitału kulturowego. Są nimi: dobre maniery, uczestnictwo w kulturze wysokiej i trwała orientacja na zdobywanie wiedzy (sukces edukacyjny). Wymiary te są skorelowane wzajemnie, lecz ich wzajemne korelacje są umiarkowane. Z tego powodu zaleceniem jest uwzględnianie ich jako względnie odrębnych w analizach wielozmiennowych. Podskale kwestionariusza są czynnikowo jednorodne i mają zadowalający poziom rzetelności wewnętrznej. Analizy ścieżek pozwalają traktować podskale jako mediatory w relacjach pomiędzy czynnikami rodzinnymi (wykształcenie rodziców, klimat relacji wychowawczej w rodzinie pochodzenia, orientacja na sukces edukacyjny dziecka i na uczestnictwo dziecka w kulturze wysokiej) a poziomem kapitału psychologicznego. Wynik ten potwierdza trafność pomiaru omawianym narzędziem. Prezentowane rezultaty są częścią cyklu artykułów dotyczących pomiaru niematerialnych kapitałów człowieka.

Słowa kluczowe: kapitał psychologiczny, narzędzie badawcze, funkcjonalność rodziny, Kapitał kulturowy, kwestionariusz CulCap-15

Introduction

The concept of capital has roots in economics and politics. In the social sciences, it is used as introduced by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James Coleman (1988). Dóci, Spruyt, De Moortel, Vanroelen, and Hofmans (2023), referring to the concept of the first of the authors mentioned above, defined capital as accumulated labour (in its materialised or incorporated, embodied form), which, when appropriated on a private (*i.e.*, exclusive) basis by individual or collective entities (called *agents of capital*), enables them to appropriate social energy (in the form of reified or living labour). Capital has four characteristics. Firstly, it is accumulated history — the result of people investing their labour and resources (usually over a long time) in the hope of making a profit — in other words, a valuable result. Capital thus connects people's current life (level and form) with their past, *i.e.*, previous decisions, investment activities and creative activity (resulting from the investment of efforts and resources to obtain results at a later time). Secondly, capital, referring to the assets that people can invest in their future, implies an increase in productivity, the wealth of individuals and, ultimately, an increase in the capital pool. The accumulation of capital by individuals usually benefits them, translating into positive career trajectories, status building in the community, or higher levels of well-being. Third, capital is always associated with the differentiation and unequal distribution of assets. If resources become generally available, they no longer function as capital. According to Bourdieu, in a stratified society, capital is used to exclude lower-ranking members of society and to preserve the privileged status of the middle and upper classes. People with capital always try to protect their resources from loss or devaluation and use them to gain or maintain an advantage over others. Fourthly, capital should not be equated with economic resources. Many resources that people can use to consolidate their privileged position (reproduction/exclusion) and/or to achieve social advancement (social mobility) are intangible. According to Bourdieu, it exists in three forms: economic, social and cultural. *Economic capital* is a collection of financial or easily monetisable material resources and rights available to an entity by ownership. An important feature of this capital is the ease with which capital resources can be exchanged between entities and the relative ease with which these resources can be transformed into other forms of capital. *Social capital* essentially means capital resources available to an entity as a result of its relationship with other people (Bourdieu, 1986) and collective entities, institutions, or communities (Coleman, 1988). Social capital is the resources at the disposal of others that an individual can mobilise for their purposes

by investing their resources in establishing themselves in a sufficiently well-developed social network or community. Social capital can be transformed into other forms of capital and *vice versa* (*e.g.*, good relationships enable the acquisition of financial or material resources in the form of loans or donations, and material resources can help build a social network and prestige in interpersonal relationships). The third form of capital is *cultural capital*. Following Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) as well as Lamont and Lareau (1988), cultural capital can be defined as a complex of signals of high status used in cultural and social selection. The critical aspect of cultural capital is that it allows culture to be used as a personal resource that gives some people greater access to socially scarce rewards. It is subject to monopolisation and (under certain conditions) can be passed on from generation to generation (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). According to Bourdieu (1986), all forms of capital can be transformed into one another. It is these effective capital transformations that give individuals the ability to maintain or strengthen their social position and, at the same time, exclude others from various fields of activity.

Theoretical and Methodological Aspects

The concept of cultural capital is not clearly defined in the literature. In academic discourse, there are different views on what it is and what purposes it serves or what functions it fulfils[1] (theoretical aspect), and how to recognise it (methodological aspect). In the first layer — the theoretical one — two different positions can be distinguished from the literature on the subject (Davies & Rizk, 2018; Lareau & Weininger, 2003). The first one — we can call it *classic* or *traditional* — refers primarily to the works of Bourdieu (1986) and the research initiated by DiMaggio (1982) on the determinants of educational success. In this approach, cultural capital is understood structurally. It is simply a certain set of attributes accumulated by individuals or families (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; de Graaf, 1986; Sullivan, 2001), which can be interpreted as sending a signal to the environment about competence in the area of culture (individuals' relationship to high culture, however one understands it). By accumulating such characteristics, people in various fields of activity, especially in the field

[1] The functions of cultural capital are also discussed in the literature, *i.e.*, how culture and education contribute to social reproduction and mobility. The strengthening of social reproduction processes or, conversely, social mobility can be considered as functions of cultural capital. Reproduction is the recreation and preservation of the position of privileged individuals and groups (classes, strata) in the hierarchical social structure. Mobility can be defined as a change in social position – movement in the social hierarchy. In a positive sense, this is referred to as social advancement. The reproduction theme was crucial in Bourdieu's concept, while other researchers focused on the second process (DiMaggio, 1982; de Graaf *et al.*, 2000).

of education, gain a competitive advantage. The mechanism by which this advantage is gained is a subject of debate in the literature. The question is whether (1) cultural resources only give the individual positive recognition, as a result of which they are somehow favoured in the education system, or (2) the attributes that make up cultural capital strengthen the real cognitive competence of children, which later brings them results in better school performance. Regardless, students favoured by teachers and/or more cognitively capable achieve better results at school, with all the good consequences that entail in status games. Jæger and Møllegaard (2017) found that cultural capital helps to gain privileged status more through a real impact on children's cognitive competencies than through their positive labelling in the school system. In the traditional theoretical position, when operationalising cultural capital, this is done by indicating certain categories of people's activity characteristics or preferences that contribute to good taste. These are characteristics that can be directly observed or assessed based on declarations using estimation scales to ultimately create certain indexes of them (aggregate variables), whose numerical values generally determine the level of cultural capital (*e.g.*, Breinholt & Jæger, 2020). Jæger and Møllegaard (2017) have identified fourteen categories of cultural capital. They divided them into four overarching categories: (1) familiarity with legitimate culture, (2) reading and literature interests, (3) extracurricular activities (excluding sports), and (4) cultural communication within the family. In this operationalisation, the authors deliberately mixed two types of information – about the forms of the child's cultural activity and the family's activities promoting this activity. The last two areas mentioned above included parents' declarations about their activities promoting the children's cultural capital.

This dominant conceptualisation of cultural capital lacks the component of academic knowledge. This component is, of course, included in research on cultural capital, but it is sometimes excluded from the construct under discussion. It is positioned as a consequence of cultural capital, or it is sometimes included in the concept of *habitus* (see the concept of *habitus academic*). Knowledge acquired at different levels of education can be understood as a component of the so-called *human capital* in the context of Coleman's (1988) concept. However, officially recognised knowledge is part of culture and should, therefore, be included in the scope of cultural capital. Cultural capital is therefore not only manifested at the behavioural level as conventional behaviour in the context of middle or upper class culture, but is also embedded in the cognitive structures of a person in the form of acquired knowledge (including knowledge about cultural issues – in terms of knowledge of its traditions and the present day). This extended concept of cultural capital can be included in human capital. The latter is a more capacious category than the concept of cultural capital. It includes not only the characteristics acquired in the course of socialisation but also the innate attributes of an individual – talents. In turn, "embodied" cultural capital includes various com-

petencies and attitudes learned in the practice of social life – in the family, at school, and in contact with cultural institutions. Many of these competencies are linguistic, *i.e.*, they concern the linguistic content of culture and ways of communicating with other people. In other words, cultural capital is a specific code with which an individual communicates with the world, signalling their cultural affiliation, their position in the hierarchical social structure or their aspirations in these areas. Bernstein (1980) writes in this context about two linguistic codes: *a limited* one (typically typical of the lower class) and *an advanced* one (acquired by members of the middle and upper classes in the course of family socialisation and school education). An important element of cultural capital is the individual's ability to verbalise thoughts using a developed code. This ability is acquired unconsciously through everyday communication in the family of origin. They later improve it at school, generating *habitus academica* (de Moll *et al.*, 2024), which contributes to better educational results and — finally — a privileged position in the social structure.

Lareau and Weininger (2003) identified a different way of understanding cultural capital in the literature on the subject than the aforementioned one. In their opinion, cultural capital can be understood as the ability of a social class to "impose" expected evaluation standards on an educational institution, and their research approach is processual-relational, thus generally requiring the study of cultural capital using qualitative procedures. From this perspective, the cultural capital of a pupil in the education system is primarily formed by the dynamic relationship between their family and the school. The children's "assertive" behaviour towards the school becomes an advantage when the parents know what they expect from the school and what the school expects from the pupils, and in this context, they successfully negotiate conditions favourable to the development and education of their children. It is also important in this process to provide children with information on how to function optimally at school and increase their educational opportunities. In this context, cultural capital is primarily embedded in the relationship between family and school, with parents being active agents who — directly or indirectly — strive to give their children an advantage over others in the field of education[2]. This qualitative paradigm could not be directly translated into the quantitative procedure of the following research. However, the significance

[2] The family/parental theme appeared in both cultural capital approaches. In the first, structural approach, the cultural characteristics of the family/parents, and in the second, relational approach, the activities of the family are elements of the discussed construct. Cultural capital as a family trait and/or the promotion of cultural capital by the family were included in the self-study procedure presented in this study. However, family factors were treated as a source of cultural capital rather than a component of it. The attributes of the family environment that favour the acquisition of cultural capital were therefore transferred into a separate construct of the educational functionality of the family of origin, discussed in more detail in another paper (Kwiatkowski *et al.*, 2024).

of the family factors analysed in it cannot be ignored, especially since family factors are also considered important in research carried out using the traditional paradigm. In the presented research, they were given the status of empirically distinct sources of cultural capital, excluding them from the content of this construct. Concerning the work documenting the impact of traditionally understood components of cultural capital on the real cognitive competencies of children (Breinholt & Jæger, 2020), the components included in the construct of academic habitus (de Moll *et al.*, 2024) were included among the measures of this capital. Its effect can explain the success of individuals in the field of education. This habitus encompasses not only accumulated knowledge but also habits, motivations, aspirations, and attitudes that can not only directly promote the acquisition and confirmation of knowledge in real educational situations but can also help to build a positive image of the individual in the opinion of school authorities, with various consequences.

When creating tools for measuring cultural capital by counting measures of an individual's attributes, various strategies can be used. Špaček (2017) writes about them. Among others, one can choose a set of predefined categories of activities or competencies and then obtain (by observing or questioning) an assessment of their occurrence or intensity in the surveyed individuals (which can easily be translated into numerical indicators). The disadvantage of this approach is that it is difficult to select these predefined categories. Necessary reductions may affect relevant content and, consequently, limit the accuracy of the cultural capital measurement. An alternative strategy can be used. In this approach, information about different forms of cultural activity or preferences is first obtained from open questions and then given numerical weights (the assessment of an individual's preferences or activities is 'objectified' by expert assessments). This method of measurement is very time-consuming. In addition, many categories of real participation in culture (*e.g.*, books read, music listened to, etc.) may not be reflected in expert assessments, which implies information deficits that are difficult to quantify.

Both approaches to measuring cultural capital, therefore, reveal quite significant weaknesses. In addition, it should be noted that the correlations between the measures constructed according to these different strategies are relatively weak (Špaček, 2017). Therefore, the two measurement formulas do not confirm each other's accuracy. In principle, it is not certain which of these approaches is better. This makes it advisable to look for another way of operationalisation. It was decided that the psychometric approach, *i.e.*, a strategy corresponding to the construction of self-descriptive tests to study personality traits in psychology, offers interesting possibilities. Such a strategy may be justified when cultural capital is reduced to an "embodied" form, *i.e.*, understood as a set of certain competences expressing the individual's habitus functional in the context of "games" played in the educational and professional field.

Taking this perspective into account, it was decided to choose three categories for the assessment of cultural capital, generally in accordance with its traditional understanding. These were (1) *participation in high culture*, (2) *good manners,* and (3) *academic habitus*, understood as the persistent orientation of the individual towards accumulating new knowledge and educational success. These categories have been given a psychological connotation – they are analysed as functional competences in the context of regulating behaviour and maintaining the integration of the personality, *i.e.*, the system that controls behaviour. The capital in question can be considered as the cultural endowment of an individual acquired in the processes of learning/socialisation (mainly in the family and at school), relevant to their adaptive and emancipatory activity, and therefore useful in creating their own life and career, improving the quality of life and achieving well-being. This aspect justifies the search for a relationship between cultural capital and psychological capital.

Considering cultural capital as a property similar to a personality trait, it was also recognised that it could be analysed through the individual's self-description. It was assumed that adults can reliably determine their activity or preferences within the three areas of their relationship with culture. The tool was designed to examine the person's perception of themselves as subjects: (1) participating in high culture, (2) well-mannered ("cultured," "polite" – sensitive to social convention), and (3) strongly committed to their own education. The study of one's self-image is (perhaps) of marginal importance from a sociological perspective. Still, from a psychological perspective, a mature self-image (self-structure) is an important resource factor with significant potential in the psychological processes of behaviour regulation, social adaptation and the construction of subjectivity.

It should be noted that the question of whether individual self-descriptive assessments can be considered partial indicators of the construct being measured (in this study, cultural capital) is not determined by the subjective opinion of the researcher, but by the classification of diagnostic items according to statistical criteria, *i.e.*, based on their discriminatory power. It is possible to use an external criterion for item qualification – the correlation of a given diagnostic item with an objective measure of a given characteristic. It is also possible to use an internal criterion, recognising that a specific list of items, when their values are summed up, generally expresses the intensity of a specific characteristic. In this case, a high correlation of a given item with the overall result of the prototype of the measure proves that the item is a good indicator of the diagnosed attribute of the unit. The final measurement contains the aggregated items with the highest discriminatory power. Alternatively, exploratory factor analysis can be used for the relevant list of items, and if it yields a unifactorial solution (or a hierarchical solution with one superordinate factor), the optimal set of diagnostic items can be selected based on the size of the factor

loadings. In this selection procedure, the qualification of an item for the final pool is not so much determined by the content of the diagnostic item itself but rather by its correlation with an external or internal criterion. It is worth mentioning that, as a rule, many items not qualified for the final version of the scale correlate with it at a statistically significant level, but weaker than the qualified items. In this context, the result of a specific scale (subscale) of a research tool usually carries more information about the feature being diagnosed by the tool than is apparent from the content of the final items it contains. Therefore, not only is the content criterion important (this is taken into account when generating items to measure individual constructs), but the statistical criterion is equally important (it determines which items will be included in the final version of the tool). In the psychometric strategy, correlations are then sought between the measures of the constructs identified in the above-described way and the measures of other constructs – correlations expected in the light of the adopted theoretical causal model (including sources and consequences). The validation study of the proposed *CulCap-15* scale included characteristics of the family environment (measures to promote the child's cultural capital and a positive climate of educational relationships – a total of four different measures), three presumed measures of cultural capital and one aggregated measure of psychological capital (in the literature, a predictor of career success and psychological well-being). Therefore, a rather obvious causal sequence was adopted as a theoretical point of reference: the educational functionality of the family of origin helps to create the cultural capital components included in the study, while an individual equipped with cultural capital more easily acquires the characteristics that make up psychological capital, which — according to the theory — should further translate into the individual construction of one's own life (including building one's own social capital, professional achievements, quality of life, or general well-being). In this study, the analysis was limited only to the relationships between (1) four measures of the educational functionality of the family of origin, (2) three measures of cultural capital, and (3) one aggregated measure of psychological capital. These relationships were included in a hypothetical model of causal relationships (Figure 1), which was tested using path analysis. Statistical confirmation of the fit of this model was to provide arguments for the fact that the measures of the three self-descriptive components of cultural capital are, in fact measures of capital; that is, they can be realistically associated with some resource gains and, theoretically, with a person's career or quality of life. The capital significance of the measures contained in the *CulCap-15* scale was, therefore, to manifest itself in the fact that the measures of cultural capital mediate between the educational functionality of the family of origin and psychological capital.

Construction of the Tool

Taking the above into account, cultural capital was operationalised by relating this category to three subordinate constructs: *participation in high culture*, *good manners* and *a (lifelong) orientation towards knowledge acquisition and educational success*. Each of these constructs was initially assigned Likert scale items, which were then selected empirically and used to create coherent sets reflecting the three components mentioned above. From the prepared pool of items, those with an excessively asymmetrical distribution of answers, weak discriminative power, and low assignment to the dimensions selected based on factor analysis were eliminated. These steps were taken as part of pilot studies conducted on smaller samples, the details of which will be omitted. The three-component structure of cultural capital was initially modelled using factor analyses performed in several smaller samples. The items for each subscale were generated by the author and discussed with several academic colleagues, which resulted in the modification of some statements and the creation of new versions for the pool of items subjected to factor analysis. In this stage, exploratory factor analysis with Promax diagonal rotation was used. The diagonal rotation technique allows for the possibility of correlations between extracted factors. The correlations between the cultural capital factors seemed quite obvious. As a result of this analysis, items that were weakly correlated with the postulated factors or relatively strongly correlated with more than one factor were eliminated from the pool at the outset, based on the size of the factor loadings (it was assumed that their value should be above 0.50, while possible correlations of an item with other subscales should be less than 0.50). This stage of constructing the subscales of cultural capital will not be discussed in detail here. As a result, a set of 15 items was finally modelled – five for each of the proposed constructs.

The indicators of *lifelong orientation towards knowledge acquisition and educational* success include the motivational factor. Respondents were asked about their motivation to learn and their beliefs about the usefulness of knowledge. The theme of motivation to learn in the construct was based on two premises. The first is the obvious contribution of learning motivation to an individual's educational success. The second is the importance of learning-related behaviour as an element of the middle or upper class lifestyle (the effort to acquire knowledge is a component of the ethos – a desirable form of activity from a career perspective within the dominant culture, in which education is perceived as a generally accepted value). Table 1 presents the final version of the tool prototype, which was validated in the large-sample study discussed later in the text.

Table 1

A set of CulCap-15 questionnaire items categorised by subscale after preliminary factorial analyses

Subscales (their designation in statistical analyses in brackets)	
Good manners (GoodMa) – good upbringing, acquired manners, attitudes, and behaviour patterns as signs of social status or aspirations.	K1. Good manners are something that should be taken care of particularly.
	K2. I really appreciate well-mannered people who behave properly.
	K3. I can be described as a very well-mannered person.
	K4. I make sure that others perceive me as a person with a touch of class.
	K5. When I meet someone new, I pay special attention to that person's manners.
Participation in high culture (CulPar) – systematic reception of high culture, participation in cultural events.	P1. Literature, theatre, and art are rather unfamiliar topics to me.
	P2. Art and literature are a constant presence in my daily life.
	P3. I am very interested in literature, theatre, and art.
	P4. I like watching theatre performances.
	P5. I am passionate about culture – I have a lot of knowledge in this area.
Educational success (SucEdu) – academic achievements, competencies, and motivations that determine success in the field of education (*academic habitus*).	S1. I am very successful in the field of education.
	S2. Gaining valuable knowledge is my great passion.
	S3. My goal or ambition is to gain as much knowledge as possible.
	S4. I have very high educational aspirations.
	S5. I am focused on lifelong learning – I am constantly acquiring new knowledge.

Research Tasks and Methods

The first research task was to confirm the structure of the 3-factor *CulCap-15* scale (presented in Table 1). Two analyses were conducted for this purpose. First, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to answer the question of whether the postulated structure, as a result of preliminary research, was reproduced in the study. Then, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was used to answer the question of how well the postulated structure of three mutually correlated factors fit the empirical data.

The second research task was to determine the measurement reliability using each of the three subscales of the *CulCap-15* questionnaire. For this purpose, calculations of the discriminatory power coefficients of individual questionnaire items were carried out in relation to the distinguished subscales, and Cronbach's *alpha* coefficients were calculated.

The third research task was to check the correlation of the subscales of the *CulCap-15* questionnaire with selected variables to determine the validity of the analysed measurement tool. The correlates of the three factors of cultural capital were to be: (as its sources) three family factors that constitute the *educational functionality of the family of origin* (positive climate of educational relationships in the family of origin, promotion of cultural participation, and educational success in the family of origin), and the *aggregate measure of the education of both parents*, as well as the level of *psychological capital* (as a possible consequence of the development of cultural capital in an individual).

Psychological capital is a concept from positive psychology. The psychological capital concept was formulated as an "umbrella term" covering four source constructs: optimism (Scheier & Carver, 1985; Seligman, 1998), hope (Snyder, 2000), self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), and resilience (Wagnild & Young, 1993). The authors of this concept have combined the four theoretical constructs recognised in psychology into a single meta-adaptive resource on which the functioning of an adult in the workplace and their career depends to a large extent (Luthans *et al.*, 2007). However, the real significance of psychological capital seems to go beyond these two spheres – it is an asset with universal significance in regulatory processes. It is something with a similar meaning to the sense of coherence in the concept of salutogenesis (Antonovsky, 2005). Some researchers try to determine its relationship with other forms of capital and include psychological capital in a broader capital context (Dóci *et al.*, 2023). Therefore, if we recognise the possibility of mutual transformation of the capitals mentioned by Bourdieu, it is possible to include psychological capital in such transformations as well. In this paper, it is assumed that the cultural capital of an individual contains a set of several significant personal assets which, to a certain extent, contribute to the emancipatory competence of an individual (Czerepaniak-Walczak, 1995, 2006) and — finally — raise or stabilise their social status, they can also lead to the strengthening of their psychological capital (in the form of an aggregate: optimism, hope, a sense of effectiveness, and psychological resilience).

The dependency model for this set of variables assumed correlations between all the factors mentioned above. These would be positive correlations. This model was formulated in a path diagram, which assumes certain cause-and-effect relationships between variables[3]. In this model, the status of exogenous variables (independent variables, *i.e.*, causes) was assigned to four family factors. These were: (1) a *positive climate of educational relationships in the family*, *i.e.*, the so-called *authoritative style of parental*

[3] Causality in the path model is understood in a conditional way. Correlation analysis cannot provide certainty as to the existence of a causal relationship. However, from the correlations between all variables in the model, it is possible to infer the possibility of certain cause-effect relationships constituting a path model, or such a relationship can be excluded by eliminating it from the structural equation or by recognising the entire model as inconsistent with the data contained in the covariance matrix of the variables that constitute it.

upbringing (Baumrind, 2013) in connection with the optimal – resilient – functioning of the family as a system (Black & Lobo, 2008), (2) *promoting participation in high culture,* and (3) *promoting educational success* by the family of origin (Kwiatkowski et al,, 2024), as well as (4) *parents' education* (aggregated index from data on the education of each parent). Among the endogenous variables, the status of the outcome variable (explained by the entire model) was assigned to *psychological capital*. This was the only outcome variable in the model being tested. The three components of cultural capital were assigned the status of mediators of the relationship between exogenous variables (four family factors) and the outcome variable (psychological capital). Relationships between the individual components of cultural capital were also assumed.

The full set of expected relationships between variables is illustrated in the graph below (Figure 1). Each arrow in the graph represents a postulated relationship between two variables. The relationships between some variables may be stronger than the relationships between other variables. Suppose a family factor can be regarded as a factor that forms a certain component of cultural capital. In that case, its relationship with this formed component of capital should be positive and stronger than the relationship of this family factor with other components of capital. For example, the promotion of participation in high culture in the generational family should correlate more strongly with the participation in culture of a person originating from this family than with the educational success of the individual or their manners. For example, the promotion of educational success in the family should correlate positively and, at the same time, more strongly with the educational success of the person studied than with their participation in high culture or their manners. Such a system of dependencies was considered obvious, and in this sense, its confirmation may mean confirmation of the accuracy of the measurement of cultural capital.

The research was of a survey nature. It was conducted via the Internet. The electronic forms were prepared in the *webankieta.pl* and *Google Forms* systems. The questionnaire included: (1) a scale for measuring cultural capital (its content is presented in Table 1), (2) a scale for measuring the *educational functionality of the family of origin* with its three factors (positive climate of educational relationship, promoting educational success, and promoting participation in high culture) in retrospective assessment (Kwiatkowski *et al.*, 2024), and (3) demographic questions (including the parents' education).

Materials and Samples

The research material comes from two separate samples in which the *CulCap-15* tool was used. The samples consisted of 1,239 and 834 respondents. Both samples were drawn using the snowball method. In both cases, a large group of education students (more than 80 people) were asked to send the online questionnaire link to their friends, ask them to fill it in and then forward the link to their friends, etc. It was suggested that the same number of men and women be asked to participate in the survey. The survey was closed when no

new entries were made within 7 days. Concerning the first sample, the system concluded that one in three respondents who started the survey completed it (two-thirds of respondents gave up while completing it, which was probably due to the length of the questionnaire, which examined many other variables not included in this text).

The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents in the two data sets are presented below (Table 2). The samples do not differ significantly in terms of average age. However, there was greater variation in the second sample (greater spread of results and greater standard deviation). This is the result of the respondent selection procedure used (the first sample sought people aged 20–40, while the second planned to survey people aged 18–45). The samples differed significantly in terms of the place of residence of the respondents – the second group included significantly more rural residents. Significant differences were also observed in the frequency of vocational or basic education of fathers (higher frequency in the first group) and secondary education of fathers (higher frequency in the second group). Furthermore, in the first group, respondents were significantly more likely to be in permanent employment or to have their own company and significantly less likely to be unemployed, which may be because the second group included slightly younger respondents, among whom there are certainly adult students. The groups surveyed did not differ significantly in terms of the gender of the respondents or the education level of their mothers. A similar percentage of students were present in both samples. Student status was attributed to more than half of the respondents in each sample (57.9% and 55.3%). In addition, in both samples, there was a slight numerical advantage of women over men (50.6% and 53.8% of the first and second samples were women). The mothers of the respondents most often had a university degree (40.8% and 42.9%) and less often a secondary education (34.2% and 35.5%). Even less often, the mothers had a vocational or primary education (22.6% and 20.0%). A comparison of the educational background of mothers and fathers reveals that mothers with a university degree are the most common category in both samples (40.8% and 42.9%), while fathers with a university degree are the least common category (28.2% and 26.0%). Whereas the category of vocational or primary education of fathers is relatively more common in both samples (38.1% and 30.1%) compared to the frequency of low educational level of mothers in both samples (22.6% and 20.0%). Therefore, the fathers of the respondents are generally less educated than the mothers. It can be concluded that the two samples are generally similar in terms of sociodemographic characteristics – although the differences that have emerged between them, although (some) statistically significant, are generally not large. For this reason and as a result of the subsequent determination (Table 2) of significant similarities in the tool structure in the exploratory factor analysis in both samples (n=1239 and n=834), in the subsequent analyses presented, the calculations were performed on the aggregated data set (N=2073).

Table 2

Comparison of the sociodemographic characteristics of the surveyed groups

Variable	Set 1 (n=1239)	Set 2 (n=834)
Age – mean (range) SD	23.7 (20–40), 3.90	23.6 (18–45), 5.03
Gender:		
Man	585 (47.2%)	361 (43.3%)
Woman	627 (50.6%)	449 (53.8%)
Another	18 (1.5%)	6 (0.7%)
No data	8 (0.6%)	18 (2.2%)
Place of residence:		
Village	249 (20.1%)	283 (33.9%) *
Town	990 (79.9%)	551 (66.1%) *
Mother's education:		
Basic or vocational	280 (22.6%)	167 (20.0%)
Secondary	424 (34.2%)	293 (35.1%)
Higher	505 (40.8%)	358 (42.9%)
No data	30 (2.4%)	16 (1.9%)
Father's education:		
Basic or vocational	472 (38.1%)	255 (30.1%) *
Secondary	349 (28.2%)	295 (35.4%) *
Higher	349 (28.2%)	217 (26.0%)
No data	69 (5.6%)	67 (8.0%)
Professional work:		
Permanent employment or own company	726 (58.6%)	448 (53.7%) *
Casual or seasonal work	247 (19.9%)	176 (21.1%)
Not working	241 (19.5%)	204 (24.5%) *
No data	25 (2.0%)	6 (0.7%)
Status of a current student	717 (57.9%)	462 (55.3%)

Note. * Intergroup differences in interest are significant with $p<0.05$.

Results

Factor Structure of the CulCap-15 Scale

Table 3 presents the results of the exploratory factorial analysis (EFA) for the *CulCap-15* scale. The principal component analysis was used to extract factors (with the criterion: eigenvalues >1) with Promax rotation with Kaiser normalisation. The use of oblique rotation was due to the expectation of significant correlations between the factors. Three factors emerged with eigenvalues above 1. The content of the individual factors corresponds to the initial assumptions. The extracted factors are: *educational success* (33.1% and 36.5% of variance in the respective samples, respectively), *good manners* (11.0% and 14.0% of variance), and *participation in high culture* (14.5% and 9.9% of variance). The three factors together explain 58.6% and 60.4% of the variance of all scale items

in the samples studied. In both samples, the factor explaining the largest part of the variance was educational success (33.1% and 36.5%), while the parts of the variance attributable to the other two factors were significantly smaller (14.5% and 9.9%, and 11.0% and 14.0%). The correlations between the factors are statistically significant. The correlations between the factor of educational success and the other two factors (*good manners* and *participation in high culture*) were significantly stronger (0.389 and 0.468, as well as 0.391 and 0.432) than the correlations between these two factors (0.252 and 0.260).

Table 3

Exploratory factor analyses of the CulCap-15 scale using the principal components with the Promax rotation method performed in two samples

Items (and subscales)	**Sample 1 (n=1239)**			**Sample 2 (n=834)**		
	Factor 1	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**	**Factor 1**	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**
1 (GoodMa)	.266	.158	**.785**	.271	**.822**	.225
2 (GoodMa)	.247	.162	**.811**	.306	**.783**	.166
3 (GoodMa)	.361	.165	**.692**	.336	**.711**	.146
4 (GoodMa)	.259	.131	**.742**	.424	**.648**	.184
5 (GoodMa)	.414	.445	**.657**	.325	**.756**	.242
6 (CulPar)	-.148	**-.682**	-.193	-.094	-.036	**-.661**
7 (CulPar)	.343	**.837**	.194	.459	.226	**.833**
8 (CulPar)	.343	**.879**	.157	.454	.219	**.872**
9 (CulPar)	.312	**.754**	.251	.354	.305	**.733**
10 (CulPar)	.291	**.622**	.096	.546	.248	**.691**
11 (SucEdu)	**.719**	.272	.180	**.721**	.240	.255
12 (SucEdu)	**.774**	.278	.380	**.798**	.415	.417
13 (SucEdu)	**.837**	.348	.315	**.809**	.369	.398
14 (SucEdu)	**.782**	.322	.352	**.823**	.332	.387
15 (SucEdu)	**.745**	.253	.302	**.809**	.379	.355
Explanatory variance (%)	33.1%	14.5%	11.0%	36.5%	14.0%	9.9%
	Total 58.6%			Total 60.4%		
	Correlations between factors			Correlations between factors		
Factor 1	x	.389	.391	x	.432	.468
Factor 2		x	.252		x	.260
Factor 3			x			x

Note. GoodMa – good manners, CulPar – participation in high culture, and SucEdu – orientation towards educational success.

Hierarchical analyses of oblique factors were performed, revealing the existence of a secondary factor in both samples that was superior to the correlated three primary scale factors (Table 4). Therefore, the hierarchical structure of the tested tool emerges, which may justify the possibility of summing up its subscales into one general dimension (determining the general level of cultural capital). However, it should be noted that concerning individual subscales, the factor loadings relative to the secondary factor are generally lower than the loadings relative to individual primary factors. In addition, good manners and participation in culture are less strongly correlated with each other than either of these subscales is with educational success orientation. The factor subscales, therefore, retain considerable specificity, which in turn may justify using them in analyses, in parallel with or instead of the general (secondary) factor.

Table 4

Hierarchical analysis of skewness for data from two samples (n=1239 and n=834)

Items (subscales)	Sample 1 (n=1239) Primary (Pri) and secondary (Sec) factors				Sample 2 (n=834) Primary (Pri) and secondary (Sec) factors			
	Sec1	**Pri1**	**Pri2**	**Pri3**	**S1**	**P1**	**P2**	**P3**
1 (GodMa)	.44	**.65**	-.06	-.03	.43	-.00	**.70**	-.08
2 (GodMa)	.44	**.68**	-.05	-.06	.42	-.07	**.66**	-.01
3 (GodMa)	.45	**.53**	-.07	.09	.40	-.09	**.58**	.05
4 (GodMa)	.41	**.61**	-.08	-.02	.44	-.08	**.48**	.14
5 (GodMa)	.54	**.43**	.21	.07	.44	.00	**.61**	-.01
6 (CulPar)	-.33	-.03	**-.61**	.11	-.28	**-.62**	.10	.16
7 (CulPar)	.45	-.06	**.70**	.04	.56	**.62**	-.06	.08
8 (CulPar)	.45	-.10	**.75**	.04	.57	**.66**	-.08	.06
9 (CulPar)	.44	.02	**.62**	.01	.50	**.55**	.07	-.01
10 (CulPar)	.33	-.10	**.52**	.08	.55	**.44**	-.05	.21
11 (SucEdu)	.44	-.10	.02	**.57**	.48	-.07	-.05	**.54**
12 (SucEdu)	.54	.08	-.02	**.56**	.62	.03	.08	**.50**
13 (SucEdu)	.56	-.02	.04	**.62**	.60	.02	.03	**.54**
14 (SucEdu)	.55	.04	.02	**.56**	.60	.00	-.01	**.57**
15 (SucEdu)	.49	.01	-.03	**.56**	.59	-.03	.05	**.55**

Note. GoodMa – good manners, CulPar – participation in high culture, and SucEdu – orientation towards educational success.

In two exploratory factorial analyses, the results were similar, with three correlated factors being extracted with item contents corresponding to the initial assumptions. The extracted factors were named according to their content: good manners

(*GoodMa*), participation in high culture (*CulPar*), and orientation towards educational success (*SucEdu*).

The results of the confirmatory factor analysis for the hypothetical structure built from the above-mentioned factors are presented below. The crucial information from this analysis is the indices of goodness of fit of the assumed theoretical model to the covariance matrix from empirical data. The analyses were conducted in two parts. First, the fit of the single-factor solution for each questionnaire subscale was separately evaluated. Then, the fit of two models was checked, which in the analysis included all questionnaire items: the model of three correlated factors and the single-factor model for the whole scale. The unifactor models were checked to determine homogeneity, justifying the summation of results into individual measures. The three correlated factor model is an alternative to the model assuming homogeneity of scale and assumes relative specificity of the questionnaire subscales. The research has shown that the individual subscales are factorially homogeneous. Two subscales demonstrated a perfect fit, and one subscale revealed a weaker, but acceptable, fit to the empirical data. Of the two structures of the entire tool, the unifactorial solution revealed unacceptable indicators of the model's fit to the empirical data. The structure of three correlated factors showed clearly better indices of adjustment. Therefore, there is more evidence for using separate subscales of the *CulCap-15* scale than for using the summary index of the whole scale (Table 5). The three subscales of the *CulCap-15* questionnaire (*GoodMa, CulPar*, and *SucEdu*) are factor-homogeneous. This is demonstrated by the very high CFI and TLI values and the correspondingly low RMSEA values.

Table 5

Correlation coefficients of the one-dimensional subscale structures (GoodMa, CulPar, and *SucEdu) and the entire CulCap-15 scale, as well as the three-factor structure (GoodMa, CulPar,* and *SucEdu), correlated with each other in the examined sample (n=2073)*

Factor solution	**Fit indexes**			
	χ^2 *(df), p*	*CFI*	*TLI*	*RMSEA* (90% CI)
GoodMa subscale as one factor	6.47 (5), p=.263	.99	.99	.01 (.00–.03)
CulPar subscale as one factor	18.8 (5), p=.002	.99	.99	.04 (.02–.06)
SucEdu subscale as one factor	67.2 (5), p<.001	.98	.97	.08 (.06–.09)
Three subscales aggregated into one factor	1891 (90), p<.001	.65	.62	.16 (.16–.17)
Three subscales as separate but correlated factors	740 (87), p<.001	.96	.95	.06 (.06–.07)

Research does not provide a clear answer as to whether it is appropriate to combine the results of the entire scale into a single indicator of cultural capital. Although hier-

archical analysis of oblique factors allows for the identification of a single secondary factor, it draws attention to the relatively high values of primary factors in the factor matrix, and confirmatory factor analysis for the solution of a single factor covering all scale items indicates a very poor fit to the empirical data (too low – well below 0.90 and CFI and TLI indicators, and too high – well above 0.10 – RMSEA indicators). Therefore, when summarising three factors into one dimension, one should expect to lose a significant amount of information about the diversity of the respondents.

Furthermore, it was observed that the two subscales, *GoodMa* and *CulPar,* are relatively weakly correlated with each other, while each of them correlates significantly more strongly with the *SucEdu* scale. This means that participation in high culture (*CulPar*) and good manners (*GoodMa*) may be relatively separate factors, originating from the level of orientation towards success in lifelong learning (*SucEdu*). It seems that this subscale is crucial for assessing the level of cultural capital of an individual because, in exploratory factorial analyses, the corresponding factor explained a much higher percentage of the shared variance than the other two factors. For these reasons, it is recommended to consider the subscales as separate measures (variables) in statistical analyses using the *CulCap-15* scale. The overall result of the full scale should be interpreted with caution.

Table 8

Reliability and the distribution characteristics of cultural capital measures

Statistics	**Measures of cultural capital**			
	Subscale *GoodMa*	Subscale *CulPar*	Subscale *SucEdu*	Global *CulCap-15*
Cronbach's alpha	.87	.80	.87	.89
Mean of intercorrelation	.57	.46	.57	.36
Item-total correlation (range)	.67–.73	.39–.77	.61–.74	.15–.67
Minimum–Maximum	5–35	5–35	5–35	15–105
Mean (Standard deviation)	23.3 (6.0)	19.5 (6.5)	20.5 (6.5)	63.3 (15.1)
Median	23	19	20	63
Quartiles (lower and upper)	19–28	15–24	16–25	53–73
Skewness (St. error of skewness)	-.05 (.05)	.04 (.05)	-.01 (.05)	.14 (.05)
Kurtosis (St. error of kurtosis)	-.56 (.11)	-.43 (.11)	-.43 (.11)	-.25 (.11)
Test of normality (K-S d)	.05 (p<.01)	.04 (p<.01)	.03 (p<.05)	.03 (p<.05)

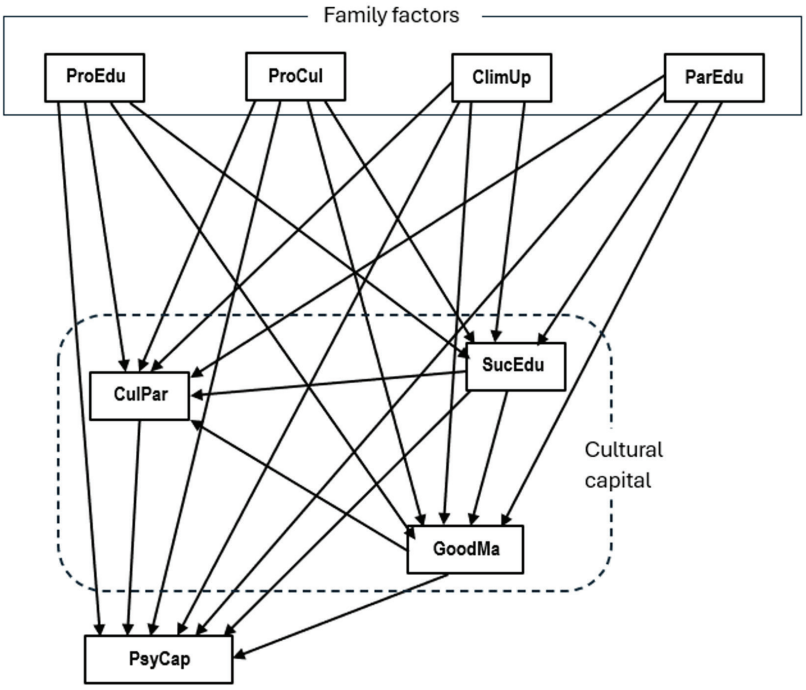
Note. GoodMa – good manners, CulPar – cultural participation, and SucEdu – orientation on success in lifelong education. K-S d – Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic.

Family Promoting Factors — Cultural Capital — psychological capital (path model)

A hypothetical model of causal relationships between variables was constructed, taking into account the correlations in the matrix of variables considered in the analyses (in this matrix, all correlations were statistically significant but varied in magnitude). It was a fully saturated model (*i.e.*, including all possible relationships between the variables) without feedback relationships. It is presented in the graph below (Figure 1).

Figure 1

A saturated model of hypothetical relationships between family variables, cultural capital, and psychological capital



Note. PsyCap – psychological capital, CulPar – participation in high culture, GoodMa – good manners, SucEdu – orientation towards educational success, ParEdu – parents' education, ProCul – promoting participation in culture in the family of origin, ProEdu – promoting educational success in the family of origin, ClimUp – positive climate of educational relationship in the family of origin.

A path analysis was carried out for this "saturated" model, which first allowed the removal of relationships with insignificant path coefficients. The "reduced" model, *i.e.*, one that only takes into account statistically significant (with $p<0.05$) relationships between variables, is presented in the table below (Table 9) and Figure 2.

This model has very good indicators of matching empirical data: *chi-square*=3.78 (*df* = 4), p=0.44, *CFI*=0.9, *TLI*=0.99, *RMSEA*=0.01 [*90% CI*: 0.00–0.04]. Standardised path coefficients, *i.e.*, *Beta* weights, enable the determination of the sign and strength of the various relationships between the variables of the tested model and their comparison with the assumptions made. It turns out that the relationship between promoting participation in high culture in the generational family environment (*ProCul*) and respondents' participation in culture (*CulPar*) is relatively strongly positive (*Beta*=0.32, $p<0.001$). The correlation of the family factor in question (*ProCul*) with educational success (*SucEdu*) is weaker (*Beta*=0.09, p=0.02), and with good manners (*GoodMa*), it is also relatively weak (*Beta*=0.11, *p=0.01*). The relationship between the promotion of educational success (*ProEdu*) and educational success (*SucEdu*) is positive (*Beta*=0.18, $p<0.001$). The relationship between the family factor in question (*ProEdu*) and participation in high culture (*CulPar*) is weaker and also negative (*Beta*=-0.10, p=0.03). The relationship of this factor with good manners (*GoodMa*) is positive (*Beta*= 0.13, $p<0.001$). This means that specific parenting activities in generational families that form certain components of cultural capital translate into the level of these capital dimensions in the respondents. Parental influences that shape a specific form of cultural capital have a significantly lower impact on the level of other forms of cultural capital. In addition, the study documented significant positive correlations between the components of cultural capital and psychological capital. Cultural capital thus appears to be a factor that promotes the development of psychological capital. However, the level of psychological capital also depends on the influence of family factors (although these "distant" factors have less of an impact). Furthermore, the relationship between the three components of cultural capital has proven to be interesting. An individual's orientation towards educational success (*SucEdu*) appears to be more strongly correlated with the individual's participation in high culture (*CulPar*) and good manners (*GoodMa*) than the latter two variables are with each other. This leads to the conclusion that in the path model, the individual's orientation towards educational success (*SucEdu*) functions as a probable cause for the development of the other two components of cultural capital. Furthermore, it can be seen that in the path model, several relationships between variables are revealed by negative path coefficients, *e.g.*, the index of parents' education is negatively correlated with good manners of children (*Beta*=-0.07, $p<0.01$), the promotion of educational achievements in the family correlates negatively with participation in culture (*Beta*=-0.10, p=0.03), a positive climate of educational relationships in the family correlates negatively with participation in culture (*Beta*=-0.19, $p<0.001$), and the parents' education (*Beta*=-0.06, p=0.02) and the individual's participation in high culture (*Beta*=-0.12, $p<0.001$) correlate negatively with psychological capital. These results

are not according to expectations. However, they are relatively weak. It cannot be excluded that these results are artefacts – the results of errors in the research procedure. However, there may be a more complex interaction of factors that were not taken into account in the study.

Table 9

Family factors, cultural capital and psychological capital in the pathway model (n=1239)

Relationship between the model variables			**Statistics**				
			Path coefficient	Std. Error	*CR*	*p*	*Beta*
SucEdu	←	ParEdu	.20	.09	2.31	.02	.07
SucEdu	←	ProEdu	.08	.02	4.74	< .001	.18
SucEdu	←	ProCul	.09	.04	2.43	.02	.09
GoodMa	←	ParEdu	-.18	.07	-2.75	.01	-.07
GoodMa	←	ProCul	.08	.03	3.07	< .01	.11
GoodMa	←	ProEdu	.05	.01	3.67	< .001	.13
GoodMa	←	SucEdu	.30	.02	13.85	< .001	.36
CulPar	←	ProCul	.33	.04	8.45	< .001	.32
CulPar	←	ProEdu	-.05	.02	-2.17	.03	-.10
CulPar	←	ClimUp	-.07	.02	-4.43	< .001	-.19
CulPar	←	SucEdu	.34	.03	10.91	< .001	.31
CulPar	←	GoodMa	.18	.04	4.53	< .001	.13
PsyCap	←	ParEdu	-.36	.15	-2.42	.02	-.06
PsyCap	←	ProCul	.17	.06	2.65	.01	.10
PsyCap	←	ClimUp	.09	.02	4.30	< .001	.15
PsyCap	←	CulPar	-.19	.05	-4.15	< .001	-.12
PsyCap	←	GoodMa	.40	.06	6.37	< .001	.18
PsyCap	←	SucEdu	.53	.05	9.85	< .001	.29

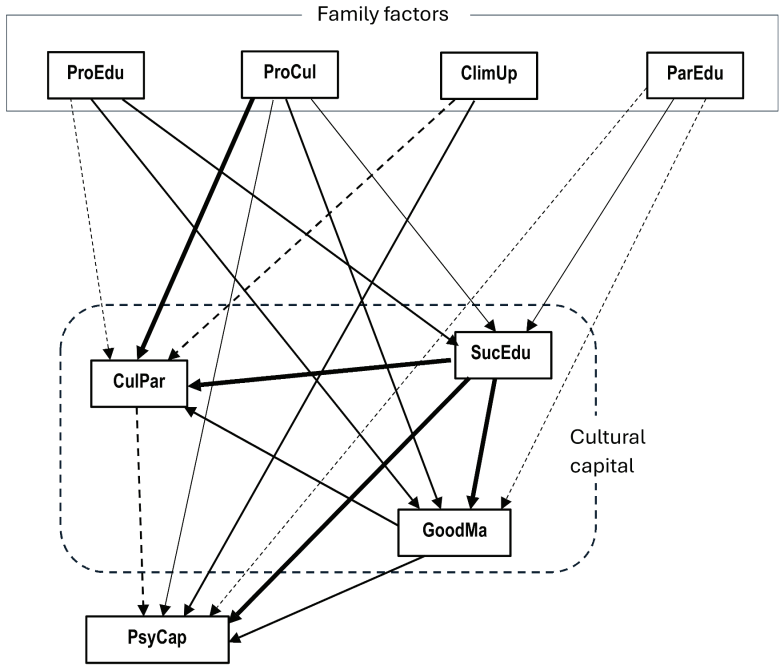
Note. PsyCap – psychological capital, CulPar – participation in high culture, GoodMa – good manners, SucEdu – orientation towards educational success, ParEdu – parents' education, ProCul – promoting participation in culture in the family of origin, ProEdu – promoting educational success in the family of origin, ClimUp – positive climate of educational relationship in the family of origin, CR – critical ratio, p – statistical significance, and Beta – standardised path coefficient.

The graph below illustrates that the orientation towards educational achievements (*SucEdu*) has a relatively strong influence on the values of the other two components of cultural capital (participation in culture – *CulPar* and good manners – *GoodMa*) and the level of psychological capital (*PsyCap*). In terms of family factors, it is worth noting the positive

impact of promoting participation in culture (*ProCul*) in the family of origin on all components of cultural capital (the strongest on the respondents' participation in culture) and the level of psychological capital (*PsyCap*). Promoting the child's educational success in the family of origin has a positive effect on the child's educational success (*SucEdu*) and good manners (*GoodMa*), and its possible relationship with psychological capital (*PsyCap*) is only indirect and ambiguous, because through shaping good manners (*GoodMa*) it is a positive relationship, but through shaping participation in culture (*CulPar*) it is a negative relationship. The relationship between the constructive climate of the educational relationship in the family of origin (*ClimUp*) and the other variables in the model is also unclear – the relationship to psychological capital (*PsyCap*) is moderately positive, but the relationship to cultural participation (*CuPar*) is moderately negative. This factor does not correlate significantly with the other cultural capital variables. It should be noted that the parents' level of education (*ParEdu*) shows weak and inconsistent connections with the other variables of the tested model – it strengthens the orientation towards knowledge acquisition and educational success (*SucEdu*) and weakens the acquisition of good manners (GoodMa) as well as the level of psychological capital (*PsyCap*).

Figure 2

Graphical representation of the path model described in Table 9



Note. PsyCap – psychological capital, CulPar – participation in high culture, GoodMa – good manners, SucEdu – orientation towards educational success, ParEdu – parents' education, ProCul – promotion of participation in culture in the family of origin, ProEdu – promotion of educational success in the family of origin, ClimUp – a positive climate of educational relationships in the family of origin. The negative relationships between variables in the model are indicated by dashed arrows. Solid arrows indicate positive relationships. The strength of the relationships between the variables is indicated by the thickness of the arrows. The thickest lines indicate *Beta* coefficients > 0.20, the arrows of medium thickness correspond to *Beta* values above 0.10 but up to 0.20, and the thinnest arrows indicate *Beta* coefficients up to and including 0.10.

Conclusion

The *CulCap-15* scale is a short and easy-to-use 3-factor research tool designed to measure cultural capital. The three factors — good manners (*GoodMa*), participation in high culture (*CulPar*), and (lifelong) orientation towards knowledge acquisition and educational success (*SucEdu*) — are based on the understanding of cultural capital as defined by Bourdieu (1986) and his followers (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). The factors selected in the statistical analyses, therefore, correspond to the traditional understanding of cultural capital. The analyses deliberately omit the topic of digital competence and foreign language skills, which are otherwise important. These modern aspects of cultural capital were originally included in the research tool, but they did not enter into the expected relationships with the variables tested in the path models – moderately correlated with each other, they were very poorly correlated with the three other, traditional measures of cultural capital. These traditional measures were positively correlated with each other, as expected. However, these correlations proved to be diverse and not very strong. Good manners (*GoodMa*) and participation in high culture (*CulPar*) appear to be significantly less correlated with each other than each of them is correlated with educational success (*SucEdu*). This correlation may indicate that in the process of socialisation and personal development, a high level of activity in the field of education contributes to an increase in the activity of building other components of cultural capital. The results of the path analysis presented in Table 9 and the accompanying illustration (Figure 2) lead to this interpretation. The path model produced a data structure that is different from the one that emerged from the work of Breinholt and Jæger (2020). The authors mentioned here evaluated two models of the relationship between cultural capital and educational achievement (derived from Bourdieu's theory). In their analyses, educational achievement was a phenomenon excluded from the construct of cultural capital – it was situated not as a component

of capital but as a consequence of it. In the first model, the Danish researchers tested the hypothesis that the components of cultural capital, as signals of brilliance in children, would lead teachers to favour children who stood out in a positive way, which would reinforce the success of these children in the educational process. The second, alternative model assumed that cultural capital would more directly promote educational success – not by teachers favouring children, but through the direct impact of cultural capital on children's real school competences, which would ultimately lead to higher educational achievements. Both models (derived from Bourdieu's theory) were tested in multivariate analyses. The second model was more strongly confirmed.

However, a different data arrangement emerged from this own research presented in this paper. The educational achievements of an individual were included in the construct of cultural capital, giving them an "embodied" form of a certain disposition of the person (a permanent orientation towards acquiring knowledge and educational success) rather than the formal level of education attained or exam results achieved. The presence of this disposition only allows an indirect conclusion to be drawn about the level of knowledge accumulated by the person. However, in constructing the cultural capital scale, it was assumed that it is not only the level of accumulated knowledge that can be significant for the assessment of cultural capital, but that the subjective pursuit of the individual to acquire or update one's knowledge can be an equally important determinant. This lifelong disposition to learn, as assumed, generated in the course of school education supported by the promoting influences of the family, was associated with two traditionally understood components of the construct of cultural capital (with *good manners* and *participation in high culture*). In the above-mentioned path analysis, the theme of an individual's educational achievements (implicitly included in their permanent disposition to acquire knowledge and educational success) emerged as the source of the other two components of cultural capital rather than as their consequence. The nature of the dispositional factor in question seems to explain the result obtained. The presence of a commitment to education, an internal motivation to learn and high educational aspirations in this factor causes that (1) the holders of this characteristic are more likely to recognise the acquisition of good manners and participation in high culture as an obvious necessity in the perspective of their further career (including educational career) and are lifelong oriented towards the assimilation of adequate behaviour patterns (this, in a way, would cause the phenomena covered by the first model of Breinholt and Jæger, which emphasises the mechanism of favouring students by teachers, to precede the phenomena), or possibly (2) the individual's orientation towards educational success directly affects one's participation in culture and the acquisition of good manners, and these factors of cultural capital — according to the second model of Breinholt and Jæger — translate into real competences of children, ultimately leading to higher educational outcomes. The results obtained

in the presented research do not contradict the findings of the aforementioned authors. However, it is difficult to compare them reliably due to differences in the content and operationalisation of individual constructs and the conduct of the study in different populations (the aforementioned study by Danish authors was conducted in a population of children and adolescents, while the study presented in this paper comes from a population of young adults).

The construct of cultural capital proposed in this paper has turned out to be heterogeneous, and therefore, in multivariate analyses using its proposed content, in addition to (or instead of) a global assessment of an individual's cultural capital (the sum of all three components), the values of individual subscales should be included in the analyses as separate variables. The individual factor subscales of the tool in question are factor homogenous (in the context of exploratory and confirmatory analyses) and are characterised by high internal reliability indices (Cronbach's *alpha is* above 0.80).

The accuracy of the measurement with this tool has only been preliminarily assessed and certainly requires further research. The correlation between the values of the individual subscales of the tool and the four characteristics of the family environment – parents' education, promotion of educational success in the family of origin, and promotion of participation in high culture, as well as the positive climate of the educational relationship – was shown to be generally consistent with expectations. It has been established that the generational family's emphasis on cultural participation correlates most strongly with the respondents' cultural participation, and the family's emphasis on academic success correlates most strongly with the respondents' orientation towards educational success, *i.e.*, in fact, their motivation for lifelong learning. Pressure from the family generation on the child's academic success is likely to result in a stronger orientation towards educational success later in life, and pressure from the family of origin on children's participation in high culture results in a higher level of cultural participation later in life – this seems to be a quite logical relationship between the variables. It was also found that two of the three subscales of *CulCap-15* correlate positively with psychological capital: the orientation towards knowledge acquisition and educational success and good manners. The component of participation in high culture unexpectedly revealed a correlation with psychological capital. In the path analysis, all cultural capital variables mediated the relationship between family factors and psychological capital. The results of the analyses presented, therefore, suggest that cultural capital can, to a certain extent, transform into an individual's psychological capital, building their emancipatory capacity and mental health. It turns out that among the factors of cultural capital, the strongest predictor of psychological capital is an orientation towards educational success. Therefore, psychological capital partly stems from an individual's positive experiences in the educational process, which

shape the motivation for lifelong learning. The above result is consistent with the assumption of mutual transformability of different capitals adopted in Bourdieu's theory (1986) and the theoretical postulate of integrating psychological and sociological capital perspectives (Dóci *et al.*, 2023). If psychological capital is considered an important factor in human mental health (a meta-resource that determines the effective use of all other personal and social resources in the process of adaptation (cf. Antonovsky, 2005; Hobfoll, 2002, 2006), the presented research results suggest that the generational family's formation of children's traditionally understood cultural capital (in the form of their persistent pursuit of education, systematic participation in high culture and the display of good manners) indirectly – by building psychological capital – contributes to strengthening the health and positive development of the individual. Research indicates the usefulness of the characterised measures of the traditionally understood construct of cultural capital in research on the development of the system of human adaptive resources.

References

Antonovsky, A. (2005). *Rozwikłanie tajemnicy zdrowia: Jak radzić sobie ze stresem i nie zachorować* [Unravelling the mystery of health: How to manage stress and avoid getting sick]. Instytut Psychiatrii i Neurologii.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. W. H. Freeman.

Baumrind, D. (2013). Authoritative parenting revisited: History and current status. In R. E. Larzelere, A. Sheffield, & A. W. Harrist (Eds.), *Authoritative parenting: Synthesizing nurturance and discipline for optimal child development* (pp. 11–34). American Psychological Association.

Bernstein, B. (1980). Socjolingwistyka a społeczne problemy kształcenia [Sociolinguistics and social problems in education]. In M. Głowiński (Ed.), *Język i społeczeństwo* (pp. 83–119). Czytelnik.

Black, K., & Lobo, M. (2008). A conceptual review of family resilience factors. *Journal of Family Nursing*, *14*(1), 33–55. https://doi.org/10.1177/1074840707312237

Bourdieu, P. (1986). Forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Sage.

Breinholt, A., & Jæger, M. M. (2020). How does cultural capital affect educational performance: Signals or skills? *British Journal of Sociology*, *71*(1), 28–46. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12711

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, *94*(1, Suppl.), 95–120. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2780243

Czerepaniak-Walczak, M. (1995). *Między dostosowaniem a zmianą: Elementy emancypacyjnej teorii edukacji* [Between adaptation and change: Elements of an emancipatory educational theory]. Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego.

Czerepaniak-Walczak, M. (2006). *Pedagogika emancypacyjna* [Emancipatory pedagogy]. Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.

Davies, S., Rizk, J. (2018). The three generations of cultural capital research: A narrative review. *Review of Educational Research*, *88*(3), 331–365. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654317748423

de Graaf, N., de Graaf, P., & Kraaykamp, G. (2000). Parental cultural capital and educational attainment in the Netherlands: A refinement of the cultural capital perspective. *Sociology of Education*, *73*(2), 92–111. https://doi.org/10.2307/2673239

de Graaf, P. M. (1986). The impact of financial and cultural resources on educational attainment in the Netherlands. *Sociology of Education*, *59*(4), 237–246. https://doi.org/10.2307/2112350

de Moll, F., Grecu, A. L., & Hadjar, A. (2024). Students' academic habitus and its relation to family capital: A latent class approach to inequalities among secondary school students. *Sociological Inquiry*, *94*(1), 190–220. https://doi.org/10.1111/soin.12578

DiMaggio, P. (1982). Cultural capital and school success: The impact of status culture participation on the grades of U.S. high school students. *American Sociological Review*, *47*, 189–201. https://doi.org/10.2307/2094962

DiMaggio, P., & Mohr, J. (1985). Cultural capital, educational attainment, and martial selection. *American Journal of Sociology*, *90*(6), 1231–1261. https://doi.org/10.1086/228209

Dóci, E., Spruyt, B., De Moortel, D., Vanroelen, C., & Hofmans, J. (2023). In search of the social in psychological capital: Integrating psychological capital into a broader capital framework. *Review of General Psychology*, *27*(3), 336–350. https://doi.org/10.1177/10892680231158791

Hobfoll, S. E. (2002). Social and psychological resources and adaptation. *Review of General Psychology*, *6*(4), 307–324. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.6.4.307

Hobfoll, S. E. (2006). *Stres, kultura i społeczność: Psychologia i filozofia stresu* [Stress, culture, and community: Psychology and philosophy of stress]. Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.

Jæger, M. M., & Møllegaard, S. (2017). Cultural capital, teacher bias, and educational success: New evidence from monozygotic twins. *Social Science Research*, *65*, 130–144. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2017.04.003

Kwiatkowski, P., Wylęgły, K., & Jurczyk-Romanowska, E. (2024). Updated version of the Retrospective Family of Origin Parenting Functionality Scale. *Wychowanie w Rodzinie*, *31*(3), 331–371. https://doi.org/10.61905/wwr/196577

Lamont, M., & Lareau, A. (1988). Cultural capital: Allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments. *Sociological Theory*, *6*(2), 153–168. https://doi.org/10.2307/202113

Lareau, A., Weininger, E. B. (2003). Cultural capital in educational research: A critical assessment. *Theory and Society*, *32*, 567–606. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:RYSO.0000004951.04408.b0

Luthans, F., Youssef, C. M., & Avolio, B. J. (2007). *Psychological capital: Developing the human competitive edge*. Oxford University Press.

Scheier, M. F., & Carver, C. S. (1985). Optimism, coping, and health: Assessment and implications of generalized outcome expectancies. *Health Psychology*, *4*, 219–247. https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-6133.4.3.219

Seligman, M. E. P. (1998). *Learned optimism*. Pocket Books.

Snyder, C. R. (Ed.). (2000). *Handbook of hope: Theory, measures & applications*. Academic Press.

Sullivan, A. (2001). Cultural capital and educational attainment. *Sociology*, *35*(4), 893–912. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038501035004006

Špaček, O. (2017). Measuring cultural capital: Taste and legitimate culture of Czech youth. *Sociological Research Online*, *22*(1), 113–129. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.4192

Wagnild, G. M., & Young, H. M. (1993). Development and psychometric evaluation of the Resilience Scale. *Journal of Nursing Management*, *1*(2), 165–178. https://scispace.com/pdf/development-and-psychometric-evaluation-of-the-resilience-2omx5awxo4.pdf