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SOCIAL CAPITAL OF POLITICAL LEADERS

The Third Dimension of Political Power, Committee of Foreign Affairs in Parliament of Finland

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ABSTRACT:

Recently, theories on *social capital* have received growing attention in public policy making due to the benefits social capital is claimed to aggregate to goups of people. Emerged critics, however, challenge this comprehension: social capital also restricts performance. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002), social capital is a metaphor for power that defines individuals' positions in social hierarchies. Forms of this influential power are relational to different *fields*, within which social interactions are embedded. Further, distribution of social authority is a growing trend in political leadership—who decides what is decided?

Drawing on Bourdieu, this thesis defends the third dimension of power, as introduced by Steven Lukes (2005), as the dominant component of social capital. The purpose is to extend past social capital research to parliamentary context in order to explain differences in political leaders' performance. In particular, the study sets forth *political leaders' resources for power and deepens understanding on the social regularities, power distribution, and unwritten rules in the Parliament of Finland*. The qualitative case research samples 15 political leaders working in the Committee of Foreign Affairs at the time the research data was gathered in year 2015. Method for the study is qualitative case research. Primary data was gathered via semi-structured interviews, the average duration of which were 60 minutes.

Findings reveal that social relationships contribute to dominate social positions that equal with political power. Power is distributed proportionally to quality and amount of individual resources with ability to advertise them, hence, Members of Parliament (MPs) are pre-evaluated based on age and gender. MPs with shared interests tend to form reciprocal sub-groups which strengthen their influence. First term MPs are positioned low in the power hierarchy. The most valued resources for power are status, substance, seniority and experience, social capabilities, and charm including persuasion skills. Social sensitivity together with parliamentary regularities constitutes *political habitus*, or the *eye for the game*. Power relations shape individual identity and judgement, which have considerable effect on MPs' ability to utilize available strategies for political influence as well as on the collective benefits of social capital. In this case, power distances are narrow and micro level social capital is converted from the cultural. Therefore, social capital induces positive gain in form of consent and knowledge based political decisions. However, actors diverging from shared expectancies are excluded in the political decision making.

This thesis paves the way for socio-political research on social capital, parliamentary policy making, and organizational leadership by introducing a theoretical frame that conjoins *the third dimension of power* and Bourdieu's *social capital*.

KEYWORDS: Social capital, the third dimension of power, political leadership, Parliament of Finland

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Previously in social and political research

> *"In politics, like in football, it is obvious that amateurs loose to professionals"*
> (Palonen 2012: 105).

The Prime Minister (2014–2015) of Finland has described the government of his selection as a *Dream Team* that would win the elections (Bruun 2015). Political leaders face extraordinary challenges in the age of social medialization and multiculturalization. Conceptualizations of political democracy are changing in the era of increasing mistrust (Rosanvallon 2008: 67, 3–4). Continuous trend in power distribution directs focus in political leaders' performance, both in public and inside political parties (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 8). Yet, political reality differs from the public image (Palonen 2012: 197). Political decisions are carefully prepared beforehand within committees and the political parties (Wiberg 2006:164). Furthermore, traditional parliamentary research puts weight on horizontal authority in political leadership when compared to vertical power hierarchies in business or public management. The formal power is evenly distributed between Members of Parliament. (Pitkänen 1991: 35.)

However, this thesis introduces principles for the invisible: power hierarchies and resources for social domination inside a parliamentary committee. The most interesting results of the research continue previous Finnish socio-political studies on parliamentary norms and power by introducing the famous *third dimension of power* into Finnish parliamentary research jointly with the retro-trendy Bourdieu's social capital. With a cut-through to the political game, the results find a part of the hidden social reality in the parliament—political leaders' interests, judgement, the value of social networks, and their relation to the performance that reach consequences on the lives of the citizens. Who are the most influential MPs deciding about the foreign affairs of Finland, and why?

Power relations between political leaders are a burning topic in political science, though nearly virgin in Finnish public administration and parliamentary research. Among few since 1972, the time Matti Oksanen published his doctoral thesis on politicians' roles, Weijo Pitkänen (1991) and Kari Palonen (2010) have increased awareness over informal practices in Parliament of Finland. Democratic parliamentary politics is essentially a debate between differing perspectives and dissensions (Palonen 2010: 7). Political leadership, in the core of *power* and social influence, is described as a position that enables shaping others actions and feelings (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 10). Since Max Weber (1864–1920), power remains a trend in political and social sciences. Steven Lukes (2005), drawing on the renowned French political sociologist *Pierre Bourdieu* (1930–2002) among others, introduced the third dimension of power that explores socially produced and mostly unconscious powers which formulate subjective perceptions and interests (Lukes 2005: 145). These forms of power seek answer to the question: "how do the powerful secure the compliance of those they dominate?" (Ibid. 110.) Bourdieu, before Lukes, answers with a theory he calls *symbolic power*: "a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims". The effects of this power are visible in actions and power structures, crystallized in what Bourdieu calls *habitus*. (Ibid. 140.)

To describe power relations between actors, Bourdieu uses *capital* as an economical metaphor: the accumulation and exchange of economic, cultural and social *resources* that illustrate the interplay between political and non-political forms of power within different fields of social life (Swartz 2013: 50; Blackledge 2005: 32–33). Bourdieu defines the *fields* as spaces structured with power relations between actors whose social order is defined by the quality and combination of those individual resources that accrue capital (Swartz 2013: 57; Bourdieu 2005: 69). *Social capital* refers to resources for power in fields where social relationships are valuable (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). Social capital has received considerable attention among scholars in various disciplines, recently also in the political science since Robert Putnam (1995) refined the concept (Fine 2010: 29). After multiple re-definitions, social capital has become a blanket for anything that implies to social networks (Halpern 2005: 1, 8; Fine 2010: 206). The history of social capital originates in Adam Smith, Emile Durkheim, de Tocqueville, and even Aristotle,

but mainstream interest in contemporary social and political sciences was cultivated by its acknowledged pioneer, Bourdieu (Halpern 2005: 3, 6–7). In 1988 James Coleman introduced social capital that is based on rational choice in social networking (Halpern 2005: 7). This functional school, however, differs from the intent of Bourdieu.

A challenge for the present-day scientists is to prune the sprawling interpretations of different theories back to their original meaning. However, much remains to discover: majority of the present applications lack the very essence of Bourdieu's social capital—power. (Fine 2010: 66, 76, 97, 122.) Following the suggestion of Bourdieu, research on political sociology should aim in finding how the different forms of power work in interaction as individuals struggle to maintain and improve their positions in different social networks (Swartz 2013: 55). In addition to absence of dimensions of power, the emerged critics are concerned with misunderstandings regarding the conversion of social, economic, and cultural capital. Ben Fine (2010) suggests to "Bring Bourdieu Back In" and argues that understanding social capital necessitates finding its preconditions. It should not be separated from the other main capitals. David Swartz (2013) certainly brings Bourdieu back—powerfully. Furthermore, some scholars are careful in studying micro level social capital with arguments for its accumulated benefits for groups of people, above individual consequences (Halpern 2005: 246). On the contrary, referring to Russell (1986) Bourdieu draws on, the capitals are not interested in collective benefits but emphasize the exchange of individual resources for power (Swartz 2013: 55). Neither is social capital loaded with purely positive qualities or benefits. According to Bourdieu, as applied only by limited amount of recent research, it is tightly connected to habitus that, through "sense of distinction", constrain performance and strengthen the existing unequal distribution of power (Lewis 2009: 30; Bourdieu 2006: 73).

In football, the team scoring more goals is the winner. In the political field there is a constant competition not only with opposing teams, but also between the team members. "Who decides what is decided?" (Lukes 2005: 111.) The research finds what makes a professional who will not lose in the game of politics. *Which qualities line-up a political Dream Team?* This study finds the essence of political influence in the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The examination of social regularities in the parliament reach the level

of influencing strategies, principles for power distribution and social relationships, and even feelings.

1.2 Purpose of this research

Fine (2010: 75) argues that research on social capital should ameliorate social capital as a tool to study its effects in private and public spheres. He also suggests that in order to reveal the diversion of social capital, the theory should be applied in political institutions where power is embedded (ibid. 63). This research responds to Fine's request and extends previous research on social capital to hierarchical power structures of political leaders in the Parliament of Finland. To find the *quality* of social capital in *political influence* and its affects on *performance* of the Members of Parliament (MPs), the focus is in working of the symbolic power—the third dimension of power—that facilitates or restricts success of the political leaders. The findings specify unwritten rules for the game for the political players' performance improvement. This research discusses with previous studies by deepening knowledge on micro level social capital in the parliamentary committee. By providing a conjoint theoretical frame of Bourdieu's social capital, habitus, field, the third dimension of power and the symbolic power, it paves the way for socio-political research interested in social capital, emerged leadership, parliamentary politics, and explains willing subordination in social interaction in the political institution.

Prefaced with fruitful setting for finding how the forms of symbolic power work in the structure of the specific parliamentary field, the research defends power as a central component of social capital. The study aims in setting forth those individual resources and qualities that accumulate and convert social capital of the MPs. Bourdieu defines capital as a rhetorical device to understand such power that enables an individual to achieve and maintain influential positions inside a social structure (Swartz 2013: 55). To continue with, the purpose of this research is two folded. Firstly, it deepens current theoretical knowledge on the nature of micro level social capital in parliamentary organs. Secondly, this study suggests Bourdieu's capital and field theory as a suitable instrument for self-evaluation of political leaders' performance. Political leadership is a periodically

tested competition over persuasion, popularity, trust and power to influence in policy making process (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 48). The study produces data about, firstly, the valued resources and the quality of social capital, e.g. principles for power distribution and, secondly, the parliamentary reality's and subjective conceptualizations' influence in performance within the network of political leaders. Thirdly, it finds shared values, social regularities and partly acknowledged but yet invisible boundaries for action. As a conclusion, the study benefits both forthcoming research and political leaders' practical work.

1.2.1. Research questions

Resources accumulate capital when they function in socially structured arenas. These arenas carry norms and social regularities. (Bourdieu 1989: 375, quoted in Swartz 2013: 56.) The study finds *how social capital affects performance* in the committee and produces and reproduces power positions by targeting the concentration on habitus and symbolic power: the *recognition of self-concepts* and *power positions*. Grounded with Bourdieu's theory, the assumption is that occupancy of the resources for the capital improves political leaders' possibilities to influence in political agenda. However, even though social capital has been argued to have positive effects on performance, it also has negative consequences that might promote inequality through *habitus* that cannot be diverged from the capitals and *the field* (Fine 2010: 206; Lewis 2009: 26; Swartz 2013: 90). For this reason, placing the gains of social capital under scrutiny necessitates considering also possible reverse effects. Therefore, the main research question (MQ) is formulated as follows:

> *MQ: What are the principles for social capital and their affects in political leaders' performance in the Committee of Foreign Affairs, Parliament of Finland?*

This main question is split into three sub-questions (SQs) that detail what need to be found:

> *SQ 1. What are the valued individual resources in the committee?*

Answers find those qualities of Members of Parliament that accumulate capital (power) in the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Answers to this question also find which capital is monopolized in the particular network of political leaders.

SQ 2. How dominate and subordinate power positions affect in performance?

This question aims in answering what are the reasons for positive and negative power positions and how power relations enhance or restrict performance in the committee.

SQ 3. What are the social regularities that construct the field?

In other words, which social practices, values, attitudes, and unwritten rules shape political leaders action in the committee?
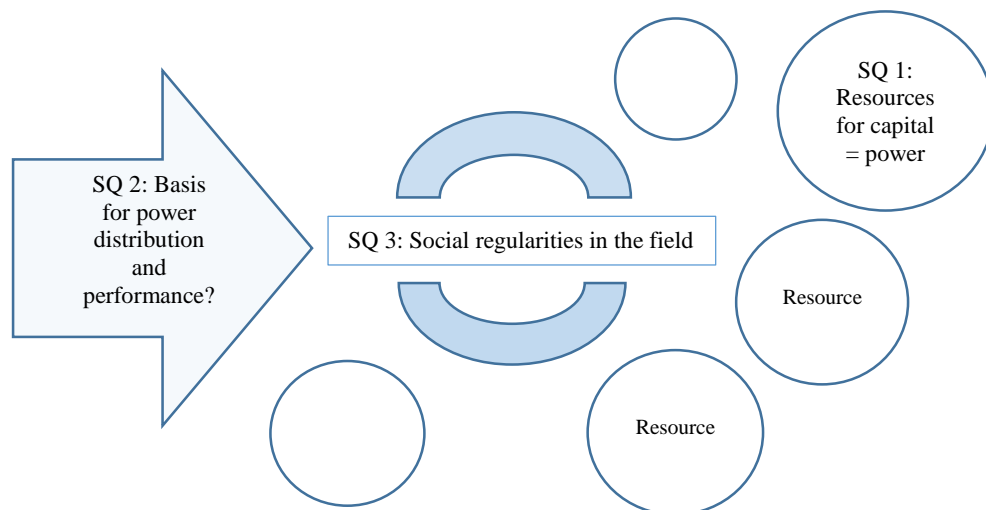
Figure 1. Sub-questions in the context: social capital, power, and performance

Relevance of the sub-questions is illustrated in the figure 1. As argued before, the capital in its essence represents the invisible power that define dominate and dominated positions in the group (Swartz 2013: 79). Capitals do not work without direct relation to the particular *field* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 101). Positive and negative effects of social capital and the invisible power may, therefore, be evaluated based on logic of the field: individual perceptions of power positions with reference to ways of thinking, interaction, and the commonly acknowledged norms and rules for action.

1.2.2. Structure and demarcations

The framework conjoins elements of political leaders' socially working forms of power, referring to Lukes's third dimension of power, and Bourdieu's concept of social capital. Additionally, to understand Bourdieu's conceptualization on accumulation of capitals and to frame the bases for individual social capital (resources), the scope expands to the concepts of field and habitus, intertwined with previous research on informal parliamentary practices. In purpose of connecting political leadership, capital and power, neo-classical Weberian political leadership theories are introduced. Fine (2010: 206) suggests that forthcoming studies should aim in restricting social capital theories with respect to Bourdieu's original intention. As a contribution, the thesis employs only Bourdieu's ideology on social capital, excluding the famous social capital theory by Putnam and all the theories that are based on rational networking. It is acknowledged that studies in area of linguistics provide several theories for studying the third kind of power but, due to chosen demarcations and relevance of social capital in political field, the focus stances on the views of Bourdieu. To continue, the thesis concentrates on the power relations between political leaders. The concept of power is at least as multidimensional as is social capital. However, the thesis is not interested in two-dimensional view of power or formal authority. Instead, it presents non-decision making power and social domination as vital components of social capital. (Lukes 2005: 29.)

After introduction, the thesis presents the theoretical frame in Section 2 *The third power and social capital of political leaders*. The Chapter 2.1. is an important component of the frame for three reasons: firstly, political power and social power interact (Swartz 2013: 106). Political leadership, power and capital have tensions that reach the influence of the formal political power to social power and vice versa. Secondly, political leaders co-operate with the Government's public officers. This interaction, as a component of this study, affirms the thesis' linkage to public administration. Thirdly, it is vital to understand characteristics of the actors and *the parliament as a field* of scenery for the struggle over social capital: "a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a *field*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 101).

Regarding methodology, this qualitative case study applies qualitative instrumental research strategy and method, though according to Wolcott (1992: 36) a case study is rather "an end-product of field-oriented research" (Merriam 2014: 40). In general, a theory oriented study finds meanings for suggested phenomena in practice and explains the findings (ibid. 39). The method provides a theoretical approach for defining the research problem and answering the research questions. The instrumental study is interested in the particular phenomena whereas the case is of secondary interest. (Ibid. 48.) As the research seeks to find forms and affects of the third kind of power and social capital among political leaders, the experiences of the Members of Parliament are the primary subjects instead of the case committee. Secondary data are acquired via ethnographic field observations, literature review, and preliminary interviews. The primary data are composed of interviews of Members of Parliament in the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The qualitative case study research as a method as well as the data acquisition process and analysis is introduced in detail in Section 3 *Methodology*, with sampling and contextual background for the research.

Section 4 *Results and interpretation of data* presents the findings of the study. As the research data are generated from interviews, it is vital to note that they produce a collection of individual conceptualizations of reality. These perceptions are decoded and analysed carefully in purpose of finding phenomena, attitudes and personal interests of the case subjects. For the reason of credibility, structural validity and avoidance of biased data interpretation, constant comparative method is used (Nolas 2011: 31): individual interview data are compared with findings from other interviews. The data are interpreted in the context while coding and categorizing. Finally, Section 5 *Discussion and conclusions* converses on importance of the findings and concludes to the relevancy of the research. It summarizes what is learned in this work and how the study locates with future research.

1.3. Position statement

Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2011:13) argue that successful research necessitates, among others, convergence: interest towards the research subject with strong and regular connection to the field of study. Before the research process started, the interest of the researcher was in social dimensions of power of political leaders and informal social interaction's relation to formal political influence. In order to familiarize with parliamentary culture and interaction among the political leaders, the researcher conducted a three months long work placement in the parliament, in the beginning of which she started the ethnographic field work. In May 2005, in the middle of the data collection process, the researcher was employed as a Personal Assistant for a Member of Parliament until the end of the election term 2015–2019.

During the research process the researcher was able to access vast amount of research data, including the sampled MPs recruitment and the *Veteran Members of Parliament Oral History Archive* that is subject to authorization. Access was denied only in the official meetings of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Previously the researcher has worked as a teacher and a professional interviewer. Her interest is in communications, rhetoric, business and public management, and politics. In addition to the M.Sc. promoted through this thesis, she has an interdisciplinary academic background in International Business (BBA), Intercultural Communication and Public Administration, and Education and Social Science (AmO). Due to combination of multiple perspectives and professional experience the researcher could collect data that are of good quality, credible and that produce structurally valid results. Interviewing as a research method require experience to success (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 68). It has been acknowledged that the data interpretation process necessitates understanding on the author's own position in relation to the research subject. The importance of quality and credibility (validity and reliability) of the findings emphasizes because of the researcher's current position and expectations for future career in the parliament.

2. THE THIRD POWER AND SOCIAL CAPITAL OF POLITICAL LEADERS

For the reason of providing understanding over political leadership and performance parliamentary political leadership is introduced in the beginning of this theoretical frame. Chapter 2.2. presents Bourdieu's definition of the field and habitus, accompanied with previous parliamentary research explaining the most important already known norms and practices that shape interaction inside the parliament. As demarcated, the interest is not in legitimate decision making authority or formal political power. Instead, the paper applies mechanisms for operation of the third dimension of power[1]. Bourdieu illustrates working of the power with concepts of capitals, symbolic violence and symbolic power, which maintain a stratified social order (Swartz 2013: 37). In Chapter 2.3. the focus is on capitals, above others, in social capital due to its strong relevance to the field and recent socio-political discourse. The essence of the invisible power is introduced in the Chapter 2.4. followed by Chapter 2.5. with introduction of relational realities that deepen understanding on power positions in relation to identities, interests and judgement. The theoretical frame concludes to a summary of the theories in Chapter 2.6.

2.1. Political leaders

Political power has many forms: power enabling decision makers to reach goals, power to persuade other actors and power to control environments (Wiberg 2006: 255). Power is also influencing, persuading or somehow shaping another person's desires (Locher 2010: 17). Diamond (1996) claims that power has a dynamic nature: "power is not merely a quality which is assigned or earned; it is also an interactional skill and process" which interplays with roles and self-images, the identities (Locher 2010, 21).

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[1] Steven Lukes introduces *the third dimension of power* that refers to emerged leadership, domination and willing subordination. His view is based, among others, on Foucault (1978, 1980), Scott (1990) and Bourdieu (1984). (Lukes 2005: 142.)

2.1.1. Political elites

Classical elite theory claims that members of a society does not have equal access to political power and other social benefits (Putnam 1976: 4). Political elite consists of constricted circle of people sharing similar beliefs, attitudes and ideas. Values of the elite are more precise, organized and consequences of their actions are more significant compared to other citizens. (Wiberg 2006, 256; Putnam 1976: 4.) Leadership is a position that is defined, according to Smith (1995), as "social influence—the ability to alter the beliefs, feelings, or behaviours of others". Leaders that influence in public policy making have control over other actors in a society. In modern democratic politics, purveyored by Weber (1919), professional political leaders are seen as the mainstay of authority, public trust and coherence of a state (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 10, 29). Political leaders referred in this study are Members of the Parliament of Finland (MPs) and those public officers that are in crucial positions regarding committees' work. Public administration is a powerful organ with executive responsibility for the ministers and their cabinets (Wiberg 2006, 256).

MPs work in the parliamentary committees where political agendas are, with few exceptions, drafted in co-operation with public officers (Wiberg 2006: 166). Committees' position and strength in parliamentary decision making can be examined, for example, by differentiating their possibilities to influence in the political agenda. Policy making process has five stages: introduction, formulation, consideration, acceptance, and implementation. Laws, the bills, are mainly introduced and implemented by the Government, the Ministries with their public officers, and accepted or abandoned by the parliament in the plenary sessions. An individual political leader have diminishing legitimate abilities to affect to the policy process or to introduce a law that would be implemented: only one percent of the accepted laws after the wars[2] are introduced by an MP. (Wiberg 2006: 165.) Formally, a political leader is able to influence the policy

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[2] Presentment of constitutional power in Finland origins in 1917 when the Social Democrats Party prepared governmental organization models for soon independent country. The law draft emphasized political power of parliament influenced by Swiss constitution, affected by John Locke. (Maude 2010, 32–33.)

making process mainly by addressing a specialist that is heard in the committee as expert of a particular complex of issue (ibid. 166).

Hence, with endorsement of others, the political leaders are influential in the formulation and consideration of policies through their work in the committees: the committees have impact in the content of, for example, official statements and an intended law (Wiberg 2006: 165). The committees reconcile debates over political agenda in consensus, or with majority's opinion by votes (Eduskunnan kanslia: 45). Voting, however, is normally avoided partly because formal power of the votes is relational to the number of members that each political party have in the parliament (Wiberg 2006: 184). Therefore, it is vital to notice that political leaders, as Weber and later significant political philosophers have recognized,

> *"always co-dominate and co-rule, and are politically embedded in, dependent on, and share their power with their 'staffs', close collaborators and leadership competitors – the political elites"* (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 12).

Nevertheless, Palonen argues that with initiative and individual activity an individual MP may find "considerable elbowroom" to influence in the committees or to reset details in budgets, statements, or policies (2012: 191).

2.1.2. Democratic political leadership in Finland

Formal political democracy seeks equality and autonomy of the society, which is secured by counter-powers between the governing parties and the opposition parties, additionally, between the government and the citizens (Rosanvallon 2008: 2, 12; Bourdieu 2008: 195). Citizens' power to vote connotes power to decide (Wiberg 2006: 189). Political authority is distributed to politicians in accordance to number of members that each faction or party have managed to win in election, based on their *relational amount of votes*[3] (ibid. 82). Popularity of the parties, according to Blondel (2005), is dependent on their ability to recruit charming personalities with image that is found attractive by the public.

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[3] The polls apply d´Hondt's method. Finnish parliamentary election differs from proportional representation due to several electoral districts. Amount of all inhabitants within each district, including infants, affect to the number of the elected members. (Wiberg 2006: 82, 85.)

Convincing, trustworthy image and verbal skills, together with attractive appeal of political leaders have fundamental affect to voters' acceptance that the democratic leaders compete for. (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 9.)

Democracy reflects citizens' privilege to elect their leaders (Rosanvallon 2008: 2, 12). By voting, citizens accord mandates to the political leaders they trust or, contradictory, manifest against the election and governmental policies by issuing a veto: by forming third sector social groups or institutionalized organizations with economic and political forces (Rosanvallon 2008: 14–15; Wiberg 2006: 66). Similarly, Members of Parliament form coalitions and may use their power of veto to resist strategic decisions. The majority coalition of votes casted in plenary sessions have a formal veto power. Equally, the committees may put off governmental decisions or issue motions for shelving a matter (Wiberg 2006: 184). Political power facilitate collective decision making and implementation, and it takes many forms, such as power that enable decision makers to reach goals, power to persuade other actors, and power to control the environments (Ibid. 255). Steven Lukes implies political authority with two-dimensional power where the focus is on exercise of power that is seen as policy preferences and grievances (2005: 29).

Lukes' third dimension of power opens up discussion to the invisible: the unwritten laws and symbolic power—as referred by Bourdieu—that emerge and maintain dominant positions within peers. Formal authority between MPs' is mathematically evenly distributed. Amount of votes or popularity in elections is a meaningless measure of social authority inside the parliament. In spite of the horizontal authority, some actors gain privilege from informal, yet recognized vertical power hierarchies, one of them which is current or previous membership in the Finnish Government (Council of State). Other positions for inter-group domination are, for example, trusted positions in boards of governmental organizations such as Bank of Finland, KELA (the Social Insurance Institution of Finland) and YLE (the Finnish Broadcasting Company). (Pitkänen 1991: 35–36.) However, any social interaction is a game with alternative actions and regimes that can be found politically significant (Palonen 2012: 131). The question raised by Lukes "who decides what is decided" (2005: 111) can be reformulated as follows: what emerges leadership in a peer-group of leaders? Following the path of democracy, leaders

ought to have citizens' mandate for dominant positions. As a counter-power to prevailing political democracy, informal and institutionalized mistrust towards democratic system sets forth requirements for political leaders' performance: modern democracy demands political processes hidden from the public, regularities that go far beyond the elections. The quality of the electoral democracy is not a sufficient guarantee for the legitimated "common good" (Rosanvallon 2008: 3–4).

2.1.3. Leaders' performance

Above rules of law and the political, policy making is fundamentally a social process. The practice of political leadership is rather action than decision making. Practice stands for achieving objectives that the leaders find reachable and rational. Yet, rationality is in relation to individual interests and *common sense* that has subjective, and therefore variant nature (c.f. Chapter 2.5.). Contrasting with political decisions that are based on shared beliefs and attitudes, practice requires action and knowledge which are "based on debatable administrative values". (Thompson 2008: 5.)

Inspired by Friedrich Nietzsche's work, Michel Foucault (1984) suggests that relations between knowledge and power are central to social and governmental systems (Simons 1995, 2–3.) Bourdieu agrees with Foucault who argues that knowledge of political leaders is in constant dialect with the environment: the universal laws that society follows without questioning them (Simons 1995, 14; Bourdieu 2006: 7). As a political sociologist, Bourdieu (1988) finds all aspects of social life strongly connected to authority of the state: "to think politics without thinking politically" (Swartz 2013: 4, 6). Further, Nietzsche (1956) refers to common sense with his *relative truth* and suggests that in order to make decisions, the political elites are in urge to calculate their social relations (Wiberg 2006, 167; Simons 1995, 18–19). This is one of the reasons why politics is often referred as *a game* that victorious politicians manage to play with fast judgements and ability to weight potential consequences for their moves (Palonen 2012: 196–197).

Political environment is multiculturalized in many senses. Changes in political field caused by increased awareness, flow of information, and social media increase demands

for individual performance (Rosanvallon 2008: 67–68; Palonen 2012: 196–197). Compromises in negotiations and search for consent decisions become even more important. However, modern political environment also create opportunities for the political game–habits to *do politics* (Palonen 2012: 196–197). Given that political leaders work towards something that is mainly intangible, the question is: are political leaders able to evaluate their intra-group performance? Pollitt argues that the performance of political elite is seen in spoken and written texts:

> *"In many, many cases their chief tangible output is talk and text - words…they write documents and attend meetings. Not infrequently, their careers are heavily influenced by their ability to produce the 'right' words – the sweetly written memo, the diplomatic communique, the persuasive speech to the minister or the staff, the shrewdly drafted white paper, the subtle chairing of a difficult meeting."* (2003: 31)

However, political leaders are required to act in situations where reasons for choices are continuously insufficient and the results estimable only to a limited extent. Politics is characterized with struggle of power with opponents that are either actual, virtual, or unidentified resistance provoked by politicians' actions. (Palonen 2012: 130–131.) Successful politicians, according to Weber, manage to harmonise tensions between organized interests, the "influential *power circles*" and formalities of the party and the government (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 10). According to Lewis, influence can be defined as

> *"a demonstrated capacity to one or more of the following: shape ideas about policy, initiate policy proposals, substantially chance or veto others' proposals, or substantially affect the implementation of policy[…]Influential people are those who make a significant difference at one or more stages of the policy process."* (2009: 83)

Finkelstein define leaders' influence as "the capacity of individual actors to exert their will" (1992: 506). Hood argues that leadership is "the power to persuade and shape impressions" (Thompson 2008: 5). According to research among top managers, sources for leaders' power are relationships and powerful positions, recognized knowledge and expertise. Additionally, as similar to Weber's charm theory and Bourdieu's symbolic social power, "personal prestige" is composed of social status that is either a result of

privileged backgrounds or connections with powerful people. (Finkelstein 1992: 509–510, 512.) Modern political environment celebrates innovative and self-confident leaders. These capabilities, together with Weber's "strong commitment, cool head and balanced judgement" drive political leaders in popularity among public and their peers (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 9). "Oratory charisma" provide the leaders a central role among the political elite. Popularity and trust of masses necessitate capabilities to network and make social relationships between public administrators, peers, and especially with high position parliamentarians: Ministers and the party directorates. (Ibid. 20.) However, trust among the citizens is acquired by means differing from those that are effective inside the political elite circle.

What brings tension to friendly relationships inside the political field? According to Weber, it is that high status political leaders recent charm of their peers, which might lead to coalitions against one or some to "castrate" one from additional fame. On the other hand, professional politicians also benefit from the popularity of one when connected to same network of relationships (as is suggested by Bourdieu with social capital), hence, the popularity of one may be consumed and split on other actors within the network for their additional gain. (Ibid. 29.) Thus, a successful political leader will always find elbowroom, sufficient latitude for movements, even at the point where public judgements have already been made. In this sense, professional politician is an actor whose performance is regarded to her ability to read the game, develop alternatives, and make the right evaluations of social (political) reality. (Palonen 2012: 130–131; Thompson 2008: 5.)

2.2. Parliament as a field of power

"To think in terms of *field* is to think relationally" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96). Bourdieu's political sociology is grounded in Weber's political work that examines barriers for equal possibilities to influence in political decision making, though recognizes unequal distribution of resources and power in stratified social entities (Purhonen and Roos 2006: 164–165; Swartz 2013: 6). With similar goal, Bourdieu's concepts of *capitals*

and *fields* strive to renovate political practices and provide intellectual tools to understand principles of prevailing societal power hierarchies (Swartz 2013: 235, 6). The concept of field, like symbolic *capital* and *habitus*, is developed to describe the social dimensions of capitalist mechanisms—societies that function according to an economic logic but are eventually composed of social relations (Bourdieu 2005: 2). The Committee of Foreign Affairs is not a field for it is an institutional place for political debate, but because it represents a social arena for a political struggle over privileged status.

2.2.1. Definition: the field

> *"By field of power, I mean the relations of force that obtain between the social positions which guarantee their occupants a quantum of social force, or of capital such that they are able to enter into the struggles over the monopoly of power"* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 229–230).

"Social capital does not exist and function except in relation to a *field*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 101). The field in French *le champ* illustrates a field of struggle between different commonly naturalized truths, or knowledge that is based on recognized social power hierarchies in different, but simultaneously working areas of life. The word le champ refers to a battle field, for example a football field (Thomson 2012: 66). Bourdieu demonstrates his field theory with an example of housing and company policy as a field. A field is the marketplace where power is exchanged (Bourdieu 2005: 69; Swartz 2013: 57). Similarly, committees in Parliament of Finland are fields where political leaders, the MPs, debate on political decisions and compete over higher influential position in the power hierarchy. Power structure in each field is framed by their internal mechanisms and functions. The fields for Bourdieu are not functional units but stratified arenas for struggle over achievement and maintenance of dominant positions (Swartz 2013: 35, 58).

Following Bourdieu, the fields are multiple restricted entities that form the social reality. (Gross and Rorty 2008: 214.) Though, fields exist together with social structures that share similar niche or have existing or potential overlapping operational purpose. Yet, each field differ from others, for all fields of social life have distinguishing operating logics and social power structures. Firstly, strategies that the actor's use to reach their individual interest bound goals vary as dependant from other actors and the kind of power

(capital) that is monopolized in the particular application. Secondly, for the reason that the fields exist for varying purposes, such as education or public policy making, some fields have more social power than others. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97; Gross and Rorty 2008: 241.) For example, an academic field with its competition on knowledge and information employs different types of capitals, such as cultural and social. Through *monopolization*, some capitals turn goals that the actors strive to achieve.

Moreover, because of simultaneous working of different kinds of powers (capitals) and overlapping fields, those actors that are positioned in the top of one field hierarchy privilege or dissipate from their position in a larger societal context (Gross and Rorty 2008: 241). To put otherwise, each field values different resources that in social interaction accumulate capital that is defined by and that defines the resources relevant to the capital. The amount and quality of individual resources and capital may bring advantage or loss to one actor in relation to others (Bourdieu 1993: 73, quoted in Swartz 2013: 59–60). To conclude, the fields are contemporary and exchangeable. The actors change for the reason that their resources and habitus does not respond the value logic of the field, or the field logic may change for the reason that external environments push the changes. The field struggle is a never-ending system with no winners and it may constantly convert into another kind of struggle. (Thomson 2012: 78.)

2.2.2. Status emerges leadership

Status is a component of variables that include individual backgrounds with reference to culture and societal class hierarchies, as well as inherited economic and cultural capital (See Chapter 2.3.). Bourdieu states that

> *"Habitus is not necessarily adapted to its situation or necessarily coherent. It has degrees of integration – which correspond in particular to degrees of 'crystallization' of the status occupied."* (Bourdieu 2000: 160, quoted in Hardy and 2012: 141.)

Leadership emerges due to *symbolic power*—domination of actors—that naturalize recognized cultural values that govern a field. The values surface in habitus that is found prototypical for the *field* in question. The actors with suitable dispositions will be

promoted to privileged positions through legitimated status hierarchy. (Bourdieu 1977: 181.) Bourdieu uses word *status* as a synonym for symbolic cultural capital (Moore 2012: 99). Symbolic cultural capital stands for *recognized* authority that is grounded in qualities of knowledge, information, education, and class culture that a person occupies for dominate position within overlapping, simultaneously occurring but yet bounded fields. Cultural capital is developed to explain "academic performance of children with unequal cultural patrimonies and, more generally[…]cultural or economic practices" (Bourdieu 2005: 2). Yet, for Bourdieu the "dominant principle for hierarchy" is economic capital referring to wealth, income, and property. Cultural capital is the second principle for powerful positions in a societal hierarchy. (Bourdieu 2005: 2; Swartz 2013: 58.) Actors acquire and hold dominate positions in basis of their "strengths" or resources, the qualities that are collectively perceived as valuable (Bourdieu 2005: 58). Status, with reference to situation adapted and cognitively valued habitus, produce leadership via privileged position that is naturally given and found legitimate. Political leaders will maintain their dominant status in a society. Political elite is

> "the leadership[…]and the social formations from which leaders **typically** come, and to which accountability is maintained, during a given generation" [emphasis added]. (Putnam 1976: 5.)

According to Watts (1991), *status* is the position that one holds in a network of social relationships. Factors affecting to position are, among others, "education, wealth, age, sex or possession of specific mental or physical abilities". Status is related to the field and dependant on attitudes and values of the social group in question. To continue, status is linked to person's self-image and the perceptions that others reflect (c.f. Chapter 2.5.). (Locher: 2010, 30.) Actors' strategies for higher status are dependent on those of other actors' in the *field*, as the fields illustrate *relations* and the way *power is distributed* between the actors (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 101; Bourdieu 2005: 22). Individuals tend to network with homogenous actors by strengthening existing unequal distribution of power. *The field struggle* occurs over distribution of the capitals and those forms of power that operate through resources and maintain social hierarchies. (Swartz 2013: 35, 233; Bourdieu 2005: 39.)

2.2.3. Habitus and doxa

Habitus, that takes forms of bodily actions and represents the universal rules and values of different fields in individual dispositions, is the *most central instrument* in Bourdieu's sociology (Grenfell 2012: 166). Social norms and past experiences in various fields are restored in human minds, thereby producing individual understanding on how to behave, feel and think. These dispositions constitute habitus that originate in word *habit* (Moore 2012: 108). Habitus together with other personal capabilities and backgrounds define actors' position in the field structure (Bourdieu 2000: 138–139, quoted in Lukes 2005: 141). The fields are tightly connected to habitus through an inherited position in a wider societal context. Habitus appears as self-evident ways of living that, because of "historically constituted" *misrecognition* or "scholastic bias", are found natural habits for practice (Bourdieu 2005: 10). As an example, "one gets up every day to go to work without deliberating on the issue, as indeed one did yesterday and will do tomorrow" (ibid.). These practices equal to following formula:

> *"[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice"*
> (Bourdieu 1986: 101, quoted in Maton 2012: 50–51).

Bourdieu finds habitus a rhetorical tool to understand production and re-production of the symbolic power. This inherited and learned habitus, the "way of being", is attached to time and the *field* and defined by history, norms and culture, which are visible in language and common practices. (Blackledge 2005: 32; Purhonen and Roos 2006: 238.) Bourdieu relates practical sense to action like Foucault and Nietzsche understand common sense: practice is action that is affected by actors' knowledge, judgement, perceptions and previous experiences. These individual repertoires together with learned way of behaviour construct interpretations of different social realities, which constitute practices that are seen natural for certain fields. Fields of interaction, the operating environments, shape and are shaped by the actors' practices through symbolic systems that are visible in verbal and non-verbal language and attitudes below consciousness. (Purhonen and Roos 2006: 138–139; Lukes 2005: 141.) Rational and subconscious reality is a sum of

two different realities: "double truth, objective and subjective, which constitute the whole truth of the social world" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 255).

Habitus mediates positions in the power structure in relation to fields:

> *"The space of positions finds expression through the dispositions of habitus whereby agents apprehend the space of positions and their position within that space and the perceptions of other agents also engaged in that space".* (Bourdieu 2001: 118, quoted in Swartz 2013: 75.)

Bourdieu denotes that habitus surfaces in practice when actors estimate consequences for their actions in given situations. This calculation of happenings is a process of learned actions and resulted success or unsuccess ("that's not for the likes of us"). (Bourdieu 1977: 77.) As further interpretation, habitus can therefore be seen as affected by and affecting to self-conceptualization, action, and semi-conscious calculation on how the action will be recognized and judged by other actors in the field. For Bourdieu (1986) choices for action are rational strategies only to a low degree. They are partly but not entirely based on social calculation (Lewis 2009: 29). Habitus groups people with similar tastes, or similar interests. The political field, as other fields, is a structure of power positions. Academic field, for example, has a hierarchy where those actors possessing most valued intellectual capital will have the highest authority. This authority Bourdieu refers as domination which is:

> *"exerted not in the pure logic of knowing consciousness but through the schemes of perception, appreciation and action that are constitutive of habitus and which[…]set up a cognitive relationship that is profoundly obscure to itself."* (Bourdieu 2001: 37, quoted in Lukes 2005: 140)

However, in order to achieve the position in the field competition the actors are in urge to act strategically: the level of knowledge, skills, and professional achievements must be advertised, to use Bourdieu's words. The academics, for example, write books, articles on their successful researches and choose the "right" partners in order to gain the privileged position. (Gross and Rorty 2008: 244.) In politics, social capital and cultural capital in conjoint form the grounds for political achievements and substance that need to be recognized by other politicians, as will happen when one capital is acknowledged to

monopolize a field (See Chapter 2.4.3.). Strategies that politicians choose for their actions are dependent on their ability to calculate, judge and interpret the social reality, which is intermediated by political habitus. Practical sense, the habitus in political field or so called "feel for the game" is relational to the field: political stances, behaviour and language in its widest sense are rational to other players on the field (Swartz 2013: 106; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 223). Moreover, the field struggle of power in relation to habitus must be viewed with respect to underlying individual conceptualizations, differing interests and already existing stratification in class, gender, education and economic capital (Lewis 2009: 29; Fine 2010: 206; Gross and Rorty 2008: 247).

Furthermore, Bourdieu's habitus differs from other thinkers that have referred to similar learned ways to behave in certain arenas, such as Vygotsky's action directed developmental theory and Durkheim's theory on collective awareness. Bourdieu (1998) finds habitus as mostly unconscious psychological process that can, in addition to choice of strategies, be perceived in human body. Habitus is a socialized body that brings visible dispositions, accepted actions and values of the diverse fields. (Purhonen and Roos 2006: 238.) Social position in the field becomes flesh in action. Actors sense and perceive their position to a degree that it is visible in action, interests, expressions and behaviour, which are typical for all actors sharing similar social position and field (Gross and Rorty 2008: 243). Bourdieu finds body as the tangible form of habitus that carry individual interpretations of social reality (ibid. 247). These bodily dispositions can be inherited ways of living: how to dress, to educate oneself, to network, or to use non-verbal and verbal language. Additionally, these habits and values are internalized "senses of limits" (yet, not intentionally exercised) to the degree they become natural practices and attitudes shared within same social classes. Habitus is transformable from one field to another and it creates expectancies, also stereotypical perceptions, via "fundamental beliefs which does not even need to be asserted in the form of an explicit, self-conscious dogma". These fundamental beliefs Bourdieu (2000) calls *doxas*. Doxa means natural beliefs and assumptions that are taken for granted formulators behind ideologies, or preferably called *orthodoxies*. (Deer 2012: 114–115.)

Persuasion and advertising

Finally, as a strategy for domination, persuasion is tied to habitus, doxa, and fields. Conscious attempts to acquire dominate positions are not effective unless they are advertised. Actors advertise their capabilities through rhetoric with its resonances, common practices (practiques) and non-verbal language in order to gain individual or collective advantage. The message is interpreted by other actors, based on their previous experiences within similar fields and understanding on social reality. (Bourdieu 2005: 24; Purhonen and Roos 2006: 139–140.) Bourdieu's later work replace *persuasion* with *advertising* for the concepts of economy illustrate his intentions, as is familiar from the use of capitals as synonyms for authority (Bourdieu 2005: 12–13). Advertising must suit to audience's needs in order to affirm with arguments that the audience find credible through "charms of *nature*" (ibid. 56).

> *"Like all symbolic action, advertising is most successful when it plays on, stimulates or arouses pre-existing dispositions, which it expresses and provides with an opportunity for acknowledgement and fulfilment."* (Bourdieu 2005: 55.)

2.2.4. Informal parliamentary practices

Habitus, in its richest sense, has significant influence in the way power is accumulated and exchanged through capitals. Therefore, preconditions for habitus together with the social culture and norms, as the unwritten but yet consciously recognized rules of parliamentary work, have impact on political leaders' action when they struggle over status and influential positions in the field. (Swartz 2013: 90; Bourdieu 2005: 73.) Matti Oksanen (1972: 21) presented in his dissertation research[4] the informal practices that restrict or enhance political leaders' parliamentary work. His study applies John Wahlke's (1962) theory on roles and role relationships. Wahlke recognizes informal practices important for political leaders at least to same degree with the formal procedures (Oksanen 1972: 82). In Parliament of Finland political leaders' work is regulated by the norms that reach level of details, such as personal qualities, lifestyle and regularity and

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[4] Oksanen's (1972) research *Kansanedustajan rooli* is based on interviews of 193 out of altogether 200 Members of Parliament and the results are analysed quantitatively.

conscientiousness in participation to the parliamentary work. Informal rules that seek consensus, co-operation and efficiency are seen as the most compendious. To continue, a set of norms exists also for negotiation tactics and solving and preventing internal conflicts. Common rules define limits and appropriate means to seek personal benefits and to promote individual interests. Politeness and honesty are necessities, as well as social sensibility, referring to the political instinct and social empathy. (Ibid. 93.) There are also rules that regard certain positions or groups, such as first season Members of Parliament. Unexperienced members shall refrain from active or aggressive participation to decision making before they have adapted to the parliamentary procedures and practices, and respect experienced senior members whose opinions are required to carry more weight (ibid. 101–102). Chairmen of the committees are expected to promote equality and respect towards opinions of the majority and should brush aside stray opinions of the minority and, to add, bring differing opinions closer together in purpose of preventing conflicts (ibid. 118).

Social pressure

Bourdieu finds habitus as a social sensibility that, in a light of present awareness, individual past and assumptions for future, generates knowledge over ones position in relation to other actors. Because of understanding the distances between positions in the stratified social fields a dominant is able to, both consciously and unconsciously, restrict or manipulate action and position of the dominated. (Bourdieu 1977: 82.) Halpern suggest that group norms are preserved with sanctions that are formal and informal punishments or rewards that maintain the norms and the network structure (2005: 10). He, however, does not account the third power, habitus, unconscious processes, and relativity of judgement, as does Bourdieu. In Parliament of Finland the sanctions that Oksanen (1972: 105) recognized are informal punishments or peer-pressure with the purpose of enhancing effectiveness and co-operation. Sanctioning occurs mainly between individual political leaders and their parliamentary group. Most common sanctions regard restricting one's equal participation by limiting access to information, or expressing mistrust, ignorance, disgust or suspiciousness. Extreme sanctions are rudeness, exclusion, and public contempt (Oksanen 1972: 107). In order to gain influence, political elite must be aware

of the informal parliamentary practices relevant to their work, in addition to the formal procedures. Norm obeisance and utilization enable parliamentary performance and contribute to dominant positions. Successful politicizing necessitates apposite timing, suitable course of action, discretion and awareness on possible actions of the competitors and opponents. (Palonen 2012: 167.)

2.3. Capital theory by Bourdieu

2.3.1. Capitals as social force

Bourdieu's (1986) intention is to erode common images of, for example, political practices that reason the performance of political leaders solely by their individual capacities, such as charisma. Though, deniable is not Weber's observation on attractiveness of charming personalities (See Chapter 2.1.3.), hence, Bourdieu finds it only as one component of the third kind of power. He argues that political leaders' action is, additionally, influenced by historical social hierarchies—status, habitus, culture[5] sensitive values and practices—as forms of capitals (Swartz 2013: 47–48; Bourdieu 2005: 10). Political leaders' resources accumulate many forms of capital, not only that of social (Swartz 2013: 48). Bourdieu recognizes three fundamental capitals: economic (wealth and income), cultural (information and education), and social, out of which the most known is the cultural, referring to type of knowledge that a culture holds valuable. Sub-capitals that exist simultaneously with cultural and social capitals are, among others, political and symbolic, referring to authority and prestige. To add, his vast work introduces, among others, also statistic capital, scientific, and academic capital that work in relation to the three main capitals. (Fine 2010: 173; Swartz 2013: 34–35.)

Originating to Marx and birth of the economic capital, capital in its basic form is a return for investment that accrue to capitalists through invested resources. Marx finds capital an

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[5] Culture constitutes a set of shared beliefs, values, and ways of thinking within a group of people. There are not one universal group that would share the exactly same set of beliefs. (MacIntyre 2011: 169). Therefore, power relations and political practices vary from one national, institutional, or societal context to another (Pollitt 2003, 153).

abstract relation between people, as does Bourdieu (Swartz 2013: 2001: 4). Bourdieu, nevertheless, will capital to be seen as *a zero sum repertoire* of resources that produce, but not reduce, relations of multiple forms of power (Swartz 2013: 55). In other words, capitals are not intended to bring profit to their holders. Bourdieu, specifically, finds that different forms of capital are *power relations* between actors' beneficial resources that accumulate to individuals and groups in time, based on historical principles for distribution of power. Like Marx, Bourdieu (1986) argues that "capital is accumulated labor" and continues that the definition for resources, or as referred also the *qualities*, "is nothing other than labor time (in the widest sense)" (Swartz 2013: 52).

However, contradictory to Marx, Bourdieu does not put emphasis in societal class when positioning individuals in power hierarchies of fields. Instead, he argues that capitals are what called in this paper *the third kind of power* that enable achieving and maintaining influential positions in social structures (Swartz 2013: 55). Similar to actors that compete over social authority in fields, the capitals struggle to monopolize their position in different arenas of social life, whilst engendering dominant positions for the actors that possess most of the resources valued in that particular field (Swartz 2013: 35, 233). They represent those forms of power that dominate particular fields, whether cultural, social, or economic. Capitals in practice, are objectified, embodied, and realized in habitus:

> *"A scientist is a scientific field made flesh, an agent whose cognitive structures are homologous with the structure of the field and, as a consequence, constantly adjusted to the expectations inscribed in the field."* (Bourdieu 2007, quoted in Moore 2012: 108)

2.3.2. Conversion of capitals

> *"When one speaks of specific capital, this means to say that this capital is effective in relation to a particular field…and that is only convertible into another kind of capital on certain conditions."* (Bourdieu 1993: 73, quoted in Swartz 2013: 59)

According to Bourdieu (1986), the accumulation process of social capital is characterized as transparent and more unsecure compared to economic capital that is the main capital in economy, politics, and other societal contexts. Lately, the concept of social capital has

suffused academic and everyday discourse while economic capital has been dwindled down. Cultural and social capitals exchange and convert and strive to monopolize their position in a field. Social capital can turn into economic in certain conditions (Lewis 2009: 28). Vice versa, economic capital may convert into social, for example, when wealthy individuals gain networks of social relationships that are beneficial to them in conditions where these networks value wealth as a resource. Similarly, cultural capital can convert into social in a field where knowledge becomes a valued resource for social relationships of mutual acquaintance as the ultimate form of benefit.

Political capital

Political capital as a subtype of the social, is a competition to dominate a larger social entities. The competition in the political field is a struggle over capitals, resources, legitimate and social powers. (Swartz 2013: 36.) In other words, political capital means the battle over political power, whereas the political field is the structured arena for this conflict. Capitals and fields are tightly connected. Bourdieu differentiates the political field as the most sensible for powers of different kind. Social capital may, in certain conditions, transform into political, whereas cultural may convert into social (Lewis 2009: 27). Political and non-political forms of power convert mainly through social and symbolic capital (See Chapter 2.4.3.) (Swartz 2013: 50). Bourdieu (1996) argues that the battle of capitals is a competition of different forms of power, or capitals over capitals. Therefore, battle of political power is not only a competition over the most dominant capitals, whether they are cultural, social or economic. Rather, it is a struggle over most powerful force to legitimate certain forms of power—the influence over political agenda that becomes the legitimate bearing force through the society. (Ibid. 62.) Given that habitus is capitals made flesh and visible in body and symbols, political capital and field generate political habitus (See Chapter 2.2.3). Political habitus is sensitive to the logic of the political field where individual gain from the capitals, due to mandate of citizens, benefits and affirms trust among a larger entity of individuals (Swartz 2013: 106). Bourdieu finds all aspects of social life strongly connected to the authority of the governing system (Swartz 2013: 6).

2.3.3. Resources and social relationships

Emile Durkheim (1893) is often declared as one of the main thinkers of social relationships. Before Bourdieu, he discussed the importance of social relationships and found them the cornerstone of nations. Social relationships are "whole series of secondary groups near enough to the individuals to attract them strongly in their sphere of action and drag them[…]into the general torrent of social life". (Halpern 2005: 5.) Bourdieu's social capital refers to actors' real or spiritual qualities that are valued in formal or informal social entities based on mutual social ties. These qualities, the resources, accumulate capital, social force that is distributed to actors or groups within social ties of "mutual acquaintance". According to Oksanen (1972: 212–213), social relationships with mutual acquaintance in the parliament are found meaningful mainly inside the political parties, but also cross party boundaries. 70 of 189 MPs find personal ties important in general or in task-dependant situations. 24 MPs weighted social relationships meaningful in contextual issues. Personal relationships have also some importance in reconciliations or negotiations between the parties. Other situations where these ties are recognized to have political importance are, among others, occasions where one is issuing a bill (for endorsement), when one does not have preliminary information about an issue at hand, in the committee work, and in ideological conflicts. Oksanen does not study social capital but introduces those resources or qualities that have contributed to acquisition and maintenance of official social relationships in Finnish Parliament in 1972 (See Chapter 2.2.4.).

Origin of social capital can be traced to earlies ethnological work of Bourdieu. Social capital is meant

> *"to account for residual differences, linked, broadly speaking, to the resources which can be brought together per procurationem through networks of ´relations´of various sizes and differing density".* (Bourdieu 2005: 2.)

It demonstrates the models of domination, and is not to be confused with "social networks" as introduced by Mark Granovetter or with Herbert Simon's "limited rationality" (Bourdieu 2005: 2, 233). Social capital is:

"sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119).

To interpret this definition, Lewis (2009: 25) quotes the one of Schuller, Baron & Field (2000): social capital comprises "social networks, the reciprocities that arise from them, and the value of these for achieving mutual goals". Regarding individual resources that accumulate the capital, also Bourdieu's earlier definition of social capital pinpoints the importance of individual qualities as facilitators of those social relationships that gain influential power for the actors that are part of that particular network. Further, social capital is also:

"the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network[...]– or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word" (Bourdieu 1986: 248–249, quoted in Lewis 2009: 27).

Social capital is recognized to work in micro and macro levels. Micro stage refers to individuals where the effects of the capital are most visible. Bourdieu (1986) does not find capitals to increase efficiency or performance as such, but points that capitals provide individual benefit via more influential social positions on a particular field (Swartz 2013: 53). Portes (1998) argues that "the greatest theoretical promise of social capital lies at the individual level" (Halpern 2005: 18). Even though social capital does not directly contribute to better performance or co-operation, but dominating positions, a group will gain benefit if the members of the group are packed with resources for social capital. As a demonstration, a football player that makes more goals than average players will generate collective advantage to all team members. A resources of one accrue capital to the whole team for they together, due to the qualities of one, are more victorious than other teams in general and, therefore, as a group the team will dominate the stratified power structure of all football teams. Hence, the effect of the improved power position is collective, the resources of one do not bridge others to those resources: qualities that affect

to the player's scoring capabilities do not transfer to other players. Other team members only "credit" for the prior qualities that are accumulated capital.

Moreover, working of the macro level social capital Bourdieu enlightens with his work *The Social Structure of Economy* (2005) by house markets. Changing resources for social capital produce and reproduce existing power hierarchies and, therefore, reshape the structures of social inequality. The mechanism is homologous to the systems of economic field where change in one's property or wealth affects to her economic capital, and therefore positions her in the field either for her benefit or disadvantage (Bourdieu 1993, quoted in Moore 2012: 101). The field of housing is a structured space of *supply*, referring to "house-producing firms" and their employers in the marketplace. Another field, differentiated from the arena of supply but with similar function, is a structured arena of *demand*. This field covers entities of the buyers. Various sellers in the field offer products with different qualities and, correspondingly, the variety of consumers have different demands. Buyers find sellers that have suitable products for their taste through sellers' advertisements. This match is a result of shared purposes and values between the sellers and the buyers.

To continue, each cluster of buyers have different taste, but the sellers find customers with shares status and habitus—"the way of being". The supply meets the demand not for the reason of rational calculation though, conscious strategies such as advertising is needed to announce the seller's offerings, but due to "spontaneous" reaching towards attractive seller and customer. (Bourdieu 2005: 72–73.) Some buyers rent houses in a common belief with those agents that think it is more reasonable to rent a house than to buy one, or that practicality goes before quality. Similarly, the sellers offering high quality estates meet purchasers valuing luxury. This demonstration summarizes the concepts of diverse but simultaneously existing fields, habitus, resources, and accumulation of the capitals. It also gives a Bourdieu-like twist to the myth of the invisible had that, like a virtue of magic, brings homogenous individuals together or, in Bourdieu's words, leads a "leaderless orchestration". (Ibid. 73.)

Halpern (2005: 10) suggests that social capital has three components: networks, norms with shared values and expectancies, and sanctions that secure the norm obeisance. Social norms are partly formal but mainly unwritten rules that are typical for certain networks. Bourdieu argues that norms, referring to learned and established practices of different fields of life, preserve relationships of mutual acquaintance through habitus. He does not provide a theoretical list of components for social capital for the reason that it is a metaphor for accumulated resources, and power structures, and its characteristics change among its applications. Distinguishing from Halpern, his theory does not recognize sanctions as a dimension of capitals. On the contrary, accumulated capitals create and re-create existing power positions through habitus that restrict some actors from privileges of others'. Yet remarkably, this happens for the reason that one willingly refuses to access the privileges for the reason of "knowing one's place" and voluntarily accepting one's limits (Bourdieu 1977: 82; Bourdieu 1984: 471, quoted in Swartz 2013: 90) (See Chapter 2.3.4.).

Further on, to discuss with Halpern, similar to Bourdieu, White (2002) follows Foucauldian philosophy with the perception that "power relations are rooted in the system of social networks" (Fine 2010: 199). Social networks, as emphasized in Bourdieu's capital theory, are relevant to all capitals rather than only that of social. Networks of relationships and connections produce and reproduce ties that enable individuals to achieve higher or lower positions in power structures of different fields that are relational to resources that accrue the capitals (Lewis 2009: 28). Moreover, in a modern society, social capital (and cultural capital) has become a stake almost as remarkable good of exchange as money in capitalist society. In pre-capitalist societies "the good-faith economy" disguises the "economic logic of social exchange. Gift, honour and virtue are placed above profit[…](increasingly social capital) takes precedence as the medium for expression of field interests". (Grenfell 2012: 155.) For example, one sacrifices her time and energy in order to delight her friends with commodities that she would be able to exchange in money (Ibid.) Gaining and maintaining reciprocal social relations, social networks, is more important than monetary gain. This "economy of good faith", as the Kabyles who were subject to Bourdieu's research call it, is the logic that gave birth to the concept of social capital (Bourdieu 2005: 4). To sum, given that social capital is

monopolized in a particular field it means that importance of mutual social relationships are recognized above other forms of power (capitals), within that group of actors. Hence, resources for these relationships may vary according to what is held valuable. Bourdieu (2006) allows each capital to exist in various forms: in objective forms, such as written or spoken texts, or amount and intense of social bonds. To continue, capitals are visible also in embodied forms through habitus: dispositions and tendencies, body languages, gestures, tones, stances, and lifestyle. (Moore 2012: 102.) Likewise, economic capital takes forms of money, commodities, or amount of transactions, though it is nothing but an account of power that aggregates some kind of gain, or benefit, to its holders.

2.3.4. Distinction in social capital

The essence of capitals, habitus and fields is unequal distribution of power: the distinction between people based on their qualities or resources and ability to achieve or maintain privileged positions. Recent research accounts that social capital serve interests of actors in the network of reciprocal relationships, but may restrict individuals' success by creating boundaries of "unequal potential". (Lewis 2009: 26.) Actors benefiting from social capital gain for the reason that other actors are excluded (Fine 2010: 164). This perception is true but, for clarification, it is vital to note that Bourdieu does not find the exclusion as a rational process, or even conscious feel for violent exclusion. Rather, Bourdieu argues that *through habitus* and "sense of one's place", the limits of capitals and fields become actual boundaries that "leads one to exclude oneself from the goods, persons, place and so forth from which one is excluded" (Bourdieu 1984: 471, quoted in Swartz 2013: 90). *Sense of one's place* refer to power relations between people or institutions, which are positions between these actors in a network that is structured with "domination, subordination, homology, etc." (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97). As social capital stands for social relationships and networks as sources for dominate power positions, it alone does not have the distinctive nature.

Social capital simply describes a form of power, thus, it does not function *unless connected to a field and habitus* that are sensitive to status hierarchies, therefore creating boundaries around individuals and excluding some actors as unequals (See Chapter

2.2.3.). Bourdieu's social capital is a form of symbolic power: the energy that flows through actors of the fields together with other forms of power (See Chapter 2.4.1.) Habitus, in social capital, is the key to understand the negative effects of social capital. As discussed, habitus embodies historical power hierarchies, values, statuses and class differences. It is not simply re-created through conscious change in action, because then

> *"The task is to produce, if not a 'new person', then at least a 'new gaze', a sociological eye. And this cannot be done without a genuine conversion, a metanoia, a mental revolution, a transformation of one's whole vision of the social world."* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 251)

2.4. Essence of the symbolic third dimension of power

2.4.1. Symbolic power

Bourdieu does not make a difference between the concepts *power* and *authority* for the reason that domination for him is a naturally occurring dimension of social power throughout sociology (and economy that politics reflect) (Bourdieu 2005: 12–13). Symbolic power is a premise for political order in social life (Swartz 2013: 100). Bourdieu's (2001) symbolic power is that imperceivable form of power that:

> *"is exerted on bodies, directly and as if by magic, without any physical constrain, but this magic works only on the basis of the dispositions deposited, like springs, at the deepest level of the body…"* (Lukes 2005: 140).

His illustration on the third kind of power is metaphoric: it is unconscious and visible in bodies (Lukes 2005: 142). Bourdieu (2000) calls, what Lukes nominates the third dimension of power, as symbolic power. The body is tangible form of power that express and exert power relations (Lukes 2005: 143). The body reflects political structure, for it is the legitimized form of symbolic power that rule everyday life and is present in all interaction, attitudes, and everyday situations (Bourdieu 1990 in Swartz 2013: 93). Through *bodily habitus* the position in power structure is recognizable in symbols, actions, interests and behaviour (See Chapter 2.4.3.). Symbolic power formulates

perceptions of social reality from symbolic meanings and cognitive categories, such as stereotypes that affect judgement, through which individuals make sense out of the social environment. Symbolic power formulates identities and social relations by process of individual "cognitive schemes and bodily expressions". (Swartz 2013: 83.) Bourdieu's approach to power crystallizes in a citation from Russell (1938), the classical philosopher Bourdieu follows with his work, the deepest purpose of which is to illustrate equal and simultaneous existence of different kinds of forces that persist in social science like energy in physics:

> *"Like energy, power has many forms, such as wealth, armaments, civil authority, influence on opinion. No one of these can be regarded as subordinate to any other[…]power, like energy, must be regarded as continually passing from any one of its forms into any other."(Quoted in Swartz 2003: 55.)*

Traditional views on social power, such as the one of Bachrach and Baratz (1970) concentrate on kind of power that prove its existence in conflicts and actual change in behaviour of the person over whom power have been used. They argue that power relation exist:

> *"when (a) there is a conflict over values or course of action between A and B; (b) B complies with A's wishes; and (c) B does so because he is fearful that A will deprive him of a value or values which he regards more highly than those which would have been achieved by noncompliance.* (Locher 2010, 17.)

Distinguishing from this view, the existence of the third power is more unconscious and the conflicts are latent, invisible and gentle. Like for Lukes, for Bourdieu (1990) this form of power means silent compliance for domination. It does not ground compliance of subordinates with fear of sanctions. It stresses willing compliance, relativity and naturalized practices constituted by existing inherited hierarchies, just like capitals, and the unquestioned stratification of social structure that is perceived through embodied habitus and symbols, like language (Swartz 2013: 86). Bourdieu's focus in power finds significant similarity in Weber's theory of the three ideal types of authority, the one of which is *charismatic*. He suggests that charismatic and attractive personalities emerge leadership due to routinized and legitimized charismatic characteristics. Charisma is

"a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers ... [that] are regarded as of divine origin". (Weber 1968: 241–242, quoted in Oakes 2010: 9.)

Though, Bourdieu concentrates on "charismatic" domination that is found natural in reference to recognition of social hierarchies (Swartz 2013: 43, 80–81). Domination is a situation where, according to one definition, "the power of some affects the interests of others by restricting their capabilities" (Lukes 2005: 118). Bourdieu's non-systematic analysis on powers differs from detailed descriptions of different forms of power as offered by Lukes. However, their understandings on the third power are similar to a high degree. Luke's third dimension of power illustrates a mean to secure *consent* to domination of *willing* subjects. He explains "how do the powerful secure the compliance of those they dominate" (Lukes 2005: 109–110). Lukes considers Foucault's (1978) and Scott's (1990) understanding on willing subordination which, on their part, support Bourdieu's concept of *symbolic violence* (See Chapter 2.4.2.). Foucault states:

"He who is subject to field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he inscribes in himself the power relations in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection." (Foucault 1978[1975]: 202–203, quoted in Lukes 2005: 99.)

For Scott:

"a dominant ideology works its magic by persuading subordinate groups to believe actively in the values that explain and justify their own subordination…" (Scott 1990: 72, quoted in Lukes 2005: 126.)

Following Scott, among many others[6], Lukes defends his view with arguments of "hidden transcripts": individuals in lower positions of power hierarchy are willing partners for continuing power distance to the high positioned actors because of, firstly, internalized culture. Actors are familiar and satisfied with their sub-culture's values and rituals. Secondly, subordinates are *blinded from their subordination*, which they defend by *false*

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[6] Lukes defends the third dimension of power with work of Scott (1990), Nietzche (1956), Elster (1983), Sen (1984), Mill (1989), and Bourdieu (2001). His theory is based on vast amount of thinkers, such as Foucault, Weber, Shapiro, Gramschi, and Lukacs. (Lukes 2005: 110–151)

superiority by e.g. gossiping or making jokes of the dominants. (Lukes 2005: 124–125.) The concept of the third dimension of power covers Bourdieu's capitals, the field, symbolic power and symbolic violence—misrecognition. It also counts doxa, symbolic capital and habitus, and connects them to socially construed and constructing identities, as intended by Bourdieu and Lukes (See Chapter 2.5.). In its core, this power becomes visible in power relations that are personified in interaction and, even stronger, in identities, self-concepts, attitudes, and feelings. It regards either true or imagined control over political agenda setting, non-decision making, and complies with subjective interests of individuals (Swartz 2013: 43; Lukes 2005: 29).

2.4.2. Misrecognition

The invisible, according to Bourdieu, finds domination of certain actors natural through legitimated domination of the privileged. This occurs due to working of the symbolic power and shared *values* of the field. Domination of certain individuals or groups is a mechanism that does not require the dominated to put effort in securing their domination (Bourdieu 1977: 190).

Bourdieu's (1991: 163, 2000: 166) misrecognition refers to *symbolic violence*, which mean the naturalization of domination and subordination: the process where symbolic power is misrecognized, unequal power relations taken for granted (quoted in Swartz 2013: 82, 85). It results in willing and mainly unconscious acceptance of existing dominant–subordinate relationship and hierarchical power relations (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 167–168; Bourdieu 1977: 190; Swartz 2013: 83; Lukes 2005: 141). For Bourdieu (1990, 2000) symbolic violence is a dimension of symbolic power that, via misrecognition, is a component of the symbolic third kind of power. *Violence* is not result of being object to any visible or coercive kind of force. Instead, symbolic violence regards the effects of symbolic power that makes the subordinates reach on their subordinate positions, and privileged to foster their privilege (cf. Chapter 2.4.1.). Misrecognition is a mechanism that necessitate, *through symbolic capital*, acknowledgement and recognition of the stratification or social order that is commonly held truthful (Swartz 2013: 84–85). Individuals are likely to stay in the inherited positions (habitus, status, culture) for they

unconsciously choose to. "The relation to what is possible is a relation to power". (Bourdieu 1990: 4, 64, 65, quoted in Swartz 2013: 90–91.) This process of misrecognition Lukes refers with recognitional domination (Swartz 2013: 80; Lukes 2005:120–121). Bourdieu defines symbolic violence as

> *"a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible event to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling."* (Bourdieu 2001: 1–2, quoted in Swartz 2013: 83–84.)

To continue:

> *"symbolic violence accomplishes itself through an act of cognition and misrecognition that lies beyond—or beneath—the controls of consciousness and will"* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 171–72).

Misrecognition is efficient due to its invisibility to actors in a level of unconscious. It is reachable to individuals mainly in feelings. For example, feeling of love is grounded in physically structured social world that is informed by deeply rooted representations of domination, such as values, traditions and internalized ways of social interaction (Bourdieu 2001: 38, 39, quoted in Swartz 2013: 95). Symbolic violence, like capitals, is tightly connected to habitus. Unconsciousness is reflected in human dispositions and action through habitus (Bourdieu 1990: 69–70, quoted in Swartz 2013: 93). Habitus, and therefore social power relations, become visible in symbols, more importantly of which, in language:

> *"the relations of communication par excellence—linguistic exchanges—are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized."* (Bourdieu 1991, quoted in Swartz 2013: 91.)

Language, for Bourdieu, refers to written and spoken texts that are instruments of communication. Therefore, communication is a visible form of underlying power relations. For example, unequal power relation between genders is mainly visible in language and attitudes that surface in individual identities, attitudes, strategies, and action. As an example, Eveliina Talvitie (2013) presents evidence of prevailing domination of male political leaders in her work *Keitäs tyttö kahvia: naisia politiikan*

portailla (Make some coffee, girl: women in politics). She has studied political leaders'[7] power and status distance between genders as a phenomena that restrict female participation to male networks and sets additional requirements for women's performance. The power distance between genders can be perceived in values that characterize the political culture, and in expectations towards female politicians. (Talvitie: 2013.)

Misrecognition, according to Lukes[8], means also acknowledged self-conceptualizations of individuals who find themselves as fixed in roles, statuses and expectations from which they cannot escape. Correspondingly, people also conceptualize others and those in positions to legitimize or monopolize certain categories because *the identifiers* are in a position to dominate those they identify. These "identifiers" legitimize certain constructs of reality and create commonly recognized expectations, stereotypes and norms, breakage of which would lead to social sanctions (Lukes 2005: 118–119). As an example, the identifiers in some cultures necessitate women to cover their faces with clothes. Dressing against this common expectation will lead to social punishments, or even legal sanctions. This what Lukes calls as recognitional domination finds similarities with the logic of Bourdieu, though identification process is not as rational as the one presented by Lukes. This perception approaches Halpern's view on social capital (See Chapter 2.3.3.). Notably though, for Bourdieu sanctions would be unintentional and *connected to field and habitus* rather than capitals.

2.4.3. Symbolic capital

Given that domination and willing compliance of subordinates is continuous in a society because of misrecognition, the power structure of the field must be naturalized. In a societal level those values and realities that are held truthful (more easily by the dominants) are naturalized e.g. legitimized as objective truths, ways of common thinking

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[7] The book is based on interviews of influential femail politicians, such as Mrs President of Finland (2000–2012) Tarja Halonen and Minister of Defence (1990–1995) Elisabeth Rehn

[8] Lukes base his discussion on recognitional domination to Taylor (1992) who argue that that there is no such thing as objective reality but the one recognized and monopolized by "the identifiers", those in a dominant positions for legitimizing certain subjective truths. (Lukes 2005: 119.)

that is not questioned neither by the dominants nor by the subordinates. As argued, the process of misrecognition and symbolic violence is for the most part unconscious and intangible. Then, how does the hierarchical order legitimize? Through symbolic capital. Whereas symbolic violence refers to misrecognition, symbolic capital regards *recognition*. In other words, naturalization is a process of *legitimation* of the existing power hierarchy. Legitimation does not mean "purposive action of propaganda or symbolic disposition". (Bourdieu 1989: 21, quoted in Lukes 2005: 141.) It brings forth underlying domination, the invisible reality into level of conscious through norms, values, beliefs, and confidence towards the dominants (Swartz 2013: 84). Legitimation, or naturalization necessitates conscious recognition of authority which becomes visible in bodily habitus, meaning the expressions of the structure of domination that is commonly accepted as natural (Swartz 2013: 101). In individual or group level this process is touchable, for example, in Talvitie's case of unequal possibilities and attitudes between genders of political leaders (See Chapter 2.4.2.). In fact, the essence of the case is that attitudes and expectations towards individuals differ between genders and in spite the structure of inequality is recognized—though cloaked in diplomatic language about equal possibilities—maintain the *status quo*. Citing Sandra Bartky (1990: 80, quoted in Lukes 2005: 99) to give an example of willing subordination and naturalization:

> *"women who practice this discipline on and against their own bodies…The woman who checks her make-up half a dozen times a day to see if her foundation has caked or her mascara has run, who looks frequently to see if her stockings have bagged at the ankle, or who, feeling fat, monitors everything she eats, has become[…]a self-policing subject, a self committed to a relentless self-surveillance".*

Lukes concludes that even the third kind of power, though flows mainly in the level of unconscious to those who exercise and are subject to it, face resistance. Lukes states that "willing" and "unwilling" compliance can co-exists: "one can *consent* to power and *resent* the mode of its exercise" (Lukes 2005: 150). Bourdieu finds resistance for power negligible compared to Lukes. For him, actors adapt in their positions without disputing the justification of the prevailing stratification system because of distortion of individual and collective identities (See Chapter 2.5.2.) in a process of misrecognition (Swartz 2013: 84–85).

Further, symbolic capital is a meta-capital (Bourdieu 2000 in Swartz 2013: 112). It is not like other Bourdieu's capitals, such as social capital that accumulates social relationships. It is symbolic and abstract but becomes visible in social interaction for it is tightly connected to the embodied habitus and status, and monopolized capitals of the fields (Grenfell 2012: 100; Swartz 2013: 112). Symbolic capital, in its essence, is accumulated authority that is publicly recognized. Legitimate form of invisible power is, for example in academic field, trust towards those held as professionals or opinion leaders. Professionals have commonly recognized way to prove their professionalism through advertised knowledge, ways of communication, and commonly known symbols that represent their professional status, such as institutionalized title *doctor*. Symbolic capital, in this case, is "nothing more than[…]cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized" (Bourdieu 1990, quoted in Swartz 2013: 102). When symbolic capital is understood as recognized authority that is proportionally relational to the individual capitals that it attaches in, and well-advertised through embodied habitus, symbolic capital provide access to examination of intra-group actions and individual performance evaluation (Moore 2012: 100).

2.5. Relational realities

Bourdieu comprehends relationality as networks of relations composed of conceptualized *capitals*, individuals or groups that unconsciously influence in and are influenced by human action (Swartz 2013: 58). Via legitimation of relational and subjective truths "the state makes a decisive contribution towards the production and reproduction of the instruments of construction of social reality" (Bourdieu 2000:175, quoted in Blackledge 33–24).

2.5.1. Self and consciousness

Lukes argue for not dispensing the third kind of power with concepts of "real interests" and "false consciousness" that Marx suggests as instruments to find the preconditions for humane behaviour. Without further scrutiny these concepts seem to refer to Bourdieu's

logic of misrecognition (Lukes 2005: 109) and interests. However, Bourdieu has established his position in Luke's theory as he contests his understanding on the third power with the theories on habitus and field (Lukes 2005: 141–143). It is, in fact, habitus, field and wide coverage of symbolic violence, or misrecognition, and symbolic capital that differentiates Bourdieu's way to see interests and misrecognition from Marxist understanding on real interests and consciousness. Similar to Lukes, Bourdieu will not use the term false consciousness for it has a misleading connotation that necessitates the existence of one common truth (Swartz 2013: 120; Lukes 2005: 117). Lukes and Bourdieu both take a constructionist view by their theses on socially construed and individually interpreted reality in the expense of essentialism and rational choice (Bourdieu 1999: 336, quoted in Swartz 2013: 82; Lukes 2005: 144–145, 115). Individual identities affect interpretation and construction of social realities. Identities are formed by inside-out directed self-images that originate in individual self-concept and, additionally, those outside-in oriented images that are constructed in relation to the environment and partly affected by mirrored judgement of others' (Lukes 2005: 119). American political thinker Du Bois demonstrated this "double consciousness" as:

> *"sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks n in amused contempt and pity"* (quoted in Lukes 2005: 120).

According to Bourdieu (1999: 336) different symbols produce reality (Swartz 2013: 82). This regards to cognitive function with distortion of identities, as is his intent with misrecognition and symbolic violence theory. Bourdieu finds social reality packed with subjective truths and individual interpretations of symbols. The construction of the environment is a process where:

> *"One progressively constructs social spaces which , though they reveal themselves only in the form of highly abstract, objective relations, and although one can neither tough them nor 'point to them', are what makes the whole reality of the social world"* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 230–231)

Symbols, such as language, that are bases for interpretations of realities can have several meanings. "Correspondence between social structures and mental structures, the objective structures and cognitive structures" of the world is relational as common sense

is subjective (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 247). As an example, word *professional* is relational and depends on the field culture where the speaker uses the term. Further, it is relational on the position of the speaker and the one making the judgement of whatever professionalism represents. Bourdieu argues that falling into the pit of methodology and curtaining behind definitions as global common truths is what is called in French "c´est la science des ãnes" (very bad science). (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 244–245.) Professional for one may present no more than amateur for another, yet, the power relationship of domination of *professional* in relation to *amateur* is more obvious if the words as symbols and schemas, the meanings, are familiar.

Hence, Bourdieu (1997: 94–95; 1990: 71, 78) argues for role of power as a constructor of social and, therefore, political realities. Individual interpretations are informed by mental schemas and categories that minds construct based on habitus and its culture related symbols. Furthermore, image formulation and action is affected by subjective logics that draws from cognitive structures affected by different power relations and political structures (quoted in Swartz 2013: 93). Neil Gross suggest that, according to socio-psychological theory, self-conceptualizations influence in action in many ways. Firstly, they orient actors towards goals for action, and secondly, engage individuals to (more unconscious) missions, target of which are to produce self-narratives of their behaviour to maintain intact identities in changing situations. Thirdly, through cognitive schemas the self-conceptualizations affect in way of thinking and engaging in action. Bourdieu's theories expect that self-images construe around political leaders' status structures and concentrate on their positions in power hierarchies. (Gross and Rorty 2008: 14.)

Pitkänen (1991) approached Finnish parliamentarians' conceptualizations on power by categorizing different types of personalities via interviews. For the reason that realities are subjective constructs, the results are representations of dominant identities of the political leaders at the time the research was conducted. These personality types were studied in relation to norms, discovered by Oksanen (1972). Pitkänen's quantitatively measured analysis[9] found characteristics that are significant for political leaders. The

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[9] Pitkänen studied 43 individual Members of Parliament mainly elected in year 1983. The research was conducted in 1984 and the data is based on politicians' background variables and interviews (1991: 163).

most valued qualities are experience in parliamentary work, formal positions in the parliament, ability to reconcile different opinions, negotiation skills, genuineness and authenticity, verbal skills ("ability to talk well and efficiently"), and networks outside the parliament (Pitkänen 1991: 154). Furthermore, he stressed self-confidence, co-operation skills, innovativeness, flexibility, empathy, and social sensitivity together with initiative as resources for political influence.

2.5.2. Identities

As stated before, where Bourdie talks about misrecognition, Lukes discusses about recognitional domination, according to which identities, the self-concepts and collective images that individuals or groups differentiate themselves from others, need to be recognized. (Lukes 2005: 119–120). He asks whose recognition is that "common truth" that individual constructs of the reality are compared to and judged against (ibid. 121). In other words, whose reality is real? Bourdieu's stance in relational thinking states that there exists a reality that can be commonly held truth only within a field, and it is based on "invariant laws of the field" (1992: 233–234). Remarkable is that for Bourdieu (1993:82) the universal laws of the field form the basis for twined collective group conceptualization and individual self-conceptualizations. These identities are distorted in the misrecognition process where the field structure occurs natural and its laws are collectively held truthful (quoted in Grenfell 158–159). Symbolic violence necessitates considering cultural dimensions that presents evaluative standards that measure identity formulation and power positions, due to their influence in subjective perceptions of realities. Bourdieu (2001: 2) suggests that symbols of these dimensions can take forms of gender, religion, sexual orientation, race, or any recognized character or cultural action (quoted in Swartz 2013: 99).

Bourdieu weights *generalization* of such identities, or evaluations, decisions and judgements that one constructs of others or abstract matters (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 235): identities define social categories in minds of individuals by defining accounts of social inclusion or exclusion (Swartz 2013: 98). Supported with social

identity theories[10], generalizations are affected by individual identities. Self-images and situational factors both have consequences to categorization. One seeks to notice similarities and dissimilarities of others compared to one's own self-image, and favour homologous personalities (c.f. *habitus*). Individuals tend to categorize others either in in-groups (like self) or out-groups (the others) based on the characteristics that one's own individual identity is attached in. If a leader is identified with her formal position, status, or title, she is prone to evaluate others based on these criteria (e.g. "we professionals" and "them amateurs"). With similar logic, identity may also attach in those that are shared within particular group. This leads to perceptions that are generalizations of certain groups that one identifies with. For example, in case the one attached to professional status is male, he tends to see potential professionalism in other males as well (e.g. "we professional male" and "those amateur women"). (Goodwin, Knippenberg & Hogg 2004: 140.)

The influence that identities have to judgement and personal interpretations is caused by several factors but, "interpersonal dominance seems to play a logical role in the magnitude of power's deleterious judgment effects" (ibid.). In case power distance between the dominants and the dominated is wide, power have more negative effects to individual generalizations. With same importance, narrow power distance result in less negative social evaluations (Goodwin et al. 2004: 150). When official responsibility over group's output is evenly distributed or power distances in the hierarchical structure of the field is short, actors' judgements of others are biased to lower degree, compared to situation where the dominates have more responsibility or social power between the dominants and the dominated is distributed unevenly.

Realities are relational and affected by domination of collective values. Therefore, domination, recognition and misrecognition must be explained with theory on human nature. (Lukes 2005: 119.) Social reality is interpreted through generalizations and stereotypes (categories), but Bourdieu understands the consequences to occur in more unconscious level than what suggested by Lukes, and relational to habitus, capitals and

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[10] E.g. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986), Self-Categorization Theory (Turner 1987).

power relations within the field (Swartz 2013: 99–100). Though Bourdieu's main concentration is in forms of invisible power that are mainly unconscious, habitus and symbolic capital connects them into conscious strategies and calculated action, misrecognition, and legitimation (See Chapter 2.4.).

2.5.3. Interests

Marxists claim that political leaders' interests can be divided into self-interests and class interests. Additionally, ideological commitments are seen to govern self-interests. In Europe, ideology of political parties have been studied to have influence that cloaks the differing individual beliefs (Putnam 1976: 103). Bourdieu does not put that weight on interests and neither categorizes them as self-interests for they may attach to, for example, maintenance of coherent networks. Action is always passioned by an interest, though fundamentally shared interests based on universal values.

Bourdieu's sociology grounds in perception of arbitrary nature of universal social order (Swartz 2013: 99). Reality and common sense is an *illusion*. The construct of what is real is composed of different interests, according to which people tacitly or unconsciously act (Grenfell 2012: 158–159). Bourdieu also parallels the terms *libido* and *investment* with interests. Libido refers to passion to participate in operations of the field and investment regards engagement in the field (Purhonen and Roos 2006: 143). Bourdieu (2000) argues that all action is fundamentally based on different interests that develop during life, beginning on an "investment in the domestic space" (Grenfell 2012: 163–164). Interests are antitheses of disinterests which fundamentally do not exist for an act of disinterest is always led by an interest (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 116). Bourdieu (1988: 37) states that interests are doxic, based on unquestioned values, dependant on the field structure and revealed through habitus while strongly affected by it. "Habitus is a type of machine to pose values without having the need to pose the question of the value of what is posed as value" (quoted in Grenfell 2012: 164). Individuals are in urge to place themselves in a map of social spaces and power relations through recognition. This is a process of both unconscious and conscious and consist of self-identification through projection, compromise and sublimation (Bourdieu 2000: 166, quoted in Grenfell 2012: 163).

Therefore, conscious objectives are not simply what individuals recognize as real goals, but affected by this self-identification process. Bourdieu leads to expect that humanity is about values that are composed of preferences (or *tastes* as he would choose to say). The preferences are "determined by interest in possible outcome" (Grenfell 2012: 163–164). Interests, for Bourdieu, are passion for the "game" that he refers with the common rules and values of the field. Attempts to change rules of the game necessitate engagement and understanding its rules, even more than interest towards "playing the game". (Purhonen and Roos 2006: 143.) The players of the game choose game strategies only semi-consciously, for they rarely are aware of all factors affecting to certain personal decisions or acts they make (Grenfell 2012: 154). Therefore, the newcomers, even though they are eager to change the rules or change power relations of the field, they must adapt to the rules and accept the relation between their (high) efforts and (low) gain (Purhonen and Roos 2006: 143).

Moreover, individual action is not only driven by self-interest. Individuals balance between self-interests and shared interests by evaluating and choosing conscious strategies for action in respect to possible outcomes. The way *collective identities* attach actors to their social spaces of fields, shared interests express preferring social collectivism. Essential for Bourdieu, individual interests adjust to the *collective interest* in order to balance conflicts. A group performance is contrasted to intangible group interest rather than to concrete task. Due to appreciation of collective interests the state aim in serving "the public good (Sociétés d'honneurs)". (Grenfell 2012: 165.) Bourdieu (1988: 44) argues that political leaders, for the reason of justifying their status, must subordinate their self-interest for shared interests to gain "privilege in disinterest". Political leaders and public administrators serve the government—the public good—but due to nature of the political field the real interest is in harnessing the state at their service (quoted in Grenfell 2012: 165). Political leaders forming a group with a common goal of political decision making have not their priority interest in a best possible conclusion. Rather, their primary interest is in social networking and gaining from social capital in order to advantage from social relationships that are needed for endorsement of one's opinion, and for reaching power position which opens up possibilities to influence on

political agenda. Implied by the social capital theory, the ommon good of the political decision is the secondary interest.

As a conclusion, Bourdieu's theory on social capital, connected to fields and habitus, provide practical instruments for investigating socially construed identities' role in collective reality construction and individual interpretations of the group's reality. Bourdieu's *universal laws of the field*, referring to shared values and common truths, defend shared interests of certain classes or groups (Grenfell 2012: 165). The main argument is that people are not utilitarian by nature, but their action is driven by preferences and interests that are commonly found natural, though might appear selfish to actors not sharing the same culture. Social capital is argued to bring collective gain to actors within these social ties. The gain, according to Bourdieu, is privileged social position in the group and benefit from social relationships with mutual acquaintance. Given that the political game is ultimately ruled by social regularities of *good faith economy* (See Chapter 2.3.3.) that require individuals to form generalizations of pre-dispositions in order to interpret realities (Bourdieu 2006: 7, 12), the ultimate question remains: how do individual dominate positions, through social capital, affect in political leaders' performance?

2.6. Summary: framework for social capital and invisible power

With capitals Bourdieu's intent is to offer instruments for recognizing the types of power that construct and reconstruct social reality in levels of conscious and unconscious (Swartz 2013: 233). Different capitals are context sensitive and their characteristics change depending on the application (Fine 2010: 39, 86). Parliamentary work, according to neo-Weberian view, contests political leaders' oratory capacities to convince others and their sensibility for what is social in the political, the political instincts. Bourdieu describes this *feel for the game* with suitable *habitus* for the political *field*. Debates in the parliamentary committees reveal individual rationalities, judgement, as well as responsibility and political devotion. (See Chapter 2.1.) Political leaders' parliamentary work is regulated by norms that reach level of details, such as personal qualities and

lifestyle. Informal rules that seek consensus, co-operation and efficiency are the most important. (See Chapter 2.2.4.)

Habitus and field offer a mechanism where individual and collective interests are attached to socially construed and socially constructing realities in relation to identities and invariant laws of the fields. The fields are networks of actors, stratified arenas for struggle over achievement and maintenance of dominant positions. Inherited and learned habitus, the way of being, is attached to the field and defined by historical arbitraries, norms and culture, which are visible in language and naturalized practices (See Chapter 2.2.). In a context of political leadership, informal parliamentary practices are relevant when scrutinizing socially working forms of power through Lukes' third dimension of power and Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic power and social capital that enlighten the factors that engender influential positions of political leaders. Embodied form of power, habitus, is tightly relational to all forms of capital because it, like by magic of an invisible hand, makes actors to network with homogenous actors by strengthening existing unequal distribution of power. The invisible—symbolic power and the distinctive nature of habitus is in a core of Bourdieu's theory and tightly attached to fields and capitals.

To define social capital and detail the framework, Bourdieu highlights social power that social capital produce and reproduce. As presented in chapter 2.3. social capital is a sum of qualities that accrue capital through networks of "more or less institutionalized *relationships* of mutual *acquaintance and recognition"* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). Social capital refers to those resources that generate value, via social relationships, to the actors operating in the particular field. Controversially, many interpretations of social capital see it as an instrument that provide access to resources of other actors through social networks. Social capital does not directly bridge people to the resources of others', but accrue benefit to actors within the social ties. Moreover, restrictions and inequality is left aside in many studies that attempt to link social capital in better governing and public policy making (Lewis 2009: 33, 49). Bourdieu, anyhow, intents social capital, firstly, to represent power relations between actors in hierarchical structures of positions in different fields, which are legitimated as natural stratification due to symbolic violence and misrecognition (See Chapter 2.4.2). Different capitals are

not to be understood as mechanisms that simply gain collective benefit nor as bridges to other actor's resources. Instead, capitals illustrate those individual resources that are valued in particular field to the degree that they privilege the actors occupying these resources.

Secondly, Bourdieu finds capitals as "energy of social physics" that takes multiple forms (powers and resources) and no form is above another. All forms of power and capitals are theoretically equal and, to highlight, work simultaneously and not independently from each other (Swartz 2013: 54). In other words, amount and quality of social capital is both the sum of individual resources that accrue that capital and representation of those legitimized principles—such as societal class and status—that monopolize capital (power) as dominant. This monopolization of certain capitals happens through field struggles. Possession of valued resources produces and reproduces individual positions through status and intuition, the habitus, and forms of the invisible power that work on the field (capitals). Given that social capital benefits actors within the reciprocal network of the field, through arbitrary nature of habitus and symbolic violence, actors positioned in the bottom of this social power structure are restricted, even excluded, from the benefits gained by the privileged. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, fields and social capital explain social rationalities in politics but does not, as such, emphasize rational choice in networking or actual exercise of power (See Chapter 2.3.).

Furthermore, Lukes (2005) third dimension of power refers to Bourdieu's symbolic power and is composed of those forces that explain willing subordination to dominance and find social hierarchies and exclusion as natural. These powers surface in habitus—actions, language, social regularities—as well as in identities or self-conceptualization and sensibility for one's position in relation to others in the field. The essence of symbolic and the third power is dominance that does not need to be secured due to naturalized "invariant laws of the field". The dominant actors are barely aware of their privilege and similarly, the subordinates find natural to exclude themselves through virtue of misrecognition, habitus, and *symbolic capital*. (See Chapter 2.4.) As a conclusion, Bourdieu and Lukes find that individual conceptualizations are based on subjective interpretations of reality (see Lukes 2005: 121; Bourdieu 1977: 82.). For this reason also

interests are subjective and, for Bourdieu, tightly connected to identities and habitus that group people with similar interests. Common rules of the field define limits and appropriate means to seek personal benefits and to promote individual interests. (See Chapter 2.5.) The interdependence of social capital, its sub-capitals (political and symbolic), and the invisible power are shown in the table.

Table 1. Framework for power and social capital in political analysis (based on Bourdieu 2005; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Swartz 2013: 56–121; Lukes: 118–151).

	Levels of social capital and invisible power	Forms	Effects, visibility
INTERACTION BETWEEN LEVELS AND FORMS	Conceived best at the individual level	Interests, interpretations, subjective and structural identity, social sensibility, influence, valued resources	Product and re-product position in a power structure, individual domination, exclusion of subordinate actors, habitus
	Resources accrue and consume capital (non-profit and relational)	Actual or virtual qualities, unconscious and conscious, background (status) and acquired capabilities (knowledge, benefit from networks)	Symbols: language and rhetoric, habitus (habit), formal superiority (titles), advertising, field struggle over valued capitals (shared values), individual gain
	Relationships with acquaintance	Informal and formal networks, social ties, homogenous qualities, hierarchy, stratification, shared interests	Collective domination, exclude subordinate groups, informal practices (norms, habitus), reciprocity, shared preferences
	Exist together with other capitals in time, place and interdependent yet overlapping fields	Fields of struggle, action (structure, process), monopolization	Conversion of capitals, change social hierarchies, balancing political tensions
	Symbolic capital (invisible, misrecognition)	Power, symbolic violence, misrecognition, field struggle, habitus, interests, production and reproduction of social order, symbolic social capital	Status, individual and collective identity, judgement, "common sense" (*practique*), *doxa* of social order, naturalization and legitimation, habitus
	Political field	Political habitus "feel for the game", political capital, struggle over political and social forms of power	Dominant positions of elites, influence, social capital, common good, persuasion, negotiation, reputation, consent, influence

3. METHODOLOGY

This research aims to define and study Bourdieu's social capital in political context by bringing forth the third dimension of power in social capital. The study applies instrumental qualitative case research method. Secondary data is composed of vast amount of literature examination, case observations and informal interviews. Primary research data is acquired via semi-structured interviews and discussions, interpretations of which provide findings that reveal the nature and effects of individual social capital in the parliamentary field. The case study finds, firstly, those resources that gain advantage to political leaders. Secondly, the results indicate how social capital as a form of power affect in political leaders' performance. Additionally, informal practices and unwritten rules for action in the parliament are specified. The findings together compose a pattern of political habitus that is linked in probability for emerged social leadership in the power hierarchy of the case: the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

3.1. Generating and processing research data

3.1.1. Qualitative instrumental case research

For Bourdieu as a political sociologist, power processes and stratification in politics is visible in personal "habituated action" that emerge leadership. Habits are also central to classics Weber and Durkheim[11] (Swartz 2013: 33). Scholarly originating to Durkheim strive to study social sciences with quantitative methods that are typical for natural sciences in order to value sociology as accurate and measurable science. Differentiating from that methodology, Weber argued for interpretative methods that can be used to learn how the study subjects understand their reality and why. (Travers 2004: 6–7.) The main

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[11] Approaches to sociology remain debatable for the reasons of the two famous but fundamentally different epistemological studies: Durkheim's *Suicide* (1951) and Weber's *The Protestant Ethic* (1958) (Travers 2004: 6). These distinctions are further developed, among others, Creswell (1994) whose ontological, epistemological, axiological, rhetoric, and methodologic assumptions are widely applied (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 21)

difference between quantitative and qualitative studies concerns the epistemological assumption of the quality of the research data and the relationship between an interviewer and the interviewee (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 23; Travers 2004: 6). Ontology assumes that realities are socially construed and human action is affected by a symbolic system that have different meanings in interaction depending on the environment, culture, and the individual in question. Consciousness is dependent on time and place, and conceptualizations of self and others. (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 16–17.) For this reason interview situations vary individually. The research interviews are interactive occasions where the researcher is in constant dialect with the interviewee, therefore, communication and position of both actors is meaningful regarding the research data collection and validity. This qualitative case study takes an emic point of view claiming that the researcher is personally involved in the research process and cannot form the research data as an outside observer (Ibid. 23–24).

This study applies qualitative case methodology, in a core of which is tendency to understand meanings and phenomena. Investigation strategy is inductive—the researcher is the primary instrument in data collection and analysis. (Merriam 2014: 39.) A case refers to throughout investigation and analysis of a chosen setting. According to Yin (2008: 18) the case study can be defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context" (quoted in Merriam 2014: 40). Stake (2005: 445) divides case studies into three types: intrinsic, instrumental, and collective. Intrinsic study is conducted when the researcher's interest is particular subject and not in findings explanations for certain phenomena. The collective design aim in comparing several cases (Merriam 2014: 48). The purpose of this study is to understand phenomena among subjects as components of a one particular case: the power hierarchy and social capital of political leaders. Therefore the qualitative case design is instrumental. The interview data is a highly descriptive pattern of context dependant human action (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 201: 22; Nolas 2011: 17; Merriam 2014: 39). "An instrumental case study 'is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization. The case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else'." (Stake 2005: 437, quoted in Merriam 2014: 48). The data of this research is acquired via observations and semi-structured

interviews, interpretations which are compared to findings of quantitatively analysed previous research[12]. The study aim in understanding subjective consciousness of social actors, as suggested by Weber, and find unconscious structures that shape social activities according to interest of Durkheim (Travers 2004: 15).

The method is suitable for the study as the purpose is to provide practical instruments for political leaders' performance evaluation. The case's "processes, problems, and programs can be examined to bring about understanding that in turn can affect and perhaps even improve practice" (Merriam 2014: 51). The method is applicable to this research due to its epistemological point of view that is similar to the constructivist and relational way Bourdieu looks at sociology: action is a network of relations composed of individuals or groups that unconsciously influence in and are influenced by human action (Swartz 2013: 58; Nolas 2011: 17–18). Bourdieu's theories on social power aim in providing theoretical instruments for empirical research (Swartz 2013: 43). The qualitative method produce data categories that can be verified in future research, either qualitative or quantitative (Travers 2004: 42). Due to its interpretative nature, the method provides a theoretical approach for practice: It defines the case research problem with a theory and answers the research question that finds the resources for social capital and asks how it, as a form of power, affects in political leaders' performance in practical level (See Chapter 1.2.1.).

3.1.2. Research process

Regarding the research structure, empirical research process starts with conceptualizing preliminary research problem. Further steps include problem definition and choice of the theoretical frame, data collection and analysis, and, finally, reporting the study results (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 14). In practice, outlined with comprehensive literature review and exploration of previous parliamentary research, the research problem arose from the field observations and ethnographic fieldwork. After construction of the theoretical frame the research questions were identified. The primary interviews were conducted and analysed by extracting the data in categories. The data interpretations were

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[12] See Oksanen (1972) *Kansanedustajan rooli* and Pitkänen (1991) *Läpivalaistu valta: suomalaisten kansanedustajien persoonallisuustyyppien tarkastelu kuvakertomustekstin avulla*.

compared to field observations, as well as to previous research in order to control the analysis process. The field work and data acquisition and analysis are further described in the following chapters.
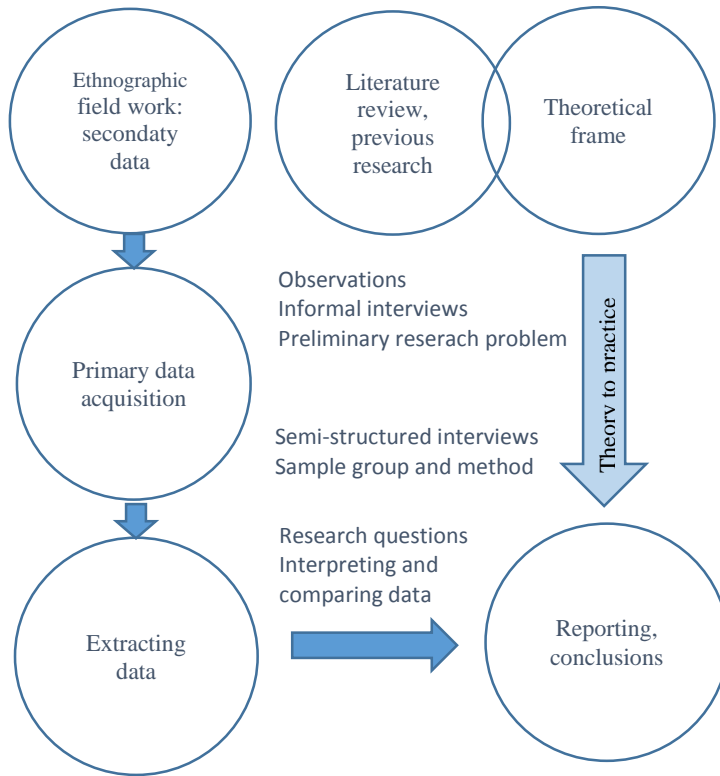
Figure 2. The qualitative case research process (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 14).

3.1.3. Field observations and secondary data

In addition to definition of the concepts on social capital, habitus and fields, Bourdieu's theories take a practical approach to micro scale *field* analysis. By scrutinizing habitus and action that, in practice, mean observing verbal and non-verbal communication in interaction, one is able to locate actors' power positions in relation to others (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 104–105). Similarly, qualitative case method recommends participant observations as a form of the fieldwork (Merriam 2014: 118). Ethnographic research, referring to long period observation, sets available data that is not possible to reach

through interviews, such as culture that the actors have adapted and unconscious communication patterns and habits. Researcher's goal is to find these hidden meanings based on context relevant research material (Nolas 2011: 22; Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 160). With ethnographic fieldwork in Parliament of Finland, data collection and literature review begun in February 2015. All action was regarded as data, gathering and observing of which require theoretical sensitivity—understanding the context (see Nolas 2011: 21). Observatory notes were taken and information were written down immediately in order to remember events and humane reactions as they are. First movements in the field are precious because positions change after one gets acquainted with the environment, and its actors get used to presence of the researcher (Travers 2004: 36; Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 160).

The researcher followed daily work of chosen political leaders throughout the research process. She observed activities in corridors and cafes and participated in open hearings of the committee. Those are public occasions where committee members hear professionals on current topics. Observations revealed what kinds of questions are asked, who asks and for what purpose, who interacts actively and what kinds of responses are received, and further, how is the communicative environment like and how feelings are visible in body language. During observations the research focus closed up to social relationships and informal power distances that are visible in language and parliamentary habits: rhetoric, persuasion and communicative behaviour. Observations together with the interviews revealed the correspondences between group member's stances, or apparent social positions, and their conceptualizations about their power positions in the committee. Moreover, informal interviews, referring to discussion like conversation, were carried with selected sample representatives during the preliminary data acquisition process. They complement the ethnographic work where the researcher strives to find what happens and why (Nolas 2011: 23).

Veteran Members of Parliament Oral History Archive

Supporting the ethnographic data collection process and to understand inherited social regularities in the committee, the literature review reached to in-depth interviews of

previous political leaders who were members of Committee of Foreign Affairs during their career between years 1975 and 2000. These interviews are conducted by Parliament of Finland and restored in the Library of Parliament for post graduate and parliamentary researchers' purposes (Library of Parliament 2015). The primary interview data was interpreted with and compared to the veteran memories because a selection of the memory interview extracts covered the studied unwritten social norms and attitudes that restrict individual MP's performance in the committee. Moreover, some of the political leaders sampled in this research have worked in the committee in 1970's. Therefore, it is important to understand what kind of baggage of historical social norms they might carry. To continue, Oksanen studied these informal parliamentary practices in 1972. A deep glance to Veteran Member's Oral History Archive frames his findings. The perspective was required when evaluating current relevancy of that study as a base for emerged data evaluation. Assumption in this data collection process was that sampled senior MP's reality would distinguish strategically from realities of the first term parliamentarians. Furthermore, some interviewees discussed about past events with persons whose dispositions were reachable only through the archive. Archived documents often provide understanding on prevailing practices (Nolas 2011: 24).

3.1.4. Interviews as primary data

In addition to ethnographic field work with informal interviews and literature and archive research, the study data are acquired through individual *semi-structured* interviews which are used as the primary data. Combination of these multiple methods enhance interpretability (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 39). Semi-structured interviews, also called as focused interviews, loosely follow a pre-set pattern of topics moderated by the researcher but are mainly informed by the interviewee (Nolas 2011: 23; Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 47). The questions were formulated broadly to allow the respondents react with answers that are important for them, and drafted based on findings in informal interviews after preliminary data acquisition. Semi-structured question setting necessitates identification of important areas of the studied phenomena: structures, processes, and the entity. The questions targets to subjective experiences on situations or phenomena that the researcher has analysed. (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 47.) Interviews

provide unmediated and direct access to interpret the interviewees' dispositions (habitus) and allow gathering information on areas with no pre-existing data (ibid. 36). Given that the purpose was to find mostly hidden power positions and identity related reasons for action, important was to gain access to feelings, attitudes and opinions that might be found as sensitive. Numerical analysis or questionnaires would not serve the purpose of revealing roles, hierarchies, or identities and the interviewees' unspoken relations to other actors within the focus group.

The utmost criteria for chosen data acquisition method is Bourdieu-like conceptualization on the nature of merely unconscious parameters that affect in action and that are based on underlying power hierarchies. The ontological assumption is that reality is constructive and subjective (See Chapter 2.5.). Actors bring their previous experiences, attitudes and beliefs into the interview occasion, which facilitate their interpretation in interaction (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 41, 43). The role of the interviewer is to motivate the interviewees to describe those dispositions that they find important regarding the research (ibid. 43). However, the data cannot be judged as relevant or irrelevant for the interviewees tend to talk about the subjects that are important for them. Sensitivity towards the topics that arose but were not included in the interview agenda were found to gain benefit to the interviewer and enrichen the research. Everything that is said, or not said, is potentially relevant for the research (Nolas 2011: 29–30). The interlocutors co-construct the interview occasion: roles of both the interviewer and the responder have meaning, therefore, questions and ways of asking are reflected in the answers (ibid. 49). Though the interviewees were occasionally provided with examples to find their reactions, transferring own opinions in form of questions was strictly avoided, as suggested by Nolas (2011: 29).

Language and choice of communication channel is important in interview interaction where the connection between the interlocutors has a central role (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 49). The interviews were conducted mainly face-to-face in order to have access to the body language. Two out of fifteen semi-structured interviews were carried by phone due to challenges in finding a common time to meet. Language in informal and formal interviews was Finnish. The interviewee as a subject of study was rather seen as valuable

source of information that cannot be accessed without trained interview techniques. As Nolas (Ibid.) suggests, attention was paid to silent moments, expressions indicating potential "taken for granted-meaning", such as *mm* and *you know*. Additionally, the researcher interpreted non-verbal communication, tones, face expressions, and positioning during the interaction. The questions started from general inducting into details and the most sensitive topics were discussed when the interviewee indicated relaxation and potential willingness to talk about them. As an example, in the beginning of the interview the researcher asked "*what perceptions do you have about social power in the committee?*" and "*what makes one influential or authoritarian in the parliament?*". Further questions were targeted to one's conceptualization about self and how one interprets her position in relation to others.

Moreover, words have different meanings depending on the context. Interview situation is affected by roles and power positions. For example, use of formal or informal language defines the distance between the interlocutors (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 50, 53). As Nolas (2011: 30) and Merriam (2014: 100) suggests, the questions were supported with probes and discussion about the emerged topics to confirm mutual understanding of meanings, starting like: "*what exactly do you mean by…?*" and "*how does it surface in practice?*". To receive useful and informative data, special efforts were put in the cognitive and physical interview atmosphere: in most cases the place was a private cabinet or cafteria in the parliament and the interlocutors had informal lunch discussions about the subject in the beginning of the interview. When smoothly moving to the semi-structured questions the interviewer adjusted her action according to the interviewees' signals, in order to make the actors feel comfortable. Even though the interviews touched sensitive topics, a fruitful connection was found in majority of the interviews. For example, one of the interviewees started the discussion with formal way of talking. The interviewer, with non-verbal signals and choice of topics, motivated one to relax and state: "*aika äkkiä sä luot tän yhteyden*" ("*you create this connection pretty soon*"). Consequently, the language was more informal and one shared personal experiences and opinions, interpretations of which provided valuable information on one's identity attachment, attitudes and perceptions of the committee's social reality.

Supported by literature review, the primary data gathering started in March 2015 when the first primary interviews were conducted. Interviewing was an on-going process until September 2015. Because of the elections in April 2015 members in the committee were partly changed. This enriched the research data due to possibility to interview both those having worked together at least four years and the new members in the committee. The changed line-up in the committee, caused by the election, also provided a chance to explore consequences in the altered power structure of the network of political leaders in the committee. For data analysis, semi-structured interviews are normally recorded with agreement of the interviewees (Nolas 2011: 29–30). First three interviews were video recorded but as realized during the interviews, the interviewees seemed to shun open discussion in front of the camera. After the recording was stopped, more sensitive data was provided. For this reason rest of the confidential interviews were audio recorded with consent of the respondents.

3.2. Data analysis

In addition to data collection, qualitative research method offers instruments for data analysis. Given that individual interviews represent subjective perceptions, generalizations can be made only by finding similarities in data. (Nolas 2011: 32; Travers 2004: 45; Meriam 2014: 173.) Empirical data and their interpretations are compared in search of meanings for these similarities. According to Charmaz (2006: 186), the similarities are called *codes* which are grouped into categories. *Categories* form patterns of comparable *concepts* that are basis for the theory as a subject of the study. (Nolas 2011: 19, 31.) This data processing results in finding the reality that is shared between the committee members. The primary interviews produced 75 pages (size A4 font size 12) transcribed text. Qualitative method recognizes many tactics for extracting and interpreting the data. This study apply "open coding" where transcribed interview text extracts are gathered into concepts by labelling cues "line-by-line" and keeping data patterns in their context. Open coding is informed by observations and connections drawn between certain events and information (Nolas 2011: 32; Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 165).

Categorized shared conceptualizations of reality as well as individual extreme exceptions were decoded with respect to Bourdieu's theoretical frame, in purpose of finding phenomena, attitudes and personal interests that are partly unconscious and therefore emerge mainly only in language (See Chapter 2.2.). Data analysis process is as sensitive to language as are the interview occasions. Linguistic practices and language choices reflect the reality that one lives in. Language is oriented to action, for example, in gaining or losing power, role or position in social interaction (Bourdieu 2005: 24; Purhonen and Roos 2006: 139–140.). Therefore, language reveals the images and perceptions that the interviewees have about others and themselves.

The study results were composed of those concepts emphasized in the interviews. The answers were weighted in the comparison process in case of discord. The answers held most valuable depended on the context. For example, the first season political leaders assumable know best the topics that regard their positions in the committee. For this reason, their answers were used as basis for comparison and reasons for the discrepancies were considered. Similarly, in questions that concern established practices or historical power relations and basis for their formulation, answers of the more experienced political leaders were prioritized. Yet, topics that regarded informal parliamentary practices and norms were given equal weight non dependant from the time of the parliamentary experience in order to find differences between views and, therefore, finding the norms that restrict or advance performance. It is possible that some of the norms are recognizable only for fresh members because of naturalization (See Chapter 2.4.). The data processing was done manually. The search of certain codes included finding hidden meanings from variance of entities discussed during the interviews. The codes are either words that, in their context, have particular meaning or full sentences and entities, or patterns of sentences.

3.3. The case setting

3.3.1. Committee of Foreign Affairs

The network of the members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs (CFA) form the studied field of power—the stratified arena for struggle over capitals and most influential positions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 229–230). The case was decided based on researcher's perception about location of the best knowledge. Another criteria was an international aspect that the author wanted to include in the research. Most influential political leaders with international experience, based on their official merits and career achievements, were found in the CFA according to information acquired during the preliminary field work. Assumption was that members of the committee have the most experience in parliamentary work and therefore about social power, political leadership and informal parliamentary practices. The purpose of the committee is relevant for it defines the official objective that the political leaders work to achieve. This case introduction enlightens the specific area of policy making process that the quality of social capital affects through MPs' performance. It pinpoints the official interests and tasks that orientate the political leaders sampled in this research.

In the meetings closed from others than the members, committees produce statements and reports about government's proposals, the state budget, international affairs and different memorandums drafted by Government's public managers. Further parliamentary decisions and proceedings, such as voting for or against laws in the plenary sessions, are grounded by these reports (Eduskunta 2015). Political power and significance of the Parliament of Finland is largely dependent on the strength of the Grand Committee and 15 special committees (Eduskunnan kanslia 2015: 12–13). Together with the Grand Committee, the CFA has a crucial role in European Union (EU) policy making. Finnish Members of European Parliament base their actions on the statements of these committees (Eduskunnan kanslia 2015: 121). The CFA is specialized in foreign affairs and significant state treaty considerations, security policy in national and European level, commercial policy, international organizations, and development policy and co-operation in addition to international crisis management and peace-keeping operations. Debates in the

committee concern also Finnish delegations' reports on the parliamentary conferences of the Nordic Council and the Council of Europe, as well as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. (Eduskunnan kanslia 2008: 11.) Ministries deliver relevant information for the committee statements with the intended schedule for hearings in European Parliament (Eduskunnan kanslia 2015: 119).

As regulated by the Constitution of Finland, the committee employ 17 members from different parties of parliament with 9 deputy representatives, in addition to the Committee Secretary, referred also as the Committee Counsellor (Finnish honorary title), and the Chairman. The Secretary is a public officer with duty of preparing and drafting the committee reports (Eduskunnan kanslia 2015: 181). The Chairman moderates the meetings and has right to participate in debates. The Chairman does not have disciplinary authority but is able to remind the members to act according to *the parliamentary practices*. (Ibid. 27–28). In case parliamentary groups have several members in the committee they normally select a person as a party's committee representative (Ibid. 11).

3.3.2. Sampling: players in the political game

The study explores 15 participants. According to Kvale (1996: 102) average amount in qualitative research is that amount of respondents (quoted in Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 58). The interviewee recruitment was finished, as suggested by Travers (2004: 37) and Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2011: 58) after sufficient, even excessive, amount of data was gathered. Eleven interviews produced enough data to study and process a pattern of themes that answered the research questions. Additional interviews were conducted to confirm validity and credibility of the results, and to find how positions and phenomena change after the elections. Provided that the committee have 17 members and nine deputy members, the sampling coverage is high and therefore provide a reliable reflection of the shared understanding of reality. However, the membership was partly changed due to the elections during data collection period between February and September 2015 and therefore not all respondents have worked together as a member of the particular network. 10 members were interviewed before and five members at least four months after the elections. The sample group is a heterogeneous composition of different characteristics,

capabilities, and qualities. It includes six women and nine men political leaders from majority of the political parties. Fourteen interviewees have worked in the committee in year 2015 and most have worked together at least four years, some more than 20 years. One of the respondents in not a committee representative but included in the sample for the reason of a committee member's recommendation. For confidentiality reasons the players in the political game are not introduced. Political leaders referred in this study are Members of Parliament of Finland and those public officers that are in crucial positions regarding committees' work. Time of the participants parliamentary experience vary between one to more than thirty years: 1–4 years (2 players), 5–12 years (3 players) and 13 or more years (10 players).

Method for choosing the first interviewee was purposive: the researcher chose respondents based on their experience and involvement in the area of research (Nolas 2011: 26). After the first interview the recruitment method was snowball sampling: initial respondents identify and recommend following interviewees (ibid.). Snowball method was utilized for the reason that it identifies the location of knowledge and indicates the quality and amount of relationships inside the committee. For example, after discussing about social power, domination and influence, x indicates that y will have the best knowledge. Based on comparison between x's and y's answers it is possible to conclude the reasons why x had recommended y. The recommendations were given as a response to direct question or implied by naming certain members during the interviews or informal discussions.

3.4. Quality and credibility

For securing the validity and reliability of the research, the purpose of the study was problematized. Presenting it in a form of question confirms that measures for data acquisition and analysis are relevant, and interpretation of findings correspond to the theoretical fame. However, validity and reliability as concepts origin to quantitative research. Their applicability to qualitative research have been debated because they are based on ontological assumption that researcher have possibility to access one real truth

or objective data. (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 184.) For this reason, this research rather presents dimensions of quality, corresponding to structural and internal validity, and credibility (ibid. 187). Compared to, for example, natural sciences, sociology as human science studies interpretations of reality and, therefore, assumption is that the reality is subjectively constructed (Ibid. 16–17). Furthermore, the essence of this study is to find the context specificity of social and symbolic capital, referring to invisible forms of power. These surface the level of conscious in individual habitus. Bourdieu stresses that capitals and fields have different logics depending on the application (see Fine 2010: 39, 86). For the reason of the context sensitive nature of social capital, the research results can be generalized only within other decisive organs inside the parliament. The instrumental case design seeks to generalize the research findings (Merriam 2014: 48), though the generalization suffers from subjective stances brought by the interview data.

A traditional criteria is that study results are reliable in case more than one can conclude to same results. Given that one common truth does not exist and individuals interpret dimensions with different means, it is not likely to end up in perfectly similar conclusions (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 186). Reliability, or credibility, could alternatively be measured with consensus on found codes and categories in data interpretation process (see Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 186). Reliability refers to action of the interviewer: the data is credible and carefully composed, and the study process reported in a sense that the study results are possible to check (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 189). Therefore, it is important to scrutinize the quality in data processing. Researcher's own interests and rational aims in positioning in the political field might affect in interpretation and ways the research data is provided. Therefore position statement is included (See Chapter 1.3.). Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2011: 14) imply that negative individual interests, such as publicity or monetary gain as a motivation, will distort the quality of the research. Research can also be seen as a form of politics: it is possible that researchers want to address political or moral problems through qualitative study (Travers 2004: 13). Abandoning the concepts of validity and reliability does not mean that the research would lack quality or credibility (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 188–189). In fact, by reforming the concepts and criteria, requirements for validity and reliability are clearer and the quality and credibility are possible to verify. This in mind, the research process has been throughoutly reported.

Appendix 1 communicates the parameters searched for data interpretation. *Appendix 2* shows the topics that were searched to be answered during the interviews.

According to Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2011: 187), validity in research setting in qualitative studies regard mainly structural validity. Two factors are relevant to general validity and reliability evaluation in qualitative interview case research. Firstly, data acquired from one source can be verified with comparison to additional data sources. Validity of the interview research is controlled with additional methods, such as observations (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 36). Secondly, an indication of the reliability is that the interviewees agree with the interpretations. These guidelines are followed as proven below. Janesick (1994) suggest that the participants should be able to check the findings (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 189). The interviews provided plenty of information and the participants were generous with data they provided and the time they dedicated for the research. They were initiative in bringing forth topics that were important for them but not asked. Some of the interviewees agreed to have several meetings to check that the findings correspond to their perception on reality. The sample has a wide coverage of heterogeneous actors which contribute to objective results.

To continue, in a search of "real" truth the researcher must seek the most objective stance. The primary interviews alone are not sufficient for credible and reliable research data. Due to nature of interview occasion, the interviewee might provide answers that she finds socially acceptable or the interviewer may not manage the situation (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2011: 35). On the other hand, the interviews available in the Oral History Archive are neutral to influence of communicative correspondence tied to context of this research. In the purpose of avoiding ethical dilemmas in credibility, findings through observations and informal interviews are used as secondary data for interpretation and comparison of the primary data findings. Ethnographic field work continued until the end of the research process. After the primary interviews were conducted, informal discussions with the sample group were used to verify the already interpreted data.

Moreover, Travers (2004: 24) recommends to contrast quantitative studies in the field with the results of data collection and analysis. In addition to constant comparison

between interpretations of the research interviews and data originating in empirical observations, the findings of this study were compared to previous Finnish research on MP's roles, attitudes and informal parliamentary practices conducted by Oksanen. His dissertation research is based on structured interviews and analysed mainly with cross tabulation, further processed with quantitative methods, such as correlations and Likert scaling (1972: 308, 320–321). Also Pitkänen's (1991) research discusses internal power hierarchies, hence, he does not apply theories of the third kind of power that is one of the foundations of this study. However, the Finnish studies are not completely comparable because their subjects and time of research differ from the settings of this study.

4. RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

This Section answers to the research question presenting findings in the order they are split in the research sub-questions. Chapter 4.5. provides a summary of the findings with a compact answer to the main research question: *What are the principles for social capital and their affects in political leaders' performance in the Committee of Foreign Affairs?* Though most processes of invisible power are unconscious, Bourdieu's theory suggest that when one capital is monopolized in a particular political field, symbolic capital brings valuation of specific capital into actors' awareness through recognition of norms, values, beliefs, and confidence towards the dominants (Swartz 2013: 84; Grenfell 2012: 165). Naturalized power positions in the committee are touchable in individual habitus— common practices and language (Bourdieu 2005: 10; Purhonen and Roos 2006: 238.). For this reason, *social capital as a form of power can be examined through processed interviews* that produce a collection of similar individual conceptualizations of social reality of the parliamentary field. The findings are demonstrated with text extracts resulted by the interviews. Each quotation is a piece of interview text extract.

4.1. Social capital in the committee

This Chapter explains why social capital is monopolized in the committee and which forms of power are dominant in the parliament as the political field. With capitals Bourdieu's intent is to offer instruments for recognizing the types of power that construct and reconstruct social reality in levels of conscious and unconscious (Swartz 2013: 233).

Generally, the study finds that the role of Committee of Foreign Affairs (CFA) differs from the one of other committees in Parliament of Finland: The CFA receive relatively small amount of Governments proposals, though the matters cover larger entities, such as national policies on development co-operation and security. Minority of Members of Parliament (MPs) is perceived to have personal interest in foreign affairs or substance in

tasks the committee is expertised in. For this reason, the members of the CFA are mainly high status politicians: former Ministers or other long-term political leaders with plenty of knowledge and experience.

4.1.1. Social relationships

Social capital is monopolized in the CFA. Bourdieu defines social capital as accrual of individual resources that are proportional to the amount of social capital. Social capital indicates power distances between actors–dominant positions that are gained by virtue of possessing social relationships and networks of mutual acquaintance. High power positions gain benefit of certain kind, depending on the purpose and logic of the field. (Bourdieu 2005: 2; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119.) The *benefit indicates ability to influence in the political agenda*. The results indicate that the most important way to gain influence is via social relationships and networks that extend other organizations, economic and political groups, and other fields of life. A capital dominates the field if it is acknowledged as valuable for the actors (Bourdieu 1993: 72, quoted in Swartz: 58). 14 of altogether 15 interviewees recognized social networks and relationships as the main important instrument for political authority and influence. Acquisition and maintenance of social relationships is in the priority interest of the MPs because networks are the source of individual political influence in the committee where decisions are the outputs of consent decision making processes.

> *"We aim in consensus, more than other committees. Compromises have the most potential to get through."*

Political decisions are based on beliefs and attitudes of those MPs who are found experts and sources for trusted information in a task at hand. This expertize is highly valued and concluded to promote good quality political decisions.

> *"Fortune is to have a collection of members with deep knowledge in different areas. It enrichens the work and then we make correct statements. We have that expertise, for example A, B, myself, C. We are a strong committee because of such know-how".*

This professionalism may be individual or distributed among many, in case of which MPs with similar values and ideologies seek to form small networks, sub-groups, inside the committee to affirm their position in the debate between differing administrative values and procedures. In the CFA, relationships with opinion leaders, the high positioned MPs, and high status MPs, such as ex-ministers, group leaders, and party representatives are popular. Most vital networks outside the government are formed by memberships in institutionalized or informal organizations and previous employments in corporations.

Social relationships may be collaborative but yet reciprocal and not necessarily friendships, though friendship also occur between MPs with long co-operative history or homologous interests and values. Relationships of non-emotional gain are seen as an instrument for influence and they are mainly based on tight co-operation, though formed between MPs sharing alike substances and views. In general, regarding beneficial ties for gaining power and influence, emotional relationships, referring to friendship, are not as beneficial as relations of personal acquaintance inside the committee across party boundaries. Rather, friendship sets limits for efficient promotion of one's views in case they conflicts with the ideologies of the friend. For example, one actively holds back in promoting own opinions because by doing so one would tread on the toes of the trusted.

> "*Concerning[certain subject]I am extremely careful regarding X because those things are important for him[…]But in other issues I can proceed my own ideas…*"

However, personal relationships, either for emotional or political gain, are found important with parties' committee representatives, the group leaders and informally authoritarian opinion leaders among peers. Social networks are not useful only within the committee, but when reached to MPs working in different committees, either with members of the "own" party or other parties for the reason of increased indirect influential power. Networks that reach *outside* the committee and the parliament are found essential for the reason that they increase knowledge, substance, and expertise and provide connections that are useful for the committee's decision making. Through the networks MPs acquire information to underpin their opinion formulation in different areas of life that are connected to current matters or tasks at hand in the committee.

Acquisition and maintenance of social relationships is both conscious and unconscious strategy to gain powerful social positions: many of the resources that accrue social capital, as well as the norms for action in the committee, are rules that regulate interaction and convenient intercourse. These are trustworthiness, personal communication skills in the widest sense, as well as charm and attractiveness (psychic) and physical appearance. Each MP are expected to occupy these qualities to some degree and act according to the social norms (See Chapter 4.3.1.). Personal characteristics contributing to social acceptance and relationships are social skills, credibility and trustworthiness, empathy, fairness, attractiveness, appearance, charm, and honesty.

> *"The better character you are as a person, the easier you get social relationships. If somebody is unattractive, nobody will join you."*

> *"...the image you create with physical appearance: if one smells or is unpleasant, or if you feel that you do not want to sit with somebody, of course it matters[...]already when you shake hands you get the image, weather it is sluggish or robust."*

Sometimes cleverness and knowledge combined to smartness compensates physical attractiveness, and expertize may replace lacking social skills. Resources for social capital are presented further in Chapter 4.2. Compared to findings of Oksanen (1972: 93), the most essential qualities promoting consensus and co-operation are partly similar: refraining from personal criticism, trustworthiness among peers, respect towards political competitors, honesty, "normal" lifestyle, objectivity and equality, and capability to perform in work. Diverging from findings of this work, he argued for "normal" lifestyle, objectivity and equality. Objectivity and equality as findings of this thesis are further discussed in Chapter 4.4.3.

4.1.2. Conversion: cultural and social as political power

Political leaders accrue various types of capital that may convert from one type to other (Bourdieu 1986: 243, 253, quoted in Swartz 2013: 48, 56). In politics, social capital and cultural capital in conjoint form the grounds for political achievements and substance that need to be recognized by other politicians (See Chapter 2.4.). Cultural capital stands for qualities of knowledge, information, education, and class culture (See Chapter 2.2.2.)

Bourdieu uses word *status* as a synonym for symbolic cultural capital. *Symbolic* refers to recognized authority (Moore 2012: 99). In the Committee of Foreign Affairs, cultural capital *converts* into social. Social popularity, respect, and influential positions are acquired mainly through different forms of knowledge, substance, and expertise. Political influence is:

> *"the feeling that you can do things and know what you are talking about. But that necessitate an enormous amount of work. You have to research and read tremendously to know **what to do** and **when**".*

Among members of the committee the gain from social relationships and mutual acquaintance—social capital—surfaces in a form of political authority. Political capital, according to Bourdieu, means the battle over political power in the committee. Political and non-political forms of power convert mainly through social and symbolic capital (Swartz 2013: 50). Political capital, as a subtype of the social, covers aspects that comply with political leader's public image and relation to the citizens (Bourdieu 1991: 192–193, quoted in Swartz 2013: 65; Swartz 2013: 106). Social capital becomes political capital and vice versa, depending on the field. "Social relations are political relations. Political power is social power".

4.2. Political leaders' resources for power

Individual qualities are actual or virtual resources that accumulate social capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). Via membership in a group the members gain benefit "in the various senses of the word" (Bourdieu 1986: 248–249, quoted in Lewis 2009: 27). Here are presented grounds for social capital—the resources that make political leaders gain political influence. The results answer to sub-question *1. What are the valued individual resources in the committee?*

> *"X is respected and charming. Everybody are his friends. He gets his opinions through"*

Bourdieu defines social capital as accrual of resources that are proportional to the amount of social capital (Bourdieu 2005: 2; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 11). He, together with

Weber, finds that political leaders' individual qualities, such as charisma, are the resources for powerful positions. As social relationships are seen as the most important way to influence over political agenda, many of the resources imply to common rules and practices that aim in maintaining a consent working environment and good social relationships (See Chapter 4.1.1.). However, the interviewees recognized the most important pattern of resources for political influence to consist of a) substance, expertise and knowledge, b) seniority and experience, c) high status, d) and charm and social capabilities, including verbal talents.

All of the respondents emphasized the essence of *substance*, referring to know-how, knowledge, and specialization in different areas concerning the work in the CFA:"Substance is overwhelmingly the most meaningful factor". Qualities attached to substance to prove its existence regard verbal skills and initiative: activeness and argumentation. "Activeness is important but much more important is, centrally, substance". One is promoted to dominate position when one "gets others to listen and is not self-centred. Rather, clearly brings forth substance…and added value". Argumentation refers to ability to persuade and find suitable arguments to defend own opinions in different situations to different actors.

> *"It is not enough that you have substance. Essential is to have rhetoric skills…strong oral skills and argumentation. This does not concern only public performance but also communication in the committees when professionals are heard. Communication skills gives credibility."*

Supporting what stated before in Chapter 4.1.2, political influence equals to social capital. Substance is the main resources for social capital as defined according to Bourdieu, a form of power. Furthermore, *seniority and experience* are highly valued in the parliamentary field. Seniority regards time in politics and the age, whereas experience connotes learned information and working history in different areas. Some of the older respondents stated that seniority emphasizes the experience over age but, according to the general view (12 out of 15 interviewees), age define seniority together with political experience. Young or middle aged respondents recognized respect towards seniors as one of the dominant shared values in the parliament.

> *"Seniors get their opinions through [referring to influence in political agenda] with good argumentation and negotiation skills."* (An interviewee 2015)

Formal high status is acquired by group leaderships, positions as committee representatives and committee presidents, and memberships in Finnish Government (former Minister). Informal status can, alternatively, emerge through *personal charm and social capabilities*, including *verbal skills*, such as argumentation and persuasion. Especially the members positioned low in the power hierarchy, or even excluded, find persuasion as the main resource for influence through MPs' in higher social positions not only in the committee, but also inside different parties:"it is a necessity to persuade the high-status actors to get one's matters through". Verbal skill is the "ability to communicate subjects and argument for them". Other social capabilities are attractiveness, appearance, verbal and non-verbal communication, such as way of dressing and acting, as well as social sensitivity, or empathy (See Chapter 4.1.1.).

> *"it affects what kind of image you get of somebody. Do you find one attractive or charismatic and what is the feeling you provoke. In politics this matters already in election".*

Other recognized resources relate to task related performance and consent co-operation. Working habits affect in influential power:"how socially active one is and how willing and prepared to co-operate across party boundaries". Ability to make fast calculations and judgements is a widely recognized resource that correlates with strategies towards efficient influencing (See Chapter 4.3.2.). The before mentioned resources were addressed by more than 13 of the 15 interviewees. The MPs positioned high in the power hierarchy emphasized hard work and skills to acquire information that is not provided in the committee, mainly through own established networks outside the parliament. Ability make networks inside the parliament through social skills, however, has the most important value:

> *"people who others are not willingly in interaction with will not network inside[the parliament] that well and they are in risk to be excluded, segregated."*

Moreover, ability to solve problems and find solutions by rapid thinking, creativity, active participation in right time are all recognized as important qualities regarding efficient

working and contributing to social respect. Additional qualities are considerability, refraining from excessive "chinning", and ability to rapidly find essential issues in a large amount of information. The resources for social capital are presented in the following table. As a conclusion, social capital is the aggregate of added value and exclusive know-how:

> *"you can give many-sided argument and defend...the feeling that now you are wrong and I know better...the opponent get quiet. It is such substance that others do not have. That is substance and social capital".*

4.3. Power and performance

Here are introduced the principles for dominate and subordinate power positions and their relation to political leaders' performance. High power positions gain benefit of certain kind, depending on the purpose and logic of the field (Bourdieu 2005: 2; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). The sub-question 2. finds *how dominate and subordinate power positions affect in performance?*

4.3.1. Distribution of power and social consequences

> *"The ones positioned high in the food chain have more power. The runts do not get to make loud noise. They vote as the others tell them to."*

Voting is anyhow avoided due to commonly valued consensus. The committee is a coherent group of members, the power distance between of them is narrow except for two kinds of exceptions: the actors positioned in the top of the hierarchy and the low positioned ones. "The power hierarchy change always in the beginning of the electoral term". The research data was gathered during two terms and the finding indicate the actual change in the hierarchy. Yet, rules and informal laws for the dominate positions remain. Generally, working environment in the committee is found satisfactory, even rewarding.

The committee have a multistep hierarchy where the high positioned MPs gain attention above those positioned low in the power hierarchy. High positioned have influential

power and they gain benefit from social relations. High positions do not necessarily correlate with innovative ideas. The quality and amount of individual resources for political influence are the principles for positive and negative power positions among the MPs. Aside with formal status positions, informal status, referring to dominance, power is distributed proportionally to the most important resources and qualities for social capital of the MPs. The priority order, however, varies according to the task at hand due to varying demands for areas of expertise and knowledge. By task dependency it is meant that the members with expertize are positioned higher when processing a subject of their substance. For this reason the power relations are not stable.

Nevertheless, some permanent principles occur. These are high official statuses together with experience, low positions of newly elected parliamentarians, and genders' attachment to particular kinds of tasks. Women feel more respected in relation to "soft" issues, such as equality between genders and humanitarian aid. Men generally have more authority in "hard" subjects, for example military and defence. This phenomena might be explained by differing interests and areas of expertize between genders but more than half of the interviewed women indicated (without asking a direct question) that "if women talk, these are the subjects that they are listened to. If women are interested in 'hard' subjects, they sigh and do not listen at all".

> *"So called hard manly subjects, security and defence, and manly things are men's things. Every time I open my mouth I talk about women's rights, development co-operation, so called 'softs'."*

> *"...women's arguments have different contents than those of men. Women set forth questions that regard social politics, such as humanitarian, refugee issues...men concentrate more on military themes, stronger to financial points...so that they do not...on the other hand, it may as well be a question of prioritizing. It feels a bit like it is women's task to talk, for example, equality between genders, or women's and childrens' position...that men easily don't bring them up."*

The highest "opinion leader" positions are held by the MPs' with status value: experience and substance, partly brought by formal positions: memberships in boards of directors of organizations, other formal responsible positions, and former memberships in the Government. These privileged positions gained by formal and informal titles are distributed to the senior members due to political experience's attachment to age and

amount of working years. The highest positioned have an undenied substanse and strong expertize that does not regard age, though credible experience is a necessity. The respected ones are given more time to argument and to be heard when compared to those positioned low in the hierarchy, though the Chairman is seen to distribute floor for the arguments equally. One should also be initiative in taking their turns.

> "The old boys who are there and who have merits, ex-ministers...it creates a pecking order. They are easily allowed[by the Chairman] to have time to talk longer...a bit too much time to chin."

This does not always contribute to efficiency or flexibility in decision making. Also innovativeness will suffer in case one speaks too long:"The statements of the 'old stars' will not always proceed handling of a subject, even though they talk." Still, the know-how and experience is attached to high substance that the relatively fresh members are not seen to occupy. Therefore, the dominate MPs get heard, though excessive amount of arguments and "chatting", especially in front of guest professionals, will cause loss of listeners. Yet, not all the high positioned MPs are regarded as too talkative and consideration in timing and way of talking is appreciated. Additionally, Committee Counsellors referring to the Secretaries, the public officers, have political power. This position is recognized by 10 of 15 interviewees. The counsellors actively listen to every conversation, find the compromise, write transcripts, and draft the committee's statements. They are also in a position to confirm fulfilment of requirements set by the constitution, and to introduce outsource experts, professionals, for the committee.

> "Committee Counsellor[Secretary]have a huge authority. The counsellors sit aside but they are hard core authoritarians [...]they can come along with diverging political views."

To continue with low authority, first season representatives do not enjoy privileged positions. Newly elected MPs are placed in the bottom of the power hierarchy of the committee, the field, but "in case one have sufficient expertise, substance, in certain area, e.g. professionalism in specific field, there is a good chance for a newcomer to 'profile high' in a committee." Each of the respondents recognize inexperience in parliamentary work as a significant criteria for positioning in the internal power hierarchy. Six of the

interviewees agree that the first season members are expected to "listen and learn" during their first term in the parliament. All of the interviewees had heard about the attitude but two of the mid-term respondents disagreed by arguing that one can have more social authority when "swimming against the tide".

> *"In the parliamentary group[the party]the newcomers are placed in a line of tenderfeet…in the committee the newcomers are placed in the back row, in unequal social order."*

Nonetheless, social positioning is affected by informal social practices and rules for action, the breakage of the most important of which may lead to social exclusion—in the very bottom of the power hierarchy. Such occur when one's action is found irrational in relation to what is found as appropriate behaviour (see Chapter 4.4.1.). Consequently, the low power positions have remarkable affects in ability to influence in political decision making. The excluded "will not be heard. They do not get things through".

> *"The excluded will not manage to get support even to reasonable opinions...neither in the committee nor among their owns[inside their parliamentary group]in any matter"*

> *"Popularity among colleagues affects so that you manage to proceed some[own]agendas easier than a cranky and not liked person"*

Social segregation can be a result of the group pressure, a non-intentional sanction for breaking the common regularities, or it may be active retreating from the committee's work. Distinctive *habitus* sets the limits for individual action. One is able to sense ones place in the power hierarchy of the field. This creates actual boundaries that "leads one to exclude oneself from the goods, persons, place and so forth from which one is excluded" (Bourdieu 1984: 471, quoted in Swartz 2013: 90). Habitus is in connection to the field, in practice, political habitus together with parliamentary norms and unwritten rules may lead to social segregation. Social capital is not easily re-produced, especially with experienced political leaders who ought to have internalized the social norms for suitable behaviour. Newly elected parliamentarians will "be forgiven" much easier but, remarkably, re-production of individual social capital is extremely difficult and it takes time.

"It is difficult to get out from the blindside in case one's judgement is seen as failed in crucial subjects"

After presenting the extremes in the top and the bottom of the hierarchy; some MPs are placed in the medium level of the power structure. The power distribution depends on the task at hand. Those lacking the expertise, initiative to acquire information through networks or other channels, or will to actively participate in decision making process, "must cope with the information received from public officers in the Ministries, or trusted professionals". These MPs are often found to be easy to persuade and the mid-level MPs contribute to consent decision making. Further, some might lack reasonable social skills that are valued in the committee's work. One might, for example, talk excessively or inappropriately, or blatantly place individual or party's interests above the interests shared between the committee members. These actors tend to lose their influential power.

"The Chairman will not, for an example, allow another argument if one does not speak decently"

"If you get an image that you proceed only own or party's opinions, you are not able to get your stances through"

In case of conflicting opinions, the Government party representatives seek to persuade the opposition parties by supporting each other, though party boundaries are not found actual limits for joint policy making and interaction. The opposition parties have less amount of MPs in the committee, yet, these MPs gain influence by sub-grouping with MPs sharing similar views across party boundaries. A table to demonstrate data acquisition process for the power distribution and performance is presented in the *Appendix 4*.

4.3.2. Efficient influencing: strategies for action

"Doing politics is like playing chess"

Strategies that politicians choose for their actions are dependent on their ability to calculate, judge and interpret the social reality, which is intermediated by political

habitus. Practical sense, the habitus in political field or so called "feel for the game" is relational to the field: political stances, behaviour and language in its widest sense are rational to other players on the field (Swartz 2013: 106; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 223). To achieve socially popular and, therefore, influential position, MPs are in urge to promote and advertise their expertise to become socially attractive both inside the parliament and the public. "Media publicity and the reputation 'inside the house' are connected...I do not know which one comes first but they are connected".

> *"Aren't we all here doing the electoral campaign during the four-year term to gain publicity and to confess that 'yes, I am a good guy'."*

Political influencing is a multi-layered process. Regarding the committee work, there exists a collection of indirect and direct influencing strategies, utilization of which enhance individual MPs performance in the parliamentary work. The priority of the most influential strategies vary depending on one's power position, though qualities for social interaction are required and rules of good parliamentary practices need to be followed.

The main *indirect* channel of influence is persuasion of opinion leaders. Persuasion stands for ability to alter others' opinions and "make them think they invented the ideas".

> *"You have to know how to formulate and present things to make them think that the opinion is according to their agenda, or increase awareness in the right way."*

Due to strong persuasion skills one might be able to influence in political agenda via those who dominate, mainly in informal occasions, such as "kitchen cabinets". Ten out of 15 interviewees spontaneously indicate that political gain will be achieved through persuasion of, for example, *MP X*:

> *"...If you get him to support your view then the whole party will follow. Those like him, they are hard core experienced politicians, old 'benzyskowiczs', who have that weight...Important actors to create pressure inside their parties. Socially talented, important characters."*

Regarding *direct* influence, Those found main channels that regard social capital and political performance are a) social relationships with colleagues, b) Minister relations, c)

influence through professionals, d) and individual ability for "on-site drafting" of the statements at the time they are formulated. As presented in Chapter 4.1.1, political leaders seek to network with colleagues sharing their interests and values. Within these *sub-groups* inside the committee MPs seek support for their views, exchange information, and make decisions on their mutual stance. As revealed during the field observation, one asked other to share perceptions and information on a matter for a forthcoming media interview. One acquired tips for a suitable angle to approach the subject at hand. The one asking was not equipped with knowledge or expertise. The one seemed to fully rely on the information acquired from another. This sub-group action occurs mainly outside the committee meetings in informal arenas such as corridors, cafeterias, and during committee's formal journeys or missions. Theses informal coalitions have influential power in the committee even in voting situation.

Political leaders must choose the actors they wish to bond with (c.f. Gross and Rorty 2008: 244). In the core of political power, *personal relationships with ministers* are found beneficial in direct political influencing. One might be able to proceed one's own agendas and affect to Ministers' opinions in matters of "small-scale importance". Also relationships with former ministers working in the committee as MPs are appreciated for the reason that previous memberships in the Finnish Government are the most valued accruals of social capital and political authority, as is proven in this research (See Chapter 4.2.), also in Oksanen (1972) (See Chapter 2.2.4.).

Further, an MP will gain authority when able to introduce fresh views to matters at hand, either self or *via professionals* introduced for hearing in the committee. The first season parliamentarians may prove their substance through the trusted experts of certain areas by introducing them to the committee and in their hearings, asking questions that receive answers affirming their stances.

> *"The actual channel of influence in the committee is through the professionals. It is an extremely efficient channel to influence...one can introduce new experts who have impact on the process and who give fresh thoughts. This is, for example, the best way to influence for the first season members and I have used it myself"*

Additionally, as the professionals are high level actors they have political and economic power that reach public decision making organs, such as military and defence. An MP might, when successful, manage to address issues that the professional is able to execute directly without further parliamentary procedures. The relation of influence between MPs and the professionals is reciprocal.

"Who holds the pen" has the power. Six of 15 interviewees discussed about personal ability for "on-site drafting" of the statements as an important way to influence in the political agenda. "The way the sentences are formulated in the final papers might make an important difference in political influencing." The Committee Counsellor, Secretary, produce a draft for the committee statements. Re-formulation of the statement is done in the meetings when they are issued to the committee for further processing.

> *"...we are in the situation that 'shouldn't this be formulated better'. Then others participate and it is re-written."*

4.4. Social reality in Parliament of Finland

Together with already presented shared values, such as the resources for social capital, and principles for the distribution of power, the committee members' action is shaped by unwritten rules and regularities. Bourdieu (1993) calls these social regularities as the "invariant laws" of the field (Swartz 2013: 57). A set of these is shown in *Appendix 5*. This Chapter presents the findings on attitudes in the parliamentary culture as well as norms and informal practices that shape political leaders' action by answering to the sub-question *3. What are the social regularities that construct the field?*

4.4.1. Action that consume social capital

Unconscious processes and the invisible power hierarchy in the parliament is shaped by social regularities and unwritten rules for action. Inherited status positions and personal experiences affect in behaviour and ways of thinking. Bourdieu argues that inherited and learned habitus, "way of being", is attached to time and the field and defined by history,

norms and culture, which are visible in language and common practices. (Blackledge 2005: 32; Purhonen and Roos 2006: 238.) Therefore, there are differences between the habituses—some well-formed and suitable for good interaction in the committee, which is seen in appropriate action and charm, whereas others' habitus is judged as inappropriate because of lacking understanding on decent social performance. In addition to already introduced social regularities for desirable behaviour and personal resources that accrue social capital and influence (See Chapters 4.2. and 4.3.), the committee work necessitates obeisance of certain social rules. These rules are generally recognized by all of the Members of Parliament and those included in this research indicate forbidden action in the parliamentary work. The already achieved powerful positions can be lost:"lack of self-criticism and judgement destroy social capital". The breakage of the most important rules may lead to social exclusion. The exclusion is a result of irrational behaviour in relation to what is found as appropriate.

> *"One ends up in exclusion...do not know how to behave and does not act according to the 'codes'. These are extraordinary persons who do not behave according to normal norms..."*

The rules are collective expectations, evaluations, and shared values, non-obeisance of which will be non-intentionally judged and sanctioned.

> *"These things are not allowed to be said...these are the kinds of..."*
> *-Are they not allowed to be said in the meetings?*
> *"Well they are but...then..."*

The norms that concern co-operation and social politeness are the most important, hence, even "show and revel" will be forgiven if lack of norm obeisance is compensated with social and political skills, knowledge, and substance. Nevertheless, the colleagues must show respect to one another and actively seek consensus and common good—there should be "no will to rock the boat" in the committee work. Regarding the hearings of the professionals, one should neither try to convince the experts with one's own opinions nor question the professionals' statement. Concerning parliamentary practices, one should not be self-centred or proceed own or the party's interests too enthusiastically, or be too ambitious. Fast chancing opinions increase mistrust and provoke breakage of social

relationships with trust. Distributing confidential information to public is strictly forbidden because any leakage of information would decrease the political strength of the committee. Regarding public behaviour, "stupid" writings in social media and "extremist guests" will cause in negative categorization. Also in the case of fast changing opinions and precipitous behaviour, or reliance on "false facts" the MPs will most likely lose their credibility. A list of these rules is shown in the figure 3.

Strictly Forbidden

-Blaiming others
-Excessive proceeding of
 own or only own party's interests
-Talking nonsense
-Chinning
-Embarassing others
-"Stupid" writings in social media
-Fast changing opinions
-Uncertainty

-Sharing wrong information
-To argue with the professionals
-Political overtakings
-Talking if no know-how
-Extrimistic guests
-Publish confidential information
-"Stupid" behaviour
-Precipitous behaviour
-Relying on false facts

"Always aim in consensus and good social relationships"

The laws of decency in the Committee of foreign Affairs

Figure 3. The laws of decency in Parliament of Finland.

Proceeding individual interests is not popular in the committee and excessively selfish MPs are easily judged. Instead co-operation and good social relations are in high value. Bourdieu (1988: 44) argues that political leaders, for the reason of justifying their status, must subordinate their self-interest for shared interests to gain "privilege in disinterest". Political leaders and public administrators serve the Government—the public good—but due to nature of the political field, the real interest is in having the state at their service (quoted in Grenfell 2012: 165).

4.4.2. Conceptualizations of self and others

Realities are formulated by individual interpretations informed by mental schemas and categories that minds construct (Bourdieu 1997: 94–95; 1990: 71, 78, quoted in Swartz 2013: 93). The reality is a sum of two different realities: "double truth, objective and subjective, which constitute the whole truth of the social world" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 255).

To access subjective social realities regarding power relations, the intention was to find correlations in perceptions on how one positions oneself in a rough scale: high and low power positions. This image was then compared to conceptualizations that the committee members have in general about distribution of influential power. The evaluation criteria, such as personal relationships, parties, shared interests, and areas of expertise, vary and affect in perceptions on authoritarian persons. Yet, the most often addressed nominations indicate that the committee had *seven* high positioned "opinion leaders" before the elections: *two ladies* and *five gentlemen* regardless from the members' political party. Each one of the addressed high positioned were interviewed. The committee's members were partly changed after the election, due to which, and because of variant circumstances, the power hierarchy is in constant change. The opinion leaders' names were given during interviews after the respondents were aware of the research subject. For example, the question asked from MP representing a political party 1: "who would be appropriate persons to interview next (regarding social influence and power)?" This resulted in answer:

> *"X (man MP representing party 2) if you want the smartest…difficult to come up with more names…Y (woman MP representing party 3)."*

Self-images and attitudes effect on evaluations (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 235). In the committee, there are differences in attitudes and conceptualizations about one's own position in the power hierarchy when compared to often occurred images about the most respected opinion leaders in the committee. Remarkable differences occur also between

genders. Women do not easily overestimate their authority or power position but men does. Two of the *six* interviewed women MPs conceptualized themselves as influential, whereas *eight* of *nine* men interviewees found themselves as "opinion leaders". As an example, the interviewee asked: *Do you have power, are you an opinion leader?* The interviewee responded: *"I think I am an opinion leader"*. However, none of the interviewees mentioned this particular MP nor was the MP brought up in this context during the data acquisition process. Compared to the "actual" amount of opinion leader men (*five*), three of the male respondents over-estimate their authority.

Moreover, though first or second term MPs, especially in case they are young by their age, are expected to "not tread on seniors' toes". Yet, high substance and ability to advertise it, "good oratory talents" emerge informal authority that challenge the prevailing power hierarchy. As argued, the "newcomers" are placed in the bottom of the power hierarchy, hence, exceptions may be found among MPs with considerable substance. The first season parliamentarians have potential to promote themselves through activity and expertise. Political opinions are also weighted but the newcomers may acquire dominant positions with proven expertise and know-how. "The same applies to parliamentary groups, one does not need to wait until a place[social position]opens up, the place can be taken in case one has substance."

The findings show that this, in some cases, irritates those in dominant positions because the "seniors" and experienced MPs expect to be respected, for example, promoted to higher formal positions before the low positioned ones.

> *"Experience bring authority but the parliament is not such place where seniority always breaks through. This is difficult for the seniors who are not, according to their own plan, advanced in their[political]career, for example, as Ministers. Consequently, when a youngster is promoted in front of them, it will cause more hierarchies and picking regarding the newcomers…this cause a lot of quarrelling."*

According to Weber, it is that high status political leaders reject charm of their peers, which might lead to coalitions against one or some to "castrate" one from additional fame. On the other hand, professional politicians also benefit from the popularity of one when connected to same network of relationships (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 29).

Furthermore, in addition to individual self-images, all of the respondents identify to the committee: the membership accrue status value and good reputation, both inside the parliament and the public. Majority of the committee members find that membership in the CFA is respected both in the parliament and in public. Membership in CFA aggregate benefit outside the committee in form of increased power position even to the MPs positioned low in the committee's power hierarchy. "Membership in the CFA raise to the nobility".

> "CFA is exceptionally. It is the upper chamber of the house. Practically everybody have a minister or party president background. There is no place for fledglings. Experience and know-how is valuated in subjects concerning foreign affairs."

4.4.3. Attitudes and social influence

Standards for evaluation and judgement are influenced by subjective perceptions of the environment. Bourdieu (2001: 2) suggests that symbols of these dimensions can take forms of any cultural dimension, for example, gender (quoted in Swartz 2013: 99). According to the results, the committee members are valued unequally based on gender, age, education, and institutional positions, such as formal titles and informal statuses. The members positioned high in the power hierarchy enjoy privileged positions due to experience and expertise. Those evaluated as experts are trusted. As an example, when asked from a member who was nominated as an opinion leader by 14 of the 15 interviewees: "*why do you think you are seen as an opinion leader?*" the MP replied:

> "Personal experience and understanding. I am an expert in a way, I am regarded as a professional, like outside professionals who are heard in the committee. Others probe information and trust my opinions to be reliable and reasonable."

To continue with, though power is distributed mainly according to expertise, most women feel that they are not influential in "manly" matters. "It is said that the parliament is a chauvinist institution. And that is what it is". Any of the man MPs did not recognize this inequality to the degree the women did. A man MP stated, when the focus of the discussion was somewhere else, that "women gain power by 'leading'[men] and by 'silent

exercise of power'" and "isn't that what a smart woman does". When asked about inequality directly, a man MP argued that "I do not think gender is an issue…it might have been but not any more…at least it has become less steep". The findings prove that in the parliament inequality between genders is a remarkable factor constituting the working environment, and women still carry bigger burden of proving their substance than men.

> *"...still in politics, even though amount of women is big you still must work more than men. An also publicity, it is also cruel. It is a combination."*

The same applies to young, especially new members of parliament.

> *"...when we have had young and new members it is apparent in the attitudes…that one need to work for many years before gets taken seriously."*

The field observations confirm the finding. It also reveals that the formal institutional position is a meaningful factor in attitudes towards credibility. The personal assistants to MPs, for example, have diminishing power and there are attitudes towards their role. Though the assistants are not formally involved in the political decision making processes, they are allowed to join the committees' background group's meetings. Many of the assistants draft texts for their MPs' political statements in formal and informal arenas, such as blog texts, columns, speeches, and written questions for the Ministers. In one of the 15 committees' background group's meeting a personal assistant to an MP raised a point that was relevant to the matter at hand. Before the assistant was finished the Chairman of the meeting interrupted and stated "why don't we give the floor to the MPs". To continue with an example of an event in a similar meeting, a personal assistant to an MP gave an argument which was not given attention to. Shortly, an MP stated the same and it was appreciated as a good point. Women MPs in the CFA have similar experiences about their youth:

> *"young…not any more. As a young woman you definitely face prejudices. As a woman you have to be three times better and then you are in equal position with young men…the parliament in general, not only CFA."*

> *"...you are a. young and b. woman, it matters. And if you happen to have appearance[referring to 'good looking'] then it is not a combination that aggregate credibility...so that there is much to work with."*

Though the prejudices towards young women were presented with a negative tone, remarkable is that male MPs did not show unrespect towards the opposite sex MPs. Rather, the gender and appearance was in two cases found even a potential benefit depending on the women's own attitude. One of the man MPs implied that appearance may bring influential power in case it is seen as a potential benefit: "... men react to, for example, women who dress sexy. Then one can ask how professional you are if you let that affect".

Moreover, attitudes are not only prejudices. In case a member frequently arguments for similar matters or use the same example a certain image is formed. This affect to performance through others' judgement:

> *"People think that s/he is concerned only with those matters. In case s/he intervenes to other issues others think that why... In other words, 'every man to his own trade'."*

Individual and collective identities are attached to socially construed and socially constructing realities in relation to social regularities of the field. The fields are tightly connected to habitus. Habits, social regularities, and way of thinking seems as self-evident way of being due to *misrecognition* because "historically constituted" power hierarchies prevail (Bourdieu 2005: 10). For this reason the attitudes and rules as bases for evaluations are important to recognize. They affect in the MPs' performance.

4.5. Summary of the findings

Social capital is monopolized in the Committee of Foreign Affairs (CFA). (See Chapter 4.1.1.) Findings indicate that invisible power relations shape individual interests, identity, and judgement, which have considerable effect on the quality of social capital. Bourdieu defines social capital as accrual of individual resources that are proportional to the amount of social capital. Social capital indicates power distances between actors–dominant

positions that are gained benefit by virtue of possessing social relationships and networks of mutual acquaintance. In this case the benefit indicate ability to influence in political agenda. The results address that social relationships are a necessity to gain social influence and, therefore, individual political power. Small scale social networks inside the committee and the parliament are recognized as a form of consent co-operation that is emphasized as the main decision making procedure in the CFA. Also networks to other organizations and actors outside the parliament are valued to the degree that they accrue added value to MPs and contribute to increased social influence.

Though Bourdieu argue that social relationships are tied partly unconsciously between MPs with homogeneous *habitus* (Bourdieu 2001: 37, quoted in Lukes 2005: 140), the utmost reason for rational networking is the purpose of enhancing one's dominant and, therefore, influential position in the social power hierarchy of the committee. Supporting Bourdieu's view, actors form powerful sub-groups inside the committee based on shared values and interests. Social relations are most beneficial in a sense of promoting influence and enabling exchange of information when they are reciprocal relationships with trust. However, these relations do not need to base on good or friendly relationship. They can also be purely collaborative and have grounds in social pressure. Further, the findings by most part, extend to cover the larger field of operation, the parliament in general. Provided that maintenance of social relationships is valued in a field, its actors are willing to sacrifice their individual interests for the shared group-interest that, in the political field, engage actors in securing their social networks with reciprocity.

The most important resources for political influence and social capital are a) substance, expertise and knowledge, b) seniority and experience, c) high status, d) and charm and social capabilities, including verbal skills. The resources that are not seen as important can compensate one another but these qualities are necessities for social domination and networking inside and outside the committee and the parliament (See Chapter 4.2.). Status regards either formal privileged positions or informal authority that is gained on *pro rata* basis in regard to the valued resources in area of seniority, as well as substance and expertise. In Bourdieu's theory, status refers to cultural capital: social popularity and influential positions are acquired mainly through different forms of knowledge, which

indicate that cultural capital *converts* to social in this political field. (See Chapter 4.1.2.) The high positioned ones, such as seniors, ex-ministers and group leaders, have the main influential power. First season parliamentarians are placed in the bottom of the power hierarchy. The low positioned MPs have difficulties in getting their views "through". Even though seniority is valued, the "newcomers" are expected to show exceptional substance in case in urge to increase their influential position. In spite of categorizations that are based on the interview results, such as "the seniors" and "the newcomers", it is important to comprehend that the distinction is not made purely by age, rather, the categories refer also to parliamentary experience and memberships in the Finnish Government. (See Chapter 4.3.1.)

Nevertheless, some MPs are excluded from the decision making for they are seen to lack rationality and judgement, which cause unequal possibilities to influence in political agenda. This social segregation can be a result of the group pressure—a non-intentional sanction for breaking the parliamentary norms and common regularities for social behaviour. Anyhow, power distances in the CFA are narrow and social capital induce positive gain individually in form of influential political and social power, whereas the collective benefits are consent, well informed, and broad-minded political decisions. Moreover, the most efficient way to influence in opinions of others occur, formally, via professionals who are experts of different areas outside the parliament, or, informally, through opinion leaders within the committee. (See Chapter 4.3.2.) The committee Counsellors, the Secretaries, have much power for they draft the political statements.

Unconscious processes and the invisible power hierarchy in the parliament is shaped by the general rules of the field: values, social regularities with unwritten rules, and conceptualizations together with inherited ways to act. Therefore, there are differences between formations of the *habituses*—some are well-formed, which is seen in appropriate action and charm. Forbidden social behaviour is, for example inability to cope with parliamentary norms or inappropriate social behaviour. The norms that concern co-operation and social politeness are the most important, hence, even "show and revel" will be forgiven if lack of norm obeisance is compensated with social and political skills, knowledge, and substance. (See Chapter 4.4.1.) Through habitus the MPs are able to

position themselves in the social hierarchy as individuals are, according to Bourdieu, able to *sense one's place*. However, political leaders tend to *defend their intact self-image* and attach their identity in values that preserve their self-perception of social respect, and positive projections that are informed by their social reality. This, in some cases, lead to *misrecognition of social power hierarchies*, for example, some identify as opinion leaders through they are not perceived as dominant actors. (See Chapter 4.4.2.) The parliamentary culture preserve values that strengthen existing unequal hierarchies and influence on attitudes: individuals are valued unequally based on gender, age, parliamentary experience, and institutional positions, such as formal titles and informal statuses. (See Chapter 4.4.3.)

As a conclusion, perceptions on social reality are affected by personal categorizations, interests, and attitudes. Judgement is not always informed by objective constructs. Some MPs conceptualize themselves as higher or lower positioned actors in the power hierarchy, or their perceptions about reality differ from the perceptions that majority of the MPs have. The high positioned ones expect to be respected, for example, promoted to higher formal positions before the low positioned ones. This might lead to rudeness in interaction in case of differentiating perceptions. In addition to individual self-images, all of the respondents identify to the committee: the membership accrue status value and good reputation, both inside the parliament and the public.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This Section summarizes what is learned in this work by answering to the research question about firstly, the principles for social capital and, secondly, its affect in political leaders' performance in the committee. Chapter 5.1. discusses the importance of the findings about resources that accumulate social capital of political leaders, quality of social capital, and the invisible power as a component of the capital that improves or constrains individual performance. Social capital indicates the form of power that aggregates influential social positions. The invisible power regards individual social capital's preconditions and consequences to identity processes and performance. Chapter 5.2. concludes to the findings' relevancy to practical parliamentary work, as well as to previous and future theoretical research.

5.1. Main findings and development of theories

> " For a long I thought that the most qualified ones will succeed. It is not like that. Those popular among peers, they will succeed." (Member of Parliament 2015.)

5.1.1. Quality of social capital

Some social capital researchers, such as Putnam (1995), have striven to measure macro level policy making success with amount of social capital, referring to high or low amount of formal or informal networks. This research reasons why performance should *not* be measured based on amount of social capital. Instead, with agreement to Bourdieu with his followers, such as Swartz (2013) Woolcock (1998) and Fine (2010), the argument is that researchers should rather study *quality* of social capital and analyse its nature in order to evaluate the performance of a group. The research shows that the quality of social capital—the collective effects—can be evaluated, firstly, through *distribution of power*; in case the power distances between the dominant and dominated are wide, the effects of social capital, together with distinctive habitus, are more negative, regarding equal

possibilities to affect in decision making. *The negative effects will, in extreme cases, exclude some actors and lead to considerable inequality.* Vice versa, social capital accrue collective *benefits* in case power (the resources) is evenly distributed within a particular field.

Secondly, the quality of social capital is relational to the *quality of the individual resources* (micro level social capital as form of power) and *nature of the monopolized capital* (the field struggle) (See Chapter 2.3.). The resources are valued personal attributes and potentials and, therefore, power distances between high and low positioned actors in the hierarchical structure in a network of actors are defined by even distribution of personal qualities. Shared values, interests and identities affect and are affected by the shared social reality of the field regulated by norms and practices. Therefore its actors, through feelings, logic and action (habitus), define the quality of social capital and its effects. However, given that social, economic and cultural capitals work simultaneously in all fields, the *value of each capital* together with *the field's formal and informal norms* and *existing power hierarchies* must be recognized before concluding to collective benefits that social capital would possibly generate. In case, for example, a field is monopolized by economic capital instead of social, the positive effects of social capital are most likely diminish. "A good quality capital" also facilitate more realistic judgement and decrease negative effects of stereotyping. Narrow power distances result in less negative social evaluations (Goodwin et al. 2004: 150).

The quality of social capital in the committee is mainly positive, which mean narrow power distances, homogenous political *habituses* that form a coherent peer-group where no one is excluded unless behaved irrationally or against what is found appropriate within the group. The findings also indicate that the quality of individual capital is high for it is based on knowledge and expertise. The effects of social capital are perceivable in individual level: social capital is *produced* by advertising the resources and executing one's capabilities. For this reason, i*n the Committee of Foreign affairs social capital conceive political decisions that are based on pragmatic evaluation, knowledge and large amount of information.* Social capital can easily be *consumed* by action differing from

common expectations. Social capital is not easily re-produced, especially with experienced political leaders who ought to have internalized the social norms of the group. Newly elected parliamentarians will *re-produce* their image much easier but, remarkably, re-production of individual social capital is extremely difficult and it takes time.

Moreover, social popularity, respect, and influential positions are acquired mainly through different forms of knowledge, substance, and expertise, which indicate that cultural capital *converts* to social in this political field. Conscious relationship acquisition and maintenance is further promoted by charm, trustworthiness and good social skills. Relations also occur between MPs with similar interests and values, which is partly unconscious phenomena, as indicated by Bourdieu (See Chapter 2.2.) In order to gain respected position, influence and popularity among peers one must have a good *eye for the game* and a pattern of qualities that contribute to credibility and *high substance*. Due to limitations of the research, cultural capital and its conversion process to social is not the main focus of the survey. On the contrary, cultural capital's importance in politics is essential because knowledge, information, and understanding on human and natural sciences contribute to better quality political decisions.

5.1.2. The third dimension of power and influence in political agenda

Remarkably, in political field, social capital does not directly indicate ability to influence in political agenda, although efficient influencing necessitate a large amount of good social relations. One may have plenty of individual resources for power but yet, due to their quality, may not be able to realize a dominant position in the power hierarchy. Bourdieu political sociology notes that everybody does not start out equal. This is very true in the parliamentary culture where judgement is grounded in conservative values: the power position of newly elected members, women, young, not generally popular, or not charismatic is low with the burden of proofing substance through hard work.

Also informal parliamentary practices, common values and mental categorizations restrain some actors' success. In the opposite, already acquired influential position in one

committee is transformable to hierarchies of others' via general recognition. Establishment of status positions inside the parliament necessitate advertising one's capabilities, substance, and popularity among colleagues. Positive public recognition, referring to public actions and media image, improve one's reputation among peers, negative will do the opposite. The negative effects are more projectable to social hierarchies among other MPs, one may gain power but most likely lose it, in extreme cases ending up to social exclusion. Though media transmitted image differs from the political (social) reality, social media and reactions of the political (and economic) elite constitute *the feel for the game* and in extreme positive cases, give extra elbowroom for political influencing.

Bourdieu's main investment in the invisible power is his mechanism on symbolic violence that claims realities are relational, socially constructed and affected by individual and collective interests and identities (See Chapter 2.4.). Habitus, field, recognition and capitals are mechanisms that contribute to understanding the relationality of social reality. Political leaders tend to *defend their intact self-image* by attaching their identity to positive projections informed by their social reality and to values suitable for their conscious and unconscious purposes. This accrue self-confidence and is probably a necessity in the political game where confidence and public assertiveness are important. The findings imply that the *actors positioned low in the power hierarchy will resist their subordination, though shared values and the naturalized social reality sustain the stratified social order,* as also suggested by Lukes. This finding support understanding on the third dimension of power and Bourdieu's misrecognition and symbolic violence— dominance that is not needed to actively secure. For this reason, in social capital research, habitus and symbolic capital are at focal point.

Bourdieu argues that, like by magic of an invisible hand, actors with similar qualities and values tend to form social relationships. Instrumentalists, such as Burt (1992) claim that social relations connect actors to resources of others. This research has proven that social capital, as a form of power, do *not bridge* actors to the resources of others. However, scholars of the same school argue that social capital is rational bonding between actors. Even though Bourdieu alienate from this Coleman's functional school of social capital

and insist for unconscious social processes over rational networking, the findings of this research lead to conclude that also Bourdieu's theories positively imply to *conscious networking* processes; social capital should not be understood to work without a relation to particular field, attachment to *habituses* of the actors and other capitals. In the game of the political, the successful players are well aware of individual benefits they gain by connecting to the dominant key actors with statuses and titles, either formal or informal. Successful political leaders will have the main interest in bonding and making social ties in order to improve their individual influence. Judgement and strategies for action constitute *the feel for the game* and in extreme positive cases, give extra elbowroom for political influencing. This sensibility, or *eye for the political game*, together with parliamentary norms constitutes *political habitus* (See Chapter 2.3.1). A well-formed political habitus balances societal tensions and affirms trust among a larger entity of individuals (c.f. Swartz 2013: 106). Unconscious processes and the invisible power hierarchy in the parliament become visible for the actors by the process of self-positioning, *sense of one's place*—the acknowledgement and recognition of power relations.

Moreover, persuasion skills with other social capabilities have a role in the political decision making process in the committee. Habitus embodies social capital with symbols, most significantly non-verbal and verbal communication. Communication refers to Weberian like oratory charm and rhetoric: attractiveness, argumentation and persuasion skills together with chosen strategies for influence. Actors in positions with less power find themselves as influential through persuasion of those in power. Experts in the committee and outside professionals have power to lead, also power to mislead, because they are trusted. The quality of political decisions depends partly on the actual expertize of the professionals heard in the committee and the Government. Misrecognition and unconscious processes below rationality affect to individual evaluation on who to trust and which strategies to use. Political habitus can therefore be seen as affected by and affecting to self-conceptualization, action, and semi-conscious calculation on how the action will be recognized and judged by other actors in the field. Strategies that politicians choose for their actions are dependent on the leaders' ability to calculate, judge and interpret the social reality, which is intermediated by political habitus.

Ability to utilize available strategies for influence, and self-created possibilities to advertise the valued resources for power carry the main importance in political leaders' performance. Any resource that political leaders occupy do not accrue capital (power) unless it is recognizable for others. However, *the choice of strategies is sensitive to one's ability to recognize her position in the power hierarchy*–not everybody are able to use similar influencing channels. Neither is everybody equipped with well-formed political habitus, referring to the social sensibility to notice nuances and shades of social interaction, to the degree that a "truthful" perception of one's own place could be formed. Research on the quality of individual social capital does not reveal only the real power relations, but also those "unreal" ones: the positions that one identifies with, based on distorted perceptions on the social reality, but that can never be actualized due to misrecognized conceptualizations of self and others. *Political leaders may, for the reason of biased self-images (often over-estimation of own power positions) be unable to use efficient influencing strategies*. To point out possible misrecognized power positions for performance improvement, micro level studies on social capital must find underlying forms and relations of power with attention to cognitive schemas, identities and subjective perceptions of reality. Drawing on Bourdieu and Lukes who both find correlation to Weber's definition on charm and leadership, the invisible power surfaces in action and verbal and non-verbal communication, the embodied way of thinking. Social capital studies must pay attention to prevailing power hierarchies (the field) that are observable in language, behaviour and interaction.

Furthermore, Lukes is not convinced that Bourdieu's field and habitus grounds his understanding on the third dimension of power as such. However, Lukes does not put much weight on *doxa* and symbolic capital that answers to his question about unconscious willingness for domination. Not much attention have been paid to Bourdieu's view on interests in social capital research. Though capitals might generate collective benefit and consent decision making is the main shared interests of the committee, the utmost interest of a successful Member of Parliament is self-interest. Political leaders are expected to efficiently influence in political decisions with mandates issued by citizens. Given that influential positions are achieved through dominant positions in social networks, the interest even in reciprocal social action and empathy is driven by the goals that seek

individual benefit in form of maintenance of social relationships that are crucial for an effective parliamentarian.

To continue with important conclusions, in the field of the political, *self-interests serve the good of the public*. However, collective interests mediate power distances. When maintenance of social relationships is valued in a field, its actors are willing to sacrifice their individual interests for the shared group-interest that, in a political field, engage actors in securing their social networks. Friendly relationships with emotional gain set limits for efficient promotion of one's views in case they conflicts with the ideologies of the friend. For this reason, relationships of co-operation level acquaintance contribute to better influential efficiency. One is in urge to estimate consequences of the actions and weight the issue's importance in relation to the benefits, whether for emotional or political gain. On the other hand, friendship with Ministers or other high-status leaders will promote success. Through compromises the self-interest may change to shared one in the expense of assumed good for the represented citizens. Voters' good is dependent on their political leader's ability to make and maintain social relationships among the political elite. Finally, in modern politics there is "a stronger pressure to innovate, to break the old routines and expectations, and to invent new attractive appeals" (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 46). Among political elite in the parliament, innovativeness and therefore quality of political decisions may suffer because of "elbowroom" and authority indicated to the senior members is vast. The value of seniority is seen to hinder innovations. Quality of political decisions is much dependant on the public officers preparing the statements in ministries and the parliament, as well as on the professionals heard in the process.

Political leaders' performance can be evaluated with success in maintenance of good social relationships with colleagues in the committee, in the political group, and the Ministries with public officers, though criteria for self-evaluation are variant and dependent on objectivity of one's self-concept. In order to have power to influence in decision making a politician need to have both social and political power within the decision making group: inside committees and the party. Every MP has power to certain extent. The most powerful individuals have greatest influence due to effective utilization

of available resources and influencing strategies. Furthermore, the power of politicians reach to the network of public and media, as well as to public officers.

5.2. Suggestions for practice

This study reveals the nature of the third kind of power: misrecognition and social capital in parliamentary context by applying the theories in individual level political leadership, in the heart of different tensions and power relations. Political refers to power and power is nothing but social relations. The study defends power as a significant component of social capital in parliamentary decision making. The theoretical frame, accompanied by the study results, paves the way for future applications of social capital in politics, public management and leadership. For the reason that the research investigates micro level social capital, the results provide understanding over individual resources that empower political leaders in their work in the parliament. Furthermore, the findings prove social approach relevant in political research, with emphasis on socially constructed power and individual interpretations' influence to behaviour and decision making in peer-groups. Social dimensions, such as identity, action, cognition and behaviour, are popular subjects of study in social psychology (Nolas 2011: 16–17). They are, however, successfully excluded in micro level parliamentary research. Bourdieu's focus is in finding why people act as they do and how it affects to legitimated authority and political order.

Qualitative method studies, have been criticised to lack validity (Travers 2004: 7). Also theories on social capital are claimed to give analytical errors concerning performance (Fine 2010: 82). These limitations are possible to come across provided that social capital, as intended by Bourdieu, is very context sensitive and results of one application should not be generalized into others. Furthermore, the analytical errors might occur due to lacking field knowledge, falsely chosen sample, and poor interpretation of the results (ibid.). Attention must be paid to social rules and logic of the field—the context analysis is this research is comprehensive. This case study inspires further research to utilize qualitative research techniques. The research utilizes social practices that activates the

respondents to actively initiate into the research process, such as participant observation and networking for deeper insight to the studied subject.

The participants have been interested in the study and found the subject fascinating. The research problems evolved from practical issues and purpose of the research is to produce information that is useful for practical work. Also, the aim is to develop parliamentary procedures, which could be of interest of future parliamentary research. The field of study has not been popular in Finland which can be seen in limited amount of recent parliamentary research. Due to lack of local studies, Finnish works applicable for comparison of the results are somewhat outdated and does not reflect current political environment, though Parliament of Finland has a conservative and slowly advancing culture. Anyhow, this research, including background information acquisition through Memory Information Archive of Veteran MPs, has proven the later local researches still valid on the parts they are included in this study. Oksanen (1972: 107) found that non-obeisance of parliamentary norms will be sanctioned. The most common sanctions regard restricting one's equal participation. Extreme sanctions are, among others, exclusion (Oksanen 1972: 107). The findings of this research confirm the existence of social sanctions, however, they are not *intended* punishments and, though set the excluded in unequal positions, generally consequence in better politics through good quality of social capital that contribute to consent decision making. Exceptionally, Oksanen's informal parliamentary practices and norms can be considered as re-defined with findings of this study (See Chapter 4.3.). Furthermore, this research produced information on resources and capabilities that emerge leadership, increase influence among political leaders, and promote success (See Chapter 4.1.). For the norms are unwritten rules they are, with empowering qualities, useful to acknowledge for practical level performance improvement of especially newly elected parliamentarians. Socially construed reality with its norm system form the operating environment of the political leaders.

Providing a practical development idea for political influence, the findings show the importance of recruitment of influential politicians. Popularity of the parties, according to Blondel (2005), is dependent on their ability to recruit charming personalities with image that is found attractive by the public. Convincing, trustworthy image and verbal

skills, together with attractive appeal of political leaders have fundamental affect to voters' acceptance that the democratic leaders compete for. (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 9.) Nevertheless, the findings indicate that successful politicians are personalities with charm, initiative, and knowledge—qualities that generate emerged leadership *not mainly public, but inside the parliament*. The main emphasis in the recruitment should be put in *quality of political habitus*: amount and quality of already existing networks as well as to the actor's position in them, rather dominant nor dominated. Further, attention should be paid in social capabilities that facilitate bonding social relationships, such as ability to shift between roles and identities to attract actors in different positions and fields, persuasion and argumentation skills referring to empathy to sense other actors' feelings and desires, and brilliant communication skills with well-developed ability to search and process information. The ultimate aim in the recruitment process regarding political leaders should be, rather than estimating one's public attractiveness, in evaluating one's devotion and possibilities to influence in political agenda by gaining social popularity among other political leaders.

Apart from the results, the theoretical frame and methodology are practical instruments for research on fields, the third kind of power and social capital. Bourdieu's and Luke's theories provide a comprehensive set of theories. Throughout Bourdieu's political work in 1970–1980, inspired by Weber, Rousseau and Durkheim, changes and phenomena in the political field are explained with internal tensions and power relations inside the policy making groups. Bourdieu excludes most effects that the external environment add to performance of politicians, for the reason of which his theories are suitable in this analysis of power relations between political leaders, focus being in the micro level power structure of the committee. However, his emphasis on government's domination in larger scale political order can be considered exaggerated for it may distort understanding of the real relation between the society and political leaders (Purhonen & Roos 2006: 169–170.) For the reason of attaching the research to prevailing democracy and strengthening its quality, the theoretical frame is filled with more recent political theories. Modern political environment celebrates innovative and self-confident leaders. These capabilities, together with Weber's "strong commitment, cool head and balanced judgement" drive political leaders in popularity among public and their peers (Pakulski and Körösényi 2012: 9).

However, trust among the citizens is acquired by means differing from those that are effective inside the political elite circle. Notably, not all institutions are monopolized by social capital and, therefore, the first task in research on social capital is to find which capital, cultural or economic, is the dominant. Additionally, this research provide a suitable methodological application for data collection and analysis for future research on group performance, emerged leadership, parliamentary practice, and valuable resources that reveal the quality of simultaneously working forms of power both in public and private organizations.

As the research data is a composition of individual conceptualizations, the results cannot be widely generalized. However, provided that all the Members of Parliament share the parliamentary culture, their performance is regulated by the same or similar attitudes, values and norms. Given that every committee in the parliament have similar internal tensions and formal procedures, the results are relevant inside Parliament of Finland. However, recommended is to study each committee or parliamentary group separately because, firstly, the results will most likely vary due to their attachment to subject, people, place and time. Secondly, Committee of Foreign Affairs employs mainly members with long political experience and valued formal titles, such as previous membership in the Finnish Government. Also, the committee's work emphasize exceptional consensus because of its importance for national security and foreign affairs. The subject of the study is strongly connected to public management, hence, political influencing in parliamentary committees does not correspond to that of public officers due to unique nature of parliamentary culture and procedures.

5.3. Further research

This research lacks participant observations in the committee meetings, though a vast amount of ethnographic field work was conducted, including informal interviews and observations in corridors, cafeterias, and open hearings of the committee. The primary interviews' results reveal that political leaders' rhetoric and interaction in the committee meetings is strategically different from situations that are open to public: performance in

plenary sessions and open hearings aim in publicity, whereas the interest in the closed committee meetings is in maintaining consent environment for good social relations and political decisions. Fruitful future studies should aim in exploring political habitus, attitudes and principles for judgement, in language through political leaders' interaction during the closed parliamentary sessions or in other occasions where their correspondence is accessible. This could be done through observations and discursive analysis, in aim of finding the "true" nature of unconscious symbolic power, "distorted identities", and possible dimensions and shades of misrecognized power that cannot comprehensively be approached through personal subjective perceptions, such as interviews. Moreover, in modern politics the role of media is remarkable. Castells in 1997 discussed about raise of global networks of wealth, power, information and images that weaken the power of states, organizations, media and cultural nominators (Pollitt 2003, 64). Internet and social media and its contents produced by active citizens parallels with political force (Rosanvallon 2008: 66). Future studies on social capital could find how politicians' interaction with citizens, through social media, affect to political leaders judgement and self-image.

According to Moore (2012: 110), Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital provides access to examination of intra-group actions and individual performance evaluation. Symbolic capital is *recognized* authority that is proportionally relational to the individual capitals that it works together with. Symbolic social capital represents the acknowledged resources for power that are advertised through habitus. Finding activities and qualities that contribute to exclusion of others, such as tight bonds and reciprocal relationships of restricted amount of actors, would answer the question on quality of capitals and preconditions for habitus, referring to naturalized norms and power hierarchies, in different organizational and institutional contexts. Moreover, public policy making will advantage on micro and macro level studies on social capital not for the reason of purely positive effects, but due to recognition of the capital's possible negative effects: locating the weakest links in a chain of governing and public management would answer, among others, to the questions on how political elite identifies and how different stereotypes and categories exclude some in policy making process—does policy making serve common

good or the good of the elite? Studies on social capital should indicate places for social development and promotion of equality inside the decision making organs.

> *Sociology[…]is a better knowledge of the object itself"*
> (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 254).

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APPENDIX 1. Topics searched in data acquisition and analysis

Purpose	Codes searched in transcript	Correspondence to research question
Find monopolized capital (micro and macro), identity attachment	- What makes one influential? - What qualities are valuable? - What is good performance? - Does one feel respected? Why? When? Why not?	**Valued resources and why they are valuable** **Sub-Question 1**
Unconscious, identity, interests, feelings, "common truth" (individual and shared)	- How one locates self in network of power positions and why? - What restricts or enchance performance? - How does something feel like? - What is judged and how? - What one finds reachable? - Action, phenomenas outside the question agenda - Matches and mismatches that arise in comparison between answers, and answers and observations - Behind the language and purpose (visible in non-verbal and choise of words, e.g. *I*, or *we*, and *them)* - Is one self-suspicious and why? -	**The invisible power, misrecognition, habitus, naturalized hierarchies** **Sub-Question 2**
Socially appropriate and inappropriate practices	- What can be said and done and what not? - What are threats to own social position? - Why something is not acceptable? - Are there rules that differ from previous experiences?	**Find unwritten rules and norms in the parliament, logic of the field** **Sub-Question 3**

APPENDIX 2. Topics discussed during semi-structured interviews

1. Mikä tekee yksittäisestä kansanedustajasta vaikutusvaltaisen tai auktoritaarisen muiden kansanedustajien keskuudessa?
    (What makes an individual Member of Parliament (MP) influential or authoritarian among group of MPs?)
2. Mikä kerryttää uskottavuutta tai sosiaalista valtaa poliittisten ryhmien sisällä?
    (What aggregates credibility or social power inside political groups?)
3. Mikä on sosiaalinen asemasi ulkoasiainvaliokunnassa (UaV)?
    (What is your social position in Committee of Foreign Affairs (CFA)?)
4. Oletko mielipidejohtaja? Mistä syystä?
    (Are you an opinion leader? For what reason?)
5. Onko UaV:ssa havaittavissa valtahierarkia, esim. toisten mielipiteitä arvostetaan enemmän kuin toisten?
    (Is there an existing power hierarchy in the CFA, e.g. does opinions of some have more weight than others'?)
6. Keitä ovat kaikkein vaikutusvaltaisimmat jäsenet UaV:ssa ja minkä takia?
    (Who are the most influential or powerful members in the committee and why?)
7. Oletko havainnut valiokunnassa olevan valtaa pitäviä ryhmittymiä?
    (Have you noticed that there would be influential sub-groups inside the committee?)
8. Riippuvatko valtahierarkiat puolueesta, tai muodostuuko valtaa pitäviä ryhmittymiä yli puoluerajojen?
    (Are power hierarchies dependent on parties, or are powerful sub-groups formed cross the party boundaries?)
9. Keitä näihin ryhmiin kuuluu? Miksi näillä ryhmiin kuuluvilla henkilöillä on valtaa?
    (Who are the persons in these groups? Why the persons within these groups have power?)
10. Miten uudet valiokunnan jäsenet saavat vaikutusvaltaa? Miksi he eivät saisi kunnioitusta?
    (How new committee members become influential and respected? Why they would not be respected?)
11. Voiko vaikutusvalta ja/tai kunnioitus hävitä? Miten?
    (Can influence and/or respect be consumed? How?)
12. Mitä on poliittinen valta? Mitä on sosiaalinen valta?
    (What is political power? What is social power?)
13. Milloin ja missä voit parhaiten vaikuttaa poliittiseen päätöksentekoon?
    (When and where can you best influence in political decision making?)
14. Miten vallankäyttö näkyy komiteassa? Tukeeko se hyviin poliittisiin ratkaisuihin päätymistä?
    (How is excercise of power visible in the committee? Does it contribute to good political compromises?)
15. Ovatko retoriset taidot tai charmi tärkeitä parlamentaarisessa työssä? Esim. suostuttelutaidot, argumentointitaidot, viehättävyys (viitaten fyysisiin ja psyykkisiin ominaisuuksiin).
    (Are rhetorical skills or charm important in parliamentary work? Such as persuasion, argumentation, attractiveness [referring to physical and psychological attributes].)
16. Mikä on kokemuksesi parlamentaarisessa työssä, politiikassa ja UaV:ssa?
    (What is your experience in parliamentary work, politics and in the CFA?)
17. Ovatko sosiaaliset suhteet ja verkostot tärkeitä?
    (Are social relationships and networks important?)
18. Miten tärkeätä on käyttäytyä odotusten mukaisesti? Mitä nämä odotukset ovat?
    (How important is to act according to expectations? What are these expectations?)
19. Keneen luotat? Miksi?
    (Who do you trust? Why?)
20. Ketkä eivät tule kuulluksi, tai keneen ei luoteta? Miksi?
    (Who are not listened or heard, or trusted? Why?)

These questions were not necessarily asked directly as such. The order in which the topics were discussed varied depending on the issues and matters the interviewees wanted to talk about.

APPENDIX 3. Resources for social capital: power and relationships

Valued resources for social capital (power)	- Social relationships -Networks cross parties and outside the parliament - Substance most respected -Hard work, information acquisition -Charm and attractiveness -Experience in time -Experience in work -Age, seniority -Active participation	-Respecting "common rules" for action -Social skills -Informal authority, status -Formal status: group leaderships, committee representatives, memberships in Finnish Government (Minister) -Considerability -Activity and initiative in committee work -Right timing	-Empathy and sensibility -Credibility -Appearance -Ability to make fast judgements -Finding solutions -Creativity .Innovativeness -Expertise -Eye for the game -Ability to perceive and understand quickly -Verbal talents -Argumentation skills -Know-how that others do not have
Valued qualities in social relationships (See Chapter 4.1.1.)	-Charm -Social skills -Credibility and trustworthiness -Empathy -Fairness	-Attractiveness -Appearance -Not self-centred -Honesty	

APPENDIX 4. Power distribution, strategies and performance

Categories	Example data extracts (in Finnish)	Concepts
Distribution of power	"Valiokuntaneuvoksella iso rooli vallankäyttäjänä. Näennäisesti istuu sivussa, mutta kovia vallankäyttäjiä. Kirjoittaa pöytäkirjaa ja draftaa. Osaa kuunnella ja tulla kaikkien poliittisten näkemysten kanssa toimeen" "Politiikan ulkopuolella hankittu osaaminen tuo auktoriteetin yli puoluerajojen" "Ei **ainoastaan** sukupuoli. Myös akateeminen koulutus ja työkokemus...ikä"	-Multistep hierarchy -Power distributed based on quality and amount of resources for social capital -Inequality between genders -First season parliamentarians low in power hierarchy, unless exceptional substance -Sub-groups inside committee have more power than individuals -Committee Councelor high in power hierarchy -Professionals have much power, they are trusted -Men powerful in "hard", women respected in "soft" matters
Power positions' positive and negative consequences to performance	"Korkealla puolueen ravintoketjussa olevalla on enemmän valtaa. Pahnanpohjimmaisena ravintoketjussa ei huudella, vaan äänestetään niin kuin muut sanoo" "Taloon tullessa kaikki on samanarvoisia ja eduskunnassa ryhmässä pannaan sitten uudet keltanokkien riviin...valiokunnassa pannaan uudet tulokkaat jonon hännille eriarvoiseen järjestykseen." "Vaikeaa tulla pois kuolleesta kulmasta jos perustavan laatuisissa asioissa ajatellaan että arviointikyky on pettänyt" "suosio kollegoiden keskuudessa vaikuttaa siihen että saa jonkun[...]asian hoidettua helpommin kuin känkkäränkkä ja ei toisten pitämä persoona" "Syrjäytyneet ei tahdo saada kannatusta järkevillekään mielipiteille, ei UaV:ssa eikä omienkaan joukossa eri asioissa"	-High positioned get more attention and room for influence, e.g. time to speak -High positioned have influential power and social relations: power to influence agendas -Low positioned have difficulties in getting their views through -Excluded will not be heard, not get things through -High position not necessarily mean innovative ideas
Conscious strategies to achieve goals	"Tosiasiallinen tapa vaikuttaa valiokunnassa on asiantuntijoiden kautta...erittäin tehokas vaikutuskanava...pystyy tuomaan ja esittelemään eduskunnalle uusia asiantuntijoita, jotka sitten vaikuttavat asian käsittelyyn ja tuo uusia mielipiteitä...tämä ehdottomasti esimerkiksi ensimmäisen kauden kansanedustajille paras tapa vaikuttaa ja olen itsekin sitä käyttänyt" "nopea äly ja kyky 'draftata'. Että 'eikö tämä olis parempi muotoilla näin'...usein on kyse nyansseista"	-Informal discussions: much with own group members and "friends" in parliament exchange information, agree on political stances -Influence through professionals -Must be involved in decision making processes from the beginning, timing -Bonding with the ones that support your view -Persuasion of opinion leaders -Authority through publicity -Fair play and trust -Persuasion -Get others to listen -Must persuade opponents and those in higer position to influence

APPENDIX 5. Unwritten rules and social regularities

Categories	Example data extracts (in Finnish)	Concepts
Socially appropriate and inappropriate norms and practices **"invariant laws of the field"**	"UaV:ssa **sama** inhimillinen sääntö, että vaikka kuinka touhuat, mutta jos et sä osaa tarjoilla asioita siten että muutkin ne ostavat, ei se auta vaikka kuinka helvetin aktiivinen ja nuori ja ponteva olisit. Mut jos kukaan muu ei tykkää niistä asioista jotka sä paat hyväksyttäväks niin sä touhuu niinku väärissä...ja väärillä tavoilla siinä tilanteessa" "Näitä ei saa sanoa…nämä on semmoisia…" -eiks niitä saa sanoa kokouksessa? "No saa mut...sit mä..." "Eduskunnasta puhutaan että se on sovinistinen laitos, ja sitähän se on"	-Popularity among colleagues -Actions must bring added value to the group -Government parties support each other -Beginners must earn their place -Respect others -Social rules and expectations necessitate consensus "no will to rock the boat" -One must know how to behave according to "common rules". If not, excluded **Forbidden:** -Blaiming others -Everything not allowed to say out loud -To proceed own interests too enthusiastically or be too ambitious -Political overtakings -Talk too much or in case no know-how -Try to convince the professionals with own opinions or question what they say -Embarassing others -Give confidential information to public - No knowing-it-all -Seek to proceed own benefits or benefits of own party -"Stupid" writings in social media -"Stupid" behaviour -Fast changing opinions -Precipitous behaviour -Uncertainty -Wrong information -Relying on false facts -Extrimistic guests
Attitudes, identities, interests, feelings, (individual and shared)	"Nuorena naisena ihan varmasti kohtaa ennakkoluuloja…naisena pitää olla kolme kertaa parempi ja sitten on tasaviivalla miesten kanssa...koko eduskunta, ei pelkkä UaV" "Ns. kovat miehiset jutut, turvallisuus ja puolustus, ja miehiset jutut on miesten juttuja...aina kun avaan suuni puhun naisten oikeuksista, kehitysyhteistyöstä, ns. pehmeistä. Jos naiset puhuvat, näissä kuunnellaan.Jos naiset ovat kiinnostuneet "kovista" jutuista, huokaa eikä kuuntele ollenkaan."	-Membership in Committee of Foreign Affairs increase status in Parliament -Women do not identify as authoritarian, men do -Attitudes and stereotypes regarding "newcomers" -Shared identity: "we-spirit" -Others are identified based on their image through advertised resources -"menly" matters and "womanly" matters -Women gain power by "leading" and "silent exercise of power"

	”Porukka ajattelee kyllä että hänelle kuuluu vain ne asiat. Jos puuttuu muihin, muut miettii miksi puuttuu, pysyisi suutari lestissään” "Älykäs nainen yleensä johdattelee" "Sit kun on ollut nuoria uusia edustajia, kyllä se suhtautumisessa näkyy. Että saa monta vuotta tehdä töitä että tulee otetuksi vakavasti" ”Jos käyttää samankaltaisia perusteluja tai vetää aina samaa esimerkkiä, muodostuu tietty imago”	
Consequences	”Jos selvästi rikkoo sosiaalisia sääntöjä niin...” "joutuu vähän niinku ulkokehälle…ei osaa käyttäytyä ja ne koodit ei ole hallussa. nää on tämmöisiä erikoisia henkilöitä, jotka ei käyttäydy ihan normaaleiden normien mukaisesti...” ”Itsekritiikin ja arvostelukyvyn puute tuhoaa sosiaalista pääomaa” ”Tunnen ihmisiä jokta päsmää aina päälle, se vie hölösuilta arvovaltaa pois. Vaikka tietoa olisi paljon, mutta jos on uskomaton...aina hösäämässä. Jengi väsyy siihen. Pitkiä puheenvuoroja, se vie uskottavuutta. Sanomakaan ei mene läpi kun kaikilla on kuulonestolaite päällä. ”Puheenjohtaja ei esimerkiksi anna toista puheenvuoroa jos ei osaa puhua oikein” ”Jos leimautuu vain omien tai puolueensa asioiden ajajaksi, ei saa kantojaan läpi”	-Social exclusion -No credibility -Bad image, but not identity breakage -Loss of social capital and influential position