The use of media and social divisions.

Poles' media competences from a relational perspective

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1 Introduction: Media competences from a relational perspective

The subject of the media and competences linked to their use frequently appears in discussions that reach beyond the narrow circle of researchers. Since the media play a significant role in social and cultural life and are perceived as an important economic sector, the discussion about their uses and related competences occupies a significant place in public debate and is a subject of strategic policies, both locally and on the European level. Naturally, the main catalyst for the development of this discussion was the popularisation of new communication technologies, primarily the Internet, which – compared to centralised mass media like television or the radio – offers its users new opportunities and modes of application, but at the same time poses new challenges.

This project is devoted to diagnosing communication competences of Polish citizens, taking into consideration particularly the competences related to using the Internet. Simultaneously we treat it as a point of departure for further critical reflection on concepts such as "competences" and "media". We would like to avoid normative views on "proper" and "improper" uses of media, as well as remain critical towards the conviction that the sole fact of using media equals successful functioning for an individual or social group. This presents some difficulties, as the discourse used when discussing media competences imposes such a normative framework. We thus hope to exemplify a practical application of research assumptions which, we believe, might provide a worthwhile supplement to the dominating voices in media and communication competences research.

Our point of departure is the work of Pierre Bourdieu; following his theory we assume the existence of social divisions based on an uneven distribution of economical, social and cultural capital. We believe that discussions about media competences cannot be conducted without reflecting on other social inequalities. That is why in our project we attempt to analyse the degree to which the media and media competences allow individuals to multiply or convert various types of capital. In this context the capabilities approach, proposed by economist Amartya Sen (2002), seems particularly relevant. Combining Bourdieu's theory with the perspective proposed by Sen may enrich Bourdieu's model with new means of capturing the processes of balancing social inequalities. However, the first step in this direction must obviously be to understand existing social divisions. The works of these two scholars set the framework of this report, which points to social differences unrelated to media usage, aims to search for potential areas

promising constructive social change and to create a basis for designing recommendations for cultural and educational policy. Sen points out that the same goods and services can be used in various ways, determined by individual and non-individual factors. These are "conversion factors" – individual knowledge and skills, social norms, limitations of access to resources, etc. This accounts for the "self-exclusion" thread which appears in discussions about Internet use (and uses of other media); it is argued that individuals who theoretically could use the Internet to improve their situation, choose not to do so. In the dominating narration, the reason for this is a lack of competences, which ought to be addressed through – for instance – educational activities. According to Sen and Bourdieu, this "self-exclusion" may be an internalised choice resulting from earlier ~~li~~fe experiences of individuals who, for various reasons, believe that the emancipatory potential of using a given tool is low. Karolina Sztander-Sztanderska and Marianna Zieleńska describe this phenomenon as follows: "Sen and Bourdieu pay attention to the process of adaptation of preferences and show that people rarely aspire for something that is improbable to achieve (…) This mechanism of self-limitation – according to Bourdieu – is usually not a matter of informed choices of individuals as suggested by ~~r~~ational actor model. It is based on previous experiences and involves excluding options that – as he calls it – are often «unthinkable» (Bourdieu 1980). It means that we might exclude something as «not for us» not because we do not want or value it, but because it did not cross our mind that it is a possibility." (2012:15)

~~W~~We realise that this theoretical framework leaves considerable space for debate – for at least two reasons. Firstly, our approach relativises the question of social equality; rather than seeing it as a dogma, we assume that in order to even the citizens' chances, one must take into consideration the capabilities of different individuals. Following Sen's reasoning discussed above, it could be said that no universal criteria of equality exist, because – for diverse reasons – different individuals have at their disposal varying capabilities of achieving valuable results with the resources at hand. This ~~c~~hoice of optics allows some space for individuals' freedom of choice regarding what they deem valuable. More importantly, it does not ignore social differences and the fact that treating freedom of choice as identical for all members of society results in only the privileged individuals truly benefiting from it. Some elements here stem from the ethics of care, developed on the basis of feminist theory, in which the primary moral imperative is not justice, but care; the asymmetrical nature of relationships is ~~n~~ot seen as an aberration, but as a result of structural conditions. The subject of care does not abuse its provider; in fact, in a relationship where power is unevenly distributed, expecting absolute symmetry is charged with potential exploitation (Nel Noddings 1984). This is a noteworthy theme, particularly in the context of the activities of public bodies or institutions. We would like to encourage progressing from measuring and describing competence deficiencies to accounting for the reasons of those deficiencies, as in our

view they result from more fundamental divisions and barriers. An analysis of competence inequalities should include their roots seated in unequal capital distribution.

As a consequence in this report a relational – rather than universalist – approach to communication competences has been adopted. We understand competence as the ability to use a medium to support an area of life which the individual deems important or which takes up a significant portion of his or her time (i. e. it is indicated by the individual as a significant area of their life). If the horizon of Internet uses deemed possible by an individual derives from that individual's position in society, it is also likely to be linked with the resources at his or her disposal. We would therefore like to demonstrate that individuals often deal with emerging challenges within the modes of operation characteristic for their social groups; and that in order to meet those challenges they might only need "their" types of media and "their" uses of those media – which often differ from the uses of media preferred by other, especially privileged, social groups. As we discussed in the "Youth and Media" book: „Online horizon (is) the assemblage of possible uses of Internet applications a particular person is aware of. Horizon becom apparent both during the process of experencing and individual discovery of these capabilities, as well as all the uses that the persons can imagine as potential capabilities (imagined, overheard or noticed from others, or presented in media reports" (Filiciak et al., 2013: 105). Attempting to view competences on an absolute scale obscures the fact of exclusion: people frequently do not perform specific actions because not having certain types of capital at their disposal simply does not allow them access to those actions (access understood also as access to knowledge or strategic thinking). Furthermore, if one does not wish to treat excluded groups in a patronising manner, one must assume at least a possibility that not performing certain actions (including not investing in skills necessary to carry them out) can be a rational choice – or, to quote Sztanderska and Zieleńska – an internalised choice resulting from experience and based on, not necessarily deliberate, analysis of investment versus possible return. Simultaneously, however, we do not view the media simply as means to "deal with" or "navigate" the existing social environment – we also take into account (including within the study itself) media competences which may serve individuals to widen their habitus and so to boost their social mobility.

Discussing the relational approach to the question of competences, Jan van Dijk points to its basic advantages, specifying – among others – the capacity to explain uneven levels of adopting technology by different social groups and the capacity to more precisely pinpoint types of inequality. "Individualistic notions of inequality produce an endless number of differences that can be observed between individuals, with no particular priority among them. Instead, distinctions have to be made between types of difference and attention has to be called to the structural aspects of

society who refer to the relatively permanent and systemic nature of the differentiation called inequality". (van Dijk 2013: 30-31) At the same time it is difficult to overlook that differences on an individual level and those on a social level frequently overlap and that relational language weakens the overly dualistic categories of exclusion-inclusion, competences-no competences. It is of course possible to imagine a situation in which a lack of skills necessary to use the Internet is compensated by maintaining a network of contacts who will gladly help. An example of this is using media by proxy (Leszczyńska, Mazurek 2007): individuals who literally do not approach the computer (so, formally, non-users) are able to acquire information from the Internet or perform tasks online via helpful friends or acquaintances. In Poland, credit for stepping outside the simple user vs. non-user dichotomy should be given to authors of the World Internet Project Poland (2011) study, which introduced the category of proxy users. Van Dijk mentions other themes, which could not be included here – such as the rejection of computers and the Internet by specific social groups (for instance, low-earning Latino populations in the US) for cultural reasons (such as perceiving certain media as not masculine or "cool" enough). It could of course be argued that it remains to be seen whether such observations will produce another cultural layer or group to be researched in Internet studies and to what extent they are rational explanations or internalisations of choices determined by social environment (see: Stanley 2001, Rojas et al. 2004, in: van Dijk 2013: 37). The theoretical framework we adopted for this project is suggesting the second interpretation, but those are merely speculations: we do not have the tools to justify this view. However, this might be a question worthy of exploring in the future, possibly within ethnographic research studies.

Adopting a relational perspective sheds new light on the results of periodical measurements of skills, which – analysed, for instance, in the "Social diagnosis" report – show few signs of progress. Without questioning the need to stimulate the acquisition of those skills by adjusting educational policies and creating resources for excluded members of society (which, in the case of the Internet, means primarily older and less educated citizens), we believe that these results can also be seen as an emblem of arrogance characterising the elites: promoting the discourse of "insufficient competences" is, in essence, a way to discipline the subordinate social groups, while neglecting to include activities involving computers and the Internet into other lifestyles. The theme of disciplining subordinate classes is the second context worth keeping in mind; it is also mentioned in discussions revolving around other concepts from the field of culture studies, which have a potentially normative character, dividing social practices into "better" and "worse". Marcin Jewdokimow comments: "My assumption is based on Foucault's standpoint, according to which studies of participation in culture have never analysed existing cultural practices, but have always constituted a political means of creating those practices; so, they were subjected to the

logic of managing the population, which in turn means that the research programs have been subjected to the goals of cultural policy (spelled out or not)" (2012: 88). On the surface this seems to be a distant analogy, but – in fact – in both cases a question needs to be asked about the researchers' allegiance and the social consequences brought forward by the knowledge they further (especially in the context of work subsidised by state grants and forming recommendations, and so potentially creating "institutionalised knowledge" – Ang 1991). Both the measurement of competences and the measurement of participation in culture may be seen as a way to verify the extent to which the population behaves in a way which the privileged classes have adopted (or believe they have). This phenomenon is exemplified by patronisingly expressing concern about, for instance, older people residing in small towns, who cannot use the Internet independently – even if they might not need it. In Internet research, this is especially problematic. Because of the richness of the media offer and the possibility to quite freely shape one's individual media diet (on the level of content as well as the technologies and practices adopted in order to access it) it might be worthwhile to talk about the media as practices, rather than communication channels (and skills necessary to use them). Therefore in this study we would like to learn about the Polish "co-Internets" (the Internets used by fairly consolidated groups in a way somewhat differing from that of other groups), "co-televisions" etc., as opposed to television or the Internet seen as a unifying technology – as media practices undergo a continuous and strengthening individualisation and fragmentation. In this sense, our study is not unlike media studies which can be described as non-mediacentric, as they treat the media as an element of individuals' daily life rather than an autonomous sphere. Furthermore, a considerable risk is posed by researchers' entanglement in power relationships based on supporting media institutions in propagating the conviction that using media is a condition of functioning properly as an individual and member of society. Nick Couldry thus describes placing the media in the centre of social life: "The social «centre» to which media implicitly claim connection is therefore doubly mythical: it is not a centre of value and it is not as much of a practical centre as media would like us to think" (2010: 106).

While discussing this report's theoretical foundations we should also refer to reflections on digital exclusion. We undoubtedly would like this study to function as a contribution to current discussions on competences and digital exclusion which demonstrated the need to set a firmer theoretical context. Among the key works discussing digital exclusion we would like to mention the book by James Witte and Susan Mannon: "The Internet and Social Inequalities" and the essay collection entitled "The Digital Divide. The Internet and Social Inequality in International Perspective" (composed as a series of comments on the former publication, edited by Massimo Ragneddo and Glenn Muschert). Authors of texts included in these publications venture beyond discussing universal competences and view digital exclusion

as an element (result, but also cause) of other social inequalities. These threads are only marginally present in the Polish discussion on media education. Our study is therefore a part of a research turn, resulting from a certain disappointment that emancipatory hopes, accompanying the popularisation of the Web, have not come to fruition or been proven correct by research studies – as, for instance, the results of "Social Diagnosis" report demonstrate. The Web turns out to be an effective tool for multiplying diverse resources by individuals, but only in situations where there is something to multiply; as a result, the popularisation of the Internet, instead of making equal opportunities a reality, has become a factor increasing the inequalities. This correction may be a starting point for other discussions – including one concerning the Polish economy, innovation and creative industries, but also the real market requirements and expectations standing before Polish employees.

Naturally, the problems described above have not been discovered in the second decade of the 21st century. We treat our reflections on them as a supplement to the discussion, to which subsequent degrees of exclusion have gradually been added. The first level of exclusion is simply a division into those individuals with physical access to the Internet and those without it. The second – which emerged after analysing studies, where a visible group of people with Internet access at home yet do not use it – are competences related to effectively using the Web (or the lack of them; Hargittai 2002). In related literature a term "third-level digital exclusion" also can be found; its definitions vary (among others, a reference to results, but also to the vague category of cyberasociality – see Tufekci 2012). This might not, in our opinion, be a useful approach, but it does diagnose a problem with explaining slow adoption of the Internet and Internet-based services in selected social groups. Another noteworthy reference is Michael Gurstein's 2003 paper, in which the author criticised the universalist approach to digital exclusion and introduced a category of effective use of information and communication technologies defined as the ability and opportunity to successfully include the media into the process of realising the individual's or community's goals. Simultaneously Gurstein called attention to the specificity of new communication technologies, which are open to very diverse uses. However, Gurstein referred to the social context to a limited degree, seeing his approach mainly as a suggestion for those in charge of creating structural solutions which should be designed with an awareness of the users' needs and capabilities (frequently differing considerably from the capabilities and needs of the creators of solutions). Another insight into digital competences was provided by van Deursen and van Dijk, whose diagnosis of "digital skills" comprises operational skills (software and computer operating skills), formal skills (understanding formal characteristics of the computer and network), information skills (searching, selecting, processing and appraising information to match specific needs) and strategic skills (using those sources for specific purposes and for the primary goal – improving one's social

situation or position) (van Deursen, van Dijk 2008). However, as we have mentioned before, one of our main project goals is to reorient the debate about competences towards the social circumstances – hence our approach, which, while not attempting to counter other theoretical proposals mentioned above, stresses the role of individuals' capabilities and circumstances. This is a proposal compatible with other research, but more deeply immersed in a social context.

To summarise, we aim to join the ongoing debate on media competences while accentuating the problem of individual social conditions and the diverse character of resources at her or his disposal. Competences are therefore associated not only to knowledge and skills of the individual, but with his or her choices and - last but not least – financial conditions. Before we proceed to describe the translation of those assumptions into the research process, let's restate that our goal is not to question other ways of thinking about competences. Readers of this report might conclude that while criticising the normative approach, we cannot offer a constructive alternative. From the very beginning we have thought about this as an addendum to the debate on media competences, which currently takes place in Poland, not to question their assumptions. Social inequality is a fact, as different types of capital are distributed across society unevenly. This doesn't mean however that we have to accept that situation. A situation of card players might be a good metaphor of our approach. Viewing competences in a universalist way is not unlike insisting on an unquestionable rule: the players should finish the game with the best possible set of cards. We would, however, like to point out that the situation of each player is different after they have been dealt their cards. This doesn't mean that the game is already over – each player can change their situation during the game. If, however, society is the player and the state deals out the cards, it is worthwhile to be aware that picking an identical card – for example, an ace – will not produce the same outcome for each player, since for some players the theoretically "weaker" cards might be more helpful to carry out their individual strategy.

Project goals 2

The goals we hope to accomplish within this project are as follows:

— A description of varied and always contextualised practices of using different media, relevant for individuals with varying levels of capital (economic, social and cultural). We are aiming at a type of "snapshot" of Poles' communication practices in 2013 – rooted, however, in a reasonably wide social context, encompassing spheres of life such as professional activities and individually defined life priorities. Our aim is also to deepen the quantitative description of segments distinguished in the European Social Survey (If the conclusion of the ESS is that individuals with different levels of capital use media in different ways, we would like to delve deeper into this matter and offer possible explanatory hypotheses).

Within this "snapshot" we demonstrate:

— (quantitative) images of different groups of Poles' daily life with different media – whilst attempting to answer the following question: What function do those media serve for each social group?
— an attempt to distinguish key communication competences or create a list of their indicators – the information about successful/unsuccessful media uses in the context of values, aspirations and needs important for each respondent will serve to distinguish key communication competences (in our approach, following van Dijk's research – media usage skills which increase the levels of capital or the quality of life);
— finally, a verification of correlations between the presence of those competences with types of capital as discussed by Bourdieu.

Research tools and project stages 3

Stage 1.

Preparing a segmentation of the Polish population through distinguishing 6 most diverse groups, differing as much as possible from each other across levels of capital (calculations based on the European Social Survey). The segmentation was then used to prepare recruitment criteria for the second stage of the study; additionally, it enabled the research team to create a description of media practices emerging from the ESS report.

Stage 2.

Conducting – in April and May 2013 – 36 in-depth interviews with respondents representative of the 6 groups distinguished in the previous stage. Due to their exploratory character, the interviews were conducted in two waves: introductory conversations and the interviews proper.

During the interview, with the respondents' assistance, the researchers mapped commonplace daily situations and established the range of areas of life significant for the respondents (areas to which the respondents devote most of their time, or areas important to respondents in a context of "a good life", thus reflecting their aspirations, values and beliefs). Once this background had been set, the interviewers started a conversation revolving around various media, the goal of which was to capture specific examples of successful and unsuccessful uses of media (uses which either brought the respondents closer to achieving their goals, or further away from them).

Stage 3.

A CAPI survey on a sample representative for Polish adult population comprising 1200 people (including 750 Internet users) was carried out by the company Millward Brown in the first week of July 2013.

During the process of filling in the questionnaires (see Annex), the respondents were asked to select the areas of life most important to them – two most significant areas (key to living "a good life") as well as two areas, to which the respondents devote the most time per a typical week.

The matrix of significant life areas was formed based on the interviews and comprised altogether 11 areas:

01. Professional development (in current job, or finding a new job)
02. Relationships with family and friends (partner, children, close family, close friends)
03. Social life (contacts with friends)
04. Rest (getting well, relaxing, taking a break from daily concerns, playing)
05. Pursuing interests or hobbies
06. Health (keeping in good physical condition, healthy lifestyle, fitness,

illness prevention)

07. Running daily errands (managing the household, paying bills etc.)

08. Money (accumulating, earning, investing, saving money)

09. Self-reflection, thinking about life and the future, spiritual or religious matters

10. Knowledge of local and international events

11. Working for the benefit of others (voluntary work, charity, local community work, civic engagement)

The respondents then assessed if particular media (Internet, television, press, books, radio) help or disturb them in those important areas of life.

The questionnaire also included questions about specific activities on the Internet and about accepting the help of others with using media or offering similar help to others. Those questions were aimed at verifying the extent to which social networks of help and education may emerge around the media.

3. 1 Segmentation of Poles across different forms of capital based on the European Social Survey 2010 data

(Katarzyna Growiec)

In order to prepare the segmentation of Polish society, the European Social Survey (ESS) data for Poland has been analysed. The European Social Survey is a cross-national study, the aim of which is to monitor changing attitudes in European societies and to interpret of those changes in the context of changing European institutions. Until the time of writing, five rounds of the European Social Survey have been conducted: in 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2010. The survey is carried out in each country on a representative sample of that country's inhabitants. The statistical units are individual respondents. In 20120, 1751 Polish respondents participated in the ESS survey.

In each country, the respondents are handed questionnaires containing the same set of questions. Filling in the questionnaire lasts an hour and is performed by an interviewer. The questionnaire contains questions about, among others: civic and political engagement, trust in institutions, political views, values, quality of life, social exclusion and media activities. The respondents are aged 15 or over and live in private households. Anyone who meets these criteria can become a respondent, regardless of nationality, citizenship, language or legal status. The 2010 survey was conducted in Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Spain, Netherlands, Ireland, Israel, Lithuania, Germany, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland, Sweden, Hungary, Great Britain and Ukraine.

Cultural, social and economic capital

The variables used for the segmentation of Polish society concern the three forms of capital: cultural, social and economic. The first – and so far most inspiring for other scholars – theoretician and researcher of capital forms was the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. For Bourdieu, social capital was a necessary addendum to the description how the social world functions – a description which cannot be boiled down solely to the circulation of economic capital. Bourdieu's initial starting point was an observation of different achievement levels of schoolchildren; differences which could not be explained away by the economic capital of their parents (Becker 1975). In the book entitled "Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture", written together with Jean-Claude Passeron (Bourdieu, Passeron [1970] 2006), Bourdieu described the concept of cultural reproduction, which forces social reproduction – it governs the relationships between social groups and classes. In order to demonstrate his theory, Bourdieu used the concept of capital. Many of its forms are discussed in the book: economic, cultural, symbolic and – somewhat marginally treated – social capital. Cultural capital is the most developed theme within "Reproduction" and serves as a foundation for explaining how the judgments of the dominating class acquire a universal character.

Despite the fact that Bourdieu devoted relatively little attention to social capital in "Reproduction", the study was nevertheless a starting point for a certain approach to that term, further developed in Bourdieu's "The Forms of Capital" (1986). The forms of capital are economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Each of these is understood as a resource and a form of power. Economic capital, which can be immediately and directly exchanged into money, is institutionalised by means of property law. Cultural capital, which under some circumstances is exchangeable into economic capital, is institutionalised in the form of education competences. It sets the standards of behaviour and of good taste. Social capital, formed through social obligations and connections, and is in some circumstances exchangeable into economic capital, is institutionalised by means of a title of nobility. "Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group" (Bourdieu 1986).

According to Bourdieu, "the volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected. This means that, although it is relatively irreducible to the economic and cultural capital possessed by a given agent, or even by the whole set of agents to whom he is connected, social capital is never completely independent of it because the exchanges instituting mutual acknowledgment presuppose the reacknowledgment of a minimum of objective homogeneity, and because it exerts a multiplier effect on the capital he possesses in his own right." (Bourdieu, 1986)

What are the relationships between different forms of capital? Social capital is not reducible to economic or cultural capital, but is not independent of them (Schuller et al., 2000). It performs the function of "multiplier" of other forms of capital and makes it possible to derive higher profits from them. Between different forms of capital a conversion process can occur. "(...) the transformation

of economic capital into social capital presupposes a specific labor, i.e., an apparently gratuitous expenditure of time, attention, care, concern". (Bourdieu 1986) This mechanism is best illustrated by an extended quotation: "Similarly, if the best measure of cultural capital is undoubtedly the amount of time devoted to acquiring it, this is because the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital presupposes an expenditure of time that is made possible by possession of economic capital. More precisely, it is because the cultural capital that is effectively transmitted within the family itself depends not only on the quantity of cultural capital, itself accumulated by spending time, that the domestic group possess, but also on the usable time (particularly in the form of the mother's free time) available to it (by virtue of its economic capital, which enables it to purchase the time of others) to ensure the transmission of this capital and to delay entry into the labor market through prolonged schooling, a credit which pays off, if at all, only in the very long term. The convertibility of the different types of capital is the basis of the strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital (and the position occupied in social space) by means of the conversions least costly in terms of conversion work and of the losses inherent in the conversion itself (in a given state of the social power relations)". (Bourdieu 1986)

Considering the above theory, in order to create the segmentation of Poles based on the ESS 2010 data, we used the following variables indicative of various types of capital (cultural, social and economic).

Cultural capital

Please take a moment and tell us approximately how many years you spent in education, including evening and extramural studies? 2. What is/was the education of your father? What was the highest level of education he completed? Answers: Primary school (not completed), 6-class primary school completed (4-class before WW2), 8-class primary school completed, Gymnasium completed, Vocational or technical secondary school completed, Grammar school completed without A-levels, Grammar school completed with A-levels, Secondary school (vocational, technical or grammar school) completed without A-levels, Secondary school (vocational, technical or grammar school) completed with A-levels, Undergraduate diploma, College or teaching diploma, B.A. or Engineer's diploma, M.A. or medical diploma, Academic degree: PhD or professorship

What is/was the education of your mother? What was the highest level of education she completed? Answers: Primary school (not completed), 6-class primary school completed (4-class before WW2), 8-class primary school completed, Gymnasium completed, Vocational or technical secondary school completed, Grammar school completed without A-levels, Grammar school completed with A-levels, Secondary school (vocational, technical or grammar school) completed without A-levels, Secondary school (vocational, technical or grammar school) completed with A-levels, Undergraduate diploma, College or teaching diploma, B.A. or Engineer's diploma, M.A. or medical diploma, Academic degree: PhD or professorship

In the last twelve months, have you attended any courses, lectures or conferences to further your knowledge or improve work qualifications? Answers: Yes, No

Social capital

How often do you meet socially with friends, acquaintances, relatives or work colleagues?
Answers: Never, Less than once a month, Once a month, A few times a month, Once a week, A few times a week, Every day

Is there anyone you can openly talk to about any of your personal or work problems?
Answers: Yes, No

Compared to others your age, how often, in your opinion, do you attend social gatherings, meetings, parties or other social occasions?
Answers: Definitely less frequently than other people my age, Less frequently than other people my age, Roughly as frequently as most people my age, More frequently than most people my age, Much more frequently than most people my age.

If for any reason you would find yourself in a very difficult financial situation and would be forced to borrow money to cover the basic costs of living, would that be easy or difficult and to what degree?
Answers: Very difficult, Quite difficult, Neither difficult nor easy, Quite easy, Very easy

Economic capital

If you sum up the incomes of your household members from ALL sources, which letter corresponds to the total NET income of your household? If you don't know the exact amount, please estimate. Please use the card: if you find it easier to estimate MONTHLY income values, please use the left side of the table; if you find it easier to estimate ANNUAL income values, please use the right side of the table.

	Monthly	Annual
J	1100 PLN or less	13 000 PLN or less
R	1101 PLN to 1500 PLN	13 001 PLN to 18 000 PLN
C	1501 PLN to 2000 PLN	18 001 PLN to 24 000 PLN
M	2001 PLN to 2400 PLN	24 001 PLN to 2900 PLN
F	2401 PLN to 2800 PLN	29 001 PLN to 34 000 PLN
S	2801 PLN to 3300 PLN	34 001 PLN to 40 000 PLN
K	3301 PLN to 3900 PLN	40 000 PLN to 47 000 PLN
P	3901 PLN to 4700 PLN	47 001 PLN to 57 000 PLN
D	4701 PLN to 6000 PLN	57 001 PLN to 72 000 PLN
H	Over 6000 PLN	Over 72 000 PLN

Approximately, how much do you contribute to the total household income? Answers: I have no income, A very small part, Less than half, Around half, More than half, Most, All

Which of the below statements best describes your assessment of your household's current income? Answers: We live comfortably on our current income, We manage on our current income, We barely manage to get by on our current income, We practically can't get by on our current income

In order to distinguish groups of Poles characterised by different levels of cultural, social and economic capital the k-means method was used. Then, characteristics of emerging segments of Polish population were analysed – in accordance with the post hoc segmentation procedure. In the case of post hoc segmentation, it is assumed that the basis for assigning objects – in our case, individuals – into cohesive segments are latent categories, in this case: different forms of capital i.e. cultural, social and economic. With a large set of diagnostic features it is possible to scale those categories. The procedure of post hoc segmentation runs as follows:

— Selection of a set of diagnostic features serving to create latent categories.

— Assessing the similarity of objects along the segmentation criteria distinguished in the formal procedure.

— The selection of the number of segments (in this case: 6)

— Profiling the emerging segments, i. e. recognising the characteristics indicating the specificity of each distinguished group.

The segmentation procedure is carried out exclusively based on the established set of segmentation criteria (in this case: forms of capital) and, at that stage, no other characteristics describing specific individuals are taken into consideration. For the purpose of this study one of the methods of optimum cluster analysis the k-means cluster analysis was applied. The k-means method is aimed to create such a division of analysed objects to distinguish groups with maximum internal cohesion and as diverse as possible.

The k-means method requires stating upfront the number of segments to be distinguished – in this analysis, 6 segments have been established. After deciding upon the number of segments, the next stage of the k-means method is the selection of initial "kernels" of centroids for each cluster. Each individual from the studied group is evaluated as regards his or her similarity to the established "kernels", and then assigned to the group to which he or she is most closely situated. Centroids are then calculated for each emerging cluster as an arithmetic mean of each segmentation criterion in a given cluster. The k-means method is an iteration method, in which the steps are repeated until the unit assignments no longer change. In the case of this analysis 10 iterations were performed. As a result of applying the k-means method, each respondent has been assigned to one of the 6 final segments. Due to incomplete variable data, the segmentation was performed on 1154 out of 1751 respondents from the ESS 2010 sample for Poland.

Segmentation results for ESS 2010 data for Poland

The final cluster centres are illustrated in table 1.

Table 1. Final cluster centres

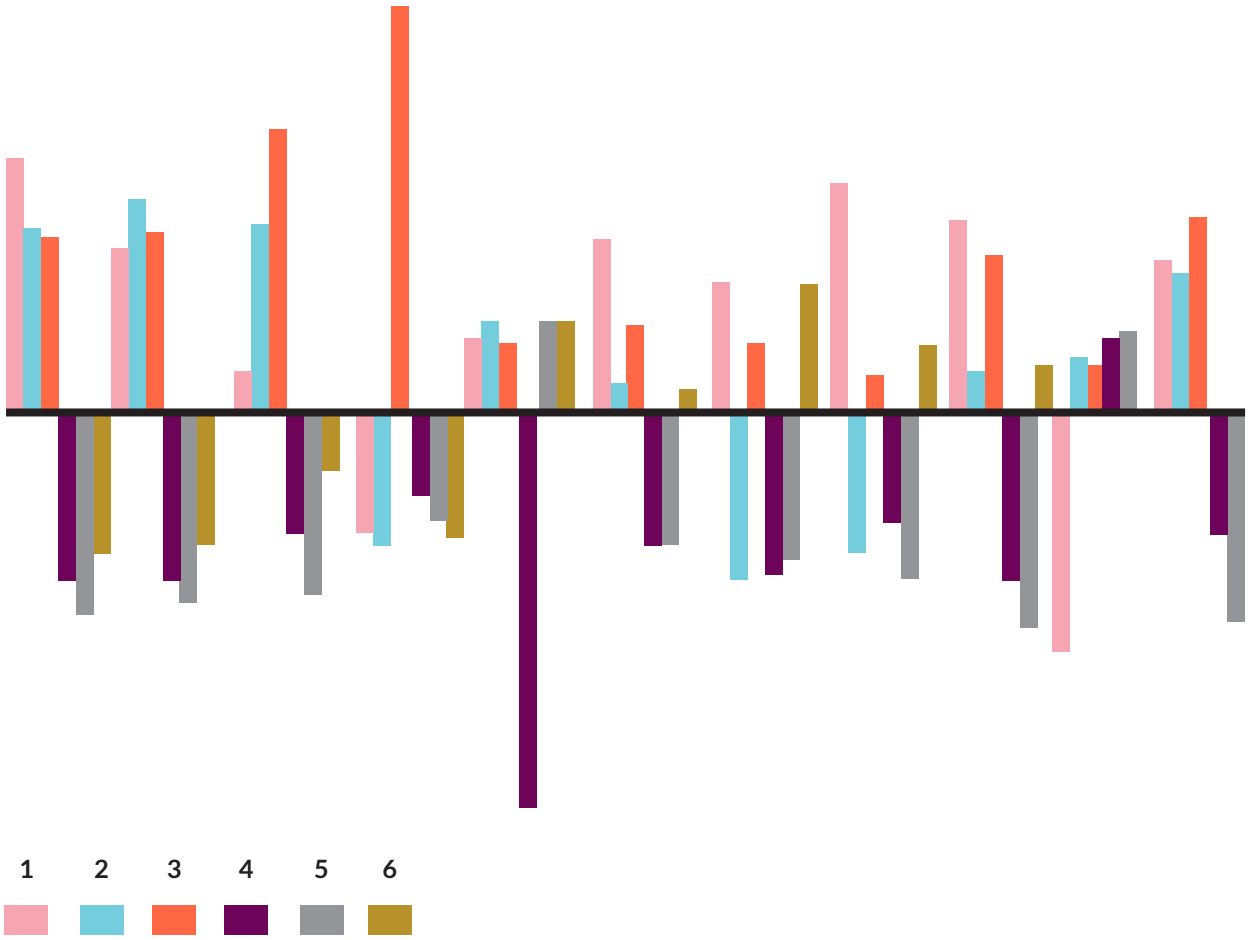
Variable used for segmentation		Segment					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
Cultural capital	mother's education	0,95	0,95	0,95	0,95	0,95	0,95
	father's education	0,61	0,61	0,61	0,61	0,61	0,61
	years spent in education	0,16	0,16	0,16	0,16	0,16	0,16
	volountary education, courses, lectures	-0,43	-0,43	-0,43	-0,43	-0,43	-0,43
Social capital	personal conversations	0,28	0,34	0,26	-2,99	0,34	0,34
	financial help	0,65	0,10	0,32	-0,47	-0,46	0,08
	relative sociability	0,48	-0,60	0,27	-0,57	-0,55	0,49
	sociability	0,85	-0,52	0,14	-0,38	-0,61	0,25
Econimic capital	respondent's contribution to the household income	-0,87	0,20	0,17	0,28	0,31	0,00
	household income	0,58	0,52	0,72	-0,44	-0,77	0,01

The size of each segment is illustrated in table 2.

Table 2. Segment size in the ESS 2010 sample
The final cluster centres are illustrated in figure 1.

Segment number	Segment size in sample	Segment size in sample – %
1	129	11%
2	137	12%
3	223	19%
4	87	8%
5	291	25%
6	287	25%
Total	1154	100%

Figure 1. Final cluster centres for each segment



Segment characteristics based on final cluster centres

Segment 1 – mother's education: higher (M.A diploma, B.A., college or equivalent); father's education: higher (M.A diploma, B.A., college or equivalent) or secondary – with A-levels; years the respondent spent in education: 10-15; the respondent has not attended any educational courses in the last 12 months; the respondent knows someone with whom he or she can talk about personal problems; the respondent declares that finding someone to lend money would be quite easy or very easy; the respondent meets friends or colleagues every day or several times a week; the respondent believes he or she socialises more frequently than others his or her age; the respondent's monthly household income is between 2800-4700 PLN; the respondent has no income or contributes a very small amount to the household income; the respondent believes that his or her household members live comfortably on the current income level.

Segment 2 – mother's education: higher (M.A diploma, B.A., college or equivalent) or secondary – with A-levels; father's education: higher (M.A diploma, B.A., college or equivalent) or secondary – with A-levels; years the respondent spent in education: 15 or over; the respondent has not attended any educational courses in the last 12 months; the respondent knows someone with whom he or she can talk about personal problems; the respondent declares that finding someone to lend money would be neither difficult nor easy; the respondent meets with friends once a month or less; the respondent believes he or she socialises much less frequently than others his or her age; the respondent's monthly household income is between 2800-4700 PLN; the respondent contributes half or more of the household income; the respondent believes that his or her household members manage to get by on the current income.

Segment 3 - mother's education: higher (M.A diploma, B.A., college or equivalent) or secondary – with A-levels; father's education: higher (M.A diploma, B.A., college or equivalent) or secondary – with A-levels; years the respondent spent in education: 17 or over; the respondent the respondent attended educational courses in the last 12 months; the respondent knows someone with whom he or she can talk about personal problems; the respondent declares that finding someone to lend money would be quite easy; the respondent meets with friends once a month; the respondent believes he or she socialises more frequently than others his or her age; the respondent's monthly household income is over 4700 PLN; the respondent contributes half or more of the household income; the respondent believes that his or her household members live comfortably on the current income level.

Segment 4 - mother's education: primary school, gymnasium (completed), vocational secondary school, grammar school – without A-levels; father's education: primary school, gymnasium (completed), vocational secondary school, grammar school – without A-levels; respondent's time in education: 8-12 years; the respondent has not taken any educational courses in the last 12 months; the respondent does not know anyone with whom he or she can talk about personal problems; the respondent declares that finding someone to lend money would be quite difficult or very difficult; the respondent meets with friends once a month; the respondent believes he or she socialises approximately as frequently as others his or her age; the respondent's monthly household income is between 1500-2000 PLN; the respondent contributes half or more of the household income; the respondent believes that his or her household members get by with difficulty with the current level of income or practically cannot manage.

Segment 5 – mother's education: primary school (not completed), primary school completed, gymnasium completed, vocational secondary school completed; father's education: primary school (not completed), primary school completed, gymnasium completed, vocational secondary school completed; respondent's time in education: 10 years or less; the respondent has not taken any educational courses in the last 12 months; the respondent knows someone with whom he or she can talk about personal problems; the respondent declares that finding someone to lend money would be quite difficult or very difficult; the respondent meets with friends more rarely than once a month; the respondent believes that he or she keeps in touch with friends or colleagues less than others his or her age; the respondent's monthly household income is between 1100-2000 PLN; the respondent contributes half or more of the household income; the respondent

believes that his or her household members get by with difficulty with the current level of income or practically cannot manage.

Segment 6 – mother's education: primary school, gymnasium, vocational school or technical secondary school, grammar school – without A-levels; father's education: primary, gymnasium completed, vocational or technical secondary school, grammar school (without A-levels); years the respondent spent in education: 10-15; the respondent has not taken any educational courses in the last 12 months; the respondent knows someone with whom he or she can talk about personal problems; the respondent declares that finding someone to lend money would be neither difficult nor easy; the respondent meets with friends several times a month; the respondent believes he or she socialises much more frequently than others his or her age; the respondent's monthly household income is between 2000-3000 PLN; the respondent contributes around half of the household income; the respondent believes that his or her household members manage to get by on the current income.

In-depth interviews | 3. 2

The recruitment process for the in-depth interviews was carried out according to the table below. The criteria selected were: place of residence (divided into large cities, small towns and rural areas), age and sex of the respondent, accounting for the given segment's size relative to Polish population.

	Segment 1	Segment 2	Segment 3	Segment 4	Segment 5	Segment 6
Interview 1	**Large city,** male, 18-25	**Large city,** female, 30-36	**Large city,** male, 28-34	**Small town,** female, 50-55	**Small town,** female, 60-66	**Small town,** female, 40-46
Interview 2	**Large city,** female, 18-25	**Large city,** female, 36-42	**Large city,** female, 28-34	**Rural area,** male, 50-55	**Small town,** female, 53-59	**Small town,** male, 40-46
Interview 3	**Small town,** male, 30-35	**Small town,** male, 30-36	**Large city,** male, 35-41	**Rural area,** male, 56-61	**Small town,** female, 53-59	**Small town,** female, 47-53
Interview 4	**Small town,** female, 30-35	**Small town,** male, 36-42	**Large city,** female, 35-41		**Small town,** male, 53-59	**Small town,** male, 47-53
Interview 5			**Small town,** male, 28-34		**Rural area,** female, 60-66	**Large city,** female, 47-53
Interview 6			**Small town,** female, 28-34		**Rural area,** female, 60-66	**Rural area,** male, 47-53
Interview 7			**Large city,** male, 35-41		**Rural area,** female, 76-73	**Large city,** male, 47-53
Interview 8					**Small town,** female, 67-73	**Rural area,** female, 40-46
Interview 9					**Small town,** male, 67-73	**Rural area,** male, 40-46

Simultaneously, due to a relatively limited sample, the segmentation at this stage of the study was above all necessary to lower the risk of reaching people with similar resources of different types of capital. Treating interviews only as a point of departure for the questionnaires, we aimed primarily to distinguish the areas of everyday life significant to the respondents and those which occupy much of their time. The interviewers asked questions about the respondents' daily routine (of weekdays and Sundays) and encouraged the respondents to define a "good life" – and those issues were our priority. Finally the researchers asked respondents to discuss the role of the media in the previously discussed areas. We assumed that the interviews will enable us to capture the uses of media and ways to carry out life goals which might not be obvious to our team (individuals relatively well off in all three discussed forms of capital). Although in the interviews the differences between the segments were somewhat fuzzy, overall the interviews have confirmed our assumptions and directed us at areas where a correction of indicators associated with measuring types of capital is possible (more precisely: cultural capital, to be discussed below).

As was not difficult to predict, the recurring topics in the interviews were: family and contacts with friends, health, in case of which the media perform a role related to "preparing" for a visit at the doctor's in order not to get "brushed off". Between the lines also themes associated with rest appeared, although in different segments those were defined differently. In the segments where the respondents told us about hard physical labour, early hours and long commutes, the media were to primarily serve as a means of escape from reality. This translates into quite a passive attitude towards the media – at home, mainly watching quite random television programmes; on the way to work, mostly listening to the radio (sporadically reading the press or books). This frequently leads to quite an unexpected configuration of correlations between the media – in the life of one respondent's family, the intensification of computer and Internet use happened when the television set broke down and the family could not afford to repair it. Then, looking for a replacement of television, the household members began to use streaming services.

It emerged from the interviews that, in the media context, entertainment proves more important than work-related information for lower segments, and the opposite is true for higher segments. This of course may be related to the character of work done (and the likelihood of promotion) as well as to the overlapping of work and free time. Given the attachment to thinking about the media as a public sphere (still frequent in the media competences discourse), the questions about the informative role of television or the Internet generated some surprising reactions. Particularly the respondents placed within lower segments of our working division of the population have sporadically mentioned an interest in local or international news. Additionally, the respondents seemed to make special efforts to fulfill the (presumed) expectations of interviewers. Information or news quoted by some respondents concerned rather spectacular events – for a 64-year-old retired respondent living in a rural area and supporting himself from his pension and selling locally picked mushrooms, an example of news was Pope Benedict XVI's resignation. Another respondent, unemployed, aged 60, turns on the radio mainly for "some background noise". "The radio helps me to cook and clean" – said a 40-year-old respondent residing in a large city. Some respondents offered different insights: a glassblower from a small town declared

"If one didn't read anything, one could quickly go mad". Overall, however, the responses create an impression that a considerable portion of respondents disagree, going as far as to accuse the media of harming the well-being of their users. This view is not limited to older respondents: a 37-year-old resident of the outskirts of a large town, asked about information programmes, replied: "I switch the channel at once, I'm not interested, it gets on my nerves (…) These things are not what matters to people in Poland". For many respondents, the press takes the form of a free local paper in which one can read, for instance, about the priest from a local parish church. There is more interest towards magazines – those do not get outdated quickly and frequently circulate among family and friends.

It is also visible that the media – particularly television – supply those less educated respondents with the language in which they talk about important matters. "When I watch Jaworowicz (Polish journalist) in this «Uwaga» programme, I just hope that there won't be any conflicts like this in our family" – says a 60-year-old unemployed lady, whose family help her use media. "My grandchildren help me turn on the computer. I can't do it and I can't afford to buy it back if it breaks down. But my grandchildren can turn on recipes for a cake, or for soup. Sometimes the news." For this reason, after the interviews we decided to insert into the questionnaire the issue of helping others to use media and receiving help (considering this thread, but also in order to verify the real chances of social mobilisation around the media, we also inserted working for the benefit of others as another significant life area). Independent uses of media dominated among the representatives of higher segments, frequently aimed at developing the respondents' interests. Still, the sources of inspiration may remain outside the media world – a passionate jewellery maker aged 40 from a large city uses the Internet, but for something else. In the context of this hobby, her key inspiration were meetings organised in a local parish church.

Of course the media also inspire interests; moreover, for individuals with higher levels of cultural capital they may be starting point for finding paid work – as exemplified by a young woman from a large city and her husband who learned to renovate flats by watching DIY videos on YouTube. In time, they started to help friends with house repairs, acquiring a new, important source of income (a less media competent glassblower was displeased with the educational potential of the media, particularly television – "I haven't got any programs about how to fix things" – he said). Other examples included looking for work or information which might be useful for professional pursuits – mostly using the Internet, but also in books and specialist magazines, particularly among older respondents.

Different resources mean different capabilities of reflection on one's existence, but also realities with varying hierarchies of priorities. This was most visible when the conversation revolved around financial matters. Asked to define a good life, a 52-year old conservation technician began from finances, but his prospective goal was not consumption, but stabilisation: "Not to have too little money. To have enough, not for fancies, but to buy something for the children, to give them something". A steelworker from a small town said: "Not to have problems with money, that is the basic thing, I'm not saying to have millions on the account, but just not to keep struggling from one payday to the next". A distrust towards Internet transactions often means being unable to save money or time where it would have been possible – a teacher living in a small town prefers to take a day

off to personally buy theatre tickets in the capital than to perform this transaction online. Older Poles also clearly declared a reserved approach to online services.

Among younger people, especially those from the top layer of our segmentation, this looks different – here the Internet serves not just to save money on shopping, but to plan the holidays (again, not without some variation: a middle aged inhabitant of a large city is almost boasting about having planned a cheap car route; another respondent, a student, covered a similar route by plane, buying her discounted ticket online). A 28-year-old logistics specialist told us: "I'm a fan of bargain shopping". A young buildings administrator from a large city takes photos of items in a high street store only to then check the pricing in online shops. The same respondent – proving that many problems can be solved without the help of any media, but with the help of social contacts – regularly bought various goods from friends, who themselves, or through other friends, had access to imported products and sold them for favourable prices. New technologies may make work easier, but they can also be used to build social capital: because of poor connectivity service, a young soldier uses his mobile phone to locate colleagues on the training grounds – and simultaneously records films which he can then show to friends. The telephone frequently featured in the interviews, supporting home logistics (especially in case of less affluent families, where two generations look after the children), but also social life, arranged mainly by women.

We mentioned previously that the interviews have introduced some changes to our thinking about indicators, especially those of cultural capital. One of the impulses was a conversation with a retired respondent who – in spite of his basic level of education – was a very avid reader, often participated in social meetings (sports club meetings and others). The interview with this respondent was different from what the interviewer predicted – the respondent demonstrated knowledge of current international and local events, was clearly a resourceful person and – not a rule for most men of similar age – talked in an engaging and moving way about his relationships with family and friends. This was one of the motivations for adding to the survey a question about cultural activities (such as attending variants of music concerts) to complement the ESS questions, which measure cultural capital mainly through formal education.

Analyses 4

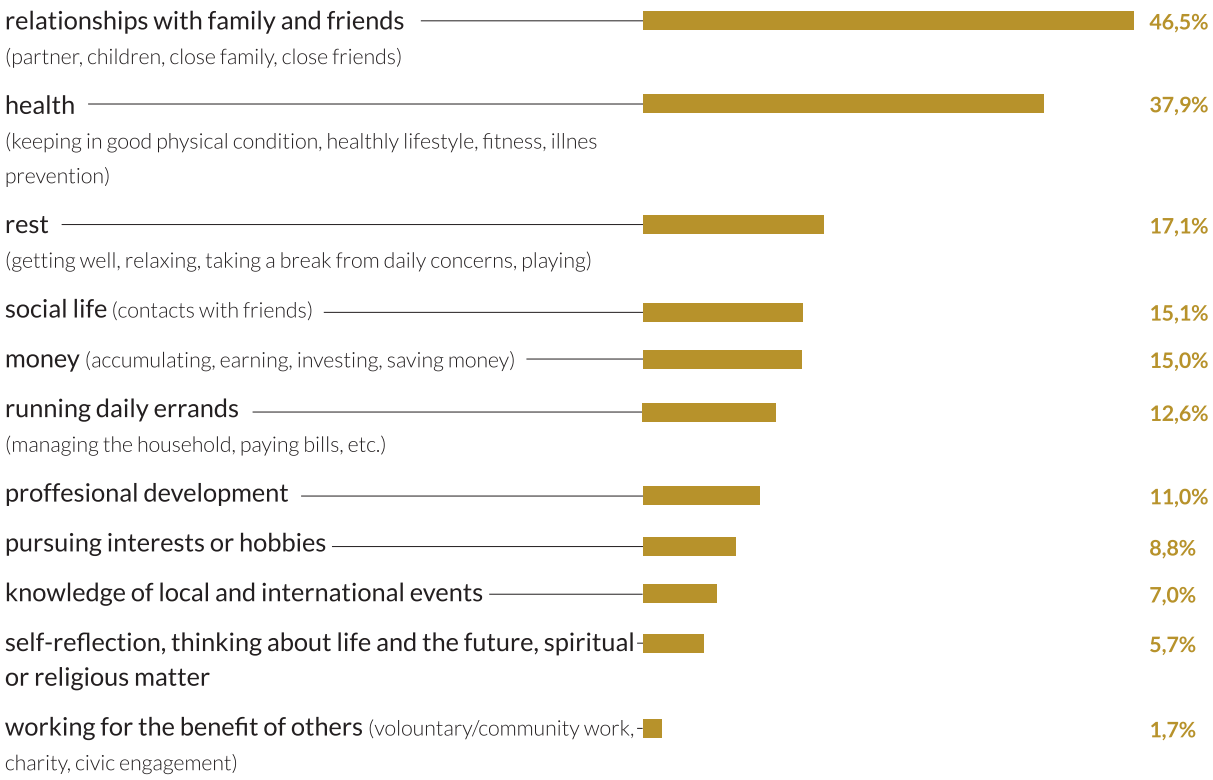
Differences in levels of capital versus significant areas of life 4.1

Let's begin presenting the study results from the areas of life that the respondents have singled out as most significant to them. Our assumption was that a given area is significant if it has been distinguished as such by the respondent, or if it occupies much of the respondent's weekly time. A closed list of areas was created based on themes which recurred in the 36 in-depth interviews conducted during the qualitative stage of the study.

The two areas which have been indicated as significant most frequently were relationships with family and friends (partner, children, family, close friends) and health (keeping in good physical condition, healthy lifestyle, fitness, illness prevention). Relationships with family and friends were indicated as a significant area of life by 46,5% of respondents, health – by 37,9% of respondents.

The following most frequently indicated areas – selected by 10-20% of respondents – were rest, money, daily errands and professional development. Detailed results are illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Significant areas of life



The second theme constituting the basis for further analyses is the distribution of three kinds of capital – cultural, economic and social. High or low levels of these types of capital (relative to the median value) allow us to distinguish eight groups, each with a unique configuration of levels of capital. The distribution of types of capital is illustrated below – figure 3.

Figure 3. Distribution of capital: cultural, economic and social

cultural capital	economic capital	social capital	
high cultural	high economic	high social	20,0%
high cultural	high economic	low social	6,2%
high cultural	low economic	high social	14,9%
high cultural	low economic	low social	9,0%
low cultural	high economic	high social	10,4%
low cultural	high economic	low social	11,4%
low cultural	low economic	high social	8,1%
low cultural	low economic	low social	20,1%

We will proceed to call the two extreme groups (people with the highest and lowest indicator results) the "elite" and "the excluded". In the following parts of the report those stock terms will be used to demonstrate the differences in declared significant areas of life and the practices of using specific types of media.

If the relationships with family and friends are important for both groups (51,1% and 51,5% for the "excluded" and "elite" respondents respectively), respondents with high levels of capital much more frequently indicate professional development, social life, money and pursuing interests as significant areas of their lives. For individuals belonging to the "excluded" group the markedly more frequent choices are health, rest and running daily errands. In both groups, working to benefit others (voluntary or charity work, supporting the local community, political or civic engagement) occupies the lowest position in the ranking – it is a significant area only to 1,5% of "elite" respondents and does not matter at all (0 indications) to the "excluded" group. Differences discussed here are illustrated in figure 4.

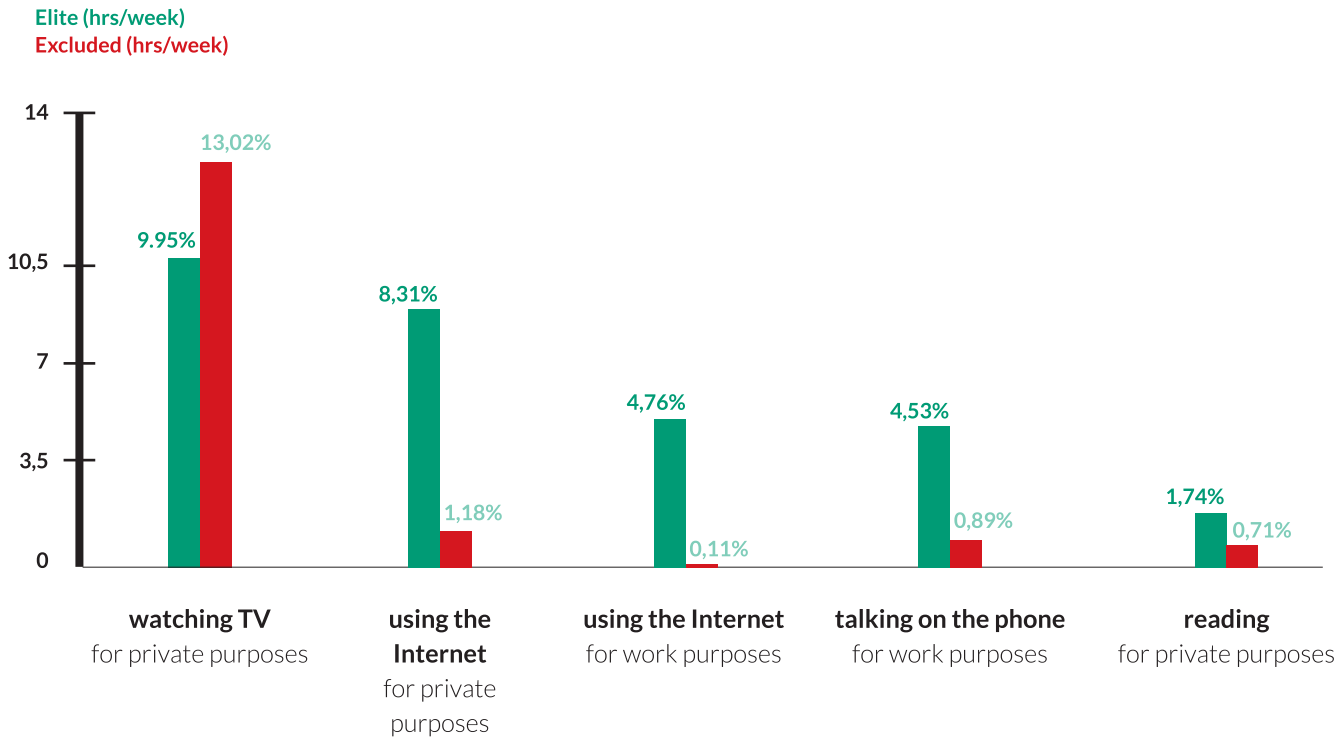
Figure 4. Differences in important areas of life between "elite" (high levels of cultural, economic and social capital) and "excluded" respondents (low levels of cultural, economic and social capital).

At this point it might be worthwhile to underline that if we define communication competences as skills and knowledge which allow individuals to use media to accomplish goals belonging to areas significant to them, then the competences valuable for the "elite" will differ from those most useful to the "excluded" group. For the "elite", it is for instance using the Internet for professional development, maintaining social ties or pursuing interests or hobbies. "Excluded" individuals would benefit from skills allowing them to gain information about health issues, to use media for entertainment or relaxation, or to simplify daily chores. As per our prior assumption, competences are defined relationally – in relation to areas of life indicated by respondents as most significant – rather than arbitrarily or following predefined norms.

Using media | 4.2

The example of the "elite" and the "excluded" also illustrates a large diversification of respondents' uses of particular media. The "elite" spend a lot more time on the Internet, both for private and work purposes. In this group, more time is devoted to telephone conversations for professional purposes and to reading books for personal purposes. Those statistically significant differences are particularly clear in the case of using the Internet for work: seeing the matter from the perspective of a statistical respondent, a representative of the "elite" group spends 40 times more of his or her time on this activity than an "excluded" respondent.

Figure 5. Time devoted to using specific types of media – differences between the "elite" (high levels of cultural, economic and social capital) and "excluded" respondents (low levels of cultural, economic and social capital).



A more thorough analysis demonstrates the decisive role cultural capital plays in the use of specific types of media. Controlling for the other types of capital, high cultural capital correlates strongly with using the Internet for work and private purposes. Other differences are also statistically significant: people with higher cultural capital more frequently read books (both for work and personal purposes) and watch television less frequently (see table 3).

Meanwhile, social capital correlates with time devoted to using the Internet for private purposes (see table 4). This is most likely related to using the Internet for building and maintaining social relations. Indeed, if we compare Internet users with a higher-than-median social capital to those with social capital values lower than median, 78,9% of the former use social networking sites, compared to 65,2% of the latter.

Economic capital does not seem to have a significant influence on modes of using specific types of media (see table 5). The only exception (level of statistical significance: 0,05) is using the phone for personal purposes: people enjoying higher levels of economic capital can afford longer private conversations on the telephone.

Table 3. CULTURAL capital and media use – correlations

control variables			respondent's cultural capital indicator score
respondent's economic capital indicator score based on regression & responent's social capital indicator score based on regression	**How many hours a week do you spend using the Internet for professional purposes?**	Correlation	**,246**
		Significance (two-tailed)	,000
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for professional purposes?	Correlation	,056
		Significance (two-tailed)	,188
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading books for professional purposes?	Correlation	**,174**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,000**
		df	**560**
	How many hours a week do you spend talking on the phone for professional purposes?	Correlation	,136
		Significance (two-tailed)	,001
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend using the Internet for personal purposes?	Correlation	**,229**
		Significance (two-tailed)	,000
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend watching television for personal purposes?	Correlation	**-,164**
		Significance (two-tailed)	,000
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend listening to the radio for personal puropses?	Correlation	,009
		Significance (two-tailed)	,824
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for personal purposes?	Correlation	,017
		Significance (two-tailed))	,593
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading books for personal purposes?	Correlation	**,153**
		Significance (two-tailed)	,000
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on talking the phone for personal purposes?	Correlation	,109
		Significance (two-tailed)	,000
		df	560
	respondent's cultural capital indicator score based on regression	Correlation	1,000
		Significance (two-tailed)	
		df	0

Table 4. SOCIAL capital and media use – correlations

control variables			respondent's social capital indicator score
respondent's cultural capital indicator score based on regression & responent's economic capital indicator score based on regression	How many hours a week do you spend using the Internet for professional purposes?	Correlation	,064
		Significance (two-tailed)	,128
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for professional purposes?	Correlation	-,001
		Significance (two-tailed))	,974
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading books for professional purposes?	Correlation	-,007
		Significance (two-tailed)	,877
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend talking on the phone for professional purposes?	Correlation	,031
		Significance (two-tailed)	,459
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend using the Internet for personal purposes?	Correlation	**,173**
		Significance (two-tailed)	,000
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend watching television for personal purposes?	Correlation	,047
		Significance (two-tailed)	,266
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend listening to the radio for personal puropses?	Correlation	,063
		Significance (two-tailed)	,134
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for personal purposes?	Correlation	-,080
		Significance (two-tailed)	,067
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading books for personal purposes?	Correlation	,017
		Significance (two-tailed)	,681
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on talking the phone for personal purposes?	Correlation	-,046
		Significance (two-tailed)	278
		df	560
	respondent's social capital indicator score based on regression	Correlation	1,000
		Significance (two-tailed)	
		df	0

Table 5. ECONOMIC capital and media use – correlations

control variables			respondent's economic capital indicator score
respondent's cultural capital indicator score based on regression & responent's social capital indicator score based on regression	How many hours a week do you spend using the Internet for professional purposes?	Correlation	-,028
		Significance (two-tailed)	,508
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for professional purposes?	Correlation	-,041
		Significance (two-tailed))	,327
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading books for professional purposes?	Correlation	-,051
		Significance (two-tailed)	,231
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend talking on the phone for professional purposes?	Correlation	,031
		Significance (two-tailed)	,469
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend using the Internet for personal purposes?	Correlation	,024
		Significance (two-tailed)	,566
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend watching television for personal purposes?	Correlation	-,043
		Significance (two-tailed)	,309
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend listening to the radio for personal puropses?	Correlation	-,019
		Significance (two-tailed)	,654
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for personal purposes?	Correlation	-,018
		Significance (two-tailed)	,674
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on reading books for personal purposes?	Correlation	-,009
		Significance (two-tailed)	,832
		df	560
	How many hours a week do you spend on talking the phone for personal purposes?	Correlation	,005
		Significance (two-tailed)	,910
		df	560
	respondent's economic capital indicator score based on regression	Correlation	1,000
		Significance (two-tailed)	
		df	0

It is worthwhile to signal two more threads pertaining to the coexistence of different practices of

participation in culture. Firstly, it is clearly visible that people who use the Internet spend more time reading books than non-users (figure 6). Secondly, Internet users who independently download files also attend ticketed concerts more often than other Internet users (figure 7). This disproves the argument that individuals having at their disposal limited time (or money) turn away from traditional, "old" media and replace them with "new" media. In fact people whose cultural capital level is high tend to utilize the potential of diverse media, which allows them to participate in culture more fully. We elaborate on this theme in the following parts of the report, discussing the phenomenon of increasing specific types of capital by using the Internet.

Figure 6. Readership patterns of Internet users and non-users

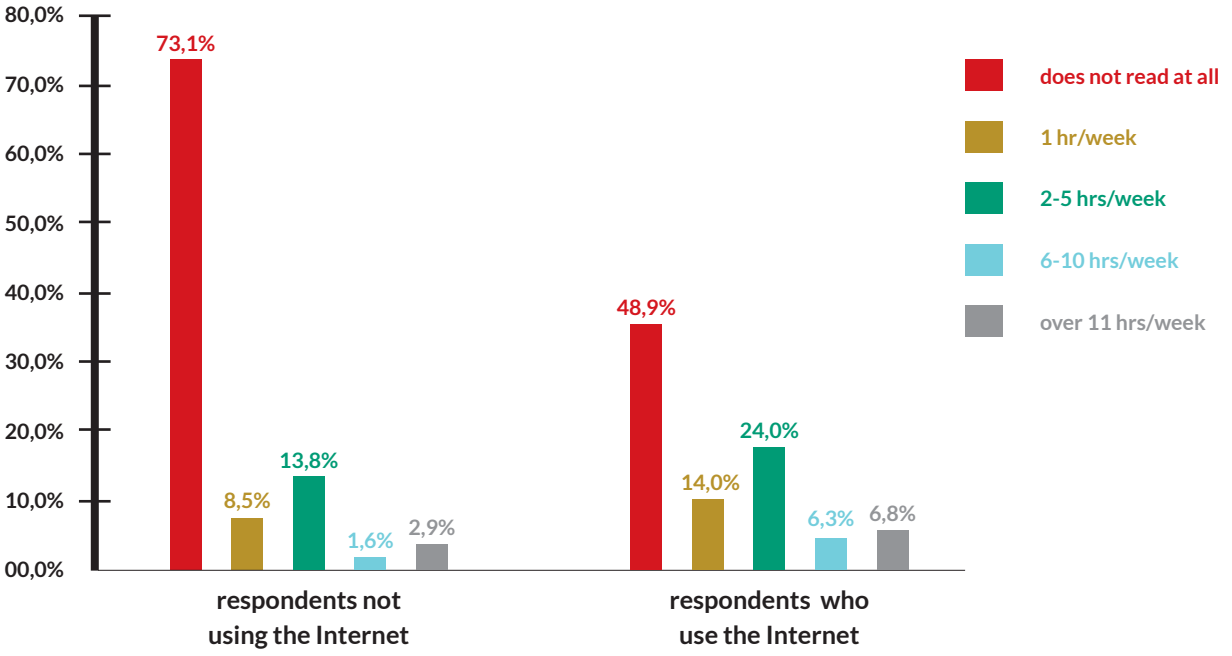
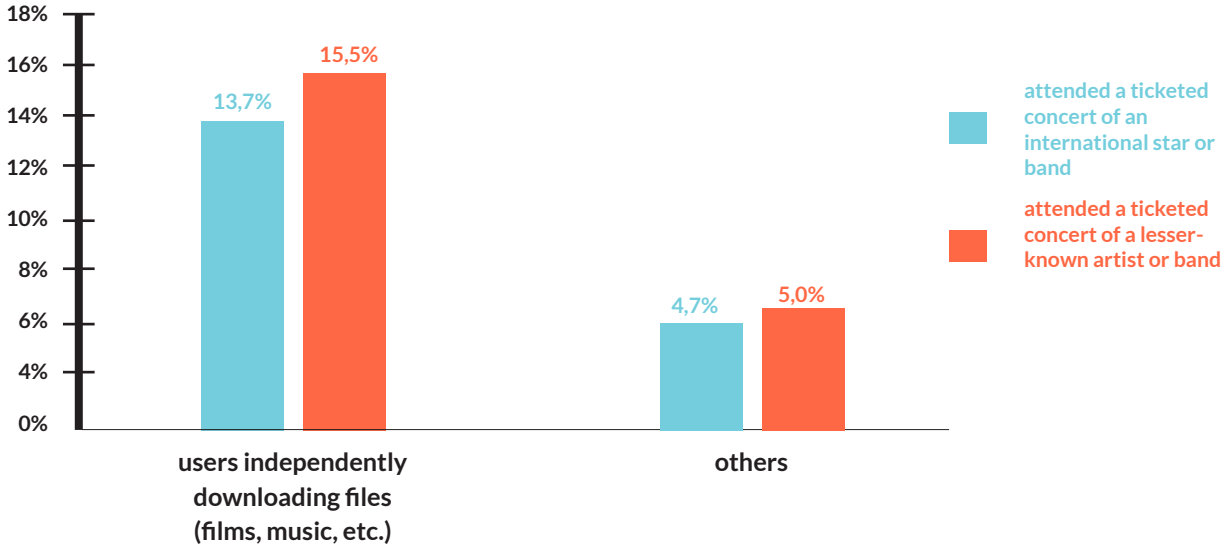


Figure 7. Attendance at music concerts among Internet users

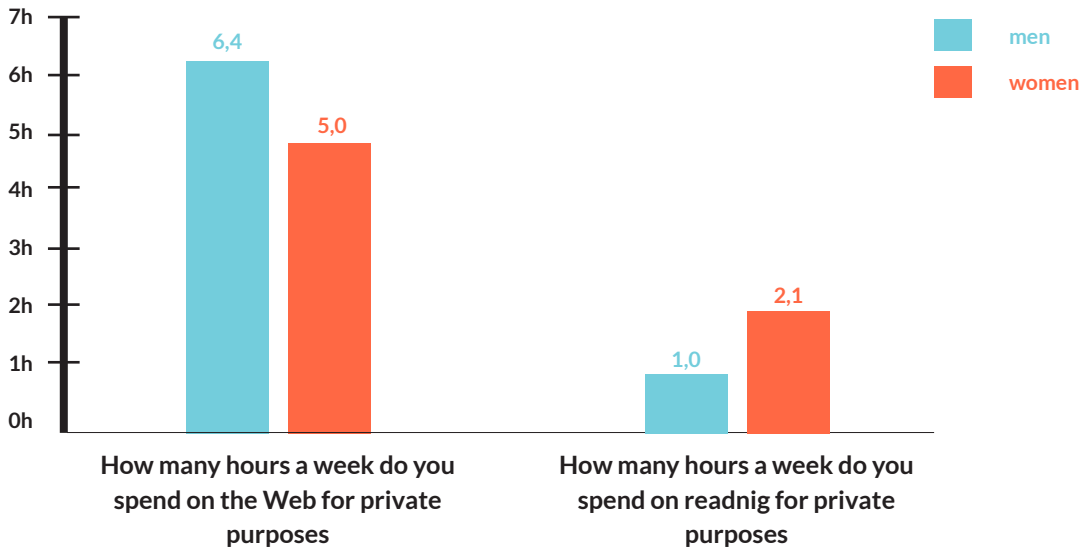


The basic sociometric data – such as sex or place of residence – seem to be related to the nature of varied media practices to a quite limited degree. Statistically significant differences between the sexes can only be observed in the case of reading books and using the Internet for personal purposes (see table 6); men more frequently surf the Internet while women are more likely to read books.

Table 6. Media use and respondents' sex – ANOVA analysis

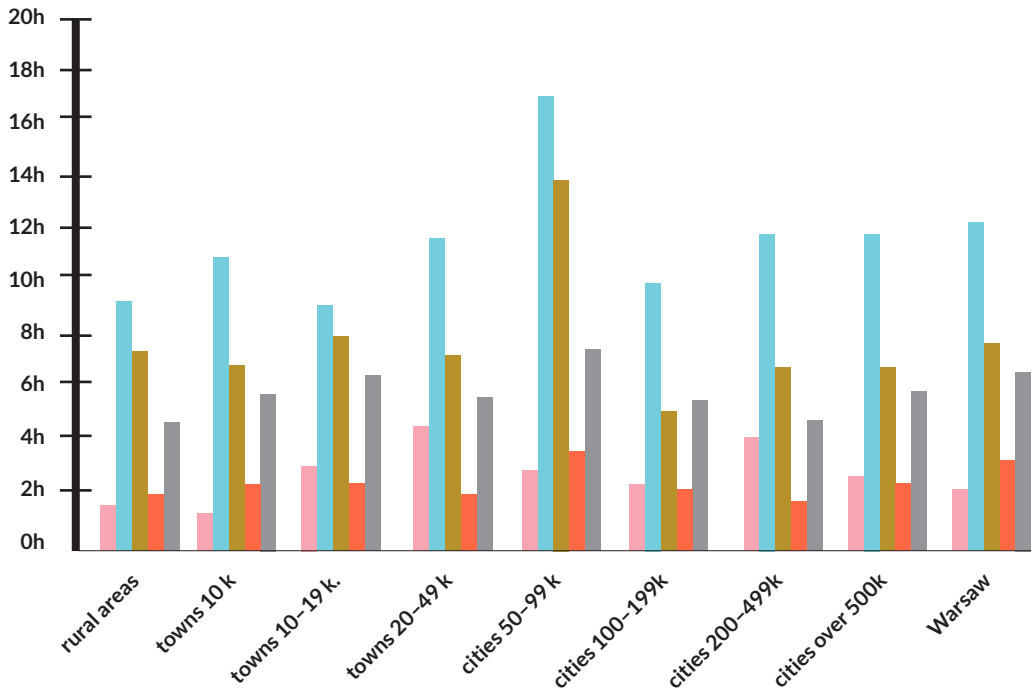
		sum of squares	df	mean square	F	significance
How many hours a week do you spend using the Interent for professional purposes * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	4,492	1	49,492	1,082	,299
	Inside groups	50416,997	1102	45,750		
	Total	50466,489	1103			
How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for professional purposes * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	1,92	1	,192	,037	,847
	Inside groups	5605,190	1093	5,128		
	Total	5605,383	1094			
How many hours a week do you spend reading books for professional purposes * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	14,462	1	14,462	3,347	,068
	Inside groups	4714,722	1091	4,321		
	Total	4729,184	1092			
How many hours a week do you spend talking the phone for professional purposes * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	161,212	1	161,212	2,734	,099
	Inside groups	6497,023	1097	58,976		
	Total	64858,235	1098			
How many hours a week do you spend using the Internet for personal puropses * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	568,629	1	568,629	**7,585**	**,006**
	Inside groups	83884,327	119	74,694		
	Total	84452,956	1120			
How many hours a week do you spend watching television for personal purposes * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	134,685	1	134,685	,987	,321
	Inside groups	151208,706	1108	134,470		
	Total	151343,391	109			
How many hours a week do you spend listening to the radio for personal purposes * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	17,035	1	17,035	,116	,734
	Inside groups	161439,012	1098	147,030		
	Total	161456,046	1099			
How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for personal purposes * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	57,569	1	57,596	3,780	,052
	Inside groups	16806,173	1103	15,237		
	Total	16863,768	1104			
How many hours a week do you spend reading books for personal purposes * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	347,659	1	347,659	**26,304**	**,000**
	Inside groups	14591,755	1104	13,217		
	Total	14939,414	1105			
How many hours a week do you spend talking on the phone for personal purposes * Sex of respondent	Between groups (Combined)	347,659	1	38,143	,670	,413
	Inside groups	60187,158	1058	58,888		
	Total	60225,301	1059			

Figure 8. Media use and place of residence



The population class of the respondent's place of residence correlates with the time spent on watching television and listening to the radio (compare: figure 9, table 7); however, we have not found statistically significant differences in using the Internet based on place of residence – for either personal or professional purposes.

Figure 9.
Media use and the sex of respondent – personal Internet use and reading books



How many hours a week do you spend talking on the phone for professional purposes

How many hours a week do you spend watching television for personal purposes

How many hours a week do you spend listening to the radio for personal purposes

How many hours a week do you spend using the Interent for professional purposes

How many hours a week do you spend using the Interent for personal purposes

Table 7.
Media use and place of residence – ANOVA table

		sum of squares	df	mean square	F	significance
How many hours a week do you spend using the Interent for professional purposes * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	363,086	8	45,386	,992	,441
	Inside groups	50103,403	1095	45,757		
	Total	50466,489	1103			
How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for professional purposes * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	59,772	8	7,472	1,463	,166
	Inside groups	5545,610	1086	5,106		
	Total	5605,383	1094			
How many hours a week do you spend reading books for professional purposes * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	34,324	8	4,289	,990	,442
	Inside groups	4694,870	1084	4,331		
	Total	4729,184	1092			
How many hours a week do you spend talking the phone for professional purposes * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	1309,873	8	163,734	**2,808**	**,004**
	Inside groups	63548,362	1090	58,301		
	Total	64858,235	1098			
How many hours a week do you spend using the Internet for personal puropses * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	5159,870	8	113,415	1,510	,149
	Inside groups	146183,521	1112	75,131		
	Total	151343,391	1120			
How many hours a week do you spend watching television for personal purposes * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	4224,281	8	644,984	**4,858**	**,000**
	Inside groups	157231,765	1101	132,773		
	Total	161456,046	1109			
How many hours a week do you spend listening to the radio for personal purposes * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	153,120	1	528,035	**3,664**	**,000**
	Inside groups	16710,648	1098	144,117		
	Total	16863,768	1099			
How many hours a week do you spend on reading the press for personal purposes * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	124,783	8	19,140	1,255	,263
	Inside groups	14814,632	1096	15,247		
	Total	14939,414	1104			
How many hours a week do you spend reading books for personal purposes * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	347,659	8	15,598	1,155	,324
	Inside groups	14591,755	1097	13,505		
	Total	14939,414	1105			
How many hours a week do you spend talking on the phone for personal purposes * Class of place of residence	Between groups (Combined)	771,917	8	96,490	1,706	,093
	Inside groups	59453,384	1051	56,568		
	Total	60225,301	1059			

Competences 4.3

As per our initial assumptions, competent use of media is based on their successful use in the context of a significant area of the respondent's life. Each respondent indicating a given area was then asked if using specific media was helping or distracting them in their chosen areas. Although generally our respondents perceive the media as useful, differences can be observed in the assessments of media usefulness for specific areas and for different types of media. 90,4% of Internet users for whom knowledge about world events is important, declared that the Internet is useful or very useful in that area. Similarly, the Internet is perceived as useful or very useful by users who value pursuing interests and hobbies (88%), professional development (83,4%) or social life (78,9%). Watching television is perceived as the most useful (a total of 90,4% "very useful" or "useful" responses) by respondents who indicated knowledge about world events and rest (88%). The telephone was marked as useful or very useful by 83,2% of respondents, for whom social life matters and 78,3% of respondents who value relationships with family and friends.

Figures 10, 11 and 12 illustrate successively: a subjective assessment of the usefulness of the Internet, television and telephone in specific areas, made by users who deem these areas important.

Figure 10. The Internet's usefulness in specific areas of life

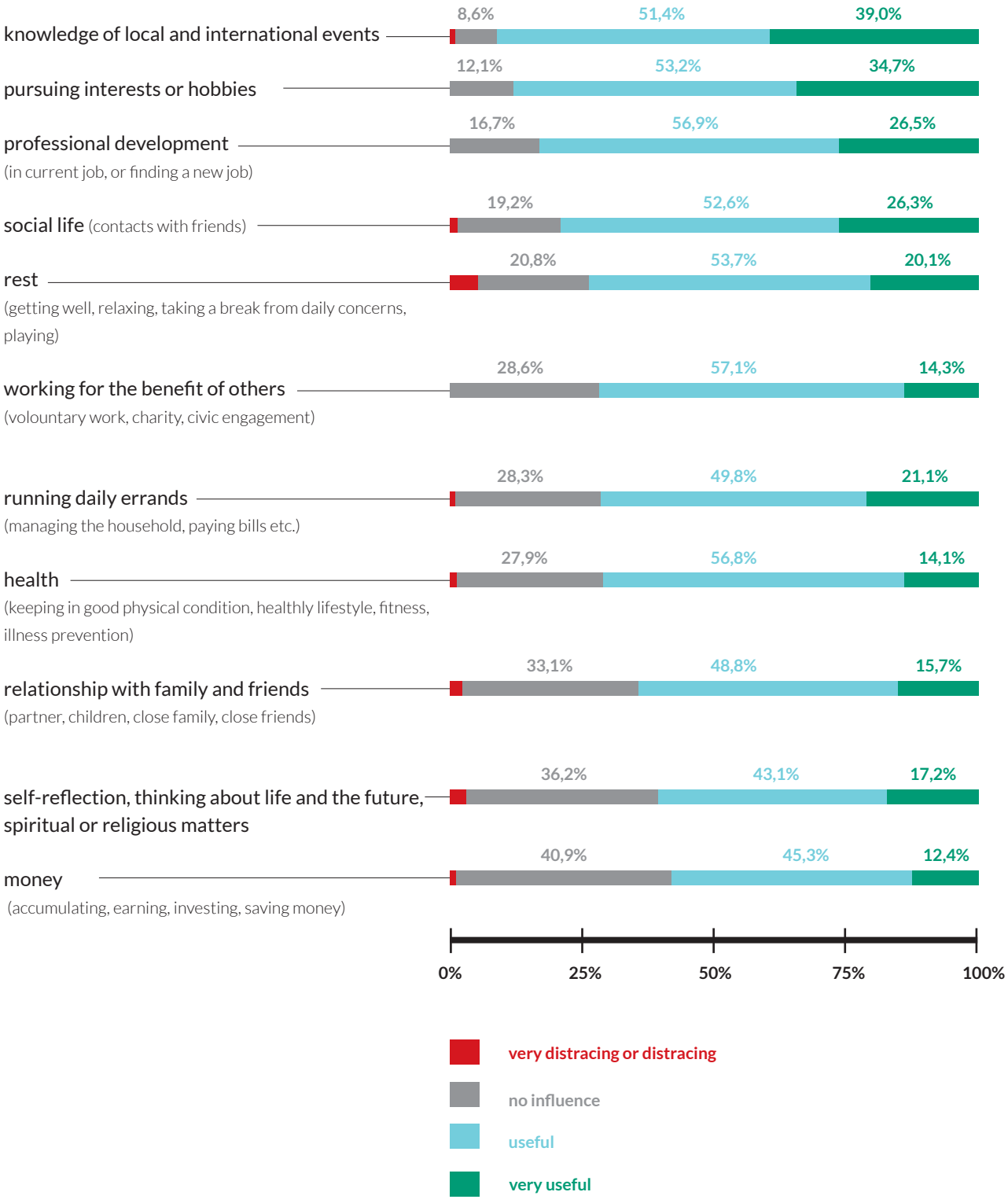


Figure 11. Television's usefulness in specific areas of life życia

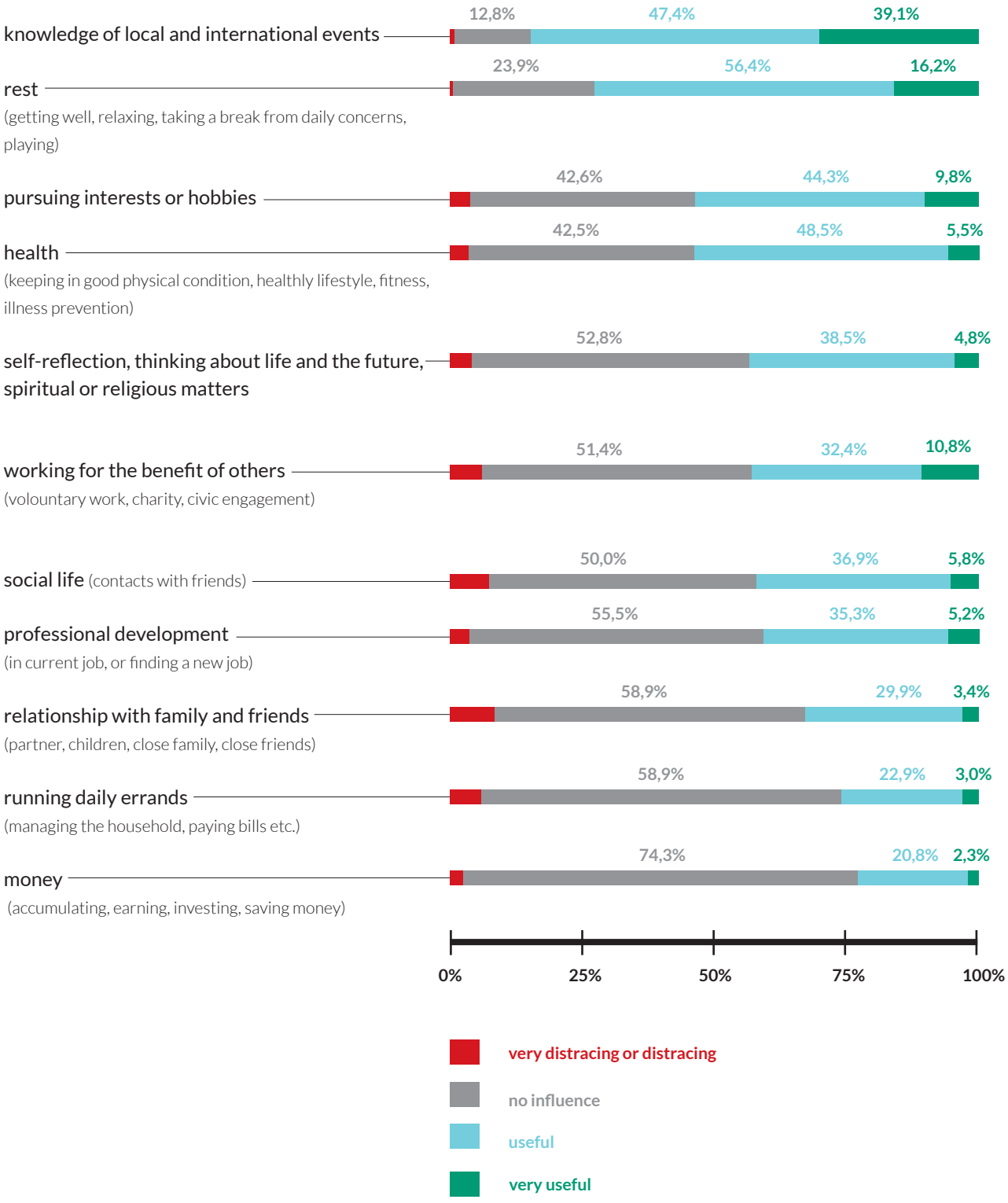
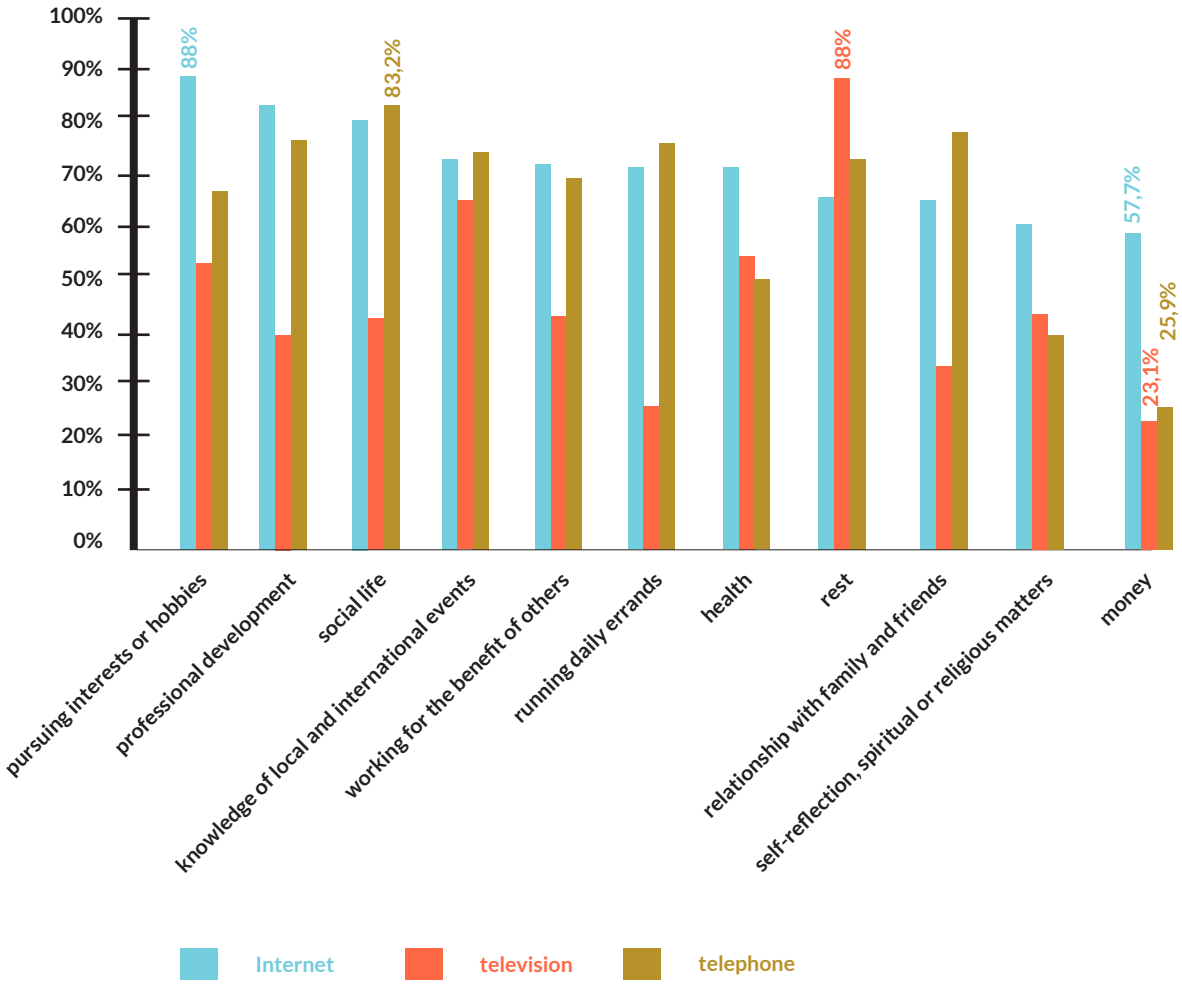


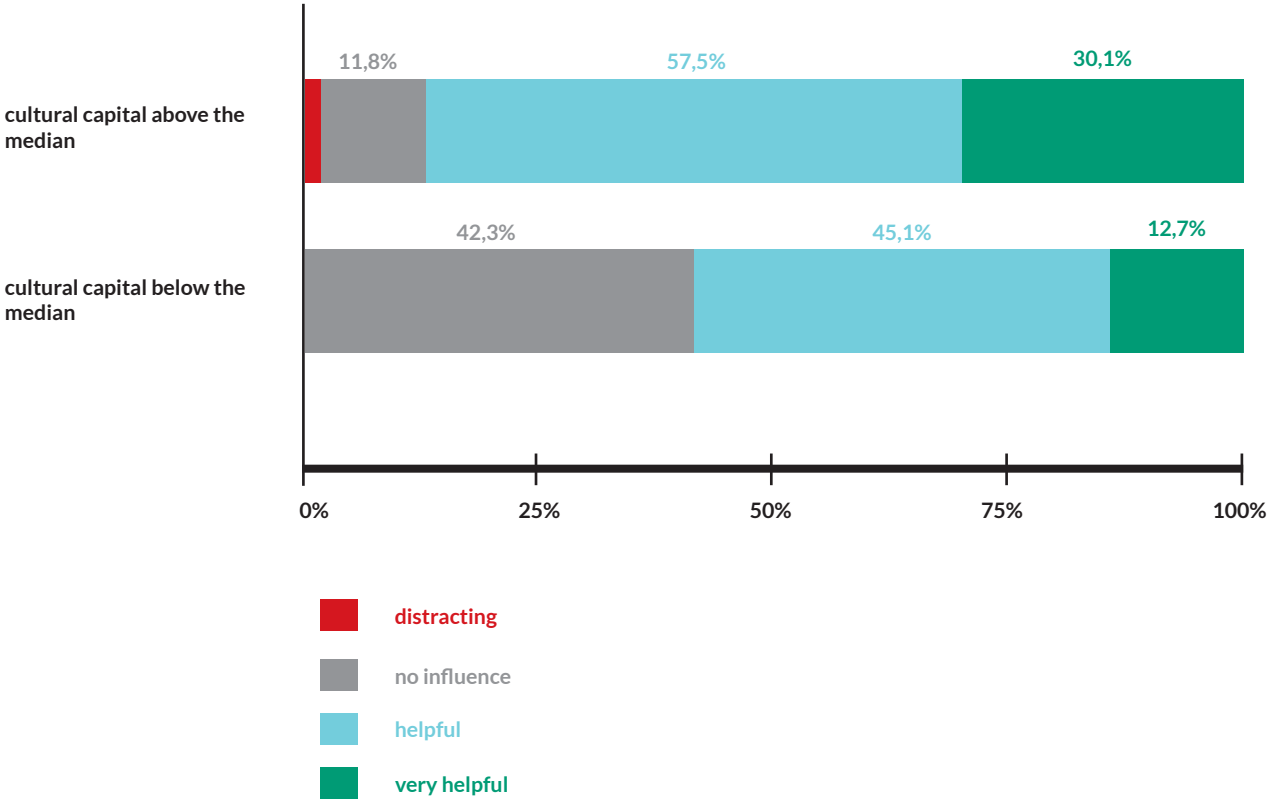
Figure 12. The telephone's usefulness in specific areas of life

Figure 13. The usefulness of three types of media in specific areas of life



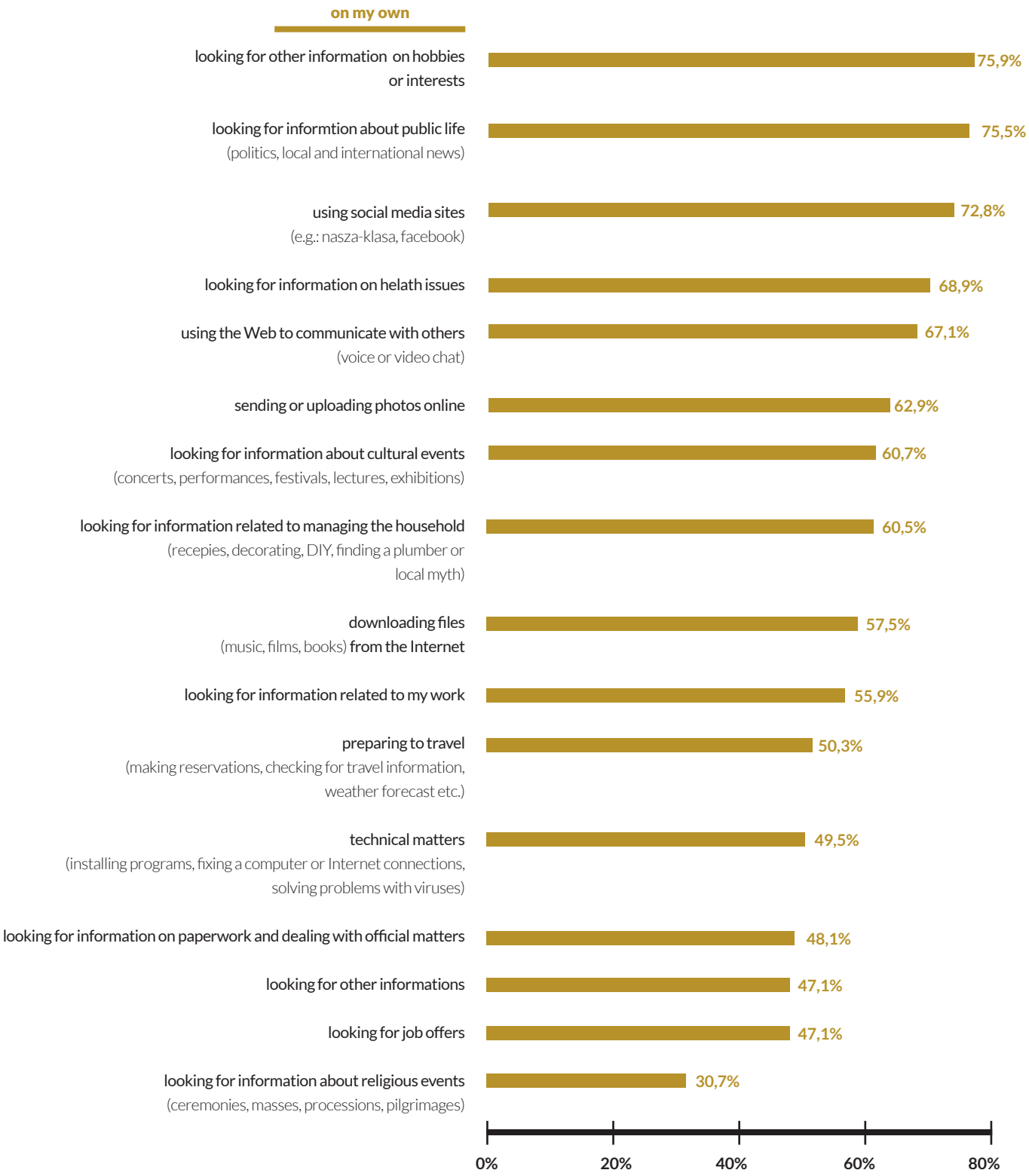
It is not difficult to notice that the media do not offer the same level of usefulness for all the significant areas of the respondents' lives. This is, naturally, partly due to the specificity of certain areas (for instance, it is hard to expect television to be useful for running daily errands). In other cases, however, one can reasonably assume that insufficient knowledge and skills often prevent the respondents from using the potential and opportunities offered by selected media. Therefore, the subjective assessment of a given medium's helpfulness can be treated as an indicator of relationally defined competence, which translates into successful use of a given medium in areas significant to the respondent. Competences defined in this way will vary depending on the level of cultural capital. This is exemplified in figure 14, which illustrates the assessment of the Internet's usefulness for professional development depending on the respondents' levels of cultural capital.

Figure 14. The assessment of the Internet's usefulness for professional development depending on the respondent's cultural capital



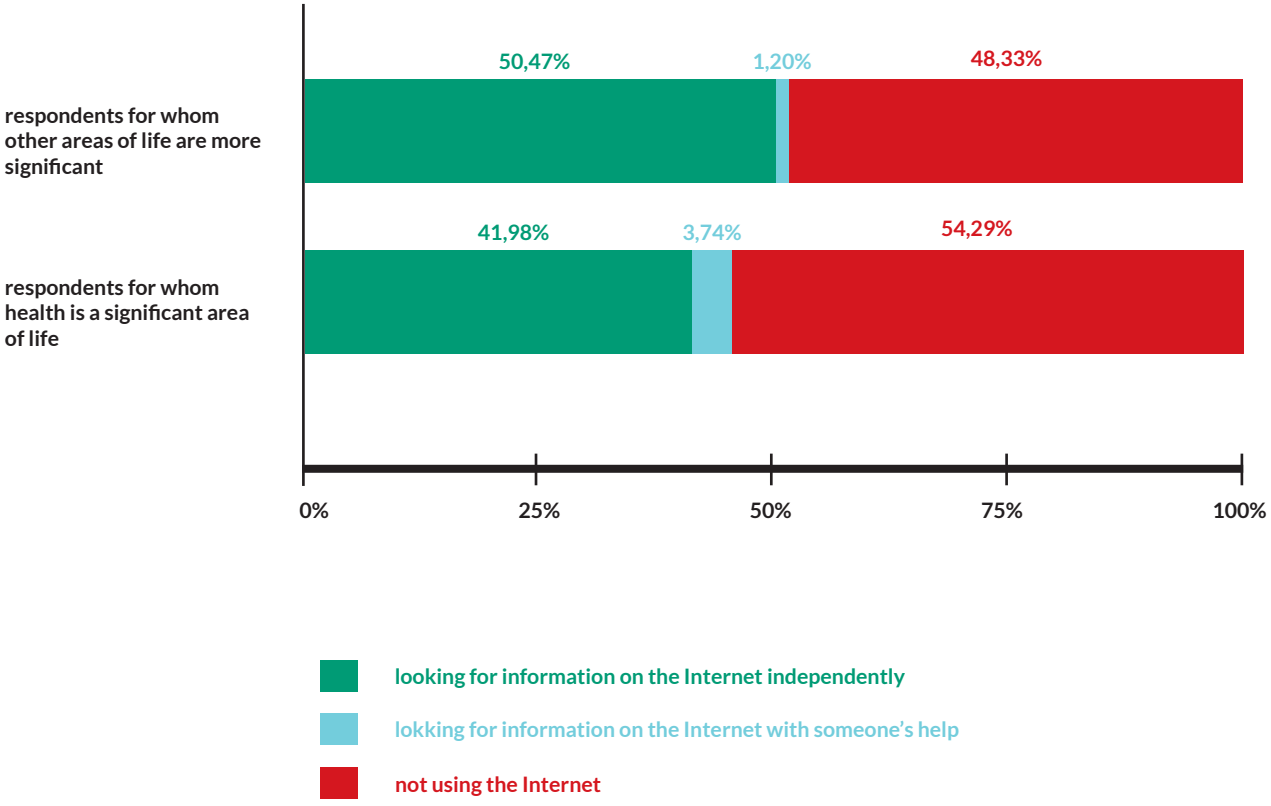
Competent use of the Internet can also be observed if the respondents declare that their activities on the Web were independent, i.e. they used the Internet on their own. The questionnaire included a list of 17 online activities, chosen based on an analysis of in-depth interviews. The results pictured in figure 15 are a representation of the interests and skills of respondents.

Figure 15. Independent Internet uses over 3 recent years



Combined with information about areas of life the respondents view as significant, this can be used to pinpoint the gaps in competences in accordance with initial theoretical assumptions of our study. If a respondent indicates an area as significant, and at the same time cannot use the Internet independently to support or improve that area, that fact proves a lack of competences (and a certain potential for using the Internet for this purpose after acquiring adequate knowledge and skills). The sphere of health provides a good illustration: it was indicated as significant by 37,9% of respondents. At the same time, those are not the respondents who most frequently independently went online to look for health information. This is an effect of another dependency: health was most often picked by respondents with low levels of cultural and economic capital – people who use the Internet more rarely (and narrowly) than others (as illustrated in figure 16). Figure 16 shows that 54,29% of respondents for whom health is significant do not use the opportunities, which the Internet could offer. If we scale this to the entire population, those people constitute over 20% of Poles.

Figure 16. Searching for information on health



The next dimension related to competences is the "range of (Internet) use" indicator, oscillating between 0 (when the respondent uses the Internet only with the help of others) and 17 (when the respondent marks all the activities – see figure 15).

This indicator is linked to one of the main arguments of this report: we believe that the diversification in using different media is a consequence of more fundamental social differences. The tables below demonstrate that the "range of use" indicator correlates with cultural capital and social capital; in the latter case, however, that correlation is much weaker (respectively 0,43 with a significance value of 0,000 and 0,1 with a significance value of 0,038). This proves the argument that that cultural capital is key to fully using the opportunities created by using the Internet. This happens for two reasons – firstly, cultural capital translates into technical skills needed for Internet use, and secondly, it dictates the horizon of its envisaged uses (or, the "imaginable" uses of the Internet).

Table 8. Cultural capital versus the range of Internet use

Control variables			does the respondent use the Internet independently for multiple purposes — total based on question 18	respondent's cultural capital indicator score based on regression
respondent's social capital indicator score based on regression & respondent's economic capital indicator score based on regression	does the respondent use the Internet independently for multiple purposes — total based on question 18	Corelation	1,000	**,429**
		Significance (two-tailed)		**,000**
		df	0	404
	respondent's cultural capital indicator score based on regression	Corelation	,429	1,000
		Significance (two-tailed)	,000	
		df	404	0

Table 9. Social capital versus the range of Internet use

Control variables			does the respondent use the Internet independently for multiple purposes — total based on question 18	respondent's social capital indicator score based on regression
respondent's cultural capital indicator score based on regression & respondent's economic capital indicator score based on regression	does the respondent use the Internet independently for multiple purposes — total based on question 18	Corelation	1,000	,103
		Significance (two-tailed)		,038
		df	0	404
	respondent's social capital indicator score based on regression	Corelation	,103	1,000
		Significance (two-tailed)	,038	
		df	404	0

Tabela 10. Economic capital versus the range of Internet use

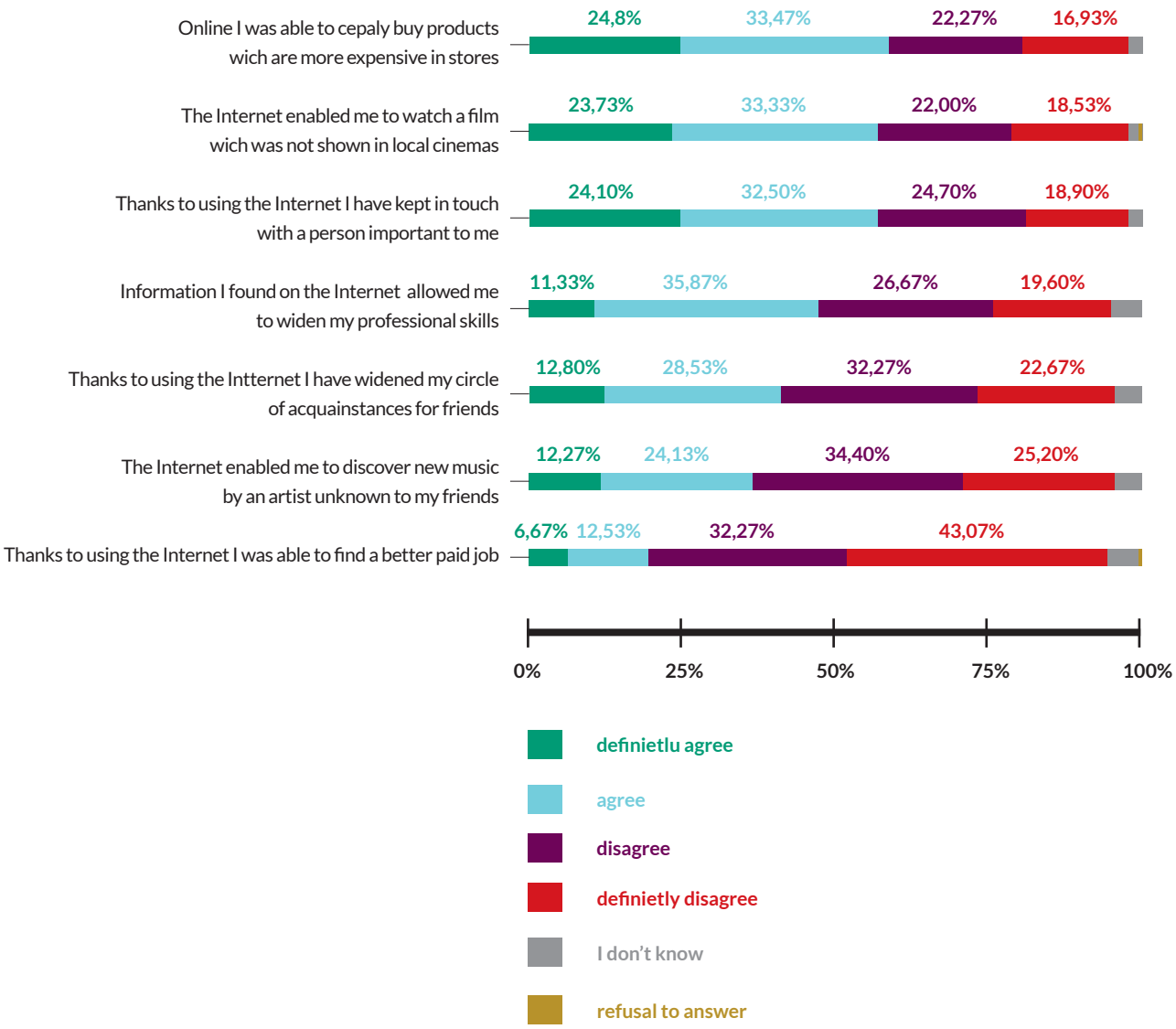
Control variables			does the respondent use the Internet independently for multiple purposes — total based on question 18	respondent's economic capital indicator score based on regression
respondent's social capital indicator score based on regression & respondent's cultural capital indicator score based on regression	does the respondent use the Internet independently for multiple purposes — total based on question 18	Corelation	1,000	,037
		Significance (two-tailed)		,455
		df	0	404
	respondent's economic capital indicator score based on regression	Corelation	,037	1,000
		Significance (two-tailed)	,455	
		df	404	0

4.4 Multiplication and conversion of capital

Until this point we have been discussing how the uneven distribution of capital influences the modes of using media. It is also worthwhile to clearly articulate the reverse relationship: how media use influences the available types of capital. As the research conducted here was conceived as a one-time study, the indicators of growth of specific types of capital are based on the respondent's subjective assessment. Similarly as before, when respondents assessed the usefulness of the media in significant areas of life, here the respondents again generally judge the results of using the Internet favourably. Almost 60% of Internet users save money thanks to online shopping. Simultaneously, every fifth respondent found employment via the Web. Over a half of respondents declare that thanks to using this medium they managed to maintain contact with someone important to them. A little over 40% believe that using the Internet has allowed them to widen the circle of acquaintances or friends. Such indicators prove a boost to the respondents' cultural capital (watching a film, getting to know a new music artist, gaining new professional skills) and offer some room for the conviction that some uses of the Internet do allow individuals to multiply each of the three types of capital. For at least two reasons we believe that cultural capital is key to this process. Firstly, the character of indicators does not allow to draw conclusions about the Internet's negative influence on levels of capital (although such an influence is possible – for instance, access to quick online shopping can result in rash financial choices; many online activities are time-consuming, taking time away from family and friends, work, etc.) Van Dijk points out that only the strategic (related to objectives and priorities) uses of a given medium decide about that medium's usefulness, understood as a potential to multiply capital.

Secondly, the key role of cultural capital is reflected in statistical significance and the strength of correlation between its level and the growth of each type of capital. These correlations are illustrated in table 11.

Figure 17. The Internet and the multiplication of capital



Controlling for cultural and social capital values, economic capital only correlates here with managing to purchase cheaper goods online (see table 12). This further illustrates the statement about the multidimensional digital divide: as much as economic capital influences gaining physical access to the Internet – especially the connection speed – effective use of the Internet is based on much subtler factors, on the level of skills, knowledge and ideas for possible uses.

Table 11. Cultural capital and the multiplication of capital

Control variables			respondent's cultural capital score indicator based on regression
respondent's social capital score indicator based on regression & respondent's economic capital score indicator based on regression	Thanks to using the Internet I have widened my circle of acquaintances or friends, on whom I can count.	Corelation	,239
		Significance (two-tailed)	,000
		df	373
	Thanks to using the Internet I have kept in touch with a person important to me.	Corelation	**,306**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,000**
		df	**373**
	Thanks to using the Internet I was able to find a better paid job.	Corelation	,251
		Significance (two-tailed)	,000
		df	373
	Online I was able to cepaly buy products wich are more expensive in stores.	Corelation	**,354**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,000**
		df	373
	Information I found on the Intenet allowed me to widen my professional skills and competences.	Corelation	**,334**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,000**
		df	373
	The Internet enabled me to watch a film wich was not shown in local cinemas.	Corelation	**,276**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,000**
		df	373
	The Internet enabled me to discover new music by an artist unknown to my friends.	Corelation	**,291**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,000**
		df	373
	Respondent's cultural capital indicator score	Corelation	**1,000**
		Significance (two-tailed)	
		df	0

Table 12. Economic capital and the multiplication of capital

Control variables			respondent's econimic capital score indicator based on regression
respondent's cultural capital score indicator based on regression & respondent's social capital score indicator based on regression	Thanks to using the Internet I have widened my circle of acquaintances or friends, on whom I can count.	Corelation	-,009
		Significance (two-tailed)	,859
		df	373
	Thanks to using the Internet I have kept in touch with a person important to me.	Corelation	**,027**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,602**
		df	**373**
	Thanks to using the Internet I was able to find a better paid job.	Corelation	,033
		Significance (two-tailed)	,525
		df	373
	Online I was able to cepaly buy products wich are more expensive in stores.	Corelation	**,155**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,003**
		df	373
	Information I found on the Intenet allowed me to widen my professional skills and competences.	Corelation	**,076**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,0139**
		df	373
	The Internet enabled me to watch a film wich was not shown in local cinemas.	Corelation	**,010**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,854**
		df	373
	The Internet enabled me to discover new music by an artist unknown to my friends.	Corelation	**,106**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,040**
		df	373
	Respondent's economic capital indicator score	Corelation	**1,000**
		Significance (two-tailed)	
		df	0

Table 13. Social capital and the multiplication of capital

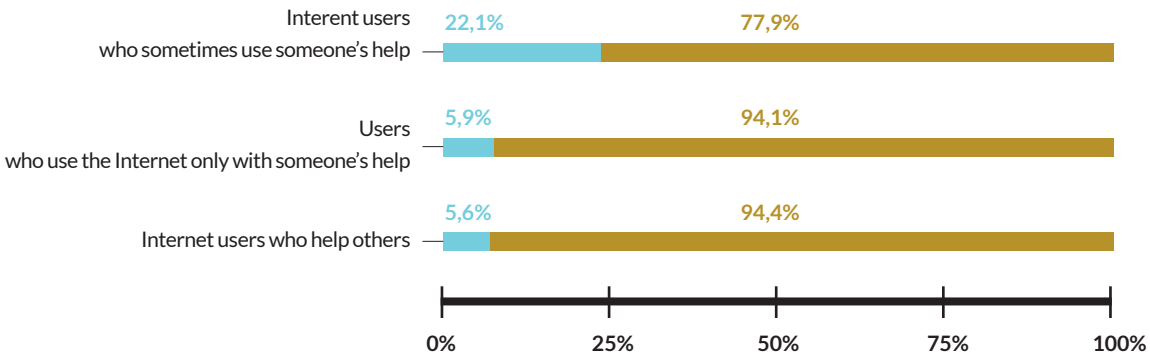
Control variables			respondent's social capital score indicator based on regression
respondent's cultural capital score indicator based on regression & respondent's economic capital score indicator based on regression	Thanks to using the Internet I have widened my circle of acquaintances or friends, on whom I can count.	Corelation	,093
		Significance (two-tailed)	,073
		df	373
	Thanks to using the Internet I have kept in touch with a person important to me.	Corelation	**,182**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,000**
		df	**373**
	Thanks to using the Internet I was able to find a better paid job.	Corelation	-,060
		Significance (two-tailed)	,248
		df	373
	Online I was able to cepaly buy products wich are more expensive in stores.	Corelation	**,019**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,719**
		df	373
	Information I found on the Intenet allowed me to widen my professional skills and competences.	Corelation	**-,019**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,709**
		df	373
	The Internet enabled me to watch a film wich was not shown in local cinemas.	Corelation	**,086**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,095**
		df	373
	The Internet enabled me to discover new music by an artist unknown to my friends.	Corelation	**,086**
		Significance (two-tailed)	**,095**
		df	373
	Respondent's social capital indicator score	Corelation	**1,000**
		Significance (two-tailed)	
		df	0

The influence of social capital on multiplying other types of capital through using the Internet is, again, quite small and limited mostly to "self-strengthening", that is a positive correlation with keeping in touch with someone important to the respondent. For the sake of comparison, cultural capital correlated with both social capital growth indicators (keeping in touch with an important person – correlation value 0,3 in the case of cultural capital and 0,18 for social capital; widening the circle of acquaintances, on which one can count – correlation value 2,4 in the case of cultural capital and no statistical significance in the case of social capital). Therefore the Internet is an environment, where the rule rich get richer needs further specification: using the Internet enables the growth of all types of capital, but the beneficiaries are predominantly users with a high cultural capital – and it is those users who most frequently multiply this and other types of capital through their online activities.

Media use by proxy 4.5

As it was signalled above, a specific role in using the Internet can be played by getting varied degrees of assistance from more able users. We call this a proxy use, as the help offered is in some cases so extensive that it doesn't even require the user to be located anywhere near the computer; the proxy user receives a ready result of online activity (for example, a printed flight ticket, a parcel from an online store, a schedule of exercises etc.) One of the aims of our study has been to assess the scale of this phenomenon and draft its main dimensions. Over 20% of our respondents accepted some help from another person in order to use the Internet. Almost 6% of those are people using the Internet only while assisted by another person, so Internet users who cannot use it independently. At the same time, only 5,6% of Internet users help others to use the Web (see Figure 18).

Figure 18.
Internet users who receive help, Internet users who help others and proxy-users



Poles most frequently help each other within close family (over 50% of all cases) and close friendships (almost 27%). Internet users very sporadically pay for help – in a trial of 750 Internet users we noted only over a dozen of such cases (1,73%). The low rate of help offered by acquaintances or distant friends (over 13%) confirms the conclusions of the qualitative part of the study: those who help others use the Internet usually are not computer experts, reached through a wide network of contacts. Most often they are simply children helping their parents to perform simple online tasks (technical problems, sending photos or images, downloading files etc. – see figures 19, 20 and 21). A similar conclusion emerged from the World Internet Project research.

Figure 19. Who helps Internet users – type of relationship

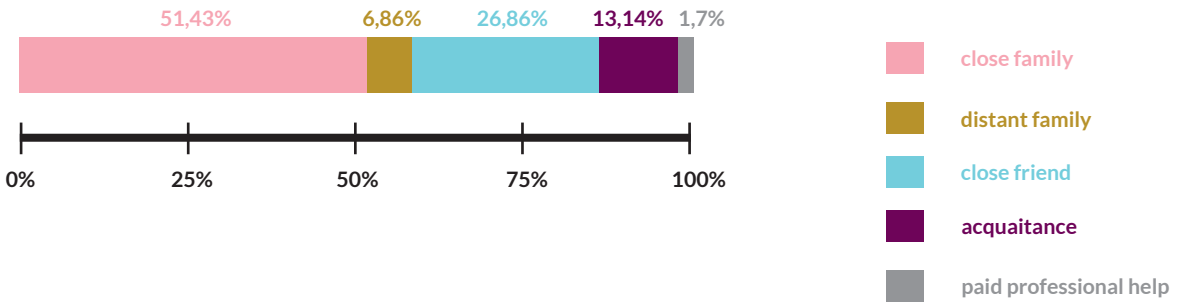


Figure 20. Who helps Internet users – age of individuals who provide help

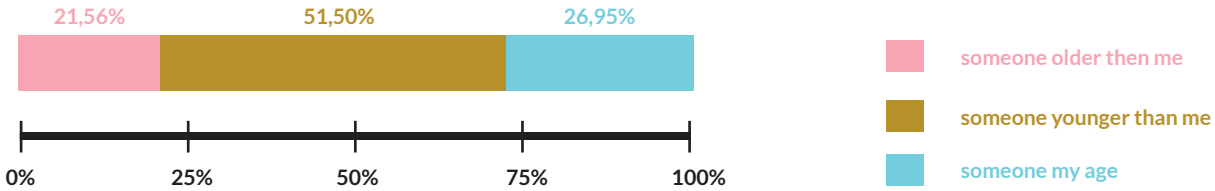
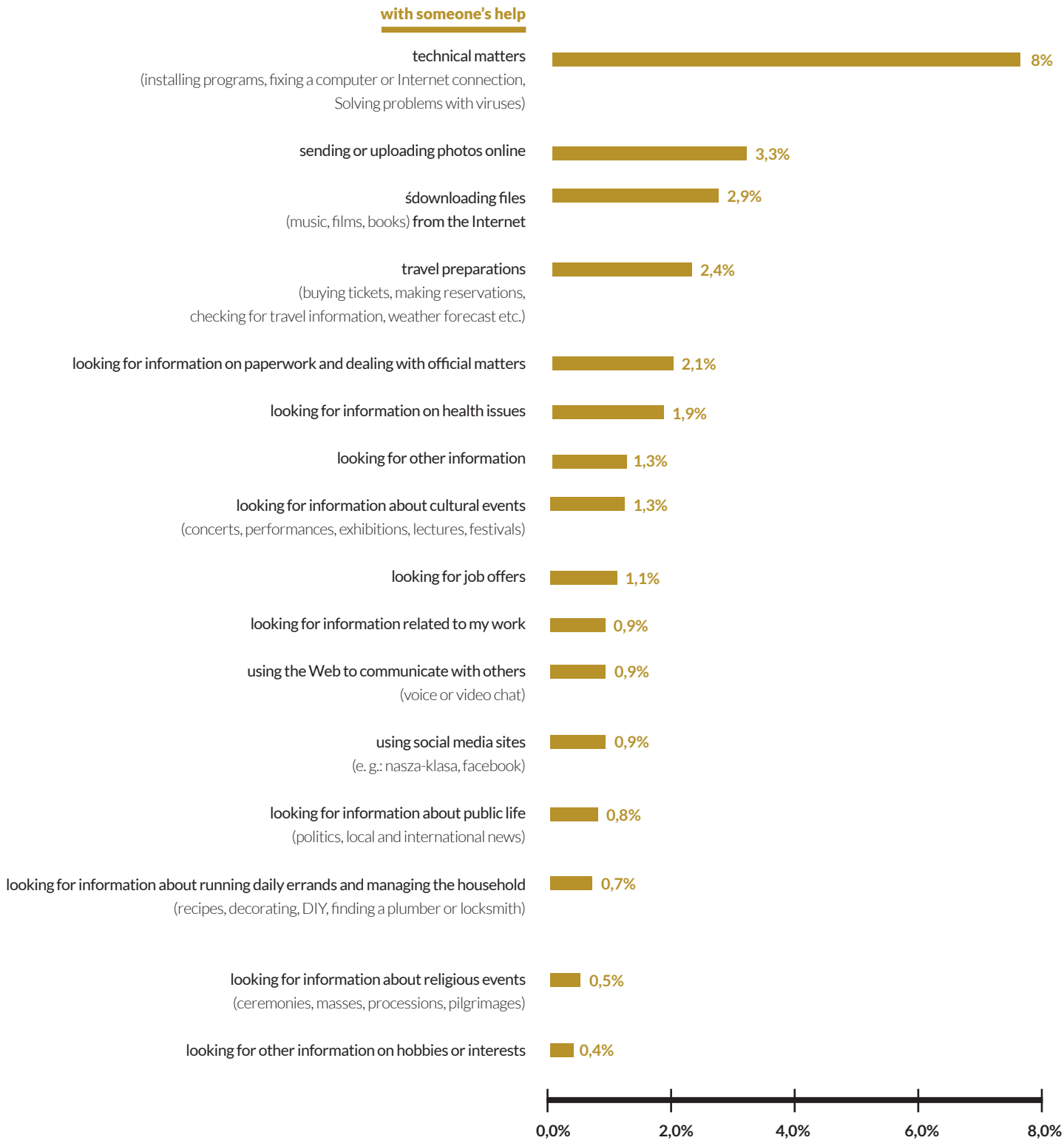


Figure 21. The scope of help with using the Internet[1]



[1] 750 Internet users participated in the survey; it is clear that some types of help occurred extremely rarely. We decided to leave this figure in the report to illustrate the domination of technical help (installing programs, helping with hardware problems, viruses, Internet access) over other types of help, as it indicates a gap in competences – only 49,5% of Internet users declared using the Internet independently to solve technical problems.

As in the case of "range of Internet use" and multiplying /generating specific types of capital, we are again dealing with a statistically significant correlation between receiving and offering help and the levels of certain types of capital. As shown in tables 14 and 15, higher social capital correlates positively with receiving help; individuals with higher levels of cultural capital also offer help more readily.

Table 14. Capitals versus getting help to use the internet

Control variables			Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Significance
respondent's cultural capital indicator score based on regression * I use someone's help to use the Internet	between the groups	(combined)	,385	1	,385	,424	,515
	inside groups		594,282	654	,909		
	Total		594,667	655	5,400		
respondent's social capital indicator score based on regression * I use someone's help to use the Internet	between the groups	(combined)	5,400	1	5,400	**7,072**	**,008**
	inside groups		496,356	650	,764		
	Total		501,757	651			
respondent's economic capital indicator score based on regression * I use someone's help to use the Internet	between the groups	(combined)	0,91	1	,091	,123	,726
	inside groups		352,891	477	,742		
	Total		353,982	478			

Table 15. Capital versus helping others to use the Internet

Control variables			Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Significance
respondent's cultural capital indicator score based on regression * I help someone else use the Internet	between the groups	(combined)	9,041	1	9,041	**10,096**	**,002**
	inside groups		585,626	654	,895		
	Total		594,667	656			
respondent's social capital indicator score based on regression * I help someone else use the Internet	between the groups	(combined)	,246	1	,246	,318	,573
	inside groups		501,511	650	,772		
	Total		501,757	651			
respondent's economic capital indicator score based on regression * I help someone else use the Internet	between the groups	(combined)	1,571	1	1,571	2,126	,145
	inside groups		352,411	477	,739		
	Total		353,982	478			

The question of usage by proxy can be treated as another important theme in the discussion on competences, which in our opinion should not be treated solely as knowledge and individual skills which allow to independently use the medium effectively. A certain competence in searching for other users' support is also an interesting theme; every fifth Internet user receives different degrees of outside support. At the same time, admittedly, the scope of the support network is quite limited. This is yet another illustration of the argument that media-related behaviours of Poles are conditioned by factors linked to levels of capital, including social capital. The project Latarnicy (latarnicy.pl) – building informal networks in which local animators support people aged 50+ in using the Internet – is, in our opinion, a good example of taking this dynamic into account.

Conclusion 5

The study results have confirmed our assumptions about the diversification of communication competences within Polish society. Individuals enjoying high levels of cultural capital use new media more widely and more frequently utilize these media to achieve goals in areas significant to them – thus, within our understanding of the term, they are more competent media users. Adopting a relational perspective on competences allowed us to demonstrate that respondents with low capital scores less frequently declare aspirations in areas such as professional development, money or social life – as a result, it is particularly difficult for members of this group to find motivation for acquiring specific types of competences. We also tried to demonstrate that the increasingly common Internet use, despite all hopes invested in it, is not a universal remedy for social inequalities. On the contrary – individuals with considerable cultural capital multiply their resources thanks to using new media, while those with limited cultural capital might use the Internet but the mode of their Internet use much less frequently results in improving their chances in areas traditionally regulated by state policies: opportunities on the job market, participation in culture and social life, civic engagement or a healthy lifestyle.

If the conclusion about the key role played by cultural capital in acquiring and developing communication competences is not too optimistic in itself, it may nevertheless be a starting point for constructive actions. Cultural capital is not a type of capital that can be quickly and easily multiplied. Perhaps, however, the unique function it performs in the light of the data we gathered, may be an argument in discussions related to the functioning of cultural and educational institutions. The results of our study prove the value of spheres which – in recent discussions about education of the young generations of Poles – were seen as far removed from the realities of the job market. The results we obtained may suggest that the reverse is true – competences which belong to the sphere of humanities and related cultural activities are not a waste of public funds; they are tools which can be applied to decreasing social inequalities and increasing the economic and social capital of individuals.

Based on the study it would also be justified to reflect upon a possibility of introducing corrections to current educational and cultural policies. We realise that relational thinking about competences makes it more difficult to create universal improvement programs aiming at increasing communication competences of media users. If, however, such programs are to be effective, they must take into consideration the local conditions of diverse social groups and be flexible enough to enable profiling activities for application

in individuals' everyday life, with the resources (including skills) they have at their disposal. Noticing the situation and conditions of the addressees of support programs is not just an ethical claim, but a condition of that support's effectiveness. Considering the "conversion factors" mentioned in the report, it is also worthwhile to contemplate lowering entry barriers for services and resources created with various groups of addressees in mind – most importantly those who are not "served" by the commercial market, not being attractive enough for commercial entities. This might take the form of increasing the motivation of groups less active on the Internet by creating user-friendly information portals on – for instance – health issues, interesting for older members of the population who face the risk of digital exclusion. In the context of formal education of young people, it seems significant to include computer and media literacy education in contexts other than IT classes. Programming education is of course worthy of support, but simple uses of computers and the Internet are necessary knowledge – even if teaching the basics might bore some of the more advanced students. School should indeed aim to minimize social differences, which might be also achieved – as signalled by our research – by an exchange of information and help between users who have different competences.

Naturally, this study is meant as a way of signalling a problem, which should be explored more deeply in future studies – perhaps studies utilizing some of the indicators described here. Measuring the usefulness of media in areas individually marked as important by respondents seems particularly effective, alongside the capital conversion indicator allowing researchers to check which individuals – and in what conditions – widen their circle of acquaintances, save and earn money or widen their cultural horizons. Finally, the range-of-use indicator, combining information about usage skills with the awareness of where to apply them, seems also noteworthy. It also reminds us that there is no single Internet and no single way to use it, and helps to venture beyond the black-and-white division into Internet users and people who do not use the Web.

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Annex: Questionnaire
Survey questionnaire

7

1.Please take a moment and tell us approximately how many years you spent in education, including evening and extramural studies?

<NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: PLEASE PROVIDE THE ANSWER IN FULL STUDY YEARS AND INCLUDE OBLIGATORY EDUCATION YEARS. ROUND UP THE ANSWER UP OR DOWN TO FULL YEARS. IF THE RESPONDENT TOOK AN ACCELERATED COURSE – PLEASE PROVIDE THE STANDARD DURATION OF STUDY>

1. |___|___| 1. years (please enter two digits)
2. Refusal to answer
3. I don't know
Interviewer: Hand the EDUCATION CARD to the respondent

2. What is/was the education of your father? What was the highest level of education he completed?
1. Primary school (not completed),
2. 6-class primary school completed (4-class before WW2),
3. 8-class primary school completed,
4. Gymnasium completed,
5. Vocational or technical secondary school completed,
6. Grammar school completed without A-levels,
7. Grammar school completed with A-levels,
8. Secondary school (vocational, technical or grammar school) completed without A-levels,
9. Secondary school (vocational, technical or grammar school) completed with A-levels,
10. Undergraduate diploma,
11. College or teaching diploma,
12. B.A. or Engineer's diploma,
13. M.A. or medical diploma,
14. Academic degree: PhD or professorship
15. Other (what? .....)
16. *Refusal to answer*
17. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Hand the EDUCATION CARD to the respondent

3. What is/was the education of your father? What was the highest level of education he completed?

1. Primary school (not completed),
2. 6-class primary school completed (4-class before WW2),
3. 8-class primary school completed,
4. Gymnasium completed,
5. Vocational or technical secondary school completed,
6. Grammar school completed without A-levels,
7. Grammar school completed with A-levels,
8. Secondary school (vocational, technical or grammar school) completed without A-levels,
9. Secondary school (vocational, technical or grammar school) completed with A-levels,
10. Undergraduate diploma,
11. College or teaching diploma,
12. B.A. or Engineer's diploma,
13. M.A. or medical diploma,
14. Academic degree: PhD or professorship
15. Other (what? .....)
16. *Refusal to answer*
17. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Hand the EDUCATION CARD to the respondent

4. In the last twelve months, have you attended any courses, lectures or conferences to further your knowledge or improve work qualifications?

1. Yes
2. No
3. *Refusal to answer*
4. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

5. How often do you meet socially with friends, acquaintances, relatives or work colleagues?

1. Never,
2. Less often than once a month,
3. Once a month,
4. A few times a month,
5. Once a week,
6. A few times a week,
7. Every day
8. *Refusal to answer*
9. *I don't know*

6. Is there anyone you can openly talk to about any of your personal or work problems?

1. Yes
2. No
3. *Refusal to answer*
4. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

7. Compared to others your age, how often, in your opinion, do you attend social gatherings, meetings, parties or other social occasions?

1. Definitely less frequently than other people my age,
2. Less frequently than other people my age,
3. Roughly as frequently as most people my age,
4. More frequently than most people my age,
5. Much more frequently than most people my age
6. *Refusal to answer*
7. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

8. If for any reason you would find yourself in a very difficult financial situation and would be forced to borrow money to cover the basic costs of living, would that be easy or difficult and to what degree?

1. Very difficult,
2. Quite difficult,
3. Neither difficult nor easy,
4. Quite easy,
5. Very easy
6. *Refusal to answer*
7. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Hand CARD 5 to the respondent

	Monthly	Annual	
J	1100 PLN or less	13 000 PLN or less	J
R	1101 PLN to 1500 PLN	13 001 PLN to 18 000 PLN	R
C	1501 PLN to 2000 PLN	18 001 PLN to 24 000 PLN	C
M	2001 PLN to 2400 PLN	24 001 PLN to 2900 PLN	M
F	2401 PLN to 2800 PLN	29 001 PLN to 34 000 PLN	F
S	2801 PLN to 3300 PLN	34 001 PLN to 40 000 PLN	S
K	3301 PLN to 3900 PLN	40 000 PLN to 47 000 PLN	K
P	3901 PLN to 4700 PLN	47 001 PLN to 57 000 PLN	P
D	4701 PLN to 6000 PLN	57 001 PLN to 72 000 PLN	D
H	Over 6000 PLN	Over 72 000 PLN	H

9. If you sum up the incomes of your household members from ALL sources, which letter corresponds to the total NET income of your household? If you don't know the exact amount, please estimate. Please use the card: if you find it easier to estimate MONTHLY income values, please use the left side of the table; if you find it easier to estimate ANNUAL income values, please use the right side of the table. gospodarstwa domowego – proszę posłużyć się prawą częścią tabeli.

1. I have no income
2. *Refusal to answer*
3. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

10. Approximately, how much do you contribute to the total household income?

1. I have no income,
2. A very small part,
3. Less than half,
4. Around half,
5. More than half,
6. Most,
7. All
8. *Refusal to answer*
9. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

11. Which of the below statements best describes your assessment of your household's current income?

1. We live comfortably on our current income.
2. We manage on our current income.
3. We barely manage to get by on our current income.
4. We practically can't get by on our current income.
5. *Refusal to answer*
6. *I don't know*

12a. I would now like to talk about using various types of media such as TV, radio, the press, Internet and others. Please take a while to consider and tell me how many hours a week you spend (insert media types) for professional purposes?

Interviewer: Please provide the answer in two digits

1. using the Internet |___|___| hours
2. reading the press – newspapers or magazines|___|___| hours
3. reading books ___|___| hours
4. talking on the telephone ___|___| hours
6. *Refusal to answer*
7. *I don't know*

12b. How many hours a week do you spend (insert media types) for personal purposes?

Interviewer: Please provide the answer in two digits

1. using the Internet.....hours
2. watching television.....hours
3. listening to the radio.....hours
4. reading the press – newspapers or magazines.....hours
5. reading books.....hours
6. talking on the telephone.....hours
7. *Refusal to answer*
8. *I don't know*

<filter: question only for respondents who do not use the Internet: respondents who declared 0 hours in questions 12a and 12b for the INTERNET slot>
Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

13. Do you think other people your age typically use the Internet?

1. Yes, definitely
2. Yes
3. No
4. *Definitely not*

5. *I don't know*
<filter: question only for respondents who are Internet users: respondents who declared over 1 hour total time in questions 12a and 12b in the INTERNET slot>
Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

14. Compared to others your age, how often, in your opinion, do you use the Internet?
1. I use it much less often than others my age,
2. I use it less often than others my age,
3. I use it as often as others my age,
4. I use it more often than others my age,
5. I use it much more often than others my age
6. *I don't know*

15. Over the last year, have you been to:
1. Yes
2. No
3. *Refusal to answer*
4. *I don't know*

a) a free music event or concert
b) a free concert of a famous Polish musician (band or individual artist)
c) a ticketed concert of a famous international musician (band or artist)
d) a ticketed concert of your favourite artist who is not commonly known
e) a ticketed jazz concert
f) a ticketed classical music concert
g) the philharmonic orchestra
h) the opera

I*nterviewer: Hand CARD 15 to the respondent; ROTATE fields!*

16. Please think of the last three years of your life. Consider your own experiences and tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:
1. definitely agree
2. agree
3. disagree
4. definitely disagree
5. *Refusal to answer*
6. *I don't know*

a) Thanks to using the Internet I have widened my circle of acquaintances or friends, on whom I can count in need.
b) Thanks to using the Internet I have kept in touch with a person important to me.
c) Thanks to using the Internet I was able to find a better paid job.

d) Online I was able to cheaply buy products which are more expensive in stores.
e) Information I found on the Internet allowed me to widen my professional skills and competences
f) The Internet enabled me to watch a film which was not shown in local cinemas
g) The Internet enabled me to discover new music by an artist unknown to my friends

<area-media generator>

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the respondent; ROTATE FIELDS!

17a. Different people value different things. I will now read some answers other people have given. Which of these areas of life are most important to you? Please choose two.
FIELDS
1. Professional development (in my current job, or finding a new job)
2. Relationships with family and friends (partner, children, close family, close friends)
3. Social life (contacts with friends)
4. Rest (getting well, relaxing, taking a break from daily concerns, playing)
5. Pursuing interests or hobbies
6. Health (keeping in good physical condition, healthy lifestyle, fitness, illness prevention)
7. Running daily errands (managing the household, paying bills etc.)
8. Money (accumulating, earning, investing, saving money)
9. Self-reflection, thinking about life and the future, spiritual or religious matters
10. Knowledge of local and international events
11. Working for the benefit of others (voluntary work, charity, local community work, civic engagement)
12. None of the above
13. *Refusal to answer*
14. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the respondent; ROTATE FIELDS! <filter: DO NOT SHOW THE TWO FIELDS CHOSEN BY THE RESPONDENT IN QUESTION 16a>

17b. Which of the remaining areas do you spend most time on? Please choose two.
1. Professional development (in my current job, or finding a new job)
2. Relationships with family and friends (partner, children, close family, close friends)
3. Social life (contacts with friends)

4. Rest (getting well, relaxing, taking a break from daily concerns, playing)
5. Pursuing interests or hobbies
6. Health (keeping in good physical condition, healthy lifestyle, fitness, illness prevention)
7. Running daily errands (managing the household, paying bills etc.)
8. Money (accumulating, earning, investing, saving money)
9. Self-reflection, thinking about life and the future, spiritual or religious matters
10. Knowledge of local and international events
11. Working for the benefit of others (voluntary work, charity, local community work, civic engagement)
95. *None of the above*
96. *Refusal to answer*
97. *I don't know*

<Interviewer asks the questions only in relation to the 4 fields specified in the questions 16a and 16b>
Interviewer: Hand CARD 17 to the respondent

18. You said that the area () is especially important for you, or you devote a lot of time to this area (insert consecutively the 4 answers to questions 16a and 16b). Please specify how you would assess the role of those media in your chosen areas (rotate the media/answers):

	1	2	3	4	5	5
1. Internet	Very useful	useful	no influence	distracting	very distracting	*I don't know*
2. television	Very useful	useful	no influence	distracting	very distracting	*I don't know*
3. radio	Very useful	useful	no influence	distracting	very distracting	*I don't know*
4. press	Very useful	useful	no influence	distracting	very distracting	*I don't know*
5. books	Very useful	useful	no influence	distracting	very distracting	*I don't know*
6. telephone	Very useful	useful	no influence	distracting	very distracting	*I don't know*
7. friends or family	Very useful	useful	no influence	distracting	very distracting	*I don't know*

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the respondent

19. In the last three years, have you used the Internet for any of the following purposes? If so, how?

Interviewer:
Multiple answers are possible for each subject

1. I used the Internet on my own
2. I used the Internet with the help of someone else
3. I haven't used the Internet
4. I helped others to use the Internet for this purpose
5. *Refusal to answer*
6. *I don't know*

rotate the order of answers

a) technical matters (installing programs, fixing a computer or Internet connection, solving problems with viruses)
b) online shopping
c) using social media sites (e. g.: nasza-klasa, facebook)
d) sending or uploading photos online
e) using the Web to communicate with others (voice or video chat)
f) looking for information related to my work
g) looking for information on health issues
h) travel preparations (buying tickets, making reservations, checking for travel information, weather forecast etc.)
i) looking for practical information about running daily errands and managing the household (recipes, decorating, DIY, finding a local plumber or locksmith)
j) looking for job offers
k) looking for information about cultural events (concerts, performances, exhibitions, lectures, festivals)
l) looking for information about religious events (ceremonies, masses, processions, pilgrimages)
m) looking for other information
n) looking for information about public life (politics, local and international news)
o) looking for information on paperwork and dealing with official matters
p) looking for other information on hobbies or interests
q) downloading files (music, films, books) from the Internet

Ask question 18 for each subject included in question 18 if the respondent selects answer 02: "I used the Internet with the help of someone else"

19a. Whom did you help use the Internet for this purpose?

Interviewer: It is possible to select several answers
(show the screen to the respondent and rotate answers)

1. son
2. daughter
3. older brother
4. older sister
5. brother – similar age to myself
6. sister – similar age to myself
7. younger brother
8. younger sister
9. my mother
10. my father
11. another close relative – younger than me
12. another close relative – same age as me
13. another close relative – older than me
14. distant relative – younger than me
15. distant relative – same age as me
16. distant relative – older than me
17. close friend – younger than me
18. close friend – roughly my age
19. close friend – older than me
20. acquaintance or colleague – roughly my age
21. acquaintance or colleague – younger than me
22. acquaintance or colleague – older than me
23. someone I paid to help me – computer specialist
24. Other (who?.....)
25. *Refusal to answer*
26. *I don't know*

If more than one answer was selected in question 18c

19b. Which of these people have you helped most often?

Interviewer selects only from among answers selected in 18c

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

19c. Whom did you help use the Internet for this purpose?

Interviewer: It is possible to select several answers
(show the screen to the respondent and rotate answers)(pokazujemy respondentowi ekran/ rotujemy odpowiedzi)

1. son
2. daughter
3. older brother
4. older sister
5. brother – similar age to myself
6. sister – similar age to myself
7. younger brother
8. younger sister
9. my mother
10. my father
11. another close relative – younger than me
12. another close relative – same age as me
13. another close relative – older than me
14. distant relative – younger than me
15. distant relative – same age as me
16. distant relative – older than me
17. close friend – younger than me
18. close friend – roughly my age
19. close friend – older than me
20. acquaintance or colleague – roughly my age
21. acquaintance or colleague – younger than me
22. acquaintance or colleague – older than me
23. someone I paid to help me – computer specialist
24. Other (who?.....)
25. *Refusal to answer*
26. *I don't know*

If more than one answer was selected in question 18c

19d. Which of these people have you helped most often?
Interviewer selects only from among answers selected in 18c

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

20. Looking at other people your age, how do you assess your abilities to use the Internet?
1. As higher than that of people my age
2. As lower than that of people my age
3. Roughly the same
4. *Refusal to answer*
5. *I don't know*

Interviewer: Show the SCREEN to the Respondent

21. Which of those terms best describe your place of residence?

1. A large city
2. Suburbs or remote districts of a large city
3. A medium-sized or small town
4. Countryside
5. Single household in a rural area
6. *Refusal to answer*
7. *I don't know*

Research team profiles | 8

Mirosław Filiciak is a media research scientist, Director of the Culture Studies Department at the University of Social Sciences and Humanities (SWPS) and Director of the Research Department at Digital Centre Project: Poland. His main research interests are culture studies and the impact of the media on social life. He has led numerous research projects, including „Youth and Media", "The Circulations of Culture" and "Secretly Cultural". His book "Media, wersja beta" (The media – beta version) has recently been published. On this project he worked as supervisor and co-author of the report.

Katarzyna Growiec is a lecturer at the Social Psychology Institute, University of Social Sciences and Humanities (SWPS). Her research can be placed within social psychology and the psychology of macrostructures. In her work she aims to combine the psychological, social and economic perspectives. On this project she was responsible for selected statistical analyses and writing parts of the report (chapter 3.1).

Mateusz Halawa is a PhD candidate at the Anthropology Department of The New School for Social Research in New York. On this project he acted as a consultant of theoretical assumptions and assisted in the construction of research tools.

Mikołaj Lewicki is a lecturer at the Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw. His main interests are economic sociology and communication theories. His long-term interest is the study and analysis of economic life in Poland – particularly labour ideologies, interactions of companies with their environment (CSR, sponsoring), debt issues, financial systems and others, including cultural differences and social change processes related to the emergence of free-market economy in Poland. On this project he was responsible for verifying theoretical assumptions and the construction of research tools.

Paweł Mazurek is a sociologist, ethnographer, trainer and new media researcher. He participated in research for the „Youth and Media", "Pracownie komputerowe na obszarach wiejskich" and "Technospołecznicy" projects. His work was published in the following periodicals: "Studia socjologiczne", "Kultura i społeczeństwo", „Studia medioznawcze" and "Kultura popularna". He was involved in all stages of the project and co-wrote the report.

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Warsaw, December 2013

This report is part of the project Poza "stare" i "nowe" media. Kompetencje komunikacyjne Polaków (Beyond "old" and "new" media. Poles' communication competences) supported by the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage within the program Edukacja Medialna, badania (Media literacy education, research).

Ministry of
Culture
and National
Heritage of
the Republic
of Poland.

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