Applying Bourdieu's Analysis of Children's World through the New Sociology of Childhood

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Abstract

Research with children was always under question, until the new social studies of childhood emerged. Children, who used to be seen as unimportant parts of research, are now seen as important as adults. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, have introduced the concepts of Field, capital and Habitus among us. It is worth seeing, that if these work among children as well. The primary objective of this project is to examine the concept of Bourdieusian analysis of Habitus and capitals in children's world, how they are depicted in children's own versions, how they are different from the adults, how they design their own society, how they combat with adult versions of thinking etc; with a comparison between children belonging to middle class and lower class. Children's narratives reveal the significant impact of capitals and habituses on their lives, with differences based on family economic position. Children express pleasure, anger, love, happiness, and grievance, generating different types of capitals in various fields. The Bengali ethnicity is expressed as symbolic capital in their habitus. Children's tastes and cultural capitals create distinctions and set their position among adults and peer groups.

Key words: Children, Capitals, Habituses, Bourdieusian

Social capital, first introduced in 1920, is a concept explored by Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). Bourdieu's theory focuses on the interplay between economic, cultural, and social capital, while Coleman's model is structurally- functionalist and rooted in Durkheim. Both theories emphasize the benefits individuals or families receive from their relationships with others, but their perspectives differ. Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction focuses on the transmission of cultural, social, and economic capital from parents to children, but cultural capital cannot be instantly passed down through gift or bequest. Acquiring both cultural and social capital requires personal effort and sacrifice, unlike economic capital which can be passed down directly.

Childhood is embedded in a social and historical environment, making it impossible to separate it from other societal constructs like gender, race, and status. Contemporary ethnographic research on childhood focuses on everyday life, but normative classification criteria are inevitable. The "new Childhood Studies" perspective emphasizes children's participation rights and their right to express themselves in various languages (Briod, 1989). Researchers must understand children's voices within their own languages and worldviews to understand their interactions from an interpretive and critical perspective, which has significant implications for research aims concerning children.

Objectives:

The primary objective of this project is to examine the concept of Bourdieusian analysis of habitus as well as capital (social, cultural, economic, and symbolic) in children's world, how they are depicted in children's own versions, how they differ from the adults, how they design their own society, how they combat with adult versions of thinking etc; as well as a focus on the differences of the concepts of habitus and capital on the basis of economic strategy (focusing mainly between the higher- middle class and lower class children).

Research questions:

The principal research questions, which would be focused in this report, are,

- If children are considered as being, then how that being situates itself in the social space?

- How the children create a distinction?

- How children earn capital and relate them?

- How consciously and how passively the children employ the changes of habitus?

The critical framework of theories and discourses:

Pierre Bourdieu was a French sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher. In order to shed light on the dynamics of power relations in social life, Bourdieu first introduced the notion of symbolic violence, field, habitus, and cultural, social, and symbolic capital. He also pioneered investigative frameworks and terminologies.

Among his numerous noteworthy and fascinating theories, the ones that were considered in the study are as follows.

➢ *Concept of Field:*

Bourdieu contends that an analysis of society cannot be limited to the analysis of ideologies and economic classes. His research focuses a lot on the influence of cultural and educational variables. Bourdieu employs the idea of the "field" to analyse societies rather than just using the concept of classes. The field is an organized social place with its own set of norms,

dominance structures, valid viewpoints, and so forth. A person's relationship to or struggle within a complex web of interconnected social ties occurs within a relatively independent field inside a larger social system. The arts, education, politics, law, and economy were listed by Bourdieu as the primary domains of contemporary civilizations.

> *Concept of Habitus, the sociology of habit:*

Habitus, derived from the Latin verb habere, refers to the deeply ingrained attitudes, schemas, and mental and physical forms of competence and knowledge acquired during early socialization. These dispositions influence a person's perceptions, thoughts, and physical behavior in the present. Habitus is composed of "structuring structures" that align with the structural characteristics of prior socialization (Bourdieu, 1986). People's habits take on specific mannerisms or styles, labelling them as risk-takers, cautious, brave, timid, balanced, or awkward. Habitus dispositions represent informal and practical forms of knowledge, and unconsciously, people assess opportunities and restrictions in practice and become proficient with them informally (Skinner, 1953). Habitus is the result of largely unconscious internalization of opportunities and limitations shared by people in the same social class or status group. Various social classes and status groupings have diverse types of habits, and habitus modifies expectations and goals based on the objective chances of success or failure shared by individuals in the same class for a specific action.

> *Concept of Social Capital:*

Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social capital refers to the resources associated with a strong network of institutionalized connections based on mutual recognition and acquaintance (Portes, 1998). This network can be converted into economic capital under certain circumstances. Bourdieu emphasizes the importance of intergenerational closure as a social structure that promotes successful norms. He also views social capital as an instrument of reproduction for the dominant class (Lareau, 2011). Bourdieu's work has been influential in various fields of educational study, including academic discourse, career decision- making, language in the classroom, and family-school interactions. Stanton-Salazar's (1997) conceptual framework for social capital explains why it is difficult for low-status

and minority children and youth to build social capital. There is a significant association between social capital and educational attainment, with dropout rates negatively correlated with parental expectations and aspirations, parent-teen connection, and intergenerational closure. Years of education are also related to family structure, discussions, parental expectations, cultural capital, parent-school involvement, and parent monitoring (De Graaf, et al., 2000; Dyk & Wilson, 1999; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996, Lopez, 1996).

Numerous investigations have examined the connection between academic success and social capital. Research examining the precise relationship between social capital and achievement test scores have often made use of the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS:88) database. NELS:88 respondents took four achievement assessments in reading, science, arithmetic, and history. Relationships were substantial overall and went in the predicted direction. Family size, relocation, and non-traditional family structures are inversely correlated with test achievement (Suizzo, 2007, Sun, 1998). Parents' expectations (Carbonaro, 1998; Suizzo, 2007, Sun, 1998; Sun, 1999), parent monitoring (Dimaggio, 1982), parent-teen discussion (McNeal, 1999; Pong, 1998), parent- school involvement (Carbonaro, 1998; Pong, 1998; Morgan & Ș erensen, 1999; Pribesh & Downey, 1999; Sun, 1999), and intergenerational closure (Carbonaro, 1998; Morgan & Ș erensen, 1999; Pribesh & Downey, 1999; Sun, 1999) are all generally positively correlated with achievement.

➢ *Concepts of Social Reproduction:*

Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction suggests that education perpetuates social exclusion and inequality by transferring parental endowments based on family to the progeny. Children inherit a wealth of material, social, human, and cultural capital from their parents, leading to disparities in their educational and professional success. Teachers and schools support this process by rewarding

students with elite cultural capital and enforcing elitist norms biased towards upper- and middle-class families. However, large-scale quantitative research has not supported Bourdieu's theory, despite qualitative studies indicating the disadvantage of some students in the classroom (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Cultural capital, or habitus, is the accumulation of investments made in aesthetic standards, practices, and dispositions passed down through familial socialization. Schools unequally distribute knowledge and ownership of "highbrow" culture based on social class and level of education, perpetuating societal inequality alongside economic, social, and human capitals (Bourdieu, 1998).

➢ *New Sociology of Childhood:*

Over the past 20 years, research involving children has been a contentious topic, especially in the Sociology of Childhood subject area. Researchers have re-examined how children are included or excluded from the opportunity to form their own thoughts and perspectives due to the belief that children are not included in the creation of their own history. The Children's Rights Convention (1989) has also influenced research agendas with children, making them subjects of rights and requiring their opinions to be listened to and considered. Researchers face new research dilemmas and ethical concerns when planning research with children. The sociology of childhood brings adult challenges in designing research plans, conceiving research instruments, and methodologies. Researchers must consider children as competent social actors and construct their own forms of culture. Ethical issues arise when involving children in research, such as obtaining informed consent, defining practical issues, and allowing informed participation. Research is a meticulous task requiring negotiation, adjustment, personal choices, and rigorous preparation.

There can be no research without a theoretical foundation. This framework gives the researcher the ability to define concepts and see research subjects from many

angles, where data collection needs to make sense in relation to theoretical concerns. Thus, if we are to make the case that kids need to be heard about parts of their life, the researcher needs to come up with appropriate and legitimate methods for interviewing kids and gathering their input.

The emergence of the New Sociology of Childhood:

Research on children has been a topic of interest since the 1840s, but their needs and interests have been largely overlooked in school research. This has led to a focus on 'deviant' and 'gifted' children, rather than those who exhibit neither. Traditional theories of childhood, which emphasized adult interpretation of events and experiences, have influenced adults' understanding and empathy with children's experiences. Social scientists have traditionally viewed childhood as a stage of adulthood, where experiences shape adult characteristics. However, sociology has been slow to explore children's experiences, subjugation, and invisible nature. Children are often seen as the embodiment of the minority group due to their subservient status. It is crucial to view children as active members of society.

James and Prout (1990a) proposed a new paradigm for studying children and childhood, focusing on its social construction, children's social relationships, active participation in social structures, and differentiation by factors like gender, ethnicity, and class. Early interpretive approaches in the 1970s and 1980s analysed adults' portrayal and treatment of children, but emphasized adult myth-making. The 1990s saw a shift towards a more comprehensive understanding of childhood, leading to the development of a social constructionist perspective, referred to as 'The New Social Studies of Childhood'.

It may be useful at this point to summarize the key developmental theories of childhood and the sociological account. Hill and Tisdall (1997, p. 12) suggests that the two different types of approaches can be characterized in the following ways-

Developmental views	Sociological critiques
Focus on the development of individuals as they grow older.	Focus on children as a social group with low status and power.
See childhood as biologically driven.	See childhood as socially created.
Childhood is divided into relatively fixed and universal stages.	Childhood is seen as evolving in diverse ways.
Children's thinking and behaviour are judged as part of a process leading towards adulthood.	Children's thinking, behaviour and cultures are judged and valued in their own right and on their own terms.
Children are viewed as deficient in terms of adult capabilities.	Children's positive competencies are emphasized.
Young Children are regarded as moulded through adult socialization process.	Young Children are regarded as active participants in socialization processes which are reciprocal.
Features such as age, gender, ethnicity, sibling status and social status are seen as discrete variables with consistent	Features such as age, gender, ethnicity, sibling status and social status are regarded as social constructs, whose impact depends on meanings and contexts.
implications once other factors are allowed for statistically.	

Table 1: Developmental views and sociological critiques of theories of childhood

The necessity of Participatory method:

The 'new social studies of childhood' movement emerged in the early 1990s as a response to dominant assumptions that subordinated childhood to adulthood. The movement aimed to reposition children as competent social actors in their own right, studying them as beings in their own right rather than pre-adult becomings. Current childhood research is based on two key imperatives: studying children for themselves and being attentive to the peculiarities and specificities of individual childhoods. It is not enough to simply reposition children as subjects, but to engage them as participants in the research process. Children's participation is described as a metaphorical 'ladder' that climbs from no participation to full participation, creating a methodological hierarchy where 'good' practice is at the top. Discourses of 'participation' risk becoming tyrannous in research involving children, which is often framed in terms of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how kids acquire and apply social capital as well as other types of capital. Since most research on social capital focuses on adults giving children assets in social capital without taking into consideration how children view and manage existing networks, children's perspectives are frequently ignored in the literature on social capital. The study looks at how Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social capital treats children and childhood insufficiently. Bourdieu argues that the family plays a critical role in shaping children's opportunities, shaping their habits and behaviours. Parents engage in reproduction strategies to transfer cultural, social, and economic capital from parents to children, but these strategies require effort and personal investment (Bourdieu, 1974). The role of parenting strategy has not been fully theorized or empirically examined in the literature. Childhood is

socially constructed and holds profound meaning for contemporary society, and current ethnographic studies focus on researching everyday life, but normative classification criteria are used, which should be questioned (Honig, 1996).

Research on children's perspectives has been a topic of debate for the past 20 years, with the growing interest in the Sociology of Childhood subject area. Researchers from various fields have rethought how children are included or excluded in their own histories, leading to the new Childhood Studies. This project aims to examine the Bourdieusian analysis of habitus and capital in children's world, their differences from adults, and their economic strategies, focusing on higher-middle class and lower-class children.

Significance:

The goal of this project is to investigate how children create and use stocks of different types of capital in addition to social capital. Children's accounts are still not well-researched in the growing body of work on social capital. In fact, most research takes a very narrow view, with parents passing on social capital assets to kids without considering how kids comprehend and make use of the networks that are already in place as well as how they create and maintain new ones. Research involving children has been the subject of much controversy over the past 20 years, particularly with the rise in studies in the field of Sociology of Childhood.

Given the Bourdieusian study of habitus and capital, children's research has been rather sparsely studied. Children have traditionally been treated as minorities, with adults and their worlds receiving most of the attention. However, childhood is deeply ingrained in modern society and is socially manufactured. Despite the growing recognition of children as social agents, the prevailing perspective is that children's immaturity and minority status prevent them from contributing significantly to society. Offering a different perspective and a paradigm shift from adults to children

is required to open up new avenues for researching Pierre Bourdieu's theories.

In light of the New Sociology of Childhood (James and Prout, 1998), which emphasizes the inclusion of children in new social research projects, it is worthwhile to investigate whether or not the children in this study merit inclusion in further sociological investigations.

Research Methodology:

The goal of this study was to examine how children conceptualize capital (social, cultural, economic, and symbolic) and habitus in their own worlds. It also focused on how these concepts differed based on economic strategy, particularly between children from lower and middle class and those from higher socioeconomic classes. This informed the choice of research methods and approaches. 64 children belonging to varying economic classes (Lower class and upper-middle class) were interviewed in their schools.

The ethical considerations were kept in mind and the children were interviewed with their as well as the school authority's consent.

Methodology is concerned with how information about the world is accumulated and consists of the regulations and processes governing research effort (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:185; Babbie & Mouton, 2007:4). The study design, exploratory, descriptive, naïve sketching, open- ended interviews, child-centered research, overall, a qualitative research approach is included in the methodology. Based on the experiences, perspectives, and meaning that the children revealed about their daily routines, favourite objects, parents, etc., this study used a qualitative research design.

Humanity is preserved throughout the research process since qualitative approaches are employed to comprehend and describe the world of human experience. However, even the most seasoned researchers cannot completely escape the subjective experience. As a researcher moves forward, their humanity guides and frequently instructs them through subtleties like intuition. The present study recognizes that

while certain qualitative research may not meet the usual criteria for generalizability, they nonetheless possess merits that surpass this limitation (Babbie & Mouton, 2007).
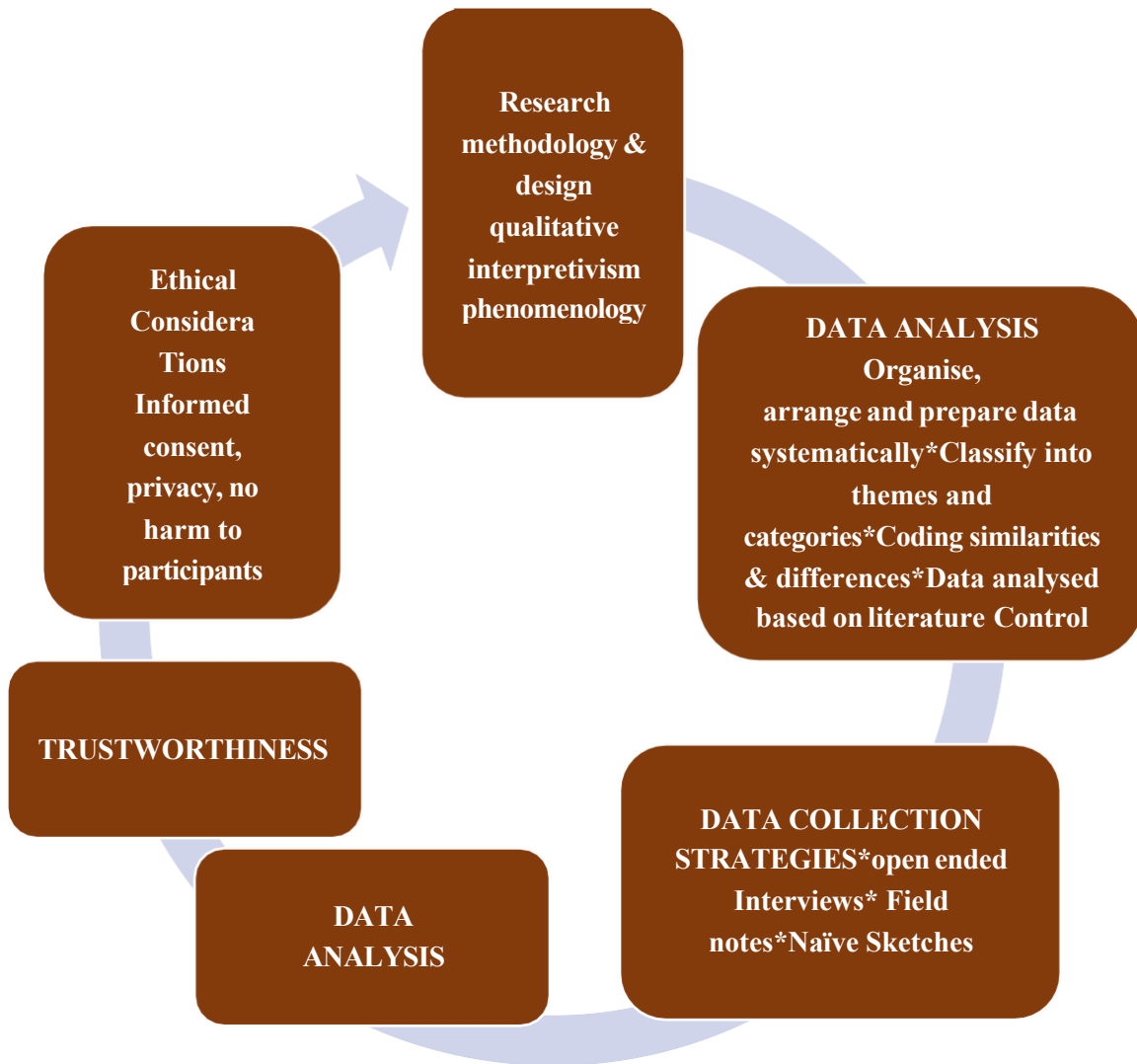
Research methodology & design qualitative interpretivism phenomenology

Ethical Considera Tions Informed consent, privacy, no harm to participants

DATA ANALYSIS Organise, arrange and prepare data systematically*Classify into themes and categories*Coding similarities & differences*Data analysed based on literature Control

TRUSTWORTHINESS

DATA ANALYSIS

DATA COLLECTION STRATEGIES*open ended Interviews* Field notes*Naïve Sketches

Chart 1: Research methodology outline

The present study employs phenomenology, which is best described as a philosophy, or "hermeneutics," that addresses the nature of knowledge and experience interpretation (Dowling, 2004). Youngsters were observed, asked to do naïve sketches, and had data collected from them that was then evaluated and interpreted. Researchers employ phenomenology under the interpretivist paradigm to look for the interpretations that people make of a particular phenomenon based on their

own experiences (Grey, 2009). In this context, the data collected from children will be classified into various themes, from which interpretation will be drawn.

The philosophical paradigm under this study:

Interpretive practice, which focuses on comprehending social phenomena within their settings, is used in this study. Researchers can explore the world as it is lived and experienced by using phenomenology as a research method (Bryman and Bell, 2007). With this method, personalised descriptions and interpretations based on personal experience are used to substitute statistical relationships. In social science research, especially qualitative research, a paradigm is frequently verbal and is necessary to obtain an understanding of real-life problems. Over the past fifty years, philosophers have established the interpretive paradigm, which is based more on human interpretation than on outside influences and emphasises how individuals make meaning of the environment, particularly through language (Niewenhuis and Van Woerkom 2007). The purpose of this study is to investigate the various interpretations and constructions that these young people make of their interactions with teachers and other carers.

Interpretivism concentrates on people's subjective worlds and unique experiences. Its goal is to comprehend human behaviour from an integrated perspective, taking lived reality and intersubjectivity into account (Cohen et al., 2005). This study recognizes that different people view comparable social situations in various ways and applies interpretivism from an individual perspective of the children. The paradigm uses theoretical frameworks such as symbolic interactionism and phenomenology to study the richness, depth, and complexity of occurrences. Interpretivists contend that their approach is crucial for understanding how organizations change over time and for forecasting future behaviour, despite critics' claims that it is not generalizable. According to Saunders et al. (2007), interpretivism postulates that phenomena have various realities that can vary over time and space.

Child-Centred research:

There has been a lot of interest in conducting child-cantered research, with demands for kids to be the "subjects" of the study because they believe they have important things to say about issues that affect them. This stands in stark contrast to the traditional perspective (Alderson & Morrow, 2004; Morrow, 2001; Alderson, 1995) which views children as "objects" of research. There are currently strong arguments for researchers to acknowledge children's agency, their citizenship as human beings now and not only in the future, and include kids as the main subjects of their studies (Tisdall et al, 2009). In keeping with the rhetoric surrounding children's rights, I personally believe that kids are not only creators of information but also capable of interpreting it as "competent commentators of their experience" (Moss, 2005:14).

This perspective is what drove me to create this research child-centred and to connect the arguments from child-centred research to the broader facts that will be covered in the findings and other sections. Giving children's perspectives a voice is admirable, but due to things like culture and a lack of broader knowledge and experience, children are even less able than adults to explain the larger restrictions that shape behaviour. As a result, even while gathering their opinions is important and legitimate data, understanding their experiences requires contextualization.

Child-centred research is a method that acknowledges children's insights and their importance in knowledge generation. It acknowledges children's rights of expression and views them as active subjects in the research process. This approach addresses children's voicelessness and views them as important players in social change and knowledge production. The child's voice is not just about speaking, but in the meanings attributed to their words and the theories they are theorized. To involve children in research, their understanding of phenomena must be integrated into the research methods. While insight into children's perceptions is important, data from this perspective has limitations, necessitating the use of complementary

data from other sources like key informants or observation.

Findings:

The findings are divided under two sections, one concerning the **Capitals** and other concerning the **Habituses.** The narratives of the children are presented in a thematic analytical format.

The Capitals:

Themes	Middle class children	Lower class children
The better parent	- Daughters are fonder to their fathers as mothers forbid many things like eating chocolate, watching tv. - Father is a wish fulfiller - Some boys also think the same. - Maximum mother lovers are boys, fathers scold them, or are a bit harsh - Some have given neutral answer	- The concept of fulfilling wishes, loving, caring... is somewhat different - Father's economic condition is too poor to fulfil every wish. - Some said father's return home drunk from work and behave peculiar. - Some children's mothers also work as domestic labourers.

	stating both are good.	
	Examples- **"Dad is better...mom scolds if I do not study well"** **"Mom scolds whenever I eat chocolates... father gets me those secretly..."** **"Mom is better... dad scolds, once he also beat me..."** **"Both are good... no one scolds me."**	**Examples-** **"Mother goes outside to work, father scolds, but still father is better"** **"Father is no more... he ended up being drunk... mom says he did it willingly... Mother is better."**
Extra Curriculars	• Nearly everyone has one, or more than one, extracurricular activities. • Maximum children have drawing classes on holidays • Few girls stated they learn dancing	• Merely a theoretical concept. • These children hardly only come to schools, as the salary and costing is lower • Extracurricular activities require a good coaching or a

	• Some learn singing and some learn singing and dancing together. • One girl even stated about learning Karate.	good teacher which costs more than they can handle. • Though they wish to learn drawing, dancing etc.
	Examples- **"I love drawing; I go to** **drawing classes every** **Sunday... father takes me** **there."** **"I learn both singing and** **dancing, though I like** **singing more... but mother** **emphasizes on the** **dancing."**	**Examples-** **"I used to learn dancing** **from an elder sister...it felt** **good..."** **"When it is drawing class** **in school, it feels good, I** **want to learn to draw.** **everyone say I draw** **beautiful..."**
Keeping pets	• Some have dogs or cats as pets. • Most of them love pets • Some who do not have pets are eager to have one someday.	• Nearly everyone stated they don't have pets • Very few had pets (stray cat/ dog) • maximum children said they play with

	- Some also stated that their parents will not approve of a pet in the house. 2 girls said, they fear dogs, because they bark...one also told that once a dog was almost about to bite her, so she is scared of them now	street dogs many times, they even call them with different names, and the dogs also do recognize them. Maximum parents under this economic category do not possess enoug h wealth or time to nourish a pet.
	Examples- **"My pet cat, Mini... so sweet... she sleeps in my room, whenever I return home she stays around me all the time.. she is also very fond of grandpa..."** **"I ike dogs, but my family will not allow to keep one"**	**Examples-** **"No pets, father does not allow in my alley I have a** **friend dog, raja..he plays with me"**

Friendship	- Except 2 or 3, maximum said they have more than one best friend... mainly because they do not quarrel and listen to them. - There is also rivalry, some said they disliked someone because that classmate steals tiffin, while others said that the classmate quarrels and beats without reason.	- They also have more than one best friends - they stay along with each othe r throughout the school hours... play together. - everyone also had classmates whom they disliked, with whom the y quarrelled or fought.
	Examples- **"I have two best friends, Nilima, and Lissa. I play with them, they are very good... listening to me always, and we also go to a** **coaching class together."**	**Examples-** **"Me and Sanju are very good friends... we play together, and even come home together."**

	"Sudipta is a very bad girl... she quarrels regularly... I also complaint to teacher, but no use... she does not change!"	
Favourite **Festival**	• Most children enjoyed Durga puja, pandal hopping, and outdoor food. Some voted for Kalipuja as well, as they enjoyed burning crackers. • They also decorated their houses with crackers, candles, and fairy lights. • Ganesha was the most popular God of choice, while Durga and Saraswati were also voted for. • Some children also went on family holidays out of state.	• The level of enjoyment maybe is same, but, not the number of new clothes. • **Nearly** everyone go for pandle hopping and at least, for one day eat outside house • These children showed a greater percentage of likings towards dipawali

	Examples-	Examples-
	"I get 10 new clothes, go for pandal hopping everyday... eat biriyani, egg roll etc"

"Kali puja is better, burn crackers... it is fun" | "Kali puja is better... burst too many crackers... I also burst chocolate bombs... mother gets scared of the noise!" |
| **Favourite subject in school** | • The preferences of the students differed; geography and Bengali were the most popular subjects.
• Among girls, mathematics was less popular.
• Some people liked their teachers, while others hated certain subjects because they didn't understand them. | • In case of these children as well, students' preferences varied widely, with some preferring Bengali and others English.
• Both boys and girls disliked mathematics,
• and students generally didn't like certain subjects because they didn't understand them or didn't like their teachers. |

	Examples- "I like Bengali, Bengali teacher is very good, she does not scold me.. mother teaches me Bengali in the house." "Mathematics is tough... i keep repeating mistakes... every day I get scolded because of it..."	Examples- "I like Bengali, maths is not my cup of tea... very tough... Bengali is easy..."
Family outings	• Many said they went to Puri or Digha. • Some said they have visited hill station. • Maximum children seemed to like oceans. They said it feels great to spend time with family outside their homes.	• Very few said they have visited Digha, Puri or other faraway places. • Maximum have not gone to any place further than their relative's houses. • Though they said they are eager to visit new places which are only in their

		imaginations or in the tv screen.
	Examples- "I have visited Puri, Darjeeling, Haridwar, and many other places. I liked taking bath in the ocean the most... so many big tides..."	**Examples-** "I have not really visited many places... In Nabadweep, my aunt resides... we go there to spend holidays..."

Table 2: Capitals found from th   e narrations of the children

The Habituses:

Themes	Middle class children	Lower class children
Mode of entertainment	• They primarily rely on television for entertainment, with cartoons being their favourite. • They enjoy watching various cartoon channels and even memorize their daily program lists. • They also enjoy watching Bengali and	• These children often lack television in their homes • They either attend neighbouring club houses or relatives' homes. • Some have television but prefer movies to cartoons. • And more children play for relaxation

	Hindi movies, with some preferring Shah Rukh Khan. • Some play indoor games with grandparents or elder siblings.	outside the home than middle-class children.
	Examples- **"I watch Doremon, I love that… he takes out many things from the pocket of his belly and gives it to Nobita, I wish I also had a cat like him…!"**	**Examples-** **"I don't watch cartoons… I rather watch Dev's movies with father…"**
Food Choices	• Almost all the children stated, they like foods which are tasty, spicy, and basically not homemade, e.g. Biriyani, mughlai paratha, egg roll etc. • Though they don't always get these food	• These children also showed liking mainly for outside foods like biriyani, egg roll, etc • They also dislike green vegetables, as they are tasteless to them • They hardly get chances to have fancy foods.

	- due to parental interference - Only 1 or 2 children responded that they liked homemade food. - Every child, invariably stated, they do not like 'vegetables', specifically, the bitter ones.	These children mostly rely on mid- day meals of their schools for lunch, some even do not take breakfast before coming to school
	Examples- **"I like biriyani, during puja I have it a lot... otherwise mother scolds... she says, it will cause me stomach problems..."** **"I hate cauliflower, still mother feeds it forcefully... otherwise scolds me."**	**Examples-** **"In school, we get khichdi to eat... it tastes good... I hate brinjal...but mother prepares it frequently in dinner... and forcefully feed me!"** **"I love chowmein, during Durga puja father brings it from food shacks on the roads, it tastes awesome, I wait for that day eagerly"**

| Sweet cravings (candies/ chocolates) | • They enjoy chocolates, with Cadbury bars and small toffees being their favourite.
• Some prefer coffee while some prefer mint or mango Flavors
• Mothers often scold them for excessive consumption. | • These children also love lozenges... but fancy items are very rarely acquired by them.
• Maximum children showed their love for Cadbury bars, girls mainly said they love lollipops... especially the orange flavour
• Maximum children here do not know the various brands of chocolates here, though many shared likings for different flavours |
| | Examples-

"Dairy milk is good, dad brings for me... mother forbids..says that germs
will attack my teeth!" | Examples-

"I like lollipops... especially the orange ones. In my birthday last year, I got
many of those..." |

| Cleanliness | • The children were caring and aware of cleanliness as a virtue.
• They bathed regularly, even in winter
• They brushed twice a day, following their mothers' advice.
• They also cut their nails to prevent germs from entering the tummy. | • Some children are aware of cleanliness, brushing their teeth regularly, but not all do it twice a day.
• Some use fingers instead of tooth brushes.
• Some, especially boys, don't bath regularly, especially in winter.
• Their parents work outside, so there's little focus on cleanliness.
• Some bath regularly, using cold water.
• The concept of cleanliness is low among these children,
• And they eat with unclean hands. |

	Examples-	Examples-
	"Yes, I bath daily... even in winter, but in hot water... mom says, if I don't take bath, my body will become hot."	"I take bath regularly, but not in winter... very freezing cold water... I feel chilling... mother scolds me for this..."
Choosing a future prefession	• Most girls and boys express a desire to become doctors, with some citing family members or relatives as doctors. • Some shared that as they feel pain when given injections, they would like to inject others as doctors and enjoy the pain of injections in them. • Some boys want to become teachers or policemen so that people fear them.	• These children also stated much similar with the middle-class children. • Maximum children said, they want to become doctors, • while some chose to be teachers, and some police officers... • Here were some children who also said, they do not know what they want to be...

	Examples-	Examples-
	"I would become a police man... I will keep a big gun with me, and will shoot the goons with that!" **"I would like to become a doctor... I will cure people's diseases after becoming one, I will give them medicines"**	**"I want to be a doctor... I want to cure people's diseases"**
The world of Dreams	• Maximum children answered, they saw scary ghosts in their dreams, that were haunting them. • Some said, they do not remember the dreams they have. • while very few said; they do not have dreams.	• In case of horror dreams, these children are just as same as the middle-class children. • One small girl gave an interesting answer, that, in her dreams, she scares the ghost away, and beats it! • Some said, they see themselves becoming doctors or teachers in their dreams.

		• Some also said they do not have dreams, or are unable to remember what they dreamt of.
	Examples- **"I see dreams of ghosts... they haunt me... they look ugly... I get scared"**	**Examples-** **"I do not have frequent dreams... I do not remember much what I see in dreams..."**

Table 3: Habituses found   the narration of children
from

Conclusion:

Pierre Bourdieu's social capital is the aggregate of resources linked to a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. This group membership provides members with the backing of collectively owned capital, which can exist as material or symbolic exchanges. Bourdieu's social capital is decomposable into two elements: the social relationship that allows the individual to claim resources possessed by the collectivity, and the quantity and quality of those resources. Bourdieu sees social capital as the investment of the dominant class to maintain and reproduce group solidarity and preserve the group's dominant position. Cultural capital can exist in three states: embodied (dispositions of mind and body), objectified (cultural goods), and institutionalized (educational qualifications). Social space is a field of forces and struggles between agents with different means and ends, characterized by dynamic and arbitrary valued forms of social and cultural capital. Bourdieu emphasizes the importance of social networks, particularly intergenerational closure, as a social structure that facilitates the emergence of effective norms.

Habitus, derived from the Latin verb habere, is a concept that explores how human

action is regulated without being influenced by external structures or conscious intentions. Bourdieu's theory of habitus is embedded in a theory of action, defining it as a system of durable dispositions that can be objectively adapted to outcomes without conscious intent. Habitus is formed through internalization processes, and is acquired informally through social interactions through imitation, repetition, role play, and game participation. Children's actions can help us grasp their habitus, as their worlds can influence their actions.

After analysing carefully through the narratives of the children, it can be seen that these capitals and habituses have a huge impact over the young minds of the children, it shapes their lives. There are clearly some differences based on economic position of the families of these children, which in turn is internalized in their conceptions.

The children share their part of stories in terms of their pleasure, (each needs typical phrases or selected narratives) anger, love, happiness, and grievance. These expressions, their stories tell the yet unexplored truths, especially how they generate different types of 'capitals' and in varied fields (each needs typical phrases or selected narratives). The Bengali ethnicity, expressed as symbolic capital embedded in their habitus, which emphasizes a bit rowdy yet Bengali orientations of lower classes. The tastes ('Ruchi') of the children have showed how their symbolic and cultural capitals relate other forms of capitals, and how they create distinctions from others as well. From their competition and conflicts, they set their own position among the world of adults as well their peer groups.

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