

# A Multiple Case Study on the Reflection of Cultural Capital on Educational Strategies: Private and Public High School Graduates\*

Cem Serkan Atli\*\*, Yıldız Akpolat\*\*\*

## To cite this article:

Atli, C. S., & Akpolat, Y. (2023). A Multiple Case Study on the Reflection of Cultural Capital on Educational Strategies: Private and Public High School Graduates. *Journal of Qualitative Research in Education*, 36, 132-164. doi: 10.14689/enad.36.1845

**Abstract:** The main purpose of this study is to describe the cultural capital possessed by graduates of private and public high schools and how that capital shapes educational processes. Accordingly, the study focuses on the cultural capital of graduates of public and private high schools and the strategies they have implemented throughout their educational processes. The research problem of this study is the elucidation of the inequalities created by cultural capital between private and public high school graduates. The study was conducted with a multiple case design due to the qualitative methodology adopted. The sample of the study was selected using maximum variation sampling in accordance with the chosen qualitative method. A semi-structured interview form was administered to 45 participants, 23 of whom had studied in private high schools and 22 of whom had studied in public high schools. MAXQDA 2022 software was used to analyze the data. As a result, it was concluded that private high school graduates and their parents had more institutional cultural capital than public high school graduates. In terms of educational processes, it was observed that participants with higher levels of familial institutional cultural capital preferred schools providing high-quality education rather than schools located closer to home for enrollment. Therefore, it is recommended that state policies be established to remedy the deficiencies of students with low levels of familial cultural capital.

**Keywords:** Cultural capital, private and public high school, educational strategies.

## About the Article

Received: 7 Aug. 2023

Revised: 12 Oct. 2023


Accepted: 19 Oct. 2023


## Article Type:

Research

© 2023 ANI Publishing. All rights reserved.

\* This paper was produced from the first author's doctoral dissertation under the supervision of the second author.

\*\*  Corresponding Author, Dokuz Eylul University, Faculty of Letters, Turkey, cemserkan.atli@deu.edu.tr.

\*\*\*  Dokuz Eylul University, Faculty of Letters, Turkey, yildiz.akpolat@deu.edu.tr.

## Introduction

The subject of education has been addressed by sociologists since the emergence of the field of sociology. Among classical sociologists, Durkheim discussed education on the basis of the general sociological theory of structural functionalism. According to him, education is the institution that raises an individual who has just joined society, allowing that individual to become suitable for said society (Durkheim, 2016: 54). More precisely, education teaches children how to behave in society and trains them as individuals who will conform to society. Following Durkheim's sociological theory, Parsons (1959) also argued that education is an institution that serves to socialize and select individuals. When the studies of functionalists are examined in general, it can be said that they consider educational systems as socialization tools and structures that serve to spread education. Another important claim put forth by functionalists is that education will lead to a meritocratic societal view that will ensure equality of opportunity.

Despite the proliferation of access to education in the 1970s, factors such as race, gender, and religion still played roles in educational achievement and this led to the affirmation of the views of social scientists who had adopted conflict theories on education. In contrast to functionalists, conflictualists regard educational systems as organizations that reinforce the dominance of the upper classes. According to Althusser (2014), a conflictualist, education is an ideological state apparatus that imposes language and literature, which reproduce the ideology of the elites, on the lower classes and transforms them into individuals suitable for their future roles. Bowles and Gintis (2002) also argued that education is reproduced to the benefit of the upper classes. According to Bernstein, who is also considered a conflictualist, the class to which one belongs determines the codes that one adopts (Bernstein and Henderson, 1969). Accordingly, it is argued that lower classes with restricted codes are disadvantaged in educational systems in comparison to upper classes with more elaborate codes.

According to Bourdieu, a social reproduction theorist in line with Bowles, Gintis, and Bernstein, education is the mechanism by which the cultural capital possessed by those subscribing to the dominant ideologies is reproduced. Bourdieu claimed that in order to understand inequalities in an educational system, it is necessary to examine the contents of cultural capital. Cultural capital is a type of capital that belongs to the upper class and is difficult to access. Bourdieu (1979) classified cultural capital within three forms. The first of these is objectified cultural capital, which includes the possession of cultural products such as paintings or antique items. The second is the embodied form of cultural capital. This form of cultural capital manifests in the mind and body of an individual over a long period of time and becomes that individual's character (Throsby, 1999). The embodied form of cultural capital is acquired through socialization and ultimately determines cultural predispositions. The third and final form of cultural capital is the institutionalized form. In short, the institutionalized form of cultural capital consists of credentials and diplomas obtained as a result of academic success (Symeou, 2007). This form also involves titles obtained as a result of educational processes (Jourdain and Naulin, 2016: 107). According to Bourdieu, earned titles play a major role in institutionalizing an individual's cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979: 6). The successful use



of embodied cultural capital in educational processes leads to the successful use of institutionalized cultural capital (Dumais, 2002). Another type of capital that can be considered as directly related to organizational cultural capital is educational capital. This type of capital gives legitimacy to educational institutions and is measured by the diplomas obtained (Bourdieu, 2017: 28).

### **Cultural Capital and Education**

The most important field in which cultural capital shows its effects is education. In education, students are expected to reciprocate cultural capital that they are not taught (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2015: 173). Long-term familiarity is the key to the acquisition of the cultural codes required for success in school. The easiest way to acquire these cultural codes is for the family to possess cultural capital and impart that form of capital to the child in the course of socialization. The elements that constitute cultural capital, such as distinguishing how to talk to teachers and friends at school or knowing school dress codes in advance by learning from one's family, may create important distinctions between students.

The level of familiarity with cultural codes differs according to social classes. For those who do not know these cultural codes, adapting to school is more difficult. Thus, students who have access to cultural capital thanks to their families are in a more advantageous position in educational systems, and education mediates the reproduction of existing inequalities between classes (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2015).

According to Bourdieu, the inequality that exists between classes results in the elimination of those who do not possess cultural capital at the end of a process that he defined as natural. In other words, those who do not possess cultural capital fall away from the system at some point in their educational lives. Students who are eliminated from the educational system perceive the reason for that elimination as their own "incompetence," which contributes to the further reproduction of inequalities. The process of elimination that starts with dropping out of high school, for example, results in not being able to gain admission to a university, or enrollment only in departments that are not prestigious or lead to limited job opportunities.

Bourdieu argued that the cultural capital acquired from one's family is not the only condition required for the phenomenon of inequality. One's family's investment strategies regarding education, as another element of cultural capital, are also decisive for educational inequalities (Bourdieu, 2017: 185). It should be noted that one's family's educational investments are shaped in line with the family's volume of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2015: 35-36). According to Swartz, as families realize the importance of graduating from a prestigious university rather than merely being a graduate of any university, caused by the increase in the numbers of higher education graduates, they start to implement various educational strategies for their children (Swartz, 2011: 112-113). The educational strategies of families with more opportunities and more cultural capital are focused more heavily on increasing cultural competencies (Bourdieu, 2017: 184). On the other hand, families with limited cultural capital cannot implement such strategies to the same extent.

Both the international and national bodies of literature addressing this issue contain various studies measuring the effects of cultural capital on academic achievement. The works by Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, and Shaun (1990), Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999), and Dumais (2002) in the United States and those by Jaeger (2009) in Denmark, Yamamoto and Brinton (2010) in Japan, and Kraaykamp and van Eijk (2010) in the Netherlands showed significant relationships between cultural capital and academic achievement in their respective countries. In addition, the studies of Tramonte and Willms (2010) and Bodovski, Jeon, and Byun (2017), who measured the impact of cultural capital on academic achievement across different countries using data from the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment, also support this relationship.

There are also studies on the effect of cultural capital on academic achievement in Türkiye. İnce (2014) concluded that cultural capital, which was examined together with social capital, was effective on academic achievement due to factors such as family participation in the educational process, expectations, attitudes, social networks, and habitus. In Atmaca's (2019) study, which compared public schools in two districts of İstanbul, it was found that students who were academically successful had higher levels of cultural capital. In addition to these studies, the findings of Arastaman and Özdemir (2019) suggested the existence of a relationship among academic aspiration, academic self-efficacy, and cultural capital.

Although various studies on cultural capital have been conducted in Türkiye, there are a limited number of studies examining the differences between private and public schools related to cultural capital. One of these studies was conducted by Cansız, Özbaylanlı, and Çolakoğlu (2018) on the role of cultural capital in the academic achievement of middle school students, using data published by the Ministry of National Education. Altun Aslan (2019) also conducted a study on parents' choices regarding private schools according to their levels of cultural capital.

In line with these theories of institutionalism and the findings presented in the literature, the present study focuses on the role of institutionalized cultural capital in the educational processes of graduates of private and public high school. The aim of this study is to examine the educational strategies of private and public high school graduates and their parents on the basis of cultural capital. To do so, the ways in which graduates of private and public high schools accumulate institutionalized cultural capital will first be examined. Subsequently, the differences between graduates who possess cultural capital and those who lack this type of capital will be described in terms of educational processes. Accordingly, the main research problem of this study is the elucidation of the inequalities created by cultural capital between private and public high school graduates.

The research questions addressed in this study in line with the research problem described above are as follows:

1. In what ways does the institutionalized cultural capital of graduates of different status of schools and their parents differ?
2. What are the similarities and differences among the strategies followed in educational processes by graduates who differ in terms of the possession of cultural capital?

This study on how cultural capital shapes educational processes is distinctive in several ways. First, this is a qualitative study of the cultural capital accumulation processes of private and public high school graduates. In other words, this study is distinct from other studies in that it focuses on graduates and their families rather than current students or their parents in order to see the impact of schooling after graduation. Furthermore, this study examines cultural capital through elements of institutionalized cultural capital. In other words, this study examines cultural capital within the framework of institutionalized cultural capital, which Bourdieu defined as the diplomas and titles gained as a result of educational capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2015). Therefore, the participants' and their parents' educational statuses and professional knowledge constituted the cultural capital examined in this study.

## Method

### Research Design

This study, which examines the cultural capital and educational processes of private and public high school graduates, was designed as a case study, which is a qualitative research design. This design facilitates the complete and holistic analysis of a situation (Yin, 2017). Among case study patterns, the multiple case study pattern described by Creswell was used in order to reveal different perspectives on the examined situation (Creswell, 2020: 102). Specifically, this pattern of case study design was used to examine how the cultural capital possessed by graduates of private and public high school.

According to Creswell (2020: 100), the process of a case study begins with the identification of a specific, limited, and defined case. In this study, the cases of private and public high schools were examined. In order to draw comparisons, two different status of high schools that contain multiple units of analysis were selected. Thus, different cases were utilized to reveal similarities and differences between cultural capital in different status of high schools (private and public). Four private and four public high schools in the Konak district of İzmir were selected through purposive sampling to allow comparisons between the cases. A total of eight high schools were selected to examine how the possession of cultural capital shapes educational processes.

### Study Group

The participants of this study were selected using maximum variation sampling in accordance with the chosen qualitative method. This type of sampling is used to create a sample group comprising cases that have certain different characteristics and qualities (Creswell, 2017: 268). Accordingly, private and public high school graduates were selected for the sample. In accordance with the research questions and design, high schools located in the Konak district and defined as Anatolian high schools were identified. This district was chosen because older high schools in İzmir as per establishment dates are located here. Only Anatolian high schools were selected in order to have schools with similar characteristics.

In line with these criteria, the participants of the study consisted of graduates of eight high schools in the Konak district of İzmir. The high schools included in the study are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1.***High Schools Included in the Study*

Public High School	Private High School
İzmir Kız Lisesi	İzmir Amerikan Koleji
Konak Anadolu Lisesi	İzmir Saint-Joseph Lisesi
Konak 50. Yıl Lisesi	İzmir Tevfik Fikret Lisesi
İzmir Karataş Lisesi	İzmir Türk Koleji

In total, 45 in-depth interviews were conducted with 23 graduates of private high schools and 22 graduates of public high schools. Information about the participants in the study group is presented in Table 2.

As can be seen in Table 2, seven of the public high school graduates interviewed were graduates of Konak 50. Yıl High School, five were graduates of Konak Anatolian High School, five were graduates of Karataş High School, and five were graduates of İzmir Girls' High School, while six of the private high school graduates were graduates of İzmir Türk Koleji, six were graduates of Saint Joseph High School, five were graduates of İzmir American College, and five were graduates of Tevfik Fikret High School. Twenty-three of the participants were female and 22 were male. The age range of the participants was 20 to 47 years old.

**Data Collection Tool and Process**

The in-depth interview technique, a qualitative data collection technique, was used in this study. A semi-structured interview form was applied to the participants. The form was prepared in accordance with the literature to increase the validity of the study. Expert opinions were obtained before finalizing the interview questions.

After the form was finalized, an application was submitted to the relevant ethics committee. The interview form was approved as ethically appropriate by the Dokuz Eylül University Social and Human Sciences Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee on 22/02/2023. After the approval of the ethics committee was obtained, participants were sought. Administrators, alumni associations, and social media platforms were utilized to contact graduates. After the content of the study was explained to the participants in detail, written informed consent was obtained from those who volunteered to participate in the study. Participants were informed that the interviews were being conducted for a scientific study and that their identities would remain anonymous. It was also stated that the participants had the right to decline to answer any question and to terminate the interview at any time. Data were collected in March, April, and May 2023. These interviews lasted one hour on average.

**Data Analysis**

The in-depth interviews conducted within the scope of the research were audio-recorded with the permission of the participants. The recordings were then transcribed by the authors for analysis. MAXQDA 2022 software was used to evaluate the transcribed data. The data obtained through in-depth interviews was categorized into codes, themes, and categories with the help of MAXQDA 2022 software. The code types described by

Saldana (2019) were used in this process. Qualitative coding and descriptive coding were performed first, followed by axial coding.

Themes, categories, and codes were created in line with Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital, which served as the theoretical basis of this research. The codes created in the consideration of institutionalized cultural capital were combined into themes and categories within the framework of that theoretical basis. As a result of the analysis, one theme and three categories were defined. The codebook of the study is provided in Table 3.

**Table 3.**

*Codebook of the Study*

Theme (Dimension)	Category	Code
Institutionalized Cultural Capital	1. Professional Status	1.1. Professional Statuses of Participants
		1.2. Professional Background of Family
	2. Educational Status	2.1. Educational Statuses of Participants
		2.2. Educational Background of Family
		3.1. Primary School Choices
	3. Educational Processes	3.2. High School Choices
		3.3. University Habitus

Theme analysis of the data was also conducted. To do so, themes were defined based on codes coded by the researchers using data obtained from the interviews (Glesne, 2020: 259). The two-case model and the hierarchical code-subcode model of MAXQDA 2022 software were utilized to visualize the data. The two-case model was selected to reveal the differences between public and private school graduates.

**Validity and Reliability**

To ensure the validity of the study, expert review, member checking, and researcher triangulation strategies were applied. The expert review process consisted of consulting two experts on the subject about the draft interview form prepared in line with the literature. After the form was finalized in line with expert feedback and permission was obtained from the relevant ethics committee, the interview form was administered to the participants.

Member checking was performed by giving participants detailed information about the research and asking them whether they agreed to volunteer to participate in the study before conducting the in-depth interviews. The consent of the volunteering participants was also obtained before making the audio recordings of the interviews.

Researcher triangulation was also used to increase the validity of the study. An academic who was an expert in qualitative research was asked to evaluate the design, sample, and data analysis of the study. As a result of that feedback, the design, sample, and data analysis were finalized.

To increase the reliability of the study, the interviews were recorded with a voice recorder and the recordings were transcribed by the researchers. In addition, all coding was conducted with the consensus of the researchers. The analyzed data were coded separately by each author using MAXQDA software. The codes were then compared with each other and a consensus was reached. Due diligence was paid to ensuring that the data were consistent and verifiable. As a result, the codebook presented in Table 3 was created.

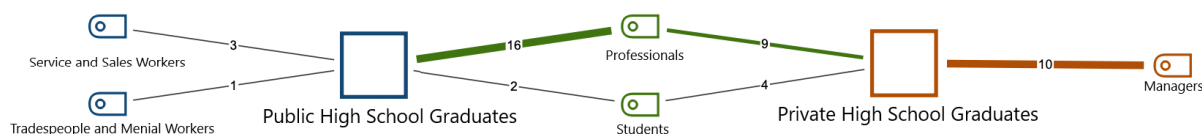
## Results

### Professional Status of Participants and Their Families

When the occupations of the participants were analyzed on the basis of high school status, it was observed that most public high school graduates were working as professionals. This was followed by jobs in service, sales, trades, and other related areas. In contrast, it was observed that most private high school graduates were managers. Most private high school graduates who were not managers were working as professionals.

**Figure 1.**

#### *Professional Statuses of Participants*



As can be seen in Figure 1, the participating private high school graduates were only employed in managerial and professional jobs. In contrast, the participating public high school graduates worked as professionals, service and sales employees, tradespeople, and employees in other related areas rather than as managers. Therefore, it can be said that the private high school graduates' levels of institutionalized cultural capital were higher regarding professional status.

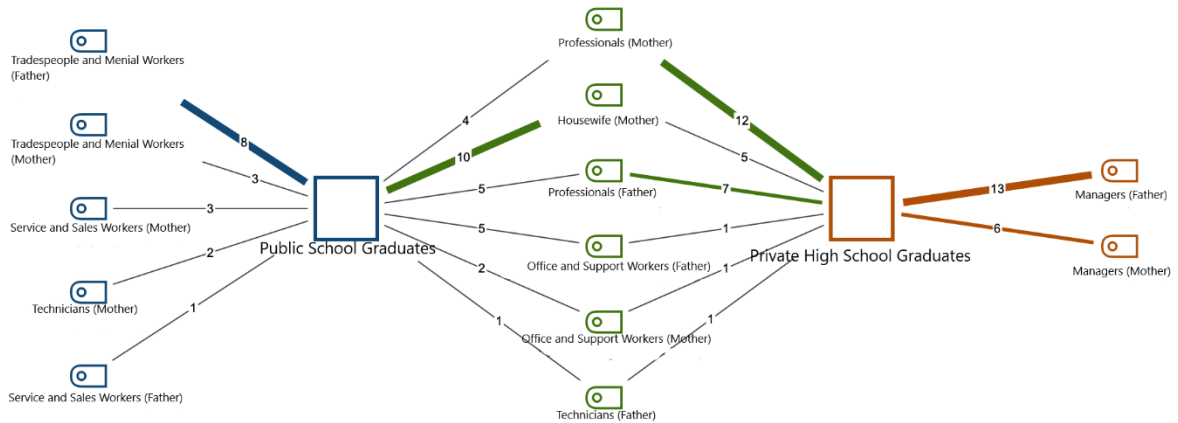
There were also differences between the professional statuses of the parents of the participants according to private and public high school. When the professions of participants' mothers were examined, it was seen that the mothers of public high school graduates were usually housewives. The second most common occupation of mothers of public high school graduates was professional work. Other mothers in this group worked as tradeswomen, service and sales workers, technicians, and clerical and support workers. Most fathers in this group were observed to be tradesmen or menial workers. This was followed by professionals and by office and support workers. In addition, some fathers in this group were technicians or service and sales workers.

Turning to the parents of the private high school graduates, it was seen that most of the mothers in this group were professionals, while most fathers were managers. These were followed by managers in the case of mothers and professionals in the case of fathers. Other mothers in this group were housewives or clerical and support workers. Although

few in number, some fathers in this group had worked as office or support workers and technicians.

**Figure 2.**

*Professional Backgrounds of Parents*



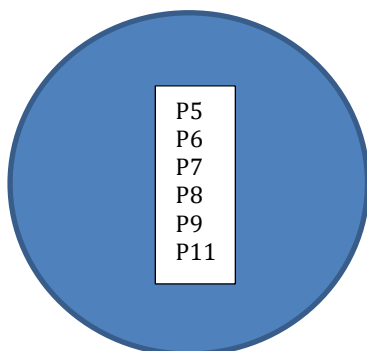
In short, a comparison of parental occupations according to high school status revealed that the parents of private high school graduates were concentrated in managerial and professional occupations. In contrast, the parents of public high school graduates were predominantly tradespeople and housewives. The fact that the parents of the public high school graduates did not work in managerial positions, much like their children, is a striking finding. This shows that the reproduction of cultural capital regarding professions is ongoing from generation to generation.

In order to objectively argue that the institutionalized cultural capital possessed in the professional realm differs according to the private and public high school one has graduated from, it was important to examine the participants who had at least one parent who was a professional or a manager.

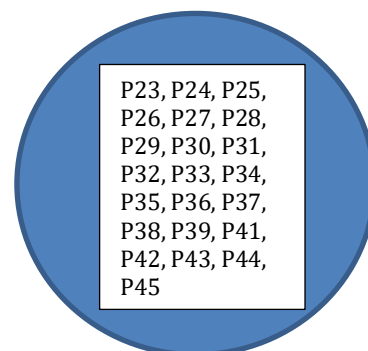
**Table 5.**

*Participants Who Had At least One Parent Who Was a Professional or Manager*

**Public High School Graduates**



**Private High School Graduates**

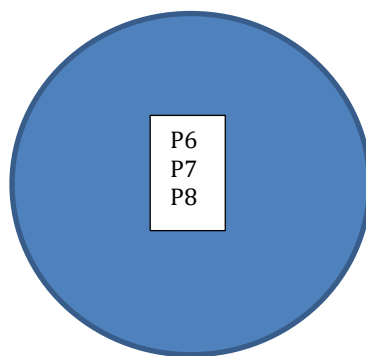


When the participants whose parents were both managers or professionals were examined, the difference according to private and public high schools was even more striking. Among public high school graduates, only three participants (P6, P7, and P8) fell into this category, whereas a significant proportion of private high school graduates did.

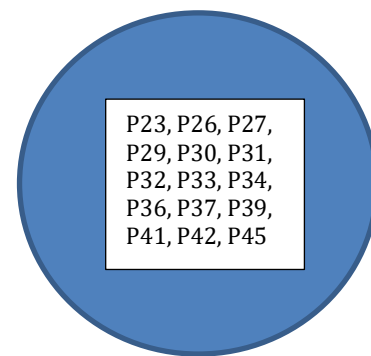
**Table 6.**

*Participants Whose Parents Were Both Professionals or Managers*

**Public High School Graduates**



**Private High School Graduates**



Taken together, these results show that the possession of institutionalized cultural capital regarding professions varies significantly according to private and public high schools. Since private high school graduates and their parents are generally managers and professionals, it can be said that private high school graduates and their parents possess more institutional cultural capital than public high school graduates and their parents.

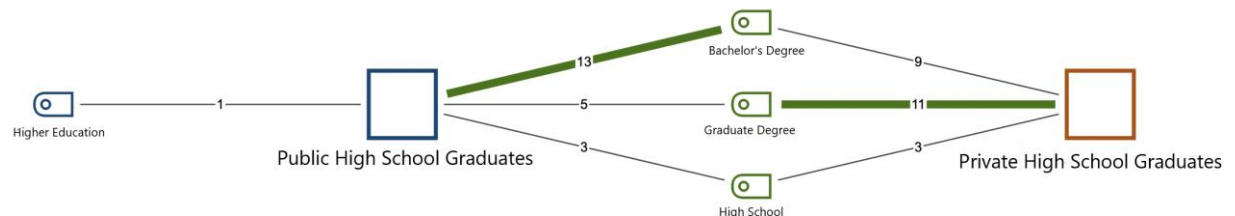
### **Educational Status of Participants and Their Families**

The educational status of the graduates was also considered on the basis of institutionalized cultural capital. It was observed that, similar to professional status, there were differences between the graduates' educational statuses according to high school status. While public high school graduates predominantly had bachelor degrees, private high school graduates more often had postgraduate degrees.

Among the participants, there were six high school graduates, which were distributed equally among the private and public high school. It was noteworthy that all graduates with high school education were currently enrolled as university students except for one public high school graduate.

Figure 3.

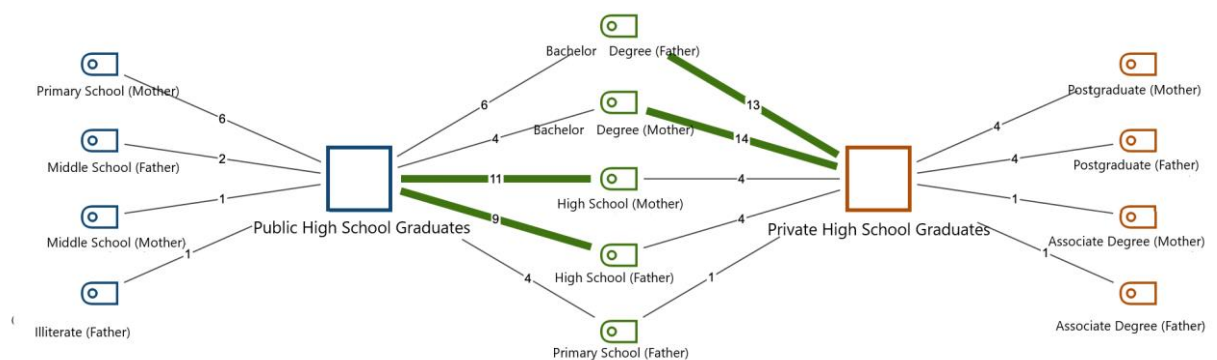
*Educational Statuses of Participants*



Examining the educational statuses of parents revealed that there were differences between parents according to the private and public high schools from which their children had graduated. Private high school graduates predominantly had parents with bachelor degrees, while public high school graduates generally had parents with a high school education. Parents of private high school graduates who did not have bachelor degrees most often had either postgraduate education or high school education. However, a mother and a father in this group had associate degrees, and one father had only received primary school education. The parents of the public high school graduates who did not have a high school diploma as their terminal degree generally had either a bachelor degree or primary school education. However, one mother in this group had completed middle school.

Figure 4.

*Educational Backgrounds of Parents*

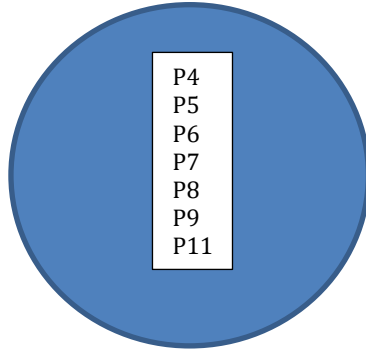


As presented in Figure 4, the educational statuses of parents of private high school graduates were higher than those of parents of public high school graduates. The fact that only private high school graduates had parents with postgraduate degrees highlights the differences that correlate with high school status. Examining the participants who had at least one parent with a bachelor or postgraduate degree further supports this correlation.

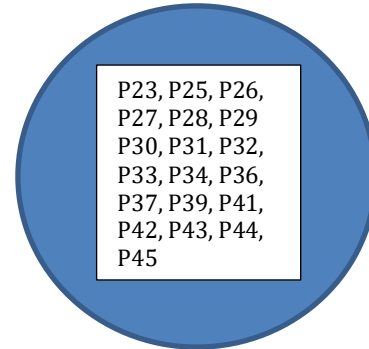
**Table 7.**

*Participants Who Had At least One Parent with a Bachelor or Postgraduate Degree*

**Public High School Graduates**



**Private High School Graduates**

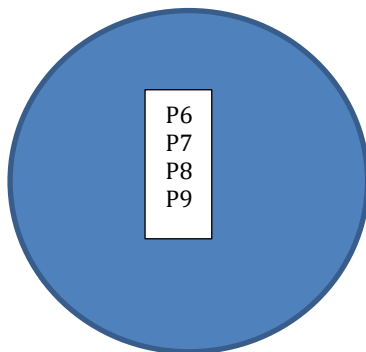


To further explore the extent of the differences correlated with high school status, participants whose parents both had a bachelor or postgraduate degree were examined. The fact that only four participants (P6, P7, P8, and P9) fell into this category from among the public high school graduates was an important finding. In contrast, most of the private school graduates were placed in this category.

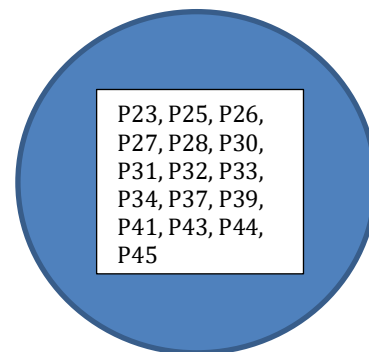
**Table 8.**

*Participants Whose Parents Both Had a Bachelor or Postgraduate Degree*

**Public High School Graduates**



**Private High School Graduates**



The data showed that, similar to the case of occupational status, institutionalized cultural capital ownership regarding educational status differed according to private and public high schools. Thus, private high school graduates possessed more institutionalized cultural capital in terms of both occupational and educational status, and this was true not only for the participants themselves but also for their families.

Among the participants, those who possessed the highest levels of familial institutional cultural capital were those whose parents were executives or professionals and had bachelor or postgraduate degrees. These participants are presented in Table 9.

**Table 9.**

*Participants Whose Parents Were Executives or Professionals and Had Bachelor or Postgraduate Degrees*

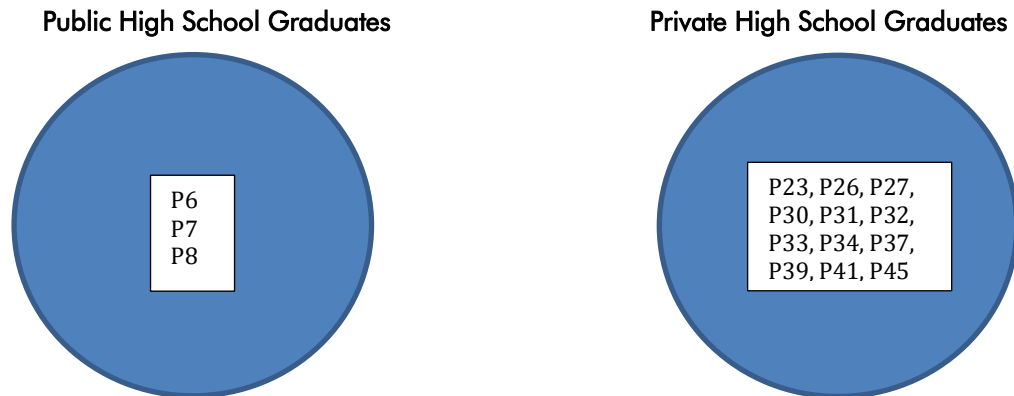
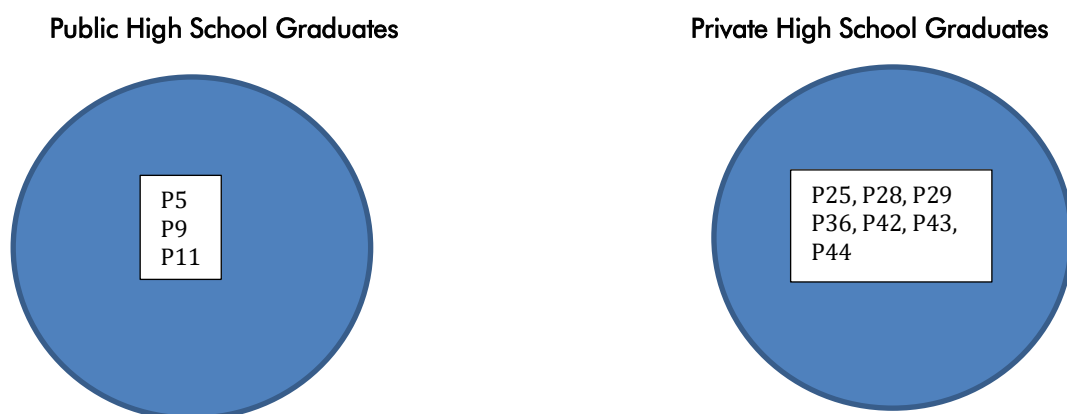


Table 9 shows that only three public high school graduates (P6, P7, and P8) fell into this category, while more than half of the private high school graduates possessed what can be considered a high level of familial institutional cultural capital. Participants with relatively high levels of familial institutional capital, albeit lower compared to the participants listed in Table 9, due to having at least one parent in a managerial or professional occupation and at least one parent with a bachelor or graduate degree are shown in Table 10.

**Table 10.**

*Participants Who Had At least One Parent in a Managerial or Professional Occupation and at Least One Parent with a Bachelor or Graduate Degree*



The data presented in Table 10 suggests that the majority of private high school graduates possess high or moderately high levels of cultural capital. However, only a limited number of public-school graduates (P5, P6, P7, P8, P9, and P11) had families with high or moderately high levels of cultural capital.

## Primary School Choices

In the process of choosing a primary school, the dominant decision-making role is obviously played by the parents rather than the student. Therefore, in this section, the strategies of the families of the participants for choosing a primary school are investigated as factors that determined the primary education institutions that the participants attended. It was observed that the choices of the participants' primary schools were based on three main factors: proximity to home, the family's desire for high-quality education, and the family's desire for education in a foreign language. It was found that the institutionalized cultural capital of the family was determinant in choices between different options. In other words, levels of familial institutional cultural capital were determined to be directly related to the reasons for choosing between possible primary schools. Families who possessed less institutionalized cultural capital were found to have enrolled their children in the schools closest to home. For example, proximity to home and to the father's workplace was an important factor in choosing a primary school for P22, who possessed a low level of familial institutional capital:

"Proximity to home played an important role in choosing a primary school. I could just rush to school when the bell rang. Both my primary and middle schools were located just across from my house, creating a family-like environment for me and the teachers. I was raised in a neighborhood where everyone supported each other. So, the proximity of the school to my home was the foremost factor in choosing a school. The school was also very close to my father's workplace. If anything happened, my mom and dad could rush to help me. For this reason, proximity to our home was the first reason for choosing my school" (P22, public high school graduate).

Proximity to home was also a determining factor in the choice of a primary school for P21, who did not possess a high level of institutionalized cultural capital. Furthermore, P21 explained how this primary school education negatively affected educational attainments in the future:

"You don't have much say in primary education, anyway. Whatever school was near our house was the one my parents sent me to... It was a great misfortune that I went to that school, because it became a major obstacle to my education. I didn't receive a proper education in primary or middle school" (P21, public high school graduate).

These findings were contrasted with the strategies applied by families who possessed higher levels of institutionalized cultural capital. The first of these strategies entailed choosing a primary school with qualified teachers. P7, whose family possessed a high level of institutional cultural capital and who graduated from a public high school, highlighted this distinction:

"I studied at three different primary schools. The first was a public school. I don't know why they chose that place. My mother is very sensitive about education. She tried to choose a school considering the teachers, to the best of her abilities. I had a really disciplinary teacher. Even at this age, I still use the expressions, phrasings, and explanations they taught me to good effect. Then this teacher retired and I went to another public school. The reason I was sent to that place was again because of the teachers. Then I went to another school for middle school because the teaching staff was the best" (P7, public high school graduate).

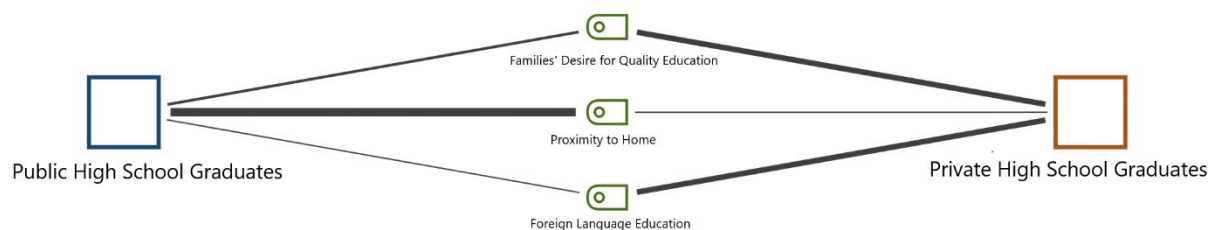
The second strategy for choosing a primary school applied by families who possessed high levels of cultural capital entailed a focus on foreign language education. Considering that foreign language education in primary school is only available in this

school district in private schools, it is apparent that receiving education in a foreign language necessitates both economic capital and a high level of institutional cultural capital in the family. For example, foreign language education played a crucial role in the selection of P27's primary school:

"I didn't choose my primary school myself, but my parents chose well. We were living in Ankara since my father was a bureaucrat. Then, when he received an offer from a private sector firm in İzmir, we moved to İzmir. When we came to İzmir, my father wanted me to get a private school education. He wanted me to get a foreign language education. I was enrolled in a private primary school to receive an English education" (P27, private high school graduate).

**Figure 5.**

*Families' Strategies for Choosing a Primary School*



To summarize, the institutional cultural capital of a family directly determines the quality of the primary school that a child will attend. Parents who possess lower levels of institutional cultural capital have fewer chances to apply different selection strategies. Due to the limited available resources, these parents often choose the primary school closest to home. On the other hand, it was seen that the strategies for choosing a primary school applied by the parents who possessed higher levels of familial cultural capital were diverse. Families with more cultural capital preferred high-quality schools for their children. It was also observed that there were participants whose families preferred to send their children to private primary schools in order to provide them with intensive foreign language education. These results highlight the inequality that arises between students based on cultural capital when their families are selecting primary schools.

### High School Choices

When the time comes to choosing a high school, the number of factors affecting the choice of the school increases. For participants who had graduated from public high schools, the most important factor in choosing a high school was their scores on the high school entrance exam. It is also noteworthy that students who attended high schools with higher score requirements generally had higher levels of familial institutional cultural capital. P8, whose parents had bachelor degrees and worked as professionals, is an example of these participants:

"My high school choice was conscious. It was a choice I made very willingly, after much research. I was also happy with the school I chose. Then we researched Anatolian high schools in İzmir and such. Another high school was my first choice. The İzmir Girls' High School was my second choice" (P8, public high school graduate).

The high school choice of P13, whose parents were high school graduates, was influenced by this participant's high school entrance exam score and the support of a guidance counselor who helped in evaluating that score:

"My 8th grade guidance counselor told me that I had a high enough score to attend this school and said that I could go check it out if I wanted. We then went and visited the high school, looking around the school environment. The vice principal showed us around the school. To be honest, I chose this school because our experience there was nice and it made us think that I could go to this school" (P13, public high school graduate).

It is important to note that some graduates, albeit few in number, stated that they chose Anatolian high schools because these schools provide foreign language education. On the other hand, participants with lower entrance exam scores had to choose among more limited options. Some participants who graduated from public high schools stated that they chose high schools that were close to their homes or were categorized as "Super."

**Figure 6**

*Strategies for Choosing High Schools*



As of 2005, "Super" high schools were renamed "Anatolian" high schools. These are public high schools accepting students who did not have particularly high entrance exam scores due to their high primary school grade point averages. These schools are thus differentiated from other types of high schools due to basing enrollment on grade point averages and offering English-oriented education. P2, who was not eligible to enter high schools that based enrollment on high school entrance exam scores, chose a "Super" high school since it offered English education:

"I don't know if you remember those times, what students did when their scores were a bit low. At those times, all the students who couldn't enroll in the science high schools or Anatolian high schools had to search for other schools. When I scored a bit low, my family started looking for schools I could attend, schools we could choose other than general high schools. I don't remember much since I was young, but we chose this school because it was a "Super" high school... Because it was a "Super" high school and it provided English prep classes... There were students who couldn't get into Anatolian high schools but weren't in a position to go to a general high school" (P2, public high school graduate).

Another factor that influenced the choices of students who could not enroll in high schools that required high entrance scores was the proximity of the schools to their homes. Similar to primary school choices, participants who possessed low levels of familial cultural capital preferred high schools closer to their homes. For P21, proximity to home was an important factor in choosing a high school:

"My score was high enough to attend any school requiring high scores, and I did have a very bad education. Both in elementary school and in middle school. My parents insisted that I should have a university education. Then they sent me to Karataş High School. The school was close to my house. I can't deny that. That was the reason why I didn't enroll in another high school and went to Karataş High School... Proximity to home was important" (P21, public high school graduate).

P18, who possessed a low level of familial cultural capital, similarly had to choose a high school close to home due to having a lower entrance exam score:

"Karataş High School was very close to our neighborhood. I mean, there might have been other schools around, but they had bad reputations at that time. We said that we should choose Karataş High School, and I didn't have a high enough score for other high schools, either" (P18, public high school graduate).

It was observed that the process of choosing a high school was different for participants who chose private high schools. One of the important conditions for enrolling in a private high school is having the means to pay the fee required by that school. High levels of economic capital are necessary to meet this requirement, which amounted to significant sums for the tuition fees of the participants who attended private high schools. In addition, private high schools accept students on the basis of their high school entrance exam scores. Until 2010, Anatolian high school exams and private high school exams were conducted separately, but they have been conducted as a single exam since that year. The score obtained from this exam determines the high schools in which students can enroll. A certain base score is set for admission by each school. Candidates make their choices according to these base scores. If the student quota of the school is not met according to the predetermined base score, the score is adjusted and the base score is lowered until the quota is reached. Considering all these processes, the fact that the participants who graduated from private high schools did not consider their entrance scores as a factor affecting their high school choices underlines the distinction between high school status.

The most important factor influencing the high school choices of the participants who graduated from private high schools was foreign language education. P35 decided to continue receiving education at a school in which classes were taught in English since this participant wanted to learn English alongside the French education received in primary school. The fact that this participant chose a private high school due to the foreign language education provided there even though it would have been possible to attend other high schools with high score requirements in İzmir highlights the differences between choice strategies according to high schools:

"After the high school exam, I could also attend the French programs of important Anatolian high schools. But French was my main foreign language. Considering I already knew French, English was more important, so my parents' kind of planted a seed in my mind that I could go to the American College if I wanted to, so that I could prioritize English over French. My father said this. So, I wanted to go to the American College... I wanted a completely foreign language-oriented education" (P35, private high school graduate).

P29's high school choice was also influenced by the fact that the family contained other private school graduates. Parents who understand the differences between private schools and public schools thanks to their habitus as private school graduates themselves are likely to insist that their children receive a high-quality education accordingly:

"My mother was a private school graduate. She was an English teacher working in the public sector. Naturally, she [could see] the differences between public schools and private schools in some respects. My mother was very insistent that I choose a private school. Since she was an English teacher, she attached great importance to foreign language education. So, we preferred İzmir Türk Koleji" (P29, private high school graduate).

These parents wanted their children to attend private schools that provided foreign language education, but they also wanted them to pursue successful careers. P26, whose own preference for foreign language education was effective in the choice of a high school, was also guided by the family's influence:

"I took the entrance exams as per the system in place in that period. I had a score high enough to attend public schools that required high scores at that time. Among private schools, I had a score high enough to attend İzmir American College. Then my father guided me, especially considering the effect of foreign language education. They thought that they could bear the financial burden because the education I received would contribute more to my professional and personal life, and they directed me to the American College" (P26, private high school graduate).

Participants who had graduated from private middle schools also often based their high school choices on their social circles. The concept of familiarity with high school, which involves a family member or family friend having previously attended a given high school, was also seen to affect some high school choices. In other words, a family's familiarity with a high school may impact their choice of that high school. P40's choice was influenced by a positive reference from his uncle, who had graduated from the same school P40 thought of attending:

"I chose this private school because my mother's younger brother, my uncle, graduated from the same school. We heard about this school since we are a family from İzmir... My uncle said positive things to me about the school. He especially told me that the people I would meet there would be with me for the rest of my life and that I would develop a good network" (P40, private high school graduate).

Although they did not carry as much importance as factors such as foreign language education or family familiarity, the size of the scholarship being offered to the student and the school's characterization as "well established" were other important factors affecting private high school choices. Since P24 did not have a high enough entrance exam score to attend the preferred public high school, this participant instead chose a private high school that had an image of being a well-established school:

"I enrolled in the private İzmir Saint Joseph French High School based on the exam. We chose this place as a family. I wanted to enroll in an Anatolian high school, but I couldn't get into the English programs of public high schools. I could only attend the German programs. Since I didn't want to study in German, my family guided me to enroll at Saint Joseph, since it's a well-established school" (P24, private high school graduate).

Thus, the data of this study reveal important distinctions between the high school choices of participants who graduated from private and public high schools. It was observed that graduates of public high schools chose high schools based on the scores they obtained from the high school entrance exam. Accordingly, they either chose a high school that would accept them based on their exam scores, or they chose "Super" high schools or schools close to their homes. In contrast, although economic capital and the limitations of exam scores are factors to be considered in private high school enrollment, these did

not pose a problem for the participants who graduated from private high schools. The participating private high school graduates chose private high schools that provided foreign language education, schools with which their families were familiar, and schools that were characterized as well established. Compared to public high school graduates, graduates of private high schools were more able to attend the schools of their choice and faced fewer restrictions. This shows that the inequalities impacting access to education between the participants were ongoing at the high school level.

### University Habitus

University enrollment constitutes an important part of the education process and it was seen that three main factors affected the university choices of the participants. The first of these factors was individual choice. This factor was connected with personal interests. In other words, many participants received education in the departments and universities of their own choosing in line with this factor. It was noteworthy that the graduates who chose universities and departments based on their own personal interests were generally the participants who possessed higher levels of familial cultural capital. The choice of P8, a public high school graduate whose family had a high level of institutionalized cultural capital, is an example of the effects of this factor:

"I already had a tendency to work outdoors, to work in natural environments and such. This tendency was there even before I thought of becoming a geological engineer. I also had a bit more of a wish to become a sailor. While researching departments, I came across this department [of geological engineering]. Back then, professors from our department were working in the field. I had the opportunity to work with them. So, I researched the department a little deeper, and I liked it. The effect of the department I was studying in being available at Hacettepe can't be denied. I already wanted to go to school in Ankara because I grew up there. This was a conscious and enthusiastic choice, a choice that I made after researching departments over a period of time" (P8, public high school graduate).

P32, a private high school graduate with a high level of familial institutional cultural capital, also enrolled in a personally chosen department and university:

"I first considered the economics of my choice, and then I thought to myself that one should study what one loves. And I realized that I couldn't study in any engineering fields. Instead, I remembered that when I was 16 or 17, I was following financial developments, I was keeping up with the economy, and so I said 'I love this subject and I need to study this'" (P32, private high school graduate).

There were also graduates who made decisions in line with their own personal interests but also stated that their exam scores played an important part in their final decisions. The choice of P11, who possessed a high level of familial institutional cultural capital, was influenced by both the department this participant was personally interested in and the score obtained from the university entrance exam:

"Since I was very young, I've always been in charge of making my own decisions. My personality is like that. I like to make my own decisions. But I was already thinking whether I should study at Boğaziçi University or Middle East Technical University [METU]. My score wasn't high enough to attend Boğaziçi University... So I chose METU because my score was high enough to go there... I wanted to study psychology" (P11, public high school graduate).

Another important factor affecting the choices of the participants who made their decisions in line with their personal interests was whether the university provided foreign

language education. This especially affected the choices of private high school graduates. P28's university choice was influenced by the desire to further advance the foreign language that this participant had learned in high school:

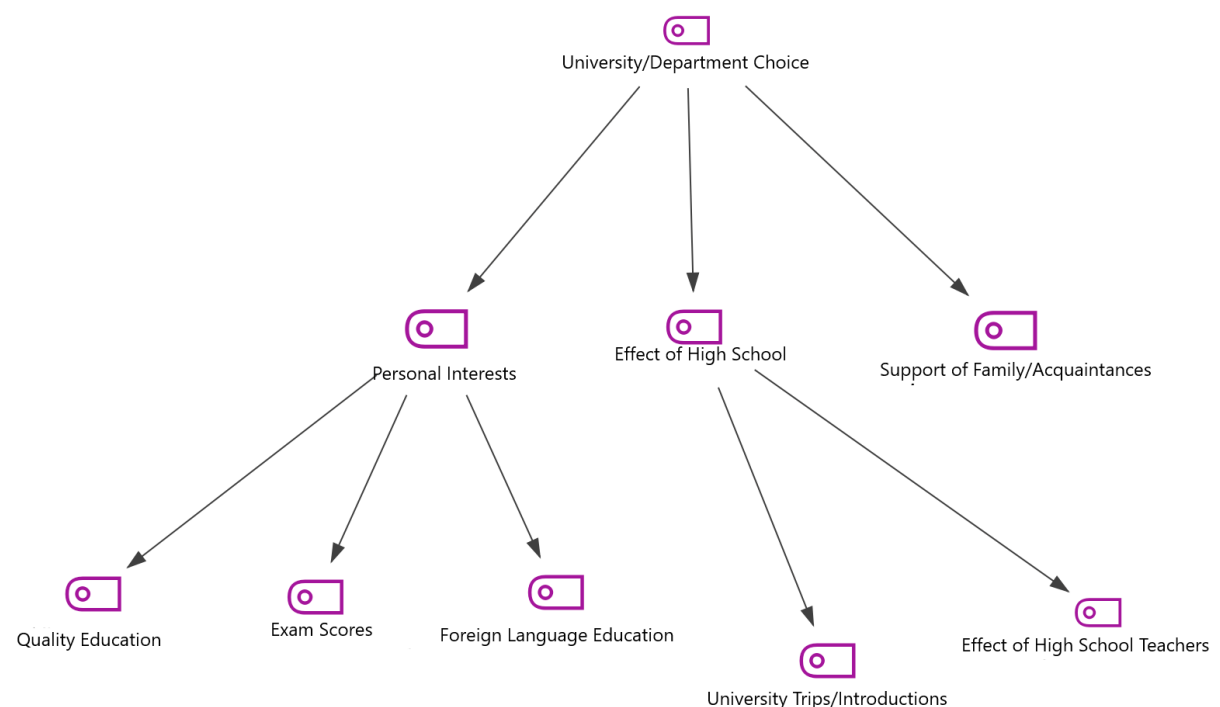
"My wish to further improve my English was effective in choosing my department. I never wanted to be an English translator, but, as you know, foreign language education is very difficult to obtain in Türkiye. I thought that if I improved my foreign language skills, I would have many options in the future. So, I chose the Department of Translation and Interpreting" (P28, private high school graduate).

Choosing universities that are considered to provide high-quality education, a priority that can be argued to be correlated with personal interests, was also a common factor among the participants. The choice of P35, for example, was significantly impacted by the faculty members of the university:

"Actually, I chose this university after hearing the names of a few professors there, and that they were very successful professors, very successful in giving lectures. Then I attended their lectures, and I noticed that the rumors weren't even telling half of them. All of my lawyer friends had already taken lessons from and read the books of these people. We listened to the teachers personally. That's why I think I made the right choice. One of the professors, for example, was...Serap Yazıcı. She was [previously] the chairman of the constitutional commission. She attended the meetings in which the constitution was being written. The woman who wrote the constitution was teaching us about the constitution. That was something amazing" (P35, private high school graduate).

Figure 7.

*Strategies for Choosing a university and/or Department*



Another factor influencing the choice of a university and department was the influence of the family. As the volume of a family's institutional cultural capital grows, the family's strategies for guiding the children become more deliberative. Therefore, there is a direct link between high levels of cultural capital and university choices. The choice of P9, who possessed a high level of familial institutional cultural capital, was significantly affected by the opinions of the father:

"My father was impressed by a professor he had learned from at Boğaziçi University. For a while during the university selection process, I said to myself that there was no school I couldn't enroll in. Instead of studying management and information systems at Boğaziçi, I could enter METU or Koç with a full scholarship. That was the first time I heard my father say to me: 'Are you crazy, son?' He told me to go to Boğaziçi. It was the first time he ever said something like that. So, my family positively guided me" (P9, public high school graduate).

There were also participants for whom the high school from which they graduated had an impact on their choices of university and department. The most significant way in which high schools affected these choices was the organization of trips by the high schools for their students to visit universities. For example, the university visits organized by the high school contributed to P6's familiarity with the visited universities and influenced this individual's final choice:

"Our school had organized trips to universities in İstanbul and Ankara... Those gave me some ideas. My family was more influential in my choice, but the fact that the school organized trips to visit universities was also a factor" (P6, public high school graduate).

Career days organized by universities at high schools are also effective for university/department choices. For example, the career days organized at P13's high school were decisive in this participant's choice of a university:

"There were career days in high school. At one of them, the genetics and engineering departments of İzmir University of Economics were introduced. A [faculty member] even came and told us about the university. I got to know about the departments there. High school provided me with such an advantage in choosing a university" (P13, public high school graduate).

Another situation in which the influence of the high school on university choices is apparent arises when high school teachers support and guide the choices of their students. P5 described receiving information about the chosen university department with the help of high school teachers:

"Especially the science department and the literature and philosophy faculties, which are my own areas of interest and hobbies, and the math department were very supportive. In high school, [regarding science] both of our chemistry and biology teachers were from METU and actually both of them had master degrees. Those two teachers helped me a lot. Ultimately, when you're choosing to study a subject or do something, you do so at the high school level without really knowing the ins and outs of it. I chose electronic engineering with the guidance of my teachers" (P5, public high school graduate).

Among the participants whose choices were affected by the influence of their teachers, some possessed low levels of familial institutional cultural capital. For example, the contribution of teachers to the university choice of P2, who graduated from a public high school and had a family with a low level of cultural capital, was significant:

"These fields like software, computer engineering, or software engineering are touted as the professions of the future. So, the teachers at school were directing us towards these departments.

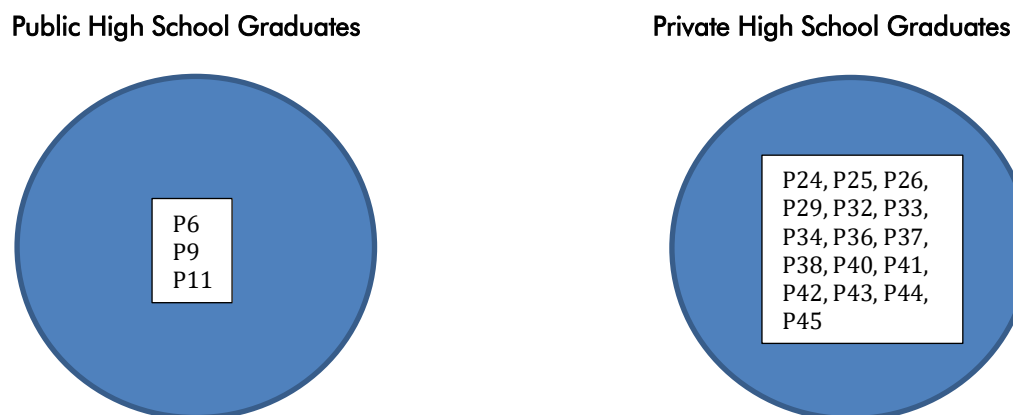
Especially guidance counselors... I think the teachers in high school were providing us with proper support. Our teachers guided us according to our competencies. They guided us like: 'It would be better if you chose this department, these types of professions would be better for you.' My adventure as a software developer started there. That's how they guided us" (P2, public high school graduate).

Hence, it should be noted that the choices of a university and a department seem to be intertwined, and choosing a university is clearly a process in which more than one factor is effective. Additionally, in the period of life in which they were choosing a university, the participants went through a process in which habitus was influential together with cultural capital in shaping their future lives. Habitus can be described as the intellectual and behavioral norms internalized by an individual through socialization processes.

Accordingly, the participants made their choices on the basis of the predispositions they acquired during socialization processes. The area in which habitus was most apparent in the present research was the participants' processes of selecting a university. When the participants who attended prestigious universities\* are considered, it can be seen that there were important differences between private and public high schools. Only three public high school graduates (P6, P9, and P11) studied at prestigious universities, while a significant number of participants who graduated from private high schools studied at prestigious universities. Examining the participants who enrolled in prestigious universities in more detail emphasizes this distinction between high schools.

**Table 11.**

*Participants Who Enrolled in Prestigious Universities*



As presented in Table 11, there are differences between the participants regarding enrollment in prestigious universities according to private and public high schools. The fact that most private high school graduates studied at prestigious universities is a remarkable finding. The educational strategies implemented beginning with primary school and continuing until the selection of a university played important roles in creating

\* Within the framework of the research, universities ranked in the top 1000 by the QS World University Rankings in 2022 were accepted as "prestigious" universities.

these differences. The competent educational strategies followed by families in determining their primary school preferences continued into high school life and finally resulted in the student obtaining a high-quality education based on his or her own personal interests, with these decisions being shaped by the participants' own preferences and influenced by the input they received from their families and schools.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that among the public high school graduates, only participants who possessed high levels of familial institutional cultural capital obtained prestigious university degrees. This fact shows that cultural capital plays an important role in educational processes. A significant number of participants who attended prestigious universities after graduating from private high schools similarly possessed high levels of familial institutional cultural capital. This finding suggests that parents' institutional cultural capital paves the way for their children to study at prestigious universities. However, participants who possessed less capital of this form studied at less prestigious universities. In summary, these results are significant in that they show that the inequality between students that begins in primary school and continues on through high school is still influential on their university enrollment.

### **Discussion, Conclusion, and Recommendations**

The main focus of this study was the institutional cultural capital possessed by the graduates of private and public high schools. While examining institutionalized cultural capital corresponding to diplomas and titles earned through education, the professional and educational statuses of both the graduates and their parents were taken into account. The results of this research revealed that there are differences in the professional dimension of institutionalized cultural capital according to high school status. In terms of occupation, private high school graduates were mainly employed in managerial and professional job groups. In contrast, public high school graduates were concentrated in professional occupational groups. When familial institutional cultural capital was considered, it was observed that the parents of private high school graduates were mostly employed in managerial and professional occupations, like their children, while the vast majority of the parents of public high school graduates were not managers. In other words, private high school graduates with managerial parents worked as managers like their parents. This finding reveals that institutional cultural capital is reproduced professionally. On the other hand, public high school graduates whose parents were not managers did not work as managers themselves.

Considering educational status as another element of institutionalized cultural capital, it was concluded that private high school graduates had higher educational statuses than participants who graduated from public high schools. There were also important distinctions in this element of institutionalized cultural capital in terms of the parents of the participants. While it was observed that the parents of public high school graduates had predominantly achieved high school diplomas as their highest level of education, the parents of private high school graduates had higher diplomas, such as bachelor degrees.



Some private high school graduates had parents with graduate degrees, which also underlines the significant extent of the distinction between these two different statuses of schools. As a result, it was concluded that the private high school graduates had higher levels of institutional cultural capital than the public high school graduates in terms of occupational and educational status, which were considered on the basis of institutionalized cultural capital in this study. However, it was also observed that some public high school graduates possessed higher levels of familial institutionalized cultural capital. The fact that these participants graduated from two specific public high schools where enrollment requires a significantly high entrance exam score shows that there are also distinctions among schools of the same status. Overall, it seems that the education and titles held by parents play mediating roles in the acquisition of an institutional identity for their children. The fact that the participants had occupational and educational statuses similar to those of their families supports this conclusion.

Answers found regarding another research question addressed within the scope of this study also showed that there were differences in the implementation of the participants' educational strategies according to both private and public high schools and familial institutional cultural capital. Specifically, it was observed that the family's possession of institutional cultural capital directly shaped the educational processes of their children. These educational strategies were not limited to high school; the process started as early as primary school and continued until it was time for the child to select a university. It should also be noted that families that implemented strategies to ensure high-quality education for their children possessed high levels of institutionalized cultural capital. In other words, parents with high levels of cultural capital applied selective strategies such as having their children learn a foreign language or receive a high-quality education rather than making choices based on proximity to the school or exam scores. Decisions about the education processes of the participants differed according to their families' possession of cultural capital.

The strategies applied in accordance with the levels of cultural capital possessed by the families determined not only the educational processes of the children but also affected their choices regarding higher education. The fact that a significant majority of private high school graduates studied at prestigious universities confirms that these participants and/or their families developed strategies aimed at high-quality education. It is also noteworthy that, although they were few in number, participants who graduated from public high schools and possessed high levels of familial institutionalized cultural capital also preferred prestigious universities. This shows that the presence of familial institutionalized cultural capital is an important factor in accessing quality education. In contrast, individuals who do not possess this type of cultural capital are more likely to have their educational processes shaped by their exam scores.

The fact that strategies developed on the basis of the possession of cultural capital resulted in students attending more prestigious universities underlines the inequalities that exist between public and private high schools. It was seen that participants who did not start at equal points in primary school inevitably concluded their education in different places as well, as characterized by their choices of universities. In relation to

this, it was observed that the educational processes of private high school graduates, who had easier access to cultural capital, were shaped in line with the desire to receive education in high-quality institutions. More precisely, the educational strategies of families who possessed high levels of cultural capital were developed on the basis of increasing cultural competencies. As a result, it can be concluded that cultural capital has become an investment strategy used by families who possess high levels of cultural capital, as argued by Bourdieu (2017).

The present study reached results similar to those of previous studies arguing that the possession of cultural capital has become an important factor determining academic achievement (Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, & Shaun, 1990; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; Dumais, 2002; Jaeger, 2009; Yamamoto & Brinton, 2010; Kraaykamp & van Eijk, 2010; Tramonte & Willms, 2010; Bodovski, Jeon, & Byun, 2017; İnce, 2014; Atmaca, 2019; Arastaman & Özdemir, 2019). Similar to the results of our study, these studies have found that cultural capital has significant contributions to academic achievement. The results of the present study are also similar to the conclusions reached by Cansız, Özbaylanlı, and Çolakoğlu (2018) on the basis of cultural capital as parents' education levels and occupational groups were found to affect academic achievement. However, since these studies are based on quantitative methodology, they have methodological differences with our study.

The results of the study are especially important in terms of producing similar results to the study of Reay (2004), who argues that the participation of families in their children's education has become a component of cultural capital. Reay, who conducted his study in line with the qualitative method, found that families from the upper class establish healthier relationships in the education process than families from the lower class. In another qualitative study suggesting that parents' interaction with the school system is a source of cultural capital, McDonough (1997), similar to our study, concluded that parents help their children choose a school by using their cultural capital. McDonough argues that parents who have cultural capital help their children in the university selection and application process. It will be remembered that also in our study, it was concluded that parents who have cultural capital apply strategies towards quality in terms of education for their children.

The most important finding of this study is that the cultural capital possessed by the family drives the processes in the child's educational life toward high-quality education. Thus, it is necessary to focus on students with lower levels of familial institutional cultural capital in order to reduce inequalities in education. In this process, educational institutions can be expected to provide the support that some students cannot receive from their families. It is of utmost importance to develop support mechanisms to help students make more informed decisions, especially in the process of choosing a university. In addition, economic investment in education is also important in reducing inequalities between public and private schools. Increasing state support for reducing the differences between high school status and between families with and without cultural capital could play an important role in reducing inequalities.

Finally, it is recommended that further studies be conducted on this subject not be limited to qualitative methods. Research should be carried out based on quantitative and mixed methods and should include more diverse sample groups in order to address this subject in detail. Only two different types of high schools, private and public Anatolian high schools, were considered in the present study. In addition to private and public high schools, it is also important to examine the progression of the educational processes of graduates from other school types such as imam-hatip high schools, science high schools, and vocational high schools.

## References

- Althusser, L. (2014). *İdeoloji ve devletin ideolojik aygıtları* (A. Tümertekin, trans.). İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları.
- Altun Aslan, E. (2019). *Kültürel sermaye ve sınıf içi farklılaşma: Orta sınıfların kültürel sermaye yatırımı olarak özel okul tercihleri* (Doctoral dissertation, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü).
- Arastaman, G. ve Özdemir, M. (2019). Relationship between academic aspiration, academic self-efficacy and cultural capital as perceived by high school students. *Education and Science*. Vol 44, No 197, 105-119.
- Atmaca, T. (2019). *Eğitimde toplumsal eşitsizliğin kültürel sermayenin aktarımıyla yeniden üretilmesi* (Doctoral dissertation, Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü).
- Bernstein, B. ve Henderson, D. (1969). Social class differences in the relevance of language to socialization. *Sociology*. Vol3 No 1. 1-20.
- Bodovski, K., Jeon, H. ve Byun, S. (2017). Cultural capital and educational outcomes in post-socialist Eastern Europe. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 38(6), 887-907.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). Les trois etats du capital culturel. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 30, 3-6.
- Bourdieu, P. (2015). *Pratik Nedenler* (H. U. Tanrıöver, trans.). İstanbul: Hill Yayınları.
- Bourdieu, P. (2017). *Ayırım. Beğeni Yargısının Toplumsal Eleştirisi* (D. Fırat ve G. Berkurt, trans.). Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Bourdieu, P. ve Passeron (2015). *Varisler, öğrenciler ve kültür* (A. Sümer, trans.). Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Bowles ve Gintes (2002). Schooling in capitalist America revisited. *Sociology of Education*. 75 (1), 1-18.
- Cansız, M., Özbaylanlı, B. ve Çolakoğlu, M. H. (2018). Türkiye’de kültürel sermayenin öğrenim başarısı üzerine etkisi. *Journal of Economy Culture and Society*, 58, 127-158.
- Creswell, J. W. (2017). *Eğitim araştırmaları*. Nicel ve nitel araştırmanın planlanması, yürütülmesi ve değerlendirilmesi (H. Ekşi, trans. ed.). İstanbul: Edam.
- Creswell, J.W. (2020). *Nitel araştırma yöntemleri. Beş yaklaşıma göre nitel araştırma ve araştırma deseni* (M. Bütün and S. B. Demir (trans. ed.). Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.
- Dumais, S. A. (2002). Cultural capital, gender, and school success: the role of habitus. *Sociology of Education*, 75(1), 44-68.
- Durkheim, E. (2016). *Eğitim ve Sosyoloji* (P. Ergenekon, trans.). İstanbul: Pinhan Yayıncılık.
- Farkas, G., Grobe, R. P., Sheehan, D. ve Shaun, Y. (1990). Cultural resources and school success: gender, ethnicity, and poverty groups within an urban school district. *American Sociological Review*, 55(1), 127-142.

- Glesne, C. (2020). Nitel arařtırmaya giriş (A. Ersoy ve P. Yalçınnođlu (trans.ed.)). Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık.
- İnce, C. (2014). Sosyal sermaye ve akademik başarı arasındaki ilişkinin sosyolojik bir analizi: Şanlıurfa'da bir alan arařtırması (Doctoral dissertation, Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü).
- Jaeger, M. M. (2009). Equal access but unequal outcomes: culturel capital and educational choice in a meritocratic society. *Social Forces*, 87, 1934-1971.
- Jourdain, A. ve Naulin S. (2016). *Pierre Bourdieu'nun kuramı ve sosyolojik kullanımları* (Ö. Elitez, trans.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Kraaykamp, G. ve van Eijk, K. V. (2010). The intergenerational reproduction of cultural capital: A threefold perspective. *Social Forces*, 89(1), 209-231.
- McDonough, P. M. (1997). Choosing colleges: How social class and schools structure opportunity. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Parsons, T. (1959). The school class as a social system: some of its functions in American society. *Harvard Educational Review*. 29/4. 297-318.
- Reay, D. (2002). Mothers involvement in their children's schooling: social reproduction in action? *Improving Schools*. 5 (3), 23-33.
- Roscigno, V. J. ve Ainsworth-Darnell, W. (1999). Race, cultural capital, and educational resources: persistent inequalities and achievement returns. *Sociology of Education*, 72(3), 158-178.
- Saldana, J. (2019). *Nitel arařtırmacılar için kodlama el kitabı* (A. Tüfekçi Akcan ve S. N. Şad, trans. ed.). Ankara: Pegem Akademi.
- Swartz, D. (2011). Kültür ve iktidar. Pierre Bourdieu'nün sosyolojisi (E. Gen, trans.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Symeou, L. (2007). Cultural capital and family involvement in children's education: tales from two primary. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 28(4), 473-487.
- Throsby, D. (1999). Cultural capital. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 23 (1/2), Special Issue: Barcelona Conference Plenary Papers, 3-12.
- Tramonte, L. ve Willms, J. D. (2010). Cultural capital and its effects on education outcomes. *Economics of Education Review*, 29, 200-213.
- Yamamoto, Y. ve Brinton, M. C. (2010). Cultural capital in East Asian educational systems: the case of Japan. *Sociology of Education*, 83(1), 67-83.
- Yin, R. K. (2017). *Durum çalıřması arařtırması* (İ. Günbayı, trans.). Ankara: Nobel Yayıncılık.

## Genişletilmiş Türkçe Özet

Çalışma kapsamında özel ve resmi liselerden mezun olanların ve ebeveynlerinin sahip olduğu kültürel sermaye temelinde eğitim süreçlerindeki izledikleri stratejilerinin derinlemesine açıklanması hedeflenmiştir. Bunun gerçekleştirilebilmesi için araştırmada ilk olarak özel veya resmi liselerden mezun olanların kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye birikimleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Daha sonrasında kültürel sermaye sahibi olan veya bu sermaye türünden yoksun kalan mezunların eğitim süreçleri açısından ne tür farklılıklar taşıdığı betimlenmiştir. Araştırmanın temel problemi ise “özel ve resmi lise türleri arasında kültürel sermayenin eşitsizlikler üzerindeki rolünü görünür kılmak” olarak formüle edilmiştir. Çalışma, kültürel sermayenin eğitim süreçlerine yansımalarının hem farklı okul türleri bağlamında hem de mezunlar üzerinden ele alması bakımından diğer çalışmalardan farklılık göstermektedir. Bunun yanında kültürel sermayeyi kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye temelinde ele alınması bakımından da alandaki çalışmalardan ayrılmaktadır.

Çalışmada açıklanması istenen durumla ilgili farklı bakış açıları ortaya çıkarılmak istendiği (Creswell, 2020: 102) için nitel yöntem desenlerinden çoklu durum çalışması kullanılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda çalışmada kültürel sermayenin farklı lise türlerinde nasıl farklılaştığını ortaya koymak için özel ve resmi liseler birer durum olarak ele alınmıştır. Çalışmanın katılımcıları belirlenirken nitel yöntemde uygun olarak maksimum çeşitlilik örnekleme kullanılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda Konak ilçesinde yer alan 4 özel ve 4 resmi lise seçilmiştir. Çalışmada nitel veri toplama tekniklerinden derinlemesine görüşme tekniği 23’ü özel, 22’si resmi lise olmak üzere 45 kişiye uygulanmıştır. Katılımcılarla derinlemesine görüşme yapılırken yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşme formu uygulanmıştır.

Çalışma bağlamında derinlemesine görüşmeler sonucu elde edilen veriler, MAXQDA 2022 yardımıyla kod, tema ve kategorilere ayrılmıştır. Kodlama gerçekleştirilirken birinci döngüde nitelik kodlama ve betimsel kodlama gerçekleştirilmiştir. İkincil döngüde ise eksensel kodlama yapılmıştır.

Çalışmada geçerliğin sağlanabilmesi adına uzman incelemesi, katılımcı teyidi ve araştırmacı çeşitlemesi stratejileri uygulanmıştır. Güvenirliğin artırılması için ise görüşmeler ses kayıt cihazıyla kaydedilmiş ve kayıtlar araştırmacılar tarafından dinlenerek yazıya aktarılmıştır. Güvenirliğin artırılması noktasında dikkat edilen bir başka husus kodlama aşamasında kodlayıcılar arası görüş birliğinin sağlanmasının gerçekleştirilmesidir.

Araştırma sonucunda kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye temelinde ele alınan mesleki durum açısından lise türüne göre önemli ayrımlar bulunduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Özel lise mezunlarının sadece yönetici ve profesyonel meslek gruplarında buldukları dikkat çekmektedir. Buna karşılık resmi lise mezunları genel olarak profesyonel iş grubunda yoğunlaşmaktadır. Profesyonel iş grubunun yanında satış ve servis çalışanları ve zanaat ile ilgili esnaf çalışanları da bulunmaktadır. Farklı lise türlerine göre ebeveyn meslekleri karşılaştırıldığında da lise türlerinde farklılıklar dikkat çekmektedir. Özel lise mezunlarının anne ve babalarının yönetici ve profesyonel iş gruplarında yoğunluklu olarak toplandıkları gözlenirken resmi lise mezunlarının ebeveynleri ağırlıklı olarak

zanaat ve ilgili esnaf çalışanı/işçi ve ev hanımı oldukları görülmektedir. Resmi lise mezunları ebeveynlerinin çocukları gibi yöneticilik pozisyonunda bulunmaması, mesleki anlamda yeniden üretimin gerçekleştirilmesinin nesilden nesile devam ettiğini göstermesi açısından değerlidir.

Kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermayenin eğitim durumu açısından mesleki durumda olduğu gibi okul türlerine göre önemli farklılıkların olduğu görülmektedir. Resmi lise mezunlarında ağırlıklı olarak lisans mezunu bulunurken, özel lise mezunlarında yoğunluk lisansüstü eğitimde toplanmaktadır. Ebeveynlerin eğitim durumu incelendiğinde ise yine lise türüne göre önemli ayrımların olduğu dikkat çekmektedir. Özel lise mezunları ağırlıklı olarak lisans mezunu anne ve babalara sahipken, resmi ortaöğretim kurumları mezunları ise eğitim durumu lise olan ebeveynlere sahiptir. Görülmektedir ki, özel ortaöğretim kurumlarından mezun olanların ve ebeveynlerinin hem mesleki anlamda hem de eğitim durumu açısından daha yüksek kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye sahibi oldukları gözlenmektedir.

Katılımcıların eğitim süreçleri incelendiğinde ilkökul tercihinde eve yakınlık, ailenin nitelikli eğitim isteği ve yabancı dile dayalı eğitim talebinin etkili olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Farklı seçenekler arasındaki tercihi belirleyen unsurun, ailenin sahip olduğu kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye olduğu gözlenmektedir. Başka bir ifadeyle katılımcının ailevi kurumsal kültürel sermaye sahipliği, eve yakınlıktan ziyade nitelikli eğitim tercihinde belirleyici olmaktadır.

Lise tercih döneminde katılımcıların mezun oldukları lise türüne göre farklı seçimler yaptıkları görülmektedir. Resmi liseden mezunlar olanlar tarafında, ortaöğretim tercihinde en önemli etkeni liselere giriş sınavından alınan puan oluşturmaktadır. Puanla giriş yapılan liselere yeterli düzeyde puanı olan mezunların almış olduğu puan çerçevesinde tercih yapmaktadır. Puanla tercih edilen liselere giriş imkânı olmayan katılımcıların tercihinde ise süper lise ve eve yakınlık öne çıkmaktadır. Özel lise tercih eden katılımcıların lise tercihinde etkili olan etkenler ise yabancı dil eğitimi, sosyal çevrelerinden birinin liseye aşına olması ve köklü lise imajıdır.

Eğitim sürecinin önemli bir parçasını oluşturan üniversite tercih dönemi incelendiğinde tercih yaparken kişisel ilgi, ailenin etkisi ve okulun yardımı gibi üç ana unsurun devreye girdiği görülmektedir. Ailevi kurumsal kültürel sermayeye sahip olan katılımcıların kişisel ilgilerine göre tercih yaptıkları ve ailelerinin de bu süreçte destek oldukları dikkat çekmektedir. Araştırmanın önemli sonuçlarından bir diğeri de özel lise mezunlarının prestijli üniversiteleri tercih etmesidir. Bu tercih aslında ilkökoldan başlayıp üniversite tercih dönemine kadar geçen süre içerisinde gerçekleştirilen eğitim stratejilerinde kültürel sermaye sahipliğinin rolünü göstermesi bakımından değerlidir. Resmi lise mezunları arasında prestijli üniversite kazananların sadece yüksek ailevi kurumsal kültürel sermayeye sahip katılımcılar olması da kültürel sermayenin eğitim stratejileri üzerindeki belirleyiciliğini göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak kültürel sermaye, ilkökul seçiminden yükseköğretim kurumu tercihine kadar devam eden eğitim sürecindeki öğrenciler arası eşitsizliğin yeniden üretiminde önemli roller oynamaktadır.

**Ethics Committee Approval:** The interview form was approved as ethically appropriate by the Dokuz Eylül University Social and Human Sciences Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee on 22/02/2023.

**Informed Consent:** Informed consent was obtained from the participants.

**Peer-REVIEW:** Externally peer-reviewed

**Author Contribution:** Concept-C.S.A; Design- C.S.A; Y.A.; Analysis-C.S.A.; Y.A.; Interpretation-C.S.A.; Y.A.; Literature Review-C.S.A; Writing-C.S.A.; Y.A.; Critical Review-C.S.A.; Y.A..

**Conflict of Interests:** The authors declares that they have no conflict of interest.

**Financial Disclosure:** The authors declared that this study did not receive any financial support.

<b>Authors</b>	<b>Contact</b>
Cem Serkan Atlı	Dokuz Eylül University, Turkey. E-mail: cemserkan.atli@deu.edu.tr.
Yıldız Akpolat	Dokuz Eylül University, Turkey. E-mail: yildiz.akpolat@deu.edu.tr.

Annex. Information about the participants interviewed

**Table 2.**

*Information of the Interviewees*

Cod	Gender	Age	High School	Educational Status of Participants	Professional Status of Participants	Educational Status of Mother	Professional Status of Mother	Educational Status of Father	Professional Status of Father
P1	Female	26	İzmir Kız Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	High School	Housewife	High School	Service and Sales Workers
P2	Male	32	50. Yıl Lisesi	Postgraduate	Professionals	High School	Office and Support Workers	High School	Office and Support Workers
P3	Male	30	Karataş Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Primary School	Housewife	High School	Office and Support Workers
P4	Female	34	50. Yıl Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Housewife	High School	Office and Support Workers
P5	Female	28	İzmir Kız Lisesi	Postgraduate	Professionals	High School	Service and Sales Workers	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P6	Female	40	Konak Anadolu Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P7	Female	28	Konak Anadolu Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P8	Female	30	İzmir Kız Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P9	Male	22	İzmir Kız Lisesi	High School	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Tradespeople and Menial Workers
P10	Male	46	Karataş Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	High School	Housewife	High School	Service and Sales Workers
P11	Female	34	İzmir Kız Lisesi	Postgraduate	Professionals	High School	Housewife	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P12	Male	22	Konak Anadolu Lisesi	High School	Student	Primary School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers	Middle School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers
P13	Female	22	Konak Anadolu Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	High School	Technicians	High School	Office and Support Workers
P14	Female	30	Konak Anadolu Lisesi	Postgraduate	Professionals	High School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers	Primary School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers

P15	Male	26	50. Yıl Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	High School	Office and Support Workers	High School	Office and Support Workers
P16	Male	40	Karataş Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Primary School	Housewife	Illiterate	Tradespeople and Menial Workers
P17	Female	43	50. Yıl Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Middle School	Housewife	Middle School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers
P18	Female	37	Karataş Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Service and Sales Workers	High School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers	High School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers
P19	Male	44	50. Yıl Lisesi	Postgraduate	Professionals	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers
P20	Male	20	50. Yıl Lisesi	High School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers
P21	Male	27	Karataş Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Service and Sales Workers	High School	Technicians	High School	Service and Sales Workers
P22	Female	47	50. Yıl Lisesi	Associate Degree	Service and Sales Workers	Primary School	Housewife	Primary School	Tradespeople and Menial Workers
P23	Male	43	Saint-Joseph Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P24	Male	46	Saint-Joseph Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Managers	High School	Housewife	High School	Managers
P25	Female	22	Tevfik Fikret Lisesi	High School		Bachelor Degree	Housewife	Bachelor Degree	Managers
P26	Male	43	Amerikan Koleji	Postgraduate	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P27	Female	43	Tevfik Fikret Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Managers
P28	Male	37	İzmir Türk Koleji	Postgraduate	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Office and Support Workers
P29	Female	31	İzmir Türk Koleji	Postgraduate	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	High School	Managers
P30	Male	44	Tevfik Fikret Lisesi	Postgraduate	Professionals	Postgraduate	Professionals	Postgraduate	Professionals

P31	Female	31	Saint-Joseph Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Managers	Postgraduate	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Managers
P32	Male	20	Saint-Joseph Lisesi	High School	Student	Bachelor Degree	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Managers
P33	Female	37	Saint-Joseph Lisesi	Postgraduate	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P34	Female	23	Amerikan Koleji	Postgraduate	Student	Bachelor Degree	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Managers
P35	Male	32	Amerikan Koleji	Bachelor Degree	Managers	High School	Housewife	High School	Managers
P36	Male	28	Saint-Joseph Lisesi	Bachelor Degree	Managers	Postgraduate	Professionals	Primary School	Managers
P37	Female	34	Amerikan Koleji	Postgraduate	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Managers
P38	Male	22	Tevfik Fikret Lisesi	High School	Student	High School	Housewife	Bachelor Degree	Managers
P39	Male	29	İzmir Türk Koleji	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P40	Male	27	İzmir Türk Koleji	Postgraduate	Professionals	Associate Degree	Office and Support Workers	Associate Degree	Technicians
P41	Female	28	İzmir Türk Koleji	Postgraduate	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P42	Female	45	Amerikan Koleji	Bachelor Degree	Managers	High School	Professionals	Postgraduate	Managers
P43	Male	37	Tevfik Fikret Lisesi	Postgraduate	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Housewife	Bachelor Degree	Professionals
P44	Female	37	İzmir Türk Koleji	Postgraduate	Professionals	Bachelor Degree	Housewife	Postgraduate	Managers
P45	Female	28	Amerikan Koleji	Postgraduate	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Managers	Bachelor Degree	Managers