

Reproduction of Social Inequality in Education by Transferring Cultural Capital¹

Taner ATMACA² & Ayhan AYDIN³

Abstract

The primary goal of this research is to explore how social inequality resulting from cultural capital and habitus substantially inherited from family in education among individuals is reproduced and to test Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital-reproduction. Convergent parallel design of mixed methods was used in the research. The survey was conducted among the students of the secondary education institutions in Beşiktaş and Sultanbeyli districts in İstanbul in 2017-2018 academic years. The sample was determined to use the target method based on Exam for Transition from Primary to Secondary Education (TEOG) score. The main criterion was the TEOG scores graded as low-moderate-high in Beşiktaş and Sultanbeyli. Accordingly, quantitative and qualitative data were collected from 1044 students of 18 different schools in both districts. Multiple Correspondence Analysis was used for data analysis. According to results of the research there is an important difference between the students with the TEOG scores of 480 and above and the students with lower TEOG scores in Beşiktaş due to cultural capital. Parents of students with higher academic achievement were found to have high levels of cultural capital and convert this capital into their children's academic achievement. On the other hand, both students with lower academic achievement and their parents were observed to have lower cultural capital. Implications for Research and Practice: Parents that have high levels of cultural and economic capital produce various strategies in a critical conscious state to increase their children's academic achievement, to protect their environment and to help them achieve upper statuses in the society. The source of these strategies is the cultural capital of parents.

Key Words: Inequality, Bourdieu, Cultural capital, Education

Eğitimde Toplumsal Eşitsizliğin Kültürel Sermayenin Aktarımıyla Yeniden Üretilmesi

Öz

Bu arařtırmanın temel amacı büyük ölçüde aileden miras alınan kültürel sermaye ve yatkınlıklardan (habitus) kaynaklanan eğitimde bireyler arasındaki toplumsal eşitsizliğin yeniden ve nasıl üretildiğini ortaya koymak ve Bourdieu'nün kültürel sermaye-yeniden üretim teorisini test etmektir. Arařtırmada karma metodun yakınsayan paralel deseninden yararlanılmıştır. Arařtırmanın evrenini 2017-2018 eğitim öğretim yılında İstanbul'un Beşiktaş ve Sultanbeyli ilçelerindeki ortaöğretim kurumu öğrencileri oluşturmaktadır. Örneklemi ise TEOG puanı esas alınarak amaçlı örneklem kullanılarak belirlenmiştir. Temel ölçüt olarak ise özellikle Beşiktaş ve Sultanbeyli'de düşük-orta-yüksek şekilde kademelenen TEOG puanı esas alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda her iki ilçeden toplamda 18 farklı okuldan 1044 öğrenciden envanter aracılığı ile nicel-nitel veri toplanmıştır. Verilerin çözümlemesinde çoklu müteakabiyet analizinden yararlanılmıştır. Ayrıca t-testi, kay-kare testi ve korelasyon analizi kullanılmıştır. Temel bulgulara bakıldığında yüksek akademik başarı gösteren öğrencilerin ailelerinin yüksek kültürel sermayeye sahip oldukları ve bu sermayeyi çocuklarının akademik başarısında tahvil ettikleri anlaşılmaktadır. Buna karşın, düşük akademik başarıdaki öğrencilerin kendilerinin ve ailelerinin de düşük kültürel sermayeye sahip oldukları bulunmuştur. Yüksek kültürel ve ekonomik sermayeye birlikte sahip olan aileler çocuklarının akademik başarılarını artırmak, alanlarını korumak ve toplumsal statüde üst konumlar elde edebilmek için önemli bir bilinç düzeyiyle çeşitli stratejiler üretmektedirler. Bu stratejilerin kaynağını ise ailelerin kültürel sermayesi oluşturmaktadır. Kültürel ve ekonomik sermayesi yüksek olan ailelerin çocukları yine kendileri gibi olan ailelerin çocukları ile yüksek nitelikte ve donanımdaki okullara gitmekte ve avantajlı durumlarını koruyarak ve artırarak sürdürmektedirler. Bu haliyle kültürel sermayesi ve ekonomik sermayesi olan ailelerin çocukları ile tam tersi durumdaki ailelerin çocukları arasındaki toplumsal eşitsizlik korunarak yeniden üretilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eşitsizlik, Bourdieu, Kültürel sermaye, Eğitim

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² Dr. Res. Assistant - Duzce University Faculty of Education, taneratmaca@duzce.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0001-9157-3100

³ Prof. Dr. - Eskişehir Osmangazi University Faculty of Education, aaydin@ogu.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0003-4399-9654

Introduction

Equal opportunities and right to access quality education are among important pedagogical matters discussed from the mid-20th century to date. Among these matters of discussion, equal opportunities in education, which continue to be relevant, have expanded in scope even further in time (Hurn, 2018). Liberal and neo-Marxist approaches that emerged in the beginning of the 20th century have tried to ground equal opportunities in education with their own rhetoric and arguments. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has an important place among individuals who utilize ideas of several thinkers such as Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, conduct studies on reproduction and inequalities in education and produce theories in this subject.

Bourdieu has made his studies of inequality that he inspired from his own educational life universal through his field-specific conceptualization. Bourdieu is one of the first thinkers who has approached critically to inequalities in education as of the second half of the 20th century (Swartz, 2013). Bourdieu emphasizes the role of school in transferring social inequalities in education to next generations. The main thesis that Bourdieu argues most is the idea that school is a place contributing to the reproduction of social inequalities rather than a place looking out for equal opportunities (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016). According to Bourdieu, the greatest driver that makes this mechanism run is cultural capital which emerges in parallel with economic capital (Aktay, 2016). In Bourdieu's sociology, cultural capital has a critical function. Accordingly, different distribution of cultural capital in different social classes underlies educational inequality in the society. Bourdieu (1986) argues that the achievement attained in education is directly related to the cultural capital transferred to the child by parents. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has a wide scope including verbal ability, awareness of general culture, esthetic admirations, and information on the school system (Swartz, 2013). Bourdieu regards cultural capital as a kind of object or source of power. Cultural capital has the same social origins in Bourdieu's world and used for explaining the difference in educational achievement performed by the children of parents with different educational levels. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital makes its existence felt implicitly in all processes from student admission to schools to instruction of curricula and is monopolized by certain classes. Cultural capital difference which has a key role in the production of inequalities is understood as differences in the levels of individual skills, which leads to misconception. In other words, inequalities brought about by cultural capital are perceived as if they were the result of intelligence, skills and various characteristics of individuals (Rawolle & Lingard, 2018).

There are two components to the fact that students perform differently at school although they are subjected to the same curriculum. The first component is family, and the second one is school. Depending on references of the social and cultural capital components such as the socialization process of the child and the family structure in which he/she has been raised, his/her social relationships, expectations of the family about education, family participation in educational processes, and family's social class, etc., children perform differently at schools (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015). In Turkey, there are educational inequalities both between regions and different areas of the same city due to socioeconomic variables. A striking example for educational inequalities among Turkey's geographical regions is the results of several international exams. For example, regarding the Turkish results of TIMSS 2015, there is a difference of about 100 points between the regions with the highest and lowest scores on the 4th-grade level. A similar difference is also present in the 8th-grade averages. With the given the fact that each difference of 30 points is equivalent of an academic year in international exams, the educational aspect of the inequality between regions becomes even more apparent (Atmaca, 2018). Central exams held for student placement in secondary education institutions in Turkey has an important role. Another factor in the student admission to secondary education institutions is student's academic achievement in primary and secondary school years. Both factors which substantially have aspects of selection and distinction are thought to have created a different mechanism of distinction and selection in circles that are socioeconomically and culturally differentiated. To put it in the arguments in Bourdieu's sociology, this means the reproduction of social inequalities in education through schools.

Bourdieu's sociological and pedagogical research had tremendous impacts in his period and continues to do so today. It is a notable issue that Bourdieu as the most quoted social scientist around the world to date has been the subject matter of very few empirical studies in education in Turkey (Aktaş, 2016; Çelikkol, 2017; İnce, 2014; Ünal, 2004). While studies have been conducted on educational

inequalities in Turkey, they mainly take socioeconomic differences as basis (Alpman, 2009; Öztürk, 2015; Yıldız, 2015).

Despite the fact that socioeconomic difference leads to several inequalities in the society, this research desires to draw attention to cultural capital as a different source of inequality. No studies testing the theory of reproduction of educational inequalities resulting from cultural capital, which was frequently addressed and emphasized by Bourdieu, were observed in the national literature. In this sense, a study is needed to address the reproduction of educational inequalities in Turkey around the concepts of Bourdieu. This research is aimed to discuss the differences of academic achievement between the secondary education students from two different districts of İstanbul (Beşiktaş & Sultanbeyli) with different socioeconomic levels within the context of cultural capital distribution.

Cultural Capital and Educational Inequalities in Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology

Bourdieu uses the concept of cultural capital rather for exploring the differences in cultural practices and educational performances that cannot be explained by economic inequalities (Brubaker, 2007; Yüce, 2007). It would not be wrong to say that Bourdieu's theory of capital is shaped over education, cultural products, lineage, social networks, and meaning of symbols in the reproduction and maintenance of social inequalities. In Bourdieu's sociology, cultural capital plays a more central role than other types of capital (Göker, 2016). Bourdieu examines cultural capital in two separate groups: "school capital" that is acquired with formal education and given an objective appearance through diplomas and "inherited cultural capital" that is inherited from the family and naturally describes the qualities acquired within the family life (Aydemir, 2011; Ünal, 2016b).

Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu, may have occurred in three different states: the embodied state, that is, long-lasting tendencies of mind and body; the objectified state, that is, various cultural commodities (paintings, books, instruments, etc.); and the institutionalized state (Bourdieu, 1986). The embodied cultural capital is the capital which has been acquired through patterns of behaviors, linguistic habits, writing styles, and ways of using the body in different contexts acquired in accordance with family's social status since childhood. Such capital makes the effect of inequality felt in education most intensely (Çolak Bakçay, 2015). Swartz (2013) argues that Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has a wide spectrum of verbal skills, awareness of general culture, esthetic preferences, information on the school system, and education. In Bourdieu's sociology, cultural capital functions as a cornerstone. According to Bourdieu, main objective of education in the modern society is to function by eliminating in contrary to all egalitarian arguments (Bourdieu, 2015).

Bourdieu argues that different factors including education and culture other than economic factors, which had been considered among the most basic parameters in social life until his period, have a great influence on class structure. In this regard, by contrast with the Marxist tradition, Bourdieu goes for the concept of field rather than the production relationships that decide the connection between the lower and upper structures. Bourdieu's concept of field refers to the field where there are social statuses with various types of capital and humans strive to have these capitals (Wacquant, 2016). Bourdieu uses the concept of field as the access to capital and valuable sources and the place where they are controlled (Çeğin, 2018).

When it comes to social field, Bourdieu also makes a reference to all social relationship systems and emphasizes the challenge taken up to acquire the benefits here. With his own words "the more benefit, the more field" (Amman, 1995). According to Bourdieu, life is a field of challenge. Field is a playground that involves pre-structured statuses which impose their own terms on players striving for social positions (Arun, 2015). Dynamics that run the field and convert it in time can be comprehended within the very logic of the field. Individual is not a passive being but an actuator in the field. Actuators are regarded as capital bearers in this process and gain a place based on their capitals (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2016). Just like the power of social leverages changing according to the course of events in the game, various types of capital are differently arrayed in each field. In this sense, one can mention about types of capitals that are effective in every field (Çeğin, 2005; Tatlıcan & Çeğin, 2016). Every field sets its own game rules. Game rules of a field correspond to the field-specific mechanisms of legitimate attainment and preservation of the capital. For the game to exist, players need to believe in it and be aware of value of the "spoils" to be captured at the end of the game, which is called *illusio* by Bourdieu (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016). *Illusio* is to commit oneself, to get into the game and to get carried away by the game. It means to accept that a given

social game bears a meaning and what to earn and lose are important and worth striving after (Bourdieu, 2015).

Research Design

The mixed research method was preferred and the convergent parallel design was used in this study. This is a type of design in which quantitative and qualitative data are obtained in parallel, analyzed separately and combined later. The purpose of the convergent parallel design is to collect different but mutually complementary data on the subject to get the best understanding of the research question. The reason why this pattern was chosen is to bring together the differentiating strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative methods. In this design, the research collects both quantitative and qualitative data in the first place. Data collection is a simultaneous but independent process for each type of data. In other words, one does not depend on other's results. The researcher then subjects two types of data to analysis individually. In the last step, he/she determines at which points the two datasets unite and differentiate (Creswell & Clark, 2015).

Population and Sample/ Study Group/Participants

The research population consisted of the students from public high schools in Beşiktaş and Sultanbeyli districts in İstanbul. According to the data received from the District Directorates of National Education in both districts, there were 26,691 students in total at the high schools of these districts in 2017-2018 academic years: 14,487 of them were attending the schools in Sultanbeyli, and 12,204 were at the schools of Beşiktaş. Within the confidence interval of 95% and with $\pm 5\%$ margin of error, the sample size capable of representing the population was calculated as 375 for Sultanbeyli and 373 for Beşiktaş. Then, it is possible to say that 748 students would be sufficient to represent the entire population. However, 1073 students in total from 18 different schools (10 in Sultanbeyli and 8 in Beşiktaş) were reached to expand the sample size, but applicable quantitative data could be obtained from only 1044 of them (616 from Beşiktaş, 428 from Sultanbeyli). Consequently, the research sample consisted of 1044 high school students. To obtain qualitative data, a separate study group was created. This study group was formed both by students and parents. This group consisted of 10 students (5 from each district) and 10 parents (5 from each district). The demographic data of the research sample are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1. *Demographic Data of Participants*

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Options</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>%</i> |
|------------------|---------------------------|----------|----------|
| Gender | Boy | 365 | 34,5 |
| | Girl | 679 | 65,5 |
| Type of School | Anatolian High School | 657 | 62,9 |
| | Vocational High School | 275 | 26,3 |
| | Religious Vocational H.S. | 112 | 10,7 |
| District | Beşiktaş | 616 | 59,0 |
| | Sultanbeyli | 428 | 41,0 |
| Place of Birth | Province | 454 | 43,5 |
| | Town | 554 | 53,1 |
| | Village | 36 | 3,4 |
| TEOG Score Range | 490-500 | 225 | 21,6 |
| | 480-489 | 156 | 14,9 |
| | 470-479 | 88 | 8,4 |
| | 430-469 | 88 | 8,4 |
| | 400-429 | 76 | 7,3 |
| | 350-399 | 86 | 8,2 |
| | 300-349 | 157 | 15,0 |
| | 299 and below | 168 | 16,1 |
| Total | | 1044 | 100,0 |

Various demographics of the participants can be seen in Table 1. Accordingly, majority of the participants are girls (65.5%; n=679) while the rest of them are boys (34.5%; n=365). As for the distribution of school types, most of the participants were Anatolian High School students (62.9%; n=657) followed by Vocational and Technical Anatolian High School students (26.3%; n=275) and

Religious Vocational High School students (10.7%; n=112). 616 (59.0%) of the students were from Beřiktař while 428 (41.0%) were from Sultanbeyli. Regarding the participants' place of birth, majority of the students were born in the district centers (53.1%; n=554). The district centers were followed by the province center (43.5%; n=454) and villages (3.4%; n=36). As for the TEOG score range, 225 (21.6%) of the students were within the range of 490-500, 156 (14.9%) were within the range of 480-489, and 88 (8.4%) were within the range of 470-479. 88 (8.4%) of the students were within the range of 430-469, 76 (7.3%) were within the range of 400-429, 86 (8.2%) were within the range of 350-399, 157 (15.0%) were within the range of 300-349, and 168 (16.1) had 299 points and below.

Data Collection Tools

Veri Toplama Aracının Adı. Makalenin veri toplama aracı/araçları ile ilgili bilgiler burada yer alacak. Data collection tools of the article can be found in this section. An exhaustive inventory developed by İnce (2014) was used in this study to capture the indicators of cultural capital. The inventory involves both open-ended and closed-ended questions. When developing the inventory, İnce (2014) created a hybrid instrument utilizing the social and cultural capital scales of different researchers. Some parts of this inventory were revised by the research for this study, and some additions and omissions were made in consideration of the research field. The inventory is composed of 86 items as it is and includes questions aiming to identify the profile characteristics of students and families and the indicators of cultural capital.

Qualitative Data Collection Instrument

The semi-structured interview method was preferred in this research as it would allow to use both closed-ended answer advantage of structured interview and structured interview which is flexible enough to go deep in the related field (Büyüköztürk et al., 2012). The interview questions prepared for the parents aim to see how family's cultural capital reflect on children's academic lives. They also try to find out what strategies, if any, parents developed for the academic achievement of their children. With semi-structured question techniques that are not measured with qualitative data, the parents were asked about their approach toward education, their expectations of their children's education, their participation in educational process, and their communication with teacher and administrators at school. The interview questions prepared for the students try to find out about how their parents' cultural capitals reflect on their school achievement. The interviewed students were asked about the social and cultural capitals of their parents and about their positions in regard to these capitals.

Data Collection

First, the required legal procedure for the research was followed to collect the data. Then, for the collection of pilot data, quantitative data were collected from 100 students attending two types of high school in Düzce (Anatolian high school and vocational high school) in the spring term of 2017. Based on the data collected from the pilot group, questions that were not properly understood and were mostly unanswered were excluded from the instrument, and some of the phrases were revised. By this means, the instrument was finalized to be more understandable and clearly answerable. Quantitative data of the research were collected by the researcher who went to the target schools one by one and made explanations in the classrooms between October 2017 and March 2018. Following the collection of the quantitative data, the qualitative data were collected from the participants of the study by setting an appropriate time and place of interview between April and June 2018. The descriptive data of the study group from which the qualitative data were collected are shown in Table 2.



Table 2. Descriptive Data of Interviewed Students and Parents

| Code | Location | Gender / Grade | Father profession | Mother profession | Father education | Mother education | TEOG Point (~) | School | Family Income | Total interview time |
|------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| S1 | Beşiktaş | M / 10 | Economist | Economist | Graduate | Graduate | 500,00 | Robert College | 7500+ TL | 29 min. 09 sec |
| S2 | Beşiktaş | F / 11 | Engineer | Housewife | Graduate | High School | 494,00 | Kabataş High School | 7500+ TL | 19 min 50 sec. |
| S3 | Beşiktaş | M / 11 | Engineer | Engineer | Graduate | Graduate | 486,00 | Beşiktaş Anatolian H.S. | 7500+ TL | 25 min. 04 sec. |
| S4 | Beşiktaş | F / 11 | CEO | Banker | Master | Master | 490,00 | S. Sabancı Anatolian H.S. | 7500+ TL | 20 min. 38 sec. |
| S5 | Beşiktaş | M / 12 | Trade | Housewife | High School | High School | 498,00 | Kabataş High School | 7500+ TL | 36 min. 06 sec. |
| S6 | Sultanbeyli | M / 11 | Furnisher | Housewife | Primary sc. | Primary school | 387,00 | H. Özyeğin Anatolian H.S. | Min. Wage | 34 min. 59 sec. |
| S7 | Sultanbeyli | F / 10 | Repairman | Housewife | Primary sc. | Primary school | 405,00 | Şehit M. Fazlı Demir İHL | 3000-4000 TL | 29 min. 56 sec. |
| S8 | Sultanbeyli | F / 12 | Worker | Housewife | Primary sc. | Primary school | 218,00 | Y. K. Beyath Vocational H.S. | Min. Wage | 33 min. 06 sec. |
| S9 | Sultanbeyli | F / 10 | Repairman | Housewife | High School | Secondary sc. | 446,00 | Şehit M. Fazlı Demir İHL | 3000-4000 TL | 30 min. 45 sec. |
| S10 | Sultanbeyli | F / 11 | Worker | Housewife | Primary sc. | Primary school | 291,00 | Y. K. Beyath Vocational H.S. | Min. Wage | 25 min. 29 sec. |
| Code | Location | Age | Gender | Profession | Wife or husband's Profession | Education | Education of wife-husband | Child's school | Family Income | Total interview time |
| P1 | Beşiktaş | 46 | Female | Economist | Economist | Graduate | Graduate | Robert College | 7500+ TL | 41 dk. 24 sec. |
| P2 | Beşiktaş | 56 | Male | CEO | Retired | Graduate | Graduate | Beşiktaş Anatolian H.S. | 7500+ TL | 51 dk. 15 sec. |
| P3 | Beşiktaş | 52 | Female | Banker | Academician | Graduate | PhD | S. Sabancı Anatolian H.S. | 7500+ TL | 41 dk. 25 sec. |
| P4 | Beşiktaş | 44 | Female | Statistician | Captain | Graduate | Graduate | Kabataş High School | 7500+ TL | 22 dk. 34 sec. |
| P5 | Beşiktaş | 48 | Male | Academician | Academician | PhD | PhD | Atatürk Anatolian H.S. | 7500 + TL | 48 dk. 29 sec. |
| P6 | Sultanbeyli | 46 | Male | Repairman | Housewife | Primary school | Primary school | Sultanbeyli Anatolian H. | 3000-4000 TL | 59 dk. 35 sec. |
| P7 | Sultanbeyli | 42 | Male | Repairman | Housewife | Primary school | Primary school | S. Gökçen Vocational H.S. | 3000-4000 TL | 44 dk. 11 sec. |
| P8 | Sultanbeyli | 39 | Female | Housewife | Worker | Primary school | Primary school | Girls' İmam Hatip H.S. | Min. Wage | 38 dk. 09 sec. |
| P9 | Sultanbeyli | 41 | Male | Worker | Housewife | Secondary sc. | Primary school | Sultanbeyli Anatolian H.S. | Min. Wage | 39 dk. 38 sec. |
| P10 | Sultanbeyli | 42 | Female | Housewife | Worker | Primary school | Secondary sc. | H.Özyeğin Anatolian H. | 3000-4000 TL | 59 dk. 57 sec. |

Data Analysis

With *R Studio* software, multiple correspondence analyses were performed to see the differentiation between the students with high and low scores. *NVIVO 11* software was also used in the analysis of the quantitative data. The content and descriptive analysis methods were utilized in the analysis of the qualitative data. Descriptive analysis is a type of qualitative data analysis that involves summarizing and interpreting the data collected with various data collection methods according to prespecified themes. Themes, subcategories and codes were created, and the content analyses were conducted. In mixed research methods, a few different methods can be mentioned in combining the data and to what extent the findings overlap or differentiate. While data are combined during the analysis in some studies, this process can be done in the discussion section in others (Creswell, 2017). In this research, the data were combined and compared in the discussion section.

Findings

Findings Concerning the Multiple Correspondence Analysis

The main distribution of the multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) as the first analysis of the research is given in Figure 1.

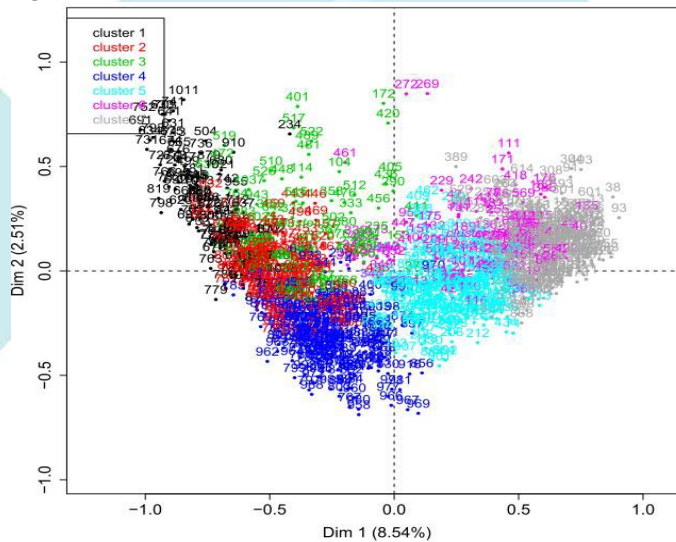


Figure 1. Distribution of Groups Formed as a Result of Multiple Correspondence Analysis on Two-Dimensional Plane

It is seen in Figure 1 that total sample was divided into seven different clusters. Each group is represented by a different color. How the distribution in the multiple correspondence analyses resembles the letter *V* indicates the perfection of the data set and the powerful and clear differentiation. Moving from left toward right on the coordinate plane means moving from the most disadvantageous clusters toward the most advantageous clusters.

Cluster 1 (Black): This cluster has a representation rate of 9.48% in the sample as the most disadvantageous cluster. It was composed of the students (mostly girls) attending low-score schools in Sultanbeyli (mainly vocational high schools and religious vocational high schools) Number of households of the students in this cluster was seven and more while they had four siblings and more. Majority of their mothers were illiterate or literate but did not graduate from a primary school. Few of them were primary school graduates. Majority of their fathers were literate but not graduates of primary school or not completely literate. Few of them were primary school graduates.

Cluster 2 (Red): This cluster involves the students mainly attending schools and residing in Sultanbeyli. It represents 13.79% of the sample. They were attending schools (vocational high schools) with low academic achievement in Sultanbeyli and Beşiktaş. Their TEOG scores are mainly 299 and below. The scores of the rest vary between 300 and 349. Most of them did not received preschool education. Senior members of their families were blue-collar workers working in the jobs that require physical strength. Majority of the students had three or four siblings. Educational level of their parents was mostly primary school.

Cluster 3 (Green): This cluster involves the students attending the schools with low academic achievement in Beşiktaş and the students attending the schools with moderate and high academic achievement under the circumstances of in Sultanbeyli, and it forms 8.33% of the sample. Their average TEOG score ranges are 300-349 and 350-399. Most of them did not received preschool education. They were mainly vocational high school students, and majority of the students in Sultanbeyli were from Anatolian high schools and religious vocational high schools. They had nuclear families. Their mothers were primary and secondary school graduates. Some of them graduated from a high school. Most of their fathers were secondary school graduates with some of them having graduated from a high school. There were also a few students whose fathers had undergraduate degrees.

Cluster 4 (Blue): The students in this cluster form 17.91% of the sample and were attending the high-score schools in Sultanbeyli. The majority were attending Anatolian high schools or project religious vocational high schools. Their average TEOG score ranges are mainly 350-399 and 400-429. Most of them did not received preschool education. Majority of their parents were primary school graduates. They had up to fifty books at home, and about one-third of them had 51-100 books.

Cluster 5 (Turquoise): The students in this cluster form 18.30% of the sample and were mainly attending the schools in Beşiktaş. Majority of them are girls and Anatolian high school students. Their TEOG score ranges are mostly 470-489, 480-489, and 490-500. Majority of them had preschool education, and most of their parents were high school graduates. About one-fourth of the parents had undergraduate degrees. Most of the fathers had undergraduate degrees. The students in this cluster had 100-400 books at home.

Cluster 6 (Pink): This cluster constitutes 10.06% of the sample. All of them were residing in Beşiktaş or in the vicinity and attending the high-score schools in Beşiktaş. Their schools are Anatolian high schools. Majority of them had preschool education. Almost all of them had nuclear families. Senior members of their families were generally working in white-collar jobs. Their household income were mostly 7501 Turkish liras and above. Most of them have TEOG scores of 480-489. Most of their parents had undergraduate degrees, and about one-third of the parents were high school graduates. There are also parents who had master's degrees. They had 200-400 books at home.

Cluster 7 (Grey): Corresponding to 22.13% of the sample, this cluster involves the most advantageous students. They were residing in Beşiktaş and attending the highest-score schools. Almost all of them were Anatolian High School students. Their TEOG scores range between 490 and 500. They received preschool education. Their household income were mostly 7501 Turkish liras and above. Most of their parents had undergraduate and master's degrees. They had senior family members from two generations before who had undergraduate and master's degrees. The senior members were mainly white-collar employees. In the sample, the highest number of participants with 700 books and above at home is in this cluster. Numerical distributions of schools for these clusters are shown in Table 3.

Correlation Findings

Findings on the correlation between various variables of the participants and their TEOG/LGS achievements are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Pearson's Correlation Analysis Results Showing the Correlation between Students' TEOG Achievements and Various Variables

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|--------------------------------|---|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Mother's Education Background | 1 | .795** | .733** | .532** | -.519** | -.585** | .434** | .639** |
| Father's Education. Background | | 1 | .728** | .542** | -.449** | -.485** | .452** | .633** |
| Family Income Status | | | 1 | .549** | -.403** | -.448** | .471** | .650** |
| Number of Books at Home | | | | 1 | -.306** | -.323** | .412** | .538** |
| Number of Household | | | | | 1 | .778** | -.253** | -.416** |
| Number of Siblings | | | | | | 1 | -.257** | -.440** |
| 2017 GPA | | | | | | | 1 | .753** |
| TEOG Achievement | | | | | | | | 1 |

n = 1044, **p* < .05, ** *p* < .01

Table 4 presents the Pearson's Correlation analyses showing the correlation between students' TEOG achievements and various variables. There was a moderate positive significant correlation between educational backgrounds of the students' parents and the students' TEOG achievement ($r = 0.64$; $p < 0.01$). In other words, the TEOG achievement scores increased as the parents' educational levels increased. There was a moderate positive significant correlation between family's monthly income and the students' TEOG achievement ($r = 0.65$; $p < 0.01$). That is to say, the TEOG achievement scores significantly increased as the family's monthly income increased.

A moderate positive significant correlation was found between the number of books at home and the students' TEOG achievement ($r = 0.54$; $p < 0.01$). In other words, student's TEOG achievement increased as the number of books at home went higher. A strong positive significant correlation between the students' 2017 yearend achievement scores and their TEOG achievement ($r = 0.75$; $p < 0.01$). As the students became more successful in the class, their TEOG achievement increased.

There was a moderate negative significant correlation between the number of household and the students' TEOG achievement ($r = -0.41$; $p < 0.01$). In other words, student's TEOG achievement decreased as the number of households increased. Similarly, a moderate negative significant correlation was found between the number of siblings and the students' TEOG achievement ($r = 0.44$; $p < 0.01$). As the number of siblings increased, TEOG achievement scores decreased. That is to say, the participants who were successful in TEOG had more siblings.

Qualitative Findings

The findings achieved from the interviews that were performed to support the quantitative data and provide a better clarification for the research question are presented in this section. The interviewed parents were coded as P1-P10, and the interviewed students were coded as S1-S10. P1-P5 and S1-S5 represent the parents and students from Beşiktaş and P6-P10 and S6-S10 represent the parents and students from Sultanbeyli. These groups are "Parent" and "Student" respectively.

Findings in Regard to Parents

In accordance with the information provided by the interviewed parents and students about the subject, themes were created. The theme Academic and Cultural Experiences created according to the answers from the parent interviews included the subcategories of "preschool education and early education", "cultural activities", "higher education", and "produced familial strategies". The theme Social Experiences were formed by the subcategories of "cooperation with other parents", "social status", "communication with teachers", and "social network". All these distributions are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Subcategories and Codes of the Theme "Academic and Cultural Experiences" Derived from the Parent Interviews

| Theme | Subcategories | Codes |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES | Preschool education and early childhood | Family effort |
| | | Cognitive-social activities |
| | Cultural activities | Regular book reading |
| | | Other cultural practices |
| | | Mutual cultural activity |
| | Higher Education | Dream of higher education |
| | | Preparation for higher education |
| | | Extrinsic motivation tools |
| | Produced familial strategies and period of preparing for high school | Psychological support |
| | | Increasing the choices for competition |
| | | Pickiness |
| | | Giving close attention |

Preschool Education and Early Childhood

Regarding *family effort* and *cognitive-social activities*, it is understood that these are important mutual features for the parents of the students with high academic achievement. It was found that the parents of these students made great effort for their children at home and in activities inside or outside school. A parent provided his/her relevant thoughts as follows:

I used to do activities with him/her at home, buy age-appropriate books. He/she read a lot of books and made a lot of puzzles. He/she played with Lego a lot. Because we had a very nice learning environment at home. I had him/her do these activities until he/she was 3. (P1-Beşiktaş)

It is seen that the parents of the students with high TEOG scores (490+ points) chose their schools and teachers meticulously from their preschool education forward. It is also understood that they followed up the development of their children and their learning closely. It is observed in the interview notes that these parents did not leave the responsibility and duty of education-instruction only with the school. They performed many structured activities at home that are cognitive, affective and socially improving. On the other hand, it is understood from the following statements that the parents who had insufficient economic and cultural capitals, resided in Sultanbeyli and whose children were attending low-score schools could not provide their children with preschool education due to several difficulties:

He/she did not receive preschool education at all. As I told you before, it was like a village when we first came here. Imagine a house in a forest. No sewerage, no electricity, no water. I came to a primitive place. There was no market to buy bread. You had to bake bread at home, you had to carry the water from two kilometers away. (P10-Sultanbeyli)

Cultural Activities

Cultural practices are activities playing an extremely important role in the formation of cultural capital and its transfer from family to child. How these practices are performed by children and senior family members together especially have a key role in child's internalization of cultural codes and capital. Location of Beşiktaş and sensitivity of the population here for cultural activities can be regarded as an important advantage. *Regular book reading* practices of the parents whose children were attending high-score schools and their efforts to transfer this habit to their children are remarkable. Another indicator is that the students with high TEOG scores had many books at home whereas those with low TEOG scores either had no books or very few books at home. Cultural capital transferred by parents reading books with their children or discussing the books they read with their children is very significant. Related parent opinions are as follows:

I bought many books for my children. My spouse buys too. My two children have two separate libraries. They also buy books very frequently. They follow too. They sometimes buy with the suggestion of a friend of theirs. I also recommend them books that I read and like. They recommend me books too. I tell them if there is something I read and like. They tell me too. (P1-Beşiktaş)

I regard reading books as a part of my life. We created a literature workshop as the parents' group at school. We gather monthly and comment and discuss about a book we read. (P3-Beşiktaş)

In contrast with the book reading practices and consequent cultural capital of the parents in Beşiktaş, it was observed that the parents in Sultanbeyli literally had no book reading habit. There can be several reasons why the parents in Sultanbeyli were distant to book reading. The most important factor among them is economic reasons. Other reasons might include the fact that they had not acquire the reading habit before and not been raised in such a culture. It is understood from the thoughts of such parents that their children did not have the reading habit either. This situation has an impact on cultural capital. Some of the relevant parent opinions are as follows:

Our family has no habit of reading books, magazines, newspapers. Maybe the last time I read a book was 3 years ago. Actually, I want to read books a lot but as I said, we cannot spare time for ourselves because of our jobs. (P6-Sultanbeyli)

With my own effort, to be honest, I do not have the habit of reading books. The last book I read, I read it ten years ago, I guess. I have not bought any books for my son unless he has told me to do so. (P7-Sultanbeyli)

Preparations for Higher Education

There is parallelism between students' academic achievement and parents' expectations of higher education. The parents of the students with high TEOG scores not only followed up recent developments in their children's education but also made various efforts and did research about their goals and dreams of higher education. On the other hand, the parents of the children with low or moderate academic achievement levels and similarly low and moderate TEOG scores did not have distinct plans and goals of higher education, and therefore, no relevant efforts were observed. It can be argued that the children of the parents in Beşiktař in particular had a broad vision of higher education. This vision covers not only the domestic universities but also the foreign universities.

Citations from several interviewees for this subcategory are presented below:

When we go abroad, we try to offer him/her options by showing various universities. He/she had wanted to go to METU before seeing the universities in Germany. But now he/she is thinking about Technical University of Munich. But for now, he/she saw one university abroad. We are planning to show him/her a few universities in France. (P6-Beşiktař)

It is seen that the parents in Beşiktař defined their goals for their children clearly, set alternative courses, expanded the game and challenge on a wider field and did not stick the future of their children to a narrow perspective. However, it is understood from the statements below that the parents in Sultanbeyli did not set clear, grounded goals with specific courses for their children or developed a more limited vision for their children:

I do not have much of a dream. I cannot say it must be this or that university. He/she knows his/her own capacity. I want him/her to study at a normal university. There is no preparation for university at the moment. He/she is minding only the high school. (P7-Sultanbeyli)

Familial Strategies Produced and Preparation Period for High School

Familial strategies are special moves produced by parents in students' academic achievements and for the continuity of the achievement and have an extremely important role. As Bourdieu puts it, producing strategy is kind of a *fine trick* and *being aware of the game*. The parents with high levels of cultural capital and awareness who know about several pedagogical investment tools for their children's academic and social development and are aware of where to use them and their children have the advantage. Such parents know the game rules well and are capable of making certain maneuvers and producing certain strategies to win the game. Production of these strategies are directly related to each person's body of knowledge, *will to engage in the game*, *ambition to win the game*, and *seeing the subtleties and difficulties of the game and taking position accordingly*.

The strategies produced by the parents in Beşiktař with high socioeconomic and cultural levels whose children had high levels of achievement primarily include showing a selective and elitist approach from the beginning of their children's education. These parents tended to choose the schools where other people with the same social status send their children to and create a homogenous group similar to themselves.

For one thing, we aimed for the schools which are accredited by families that take education seriously and which can carry this seriousness and responsibility. Therefore, so to speak, we aimed that our children would go to a school where families like us send their children to. (P2-Beşiktař)

While the abovementioned is the case for Beşiktař, it is a bit different for Sultanbeyli. The parents there could not afford to choose schools and to be elitist about this matter due to certain hardships and limitations. The following are some of the related parent opinions:

There are a few schools here that are liked very much. There are schools that parents want so much. Honestly, his/her score was not enough for those schools. We asked teachers around us, people who know more than us. We sent him/her to the vocational high school. (P7-Sultanbeyli)

One of the most important *strategies produced* is that the parents of successful students follow up closely, watch their course of development and take steps to eliminate any deficiency when they see one. Whereas the parents in Beşiktař used this strategy substantially, one cannot tell the same for the parents in Sultanbeyli. Moreover, it was not much observed that they noticed the signs that could be considered early warning and developed behaviors accordingly during this course of development.

My spouse kept my daughter's statistics in every trial test. He/she found the distributions of the tests she could do, the questions she could answer by subjects. He/she went to the private teaching institution and told her teacher that she could not answer about these and those subjects. Frankly, he/she showed interest and followed up every week for a year. (P2-Beşiktaş)

The case is a bit different for the parents in Sultanbeyli. One cannot say that the parents there followed up their children's academic development and took supportive actions accordingly. The arguments supporting this case can be seen in the citations below:

I did not support him/her for studying. So what, but I supported him/her financially. He/she has never come and consults for anything he/she does not know. Not me, because I do not know about his/her courses. It has been years since I quit the school. (P9-Sultanbeyli)

Findings in Regard to Students

The findings achieved in the student interviews are addressed under this heading. Ten students in total were interviewed with each five of them studying in Beşiktaş and Sultanbeyli. Three subcategories and twelve codes were achieved from these interviews these subcategories and codes are shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Subcategories and Codes of the Theme "Academic and Cultural Experiences"

| Theme | Subcategories | Codes |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES | Process of preparing for high school | Family support and family's cultural accumulation |
| | | Nonchalance |
| | | Studying with discipline |
| | | School support |
| | | Support of an institution other than school |
| | | Private lesson |
| | School preferences | Academic-social expectations |
| | | Religious concerns |
| | | Obligation |
| | Dream of higher education | Preparation for higher education |

Preparation Process for High School

There is a distinct difference between how the students in Beşiktaş and Sultanbeyli made use of the preparation process for high school and the importance attributed to this process by themselves and their parents. Factors stemming from the students, their parents, the schools and institutions other than school underlay this difference. The most distinctive factor can be regarded as the *family support and family's cultural accumulation*. For examine, the following are the statements of Student 1 who had a full TEOG score and was attending Robert College which is one of the most important high schools in Turkey:

To be honest, my family's contribution was the greatest contribution naturally. School's education is very good. My family who has this awareness sent me to this school so I can be successful. So, I say it is my family before the school. (S1-Beşiktaş)

Similarly, Student 5 who had an almost full score (~498,00) and was attending Kabataş Boy's High School (Beşiktaş) provided supporting statements: *My mother was of much help when studying for high school. She told me what she knew all the time.* Moreover, it can be understood from the following student statements that the parents in Beşiktaş significantly valued their children's self-control and confidence during the preparation process for high school. The two students whose statements were cited below were attending two of the most important high schools in Turkey with an almost full base score:

If it had not been for my family, if they had not let me make my own way, I could not have had this success. They trusted me during this process. They advanced together with me all the time. (S4-Beşiktaş)

As can be understood from the statements above, such parents gave their children free space and trusted them in structuring their own futures within this space. However, in the other part of the sample, which is Sultanbeyli, the family support that the students could or could not receive during their

preparation for high school was very different. For example, the following statements of Student 6 and Student 8 can be interpreted as some kind of explanation for parents' lack of cultural capital. While Student 6 was attending a school preferred by students with moderate-high scores under the circumstances of Sultanbeyli, Student 8 only managed to enroll in a vocational high school with a very low TEOG score.

What I mean with support, they backed me up so much. I did not take private lesson. They backed me up by saying "you can do it". They encouraged me much. They are primary school graduates; they do not know anything. (S6-Sultanbeyli)

Yes. They told me to study. Only words. I mean "do this, answer these questions", no practice. My parents are secondary school graduates. They told me to study in name only, I did not see any action. (S8-Sultanbeyli)

Due to lower educational levels and awareness levels of the parents in Sultanbeyli, one cannot say that they were academically equipped to help their children. Hence, they told their children to study only in words during their preparation for high school or never cared about this process at all. In other words, they did not transfer any accumulation, which they were already lacking, to their children and did not have a capital to turn into success. *Working with discipline* can be regarded as a mutual characteristic of students with higher academic achievement. The following statement of Student 1 (full score of 500) who stated that he/she could achieve self-discipline and study regularly and in the sufficient amount and the statements of other students with scores close to the full score reinforce this situation:

I listened to the courses at school concentratedly without thinking anything else, came home to do homework and tests regularly, and that is to say, studied in the sufficient amount and got a good result. (S1-Beşiktař)

Other than the school, additional learning activities, their private teaching institutions, private courses or private lessons should be listed as the important details of this preparation process. In other words, *off-school supports* became decisive factors in this process. In addition, how the students with high TEOG scores had been to the schools of students with higher academic and social levels from early childhood to the eighth grade, that is, until the year they took the TEOG exam is an important factor in their accumulation in the background. The following are some of the related student opinions:

The teachers improved me too. They guided me in this matter. The private teaching institution was very strict, they used to look after me so much. I went to the private teaching institution for five years in total. I took private mathematics lesson. I think these contributed to me so much. (S5-Beşiktař)

On the other hand, the situation is as follows from the perspective of a student from Sultanbeyli:

My teacher was changed for four, five times during primary school. I could not even add up, subtract. I enrolled in a private teaching institution in the seventh grade, but I was very bad there too. The private teaching institution had a bit of contribution. (S6-Sultanbeyli)

Dream of Higher Education

Dream of higher education is the final subcategory in the theme of academic and cultural experiences. In the context of shaping their future lives and making various preparations for their future education, there are important differences between the students in Beşiktař and Sultanbeyli. As for the dream of higher education and the relevant preparations, it can be understood that the students in Beşiktař spent more consistent time to this end, kept their feet down to earth, had a distinct route and a broad vision whereas it is difficult to tell the same for the students in Sultanbeyli.

I want to study economics at Harvard University. I am preparing for the exams to go there. They care about what kind of a person you are, what you are interested in along with your academic achievement. The things I am interested in, I mean, tennis, violin, all of them are factors in admission to my understanding. Honestly, with economics, I am planning to do a double major in political sciences. According to what I have learned, if I am interested, I can also continue at the law school. I mean I have lots of options. (S1-Beşiktař)

Dreams and expectations of higher education among the students in Sultanbeyli are as follows in the following statements:

There is this understanding in the society. They consider certain jobs very good, right? For example, I want to study law in Ankara or Istanbul. I want to become a judge. Why? So, they can say it is good. Assume it is another job that I want. Assume I become a veterinarian working in a village. A job that I want. I earn small

amount of money but am happy. We are living depending on other people. People will decide my preference, too. (S8-Sultanbeyli)

I want to study law in İzmir. But I do not think I can win with these efforts. I cannot say I am studying regularly. My family does not support me in this matter and I feel the deficiency. I do not think anyone in this school study with their family. (S10-Sultanbeyli)

Given the statements of the students in Sultanbeyli, they were yet to set their course clearly and did not have a higher education goal that was worked on. The reason for this is the limitations resulting from the students themselves and their families. There are also other reasons such as social pressure and living the life according to others. It is also understood from the statements that several religious concerns have an impact on dreams and expectations of higher education.

The second theme derived from the student interviews is *Social Experiences*. This theme was composed of “off-school time”, “cultural practices”, “social network”, and “social status and experiences abroad”. Based on these subcategories, eleven codes were created. General view on them is presented in Table 7.

Table 7. *Subcategories and Codes of the Theme “Social Experiences”*

| Theme | Categories | Subcategories |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| SOCIAL EXPERIENCES | Off-school time | Off-school learning practices |
| | | Wasting time |
| | | Artistic-sportive activities |
| | Cultural practices | Learning practices and cultural activities with family |
| | | Accumulation taken from family |
| | Social network | Frequently met people |
| | | Effect of individual effort |
| | | Family’s effect |
| | Social status and experiences abroad | School’s effect |
| | | Other factors |
| | | Journeys abroad |

Off-School Time

The abovementioned citations from the student interviews rather included the stage of preparation for high school. Students’ habits and various tendencies before high school continue in high school to a large extent. In other words, it was observed that the students who had spared their time to learning and research in previous years maintained a similar life whereas the students who had not performed activities at school or about off-school learning had the same attitudes and behaviors. *Off-school time* offers clues about how students make use of their time outside the school. The first code in this subcategory was set to be *off-school learning practices*. We can understand from the following statements that the academically successful students with high self-control and self-discipline had learning-focused efforts beneficial for themselves, the society and humanity:

I have been playing tennis since I was 5 years old. Other than that, I am sailing. I have been playing violin since I was at a young age. I join conferences with the Modern United Nations Club. We as the club gather and discuss the problems around the world. Other than this, we have a history club. We issue a journal and I write articles for it. (S1-Beşiktaş)

Yes, I have efforts to learn something outside the school too. For example, I watch documentaries. I do some research on outer space. Other than that, I am closely interested in some subjects of biology, for example nanotechnology. (S3-Beşiktaş)

While it was observed that the students in Beşiktaş spared their off-school time more for gaining different skills and felt more focused in this matter, the case is more different in Sultanbeyli. Although some of the students in Sultanbeyli had attempts to do something outside school, no rich diversity of experience or no action that could be important was observed because the place of residence limited the students or different factors narrowed down such awareness.

This leads to *wasting time*. Relevant student statements can be found below:

I am studying all the time but I have no social activities. When I was free, I used to go to eat something or we used to go to cinema that was it. We went to a book fair once. My parents do not direct me to any cultural activities. They do not buy me any book if I do not tell them to do so. (S8-Sultanbeyli)

The diagram of some of the common points achieved in the interviews made with the students with TEOG score of 490+ and their parents is given in Figure 2:

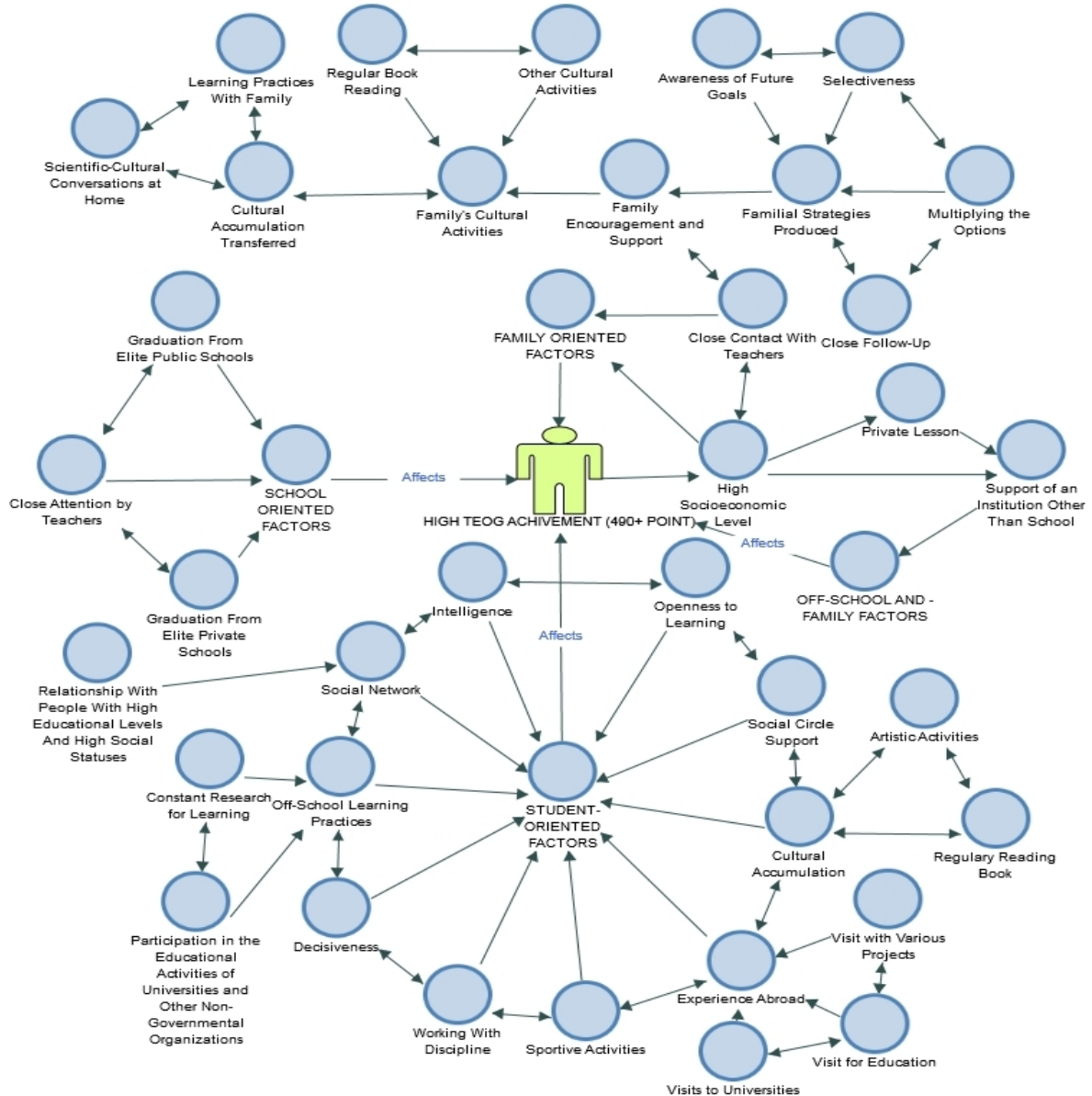


Figure 2. Diagram Showing the Common Profile of the Students with High TEOG Scores and their Parents

Discussion, Conclusion and Suggestions

This study mainly aimed to explain basic familial causes underlying students' TEOG-based academic achievement within the framework of cultural capital. In this context, data were collected both from Beşiktaş district where there are schools with highest admission score that accept students with TEOG exam and Sultanbeyli district that is quite behind both in Turkey and İstanbul in terms of several indicators. Quantitative and qualitative data were obtained from 1044 students in total with a large inventory. A multiple correspondence analysis, which was also used by Pierre Bourdieu whose theory was tested, was performed based on the quantitative data. In this model, the map of differentiation between the two districts was illustrated. Each point in map was created to represent a student, and distance-proximity between the points was expressed as the projection of their distance-proximity in the social space.

According to Bourdieu, proximity in social space leads to a proximity in the social sense. How people in the same area of the space become closer and produce positions closer to each other stems from the fact that they physically share the same position (Bourdieu, 2015). Different positions acquired due to different types of capital within the social space determine the representations of the space and attitudes in the challenges for maintaining or converting the space (Bourdieu, 2015). Hence, those who are close to each other in real are close in the space too. Considering this situation within the context of school, it is seen that students of elite and non-elite schools, in other words, *differentiated* groups occupy positions with those who are similar to themselves in the social space.

If *school* is one of the two main institutions that reproduce *differentiation* and *inequality*, according to Bourdieu, the other one is *family*. Families tend to maintain their social existence, with the meaning attributed by Spinoza, with all powers and authorities they have. This tendency underlies various *reproduction strategies* which include fertility, marriage, inheritance, and economic and educational strategies. The higher the volume of cultural capital families have and the higher this volume is compared to economic capital, the more importance they attribute to school education (Bourdieu, 2015). The challenges embarked upon, several strategies produced and moves made by the parents of the students attending elite schools for accessing these schools and for the life after these schools can be interpreted as challenges of conserving the social status.

In general terms, education is addressed as a fair, just and legitimate elimination process performed for limited number of occupational positions with certain and high social statuses. However, the idea that this eliminating function is performed in a fair and equal manner for everyone is usually a myth. While this segmentation and class difference occur in institutions, it is also a sociological and pedagogical fact that familial causes in particular have a key role in this process. For example, parents with high economic and cultural capitals do not confine themselves to biologically give birth to their children and transfer their own tendencies, accumulations and advantages to them. Sociologist Annette Lareau (2003) who performed several valuable studies describes this situation as *concerted cultivation*. Such parents produce strategies such as acquiring abilities and gains, providing versatile cultivation and maintaining their lives as literates of the developments around the world in a structured way for their children in accordance with their own class *ethos* and as much as afforded by their *illusio*. On the contrary, the parents in socioeconomically lower positions cannot perform structured activities when raising their children due to the lack of their economic resources and the insufficiency of their cultural capital to a large extent.

Bourdieu explains the selecting-eliminating function of schools attended by elite classes as an invisible barrier with thermodynamics which is a subject of physics. According to the experiment called *Maxwell's demon*, it is thought that there is a demon separating particles that are less hot or hotter and less or more dynamic. This demon throws the fastest particles into a container increasing in heat and the slowest ones into a container decreasing in heat. It maintains the order when doing so. A similar case applies to schools. This mechanism maintains the difference between the students with unequal cultural capitals at the expense of the energy required for the separation process. To be clear, school separates those who have inherited cultural capital from the family from those who are deprived of this capital (Aktay, 2016 ; Bourdieu, 2015). In other words, as Bourdieu puts it, school *resets the social boundaries*.

Considering the selecting and eliminating function of TEOG within the framework of Bourdieu's approach here, it is noticeable that the social boundary between the members of elite class enrolling in elite schools and those who are admitted to schools with low academic profile and whose families have lower social positions is fortified and redrawn. The duty of *establishing social rank difference and a permanent order* that Bourdieu (2015) uses for the role of schools relatively indicate the positions of individuals ranked with several mechanisms within the society (Rawolle & Lingard, 2018). Here, Bourdieu states that he agrees Weber's description of *rational sorting* for exams.

According to ERG's (2014) report, 51% of the science high school students, 42% of the Anatolian high school students had families in the upper income group while 8% of the vocational high school students had families in this income group. The schools such as vocational high schools that are preferred by students with low academic achievement do not have a good reputation in terms of social prestige (Yazgan and Suğur, 2018), and it is difficult for students to advance educationally and to escape from the ill fate of their families because these schools cannot equip them cognitively enough. In a sense,

this is inheritance of the family's fate, in other words, as described by Iřık & Pınarcıođlu (2015) *poverty in turns*. In poverty in turns, individuals hand poverty down to the next generation.

Educational institutions affirm the inherited cultural capital partially or completely. This cultural capital has been processed into the bodies of individuals more or less, and therefore, habitus has emerged (Bourdieu, 2017). What also underlies the academic achievement difference stemming from the cultural capital between students is the strategy of being able to transfer several types of capital (social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, etc.) into each other. Bourdieu describes this strategy of conversion as the generator (*g n rateur*) system aiming to preserve or enhance their existence consciously or unconsciously (Bourdieu, 2017). Due to the narrow volume of capitals to be converted to each other by the worker class that makes living mainly by physical effort, their children become the "losers" compared to others (Bourdieu, 2017).

In the literature, there are many studies on direct effect of high cultural capital on academic achievement which support the findings of this study. For example, the studies performed by Duran (2015), Vongprateep (2014) and Chanderbhan-Forde (2010) on families found that the transfer of habitus of mothers with high cultural capital to their children increased academic achievement and such children had higher levels of school engagement. Similarly, Shih (2010) stated that children's educational achievement and skill development depend on the positions of their families in the social space.  n r's (2013) findings indicated the role of school types in the production of inequality and explored that the students in the high-score schools were the children of families with high cultural capital.

Strategy has a significant volume in Bourdieu's literature. Comparing strategy that he tries to describe through the concept of "game" to the card game, Bourdieu discusses the body of conditions forming the space of the game, game rules that refer a value to the card in hand and showing the player which probabilities it has, and finally, the dexterity exhibited by the player in playing the game in different conjunctures where the capital is put forth in the beginning within the context of strategy. Moreover, strategies are fine-tuned "tricks" (De Certau, 2009). Bourdieu describes families with high cultural capital that open up an important place in education for their children in an elitist manner and through the familial and pedagogical strategies they produce as *those who read the game*, that is to say, those whose habitus is adequate for playing the game (Bourdieu, 2015).

Bourdieu explains the families who make and do not make serious pedagogical investments in their children with the *awareness of the game* and *finding the game worth playing*, or *illusio*. He defines those indifferent to the process as "those who cannot see what they are playing" (Bourdieu, 2015). Those who are aware of the game are focused on the current goals in the game and possess the perception categories to comprehend the *essence* and *quality* of those goals. According to Calhoun who is a contemporary of Bourdieu, game requires not only abiding the rules but also having an "understanding" of game, the "understanding" of how to play the game (Calhoun, 2016). Indeed, it is expected from the player to carefully watch how their opponent, and in some cases, their teammates play the game and give the appropriate and timely reaction. Because games are strategical; they have possible different approaches specific to each challenge and each moment of challenge.

One of the biggest direct effects found in the research is the reflection of parents' cultural capital on children's academic achievement and vision. In this context, it is seen that families with high cultural capital and their children have a great advantage in terms of academic achievement. Thus, family education is specifically important. It is also important for schools, local administrations and public authorities to provide activities which will expand visions of families, provide them with various cultural accumulations and help them improve themselves within the scope of lifelong learning.

Another finding is the significant differences between those who received and did not receive preschool education. This situation was stated in detail in the 2023 Vision Document. Broad perspectives, skills of perceiving and interpreting the world and drawing their own path and confidence of students who received quality preschool education differ significantly from those who did not receive preschool education. Importance of quality preschool education should be explained both by schools and public authorities to families, and necessity of this education should be told within the framework of scientific data.

Another important factor in the differentiation of academic achievement is the gap between families' income levels. How families that is poor or on the poverty line is deprived of facilities that will provide high cultural accumulation both for themselves and their children indicates a critical injustice. In this case, a fair and just income distribution can offer equal opportunities in meeting several needs of individuals. In other words, providing people with their inherent right to live and offering them opportunities are similar to those owned by others, which are the requirements of being a social state, would be the fairest path.

This study was limited only to public schools. Private schools were not included in the sample due to access difficulty and lack of time. However, future studies are to be performed on students of elite colleges that are on the top of the hierarchy among private schools and are preferred by families of upper socioeconomic and cultural circle and their parents and the findings of these studies can help us interpret the relationship between cultural capital and academic achievement from different aspects.

Ethical Declaration

This research was carried out with the permission of Eskişehir Osmangazi University Educational Sciences Institute, dated 19.10.2017 and numbered 29301. The data of the research were collected in Istanbul. Ethical permission of Istanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education was used to collect research data which dated 31.10.2017 and numbered 59090411-20-E-18006617.

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TÜRKÇE GENİŞ ÖZET

Fırsat eşitliđi ve kaliteli eğitime erişebilme hakkı 20. yüzyılın ortalarından günümüze deđin tartıřılan önemli pedagojik konular arasında yer almaktadır. Bu tartıřma konuları içerisinde güncelliđini hâlâ koruyan eğitimde fırsat eşitliđinin kapsamı zaman içerisinde daha da genişlemiştir (Hurn, 2018). Özellikle 20. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren ortaya çıkan liberal ve neo-Marxist yaklařımlar, eğitimde fırsat eşitliđini kendi retorik ve argümanlarıyla temellendirmeye çalışmışlardır. Marx, Weber, Durkheim gibi birçok düşünürün fikirlerinden yararlanan, eğitimdeki yeniden üretim ile eşitsizlikler üzerine çeřitli çalışmalar yürüten ve bu konuda kuramlar üreten kişiler arasında sosyolog Pierre Bourdieu önemli bir yere sahiptir.

Bourdieu, kendi eğitim hayatından esinlenerek gerçekleřtirdiđi eşitsizlik çalışmalarını alana özgü kavramsallařtırmalarıyla evrensel bir hale getirmiştir. Bourdieu, özellikle 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren eğitimdeki eşitsizliklere yönelik eleřtirel yaklařan ilk düşünürler arasında yer almaktadır (Swartz, 2013). Bourdieu, eğitimdeki toplumsal eşitsizliklerin sonraki nesillere aktarılmasında aile ile okulun rolüne vurgu yapmaktadır. Bourdieu'nün en fazla savunduđu temel tez, okulun fırsat eşitliđini gözetten bir kurum olmaktan ziyade toplumsal eşitsizliklerin yeniden üretimine katkı sunan bir yer olduđu düşüncesidir (ve & Naulin, 2016). Bourdieu'ya göre bu mekanizmayı iřleten en büyük itici güç ise ekonomik sermayeye paralel olarak ortaya çıkan kültürel sermayedir (Aktay, 2016).

Türkiye'de ortaöğretim kurumlarına öğrenci yerleřtirmede yapılan merkezi sınavların önemli bir rolü vardır. Ortaöğretim kurumlarına öğrenci kabulünde diđer önemli etken öğrencinin ilkökul-ortaokul yıllarındaki akademik başarısıdır. Önemli derecede seçme ve ayırma tarafı bulunan her iki faktörün sosyoekonomik ve kültürel olarak birbirinden ayrılmış çevrelerde farklı bir ayırt etme ve seçme mekanizması oluřturduđu düşünülmektedir. Bu durum Bourdieu sosyolojisindeki argümanlarla söylenirse eğitimde toplumsal eşitsizliklerinin okullar aracılıđı ile yeniden üretimi anlamına gelmektedir. Bu arařtırmanın temel amacı sosyoekonomik ve kültürel sermaye yönünden farklı kesimlere mensup ortaöğretim öğrencilerinin devam ettiđi okul türleri üzerinden önceki eğitim kademelerinde merkezi seçme ve eleme sınavı olan TEOG / LYS üzerinden ayrıřmalarını ortaya koyabilmektir.

Bu çalışmada karma araştırma yöntemi tercih edilmiştir ve *yakınsayan paralel desen* kullanılmıştır. Bu desen, nicel ve nitel verilerin paralel olarak elde edildiği, ayrı ayrı analize tabi tutulduğu ve daha sonra bir araya getirildiği desen türüdür. *Yakınsayan paralel desenin* amacı araştırma problemini en iyi şekilde anlamak için aynı konu üzerindeki farklı fakat birbirini tamamlayıcı veri elde etmektir. Bu desenin tercih edilmesindeki amaç, nicel yöntemlerle nitel yöntemlerin farklılaşan güçleri ve örtüşmeyen zayıflıklarını bir araya getirmektir. Bu desende araştırmacı ilk önce hem nicel hem de nitel veri toplar. Veri toplama süreci eş zamanlıdır. Fakat birbirinden bağımsızdır. Farklı bir deyişle biri, diğerinin sonuçlarına dayanmaz. Araştırmacı verileri elde ettikten sonra iki tür veriyi ayrı ayrı analize tabi tutar. Son adımda ise, iki veri setinin hangi noktalarda birleştiğini ve ayrıştığını ortaya koyar (Creswell ve Clark, 2015).

Araştırmanın evrenini İstanbul'un Beşiktaş ve Sultanbeyli ilçelerinde resmi liselerde öğrenim gören öğrenciler oluşturmaktadır. Her iki ilçenin milli eğitim müdürlüklerinden elde edilen verilere göre verilerin toplandığı 2017-2018 eğitim öğretim yılı içerisinde liselerde toplam 26.691 öğrenci bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan 14.487'si Sultanbeyli'deki okullarda, 12.204'ü ise Beşiktaş'taki okullardadır. %95 güven aralığında \pm %5 örnekleme hatasıyla evreni temsil gücüne sahip örneklem büyüklüğü Sultanbeyli ilçesi için 375, Beşiktaş ilçesi için 373 olarak hesaplanmıştır. Şu durumda toplamda 748 öğrencinin tüm evrenin temsil gücüne sahip olacağı söylenebilir. Ancak örnekleme daha da geniş tutmak adına araştırma kapsamında seçilen 18 ayrı okuldan (10 tanesi Sultanbeyli, 8 tanesi Beşiktaş) toplamda 1073 öğrenciye erişilmiş ancak bunların içinden 1044 (616'sı Beşiktaş'tan, 428'i Sultanbeyli'den) öğrenciden kullanılabilir niteliğe sahip nicel veri elde edilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, araştırmanın örneklemini 1044 lise öğrencisi oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmanın nicel verilerinin yanı sıra nitel verilerini de elde etmek için ayrı bir çalışma grubu da oluşturulmuştur. Bu çalışma grubunu hem öğrenciler hem de veliler meydana getirmektedir. Bu grupta toplam 10 öğrenci (her iki ilçeden 5'er) ve 10 veli (her iki ilçeden beşer) seçilerek çalışma grubu meydana getirilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, kültürel sermayenin göstergelerini yakalayabilmek için İnce (2014) tarafından oluşturulan geniş içerikli bir envanter kullanılmıştır. Envanterde hem açık uçlu hem de kapalı uçlu sorular bulunmaktadır. İnce (2014) envanteri oluştururken farklı araştırmacıların sosyal ve kültürel sermaye ölçeklerinden yararlanarak hibrit bir ölçme aracı meydana getirmiştir. Bu envanterin bazı yerlerinde bu çalışma için araştırmacı tarafından revizyon uygulanmış, araştırma sahası düşünülerek bazı eklemeler ve çıkarmalar yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşme, hem yapılandırılmış görüşmenin sabit cevaplama avantajını hem de yapılandırılmamış görüşmenin ilgili alanda derinlemesine gidebilme esnekliğini bir arada kullanabilme imkânı vereceği (Büyüköztürk vd., 2012) için tercih edilmiştir.

R Studio programı aracılığı ile yüksek ve düşük puanlı öğrenciler arasındaki ayrışmayı görmek adına çoklu mütetekabiliyet analizi yapılmıştır. Bunun yanında nitel verileri çözümlemede **NVIVO 11** programı kullanılmıştır. Nitel verilerin analizinde ise içerik analizi ve betimsel analiz kullanılmıştır. Betimsel analiz, çeşitli veri toplama metotları ile elde edilmiş verilerin daha önceden belirlenmiş temalara göre özetlenmesi ve yorumlanmasını içeren bir nitel veri analiz türüdür. Temalar, alt kategoriler ve kodlar oluşturularak içerik analizleri gerçekleştirilmiştir. Karma araştırma yöntemlerinde verilerin birleştirilmesi ve bulgulardaki örtüşme veya ayrışmanın ne ölçüde olduğuna ilişkin birkaç farklı yöntemden söz edilebilir. Kimi çalışmalarda veriler analiz aşamasında birleştirilirken kimi çalışmalarda bu işlem tartışma kısmında da olabilmektedir (Creswell, 2017). Bu çalışmada verilerin birleştirilmesi ve karşılaştırılması tartışma kısmına yapılmıştır.

Çoklu mütetekabiliyet analizinden elde edilen bulgulara göre hem sosyoekonomik hem de kültürel sermaye yönünden önemli bir ayrışma olduğu görülmektedir. Bununla beraber akademik başarı ile ebeveynin eğitim durumu, evdeki kitap sayısı, ailenin gelir durumunun pozitif korelasyon içinde olduğu; hane halkı sayısı, kardeş sayısı ile negatif korelasyon halinde bulunduğu görülmektedir. Araştırma sonucunda elde edilen en büyük doğrudan etkilerden biri ailelerin, özellikle anne ve babanın, kültürel sermayesinin çocukların akademik başarılarına ve vizyonlarına yansımalarıdır. Bu bağlamda özellikle yüksek kültürel birikime sahip olan ailelerin ve çocuklarının akademik başarı noktasında ciddi avantaja sahip olduğu görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla aile eğitimi özel bir önem taşımaktadır.