

CULTURAL CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL
STUDENTS:
CASES OF GAZİOSMANPAŞA AND BAKIRKÖY

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CULTURAL CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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**CULTURAL CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL
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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and standards of ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and standards, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Zeynel H. Aşer', written in a cursive style.

ABSTRACT

CULTURAL CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS: CASES OF GAZIOSMANPAŞA AND BAKIRKÖY

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This research aims to reveal the process of cultural capital accumulation among Turkish high school students attending high schools in Istanbul. The study focuses on (1) the general cultural activities of high school students relating to Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, and (2) in relation with the assumed role of family culture shaping intentions and knowledge for choosing a university and profession in the future, alongside (3) ongoing socialization and constant reflexivity of students' preferences through socialization, and (4) the role of the school representing the education system at the intersection of the abovementioned processes. The research was conducted in two Anatolian High Schools. One of them is Anatolian High School from their inception.¹ The other one lately transformed Anatolian High School. One of the high schools is located in Ataköy, a neighbourhood in Bakırköy, Istanbul, which is assumed to be an upper-middle class neighbourhood. The other one is located in Gaziosmanpaşa, well known as a disadvantaged Istanbul neighbourhood. Using socialization theories about parenting styles, childrearing practices, especially Annette Lareau's (2010) concept of converted cultivation, I have tracked different routes of dominant parenting patterns amongst the students of these schools. Moreover, discussing the dynamic nature of acquiring cultural capital, I have relied on skills rather than high culture elements, as Lareau & Weininger (2003) suggests.

¹ In 2008, the government has decided to change many other general high schools to Anatolian High Schools. See: <http://www.eokulegitim.com/genel-duz-liseler-anadolu-liselerine-donusturuluyor/>

Keywords: High School Education, Cultural Capital, Inheritance, Future Expectations.



ÖZ

LİSE ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN KÜLTÜREL SERMAYE BİRİKİMİ: GAZİOSMANPAŞA VE BAKIRKÖY ÖRNEKLERİ

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Bu araştırma lise öğrencileri arasında kültürel sermaye birikimi süreçlerinin dinamik yapısını ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Buna yönelik olarak, bu çalışma, (1) Bourdieu'nün kültürel sermaye kavramı ışığında öğrencilerin kültür ürünlerine dair genel eğilimleri, (2) aile kültürünün, öğrencilerin gelecek tahayyülleri ile ilgili olarak üniversite ve iş seçimindeki rolü, (3) öğrencilerin devam eden sosyalizasyon süreçleri içinde kendi durumları üzerine yaptıkları yorumlar ve (4) okulun bu süreçlerin kesişiminde nasıl bir rol oynadığına odaklanmaktadır. Saha araştırması iki Anadolu lisesinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu okullardan biri İstanbul'un üst-orta sınıf mahallelerinden biri olarak bilinen Ataköy, Bakırköy'de konumlanmaktadır. Diğer Anadolu lisesi ise Gaziosmanpaşa semtinde konumlanmıştır ve kuruluşundan bu yana Anadolu lisesidir². Bu semt de dezavantajlı ailelerin bulunduğu bir semt olarak görülmektedir. Ailelerin ebeveyn olma pratikleri, çocuk yetiştirme stilleri ile ilgili sosyalizasyon teorilerinden yararlanarak, özellikle Annette Lareau'nun (2010) "concerted cultivation" kavramı ışığında, bu liselerde öğrencilerin ebeveynlerinin genel bir şema içinde hangi ebeveyn olma stillerinin veçhelerini izledim. Bununla birlikte, yine Lareau & Weininger'in gösterdiği üzere kültürel sermaye birikimi dinamiğini, yüksek kültür ürünlerine yatkınlık yerine, çeşitli alanlarda yetenek geliştirme üzerinden anlamaya çalıştım.

² 2008'de Hükümet, genel düz liselerin Anadolu liselerine dönüştürülmesini öngörmüştür. Bkz: <http://www.eokulegitim.com/genel-duz-liseler-anadolu-liselerine-donusturuluyor/>

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lise öğrenimi, Kültürel sermaye, Aktarım, Gelecek Tahayyülleri.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
Öz	vi
Acknowledgements.....	viii
Table of Contents	ix
List of Tables.....	xi
List of Figures	xii
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. The High School System in Turkey	3
1.2. From Maarif Colleges to Anatolian High Schools, and the “decreasing reputation” of Anatolian High Schools.....	4
1.3. Rationale, and Research Questions.....	12
1.4. Theoretical Insights	13
1.4.1. A Review of Sociology of Education: Reproduction	13
1.4.2. Socialization Theories	17
1.4.3. Parenting Styles	18
1.4.4. Hidden Curriculum and Cultural Capital.....	24
1.4.5. A Synthesis of Theoretical Background and Conceptual Framework	26
1.5. Methodology and Research Design.....	28
2. SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS, PEER-SOCIALIZATION, AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT	27
2.1. A School Having Flows of Students from Its Distant Neighborhoods: OAHS. 27	
2.1.1. Flourishing a School Spirit: Institutional Identity	35
2.1.2. Counselling Department and Compensation	39
2.2. An Older Anatolian High School, JAHS: “Better Quality of Teachers”	41
2.2.1. Discontinuous School Spirit	47
2.2.2. Counselling and its Supportive Role	49
2.3. Comparison of the Two Cases	50
2.4. Parental Involvement into High School Education: OAHS	51

2.4.1. A Practice and a Tendency towards to Self-Direction in Control of Parents.....	55
2.5. Parental Involvement into High School Education: JAHS.....	59
2.5.1. Elements of a Normative Pattern and Mothers’ Role in Education	61
2.6. Comparison of the Two Cases	66
3. CULTURAL DISPOSITIONS AND FUTURE EXPECTATIONS AT THE INTERSECTION OF PARENTS AND PEER-SOCIALIZATION	68
3.1. Body-Centered Flourishment: OAHS.....	69
3.2. Distinctive Intellectual and Art-Related Taste: JAHS.....	75
3.3. Comparison of the Two Cases	77
3.4. Future Directions of OAHS Students: “Concerted Cultivation” and Exceptions	78
3.5. Future Directions of JAHS Students: A Normative Order and Striving for High-Ranking Jobs	83
3.6. Comparison of the Two Cases	85
4. CONCLUSION: THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE DATA.....	88
4.1. Complexities, Cultural Capital at the Intersection of Parents, School, and Individual Differences.....	90
4.2. Normative Cultivation	92
4.3. Concluding Remarks	95
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	98
APPENDICES	
A. Informed Consent Form.....	102
B. In-depth Interview Questionnaire for Students	103
C. Araştırma Katılım Onay Formu.....	106
D. Öğrencilere Yönelik Derinlemesine Mülakat Soru Formu	107

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1. Baumrind and Maccoby & Martin's Four Types of Parenting..... 18

Table 1.2. Martin L. Kohn's (1963) Findings about Parental Values and Social Class 20

Table 2.1. OAHS Students in General and Indicators of Familial Background..... 30

Table 2.2. JAHS Students in General and Indicators of Familial Background 44

Table 4.1. A Theoretical Model for Capturing Social Class, Parental Involvement, and its Quality 91



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Lareau & Weininger’s (2009) and Lareau’s (2011) findings about middle-class parents’ childrearing practices..... 21

Figure 1.2. Lareau & Weininger’s (2009) and Lareau’s (2011) findings about working-class parents’ childrearing practices..... 22



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Education has become a crucial part of contemporary life as it systematically consumes an inordinate amount of the average daily life of a student. There are numerous explanations for the reasons that education has become an important part of modern life. These range from the capitalist system's need for a qualified labor force to maintain the system such as by creating a mechanism of reproduction of certain class positions to the function of education to create a meritocratic society that enables hardworking individuals to be successful. All of these explanations are in part true, as various issues concerning education for example, peer culture, school socialization, curriculum, ideological indoctrination, family background, social mobility, school culture, linguistic advances of the students and its function for maintaining social cohesion, are important parts of any educational system. Due to the number of the complex features of education, social scientists' eager to study education have a difficult task to capture these complexities.

In Turkey, research about the educational field is dominated mainly by educational science. Few social scientists pay attention to the collection of empirical data directly from the field. Çetin Çelik's (2014) research, for example, holds that family networks according to social class background have a direct effect on educational attainment. He further indicates that there are more dropouts among families deprived of social capital (Çelik, Sosyal sermaye, ebeveyn ağları ve okul başarısı 2014). As Çelik's (2014) study shows, the educational field is more than just pedagogical techniques or students' perceptions of these techniques.

Certainly, the education system in Turkey has important aspects historically to study, but it is also important to determine how educational choices directly affect an individual life story. Elementary school students and high school students are required in the current system to tackle a number of high-stakes state exams which

allow them the choice of entering better quality schools. At home, while preparing to sit these crucial exams, the situation creates anxiety for both parents and students (Rutz & Balkan 2016). These exams are crucially important because both parents and their children know that their educational opportunities will have an enormous effect on their placement when they enter the labor market, and that the choices of universities will have an impact on their selected occupation and lifestyles. This intensity has the effect of pressuring them to achieve a better score on exams with the expectation of higher social status as a result. This study aims to reveal a certain part of educational field in line with its contextual relationship, and focuses on how cultural capital accumulation occurs and how it affects students' future expectations. This study will fulfill a gap in empirical studies focusing on how education is a complex system having a direct effect on the process of cultural capital accumulation. The process includes families' involvement, in-school interaction, school's role about it, and wider information sources placed on media. As the core concept is cultural capital, this study aims to reveal high school education's complex relation with family socialization, school socialization, a cultural propensity towards certain cultural products, and, finally, look at the future expectations of students.

In the study, there will first be a brief discussion of which schools are on target to meet student needs, and the reasons why these schools are important in the educational system in Turkey. This will be followed by the results of student interviews, and then a general review of the educational field in Turkey. Before embarking on the field work, the main concern was to examine two Anatolian High Schools at the outset. As will be seen, Anatolian High Schools were once important places to develop a relatively good quality of English for students as they had preparatory English skill development classes, and had a clear teaching mandate. But this has changed.

While the examination system has made these older Anatolian High Schools more attractive in the eyes of families, it has also led to a growing sub-sector of private courses to prepare students to achieve better scores in the exams. These exams

have also changed through the years. Previously, the high school leaving examination, the LGS (Entrance to High School Exam) was changed to SBS (Measuring and Placement Test), and currently, it is TEOG (Transition from Elementary to High School Education). In the last ten years, the government changed its format, for example, giving more than one chance to students by giving it in every grade in elementary schools. However, these exams were almost always held once per year, which increased the anxiety for families and students. Given these circumstances, this examination system and consequent placements have created a rigid hierarchy amongst high schools. Anatolian High Schools were once the top high schools in the past, and they are still important secondary educational institutions for a majority of the population not able to afford the high tuition fees of prestigious private colleges. They continue to be a popular choice of government high schools as they are ranked right behind science high schools, social sciences high schools, and private high schools.

1.1. The High School System in Turkey

The high school system in Turkey has changed over time. In fact, education has been a critical issue since the founding of the Republic of Turkey. National education has been seen as an area to maintain ideological preferences through rituals, curriculum, and through a hierarchy between official school staff and students. As I have participated in the everyday life of high schools, I have encountered certain instances of those rituals. These rituals are important to grasp bodily knowledge, and cognitive directions. As this is the case, Giorgetti (2016) points out that rituals' function to place that bodily knowledge begins in earlier ages at elementary schools.

Examples abound. Monday morning opening ceremonies in every school include the singing of the national anthem, and announcements and rituals to begin the school week. On Fridays, schools hold a closing ceremony with a general review of current school problems given by the principal, again, with the singing of the national anthem. Alongside these examples, there are National Holidays to celebrate, for instance, May 19, the commemoration of Atatürk's Youth and Sports Day, or each

November 10, during Atatürk's Remembrance Day we mourn his passing with a siren and a series of poems, and other kinds of tributes. These can be counted as examples of the expectation of certain ideological preferences to occur regularly. Moreover, the curriculum further serves to emphasize these ideological preferences. However, this is not this focus of the study.

To summarize, high schools, or even more generally, formal education derives much of its importance from its function to cultivate an educated youth to sustain and develop modern Turkey along ideological lines. This feature of formal education took its current shape, in part, through accommodation to a more globalized economy. When looking at the two high schools studied, we can see these schools are developing mostly engineers, physicians, academicians, and other members of higher status occupations. As there is a great deal of research literature already dealing with the importance of high schools and how they contribute to economies, I will narrow my focus on Anatolian High Schools and their place amongst other types of high schools. To this end, I will provide a brief history of the Anatolian High Schools, followed by bureaucratic axioms of the educational system in Turkey which support the status of Anatolian High Schools in relation to other high schools.

1.2. From Maarif Colleges to Anatolian High Schools, and the “decreasing reputation” of Anatolian High Schools

Antecedents of Anatolian High Schools, Maarif Colleges, were established in 1955 in six big cities of Turkey as “official colleges” to give an elite education to successful selected students in their regions. These colleges were quite influential in that era reflects many aspects of the era when they are established. In his extensive study of Maarif Colleges, Gündüz (2017) gives a detailed historical account of these colleges, their perceptions amongst the society, political debates considering their nationally as these colleges taught courses in foreign languages, especially in English. As Gündüz (2017) inserts, these colleges were a reflection of era's political changes as in 1950s, after three decades of single party rule, Democrat Party came into power. As these years were right after the Second World War, there were a power struggle between United States of America and Soviet Union, as two poles of liberalism, on

the one hand, and communism on the other. This power struggle had led nation-states to balance relations with these two poles or decide to stand with one over another. In this sense, with a liberal tendency, Democrat Party preserved occurring before relations with United States of America. As Gündüz (2017) points out, Maarif Colleges were a reflection of these developments in which Turkey was building strong relations with United States of America, and NATO. Alongside with several developments, as an instance in agriculture funds from Marshall Plan, and so on. (Köymen 2012).

In parallel, these colleges were providing education in foreign languages to raise selected students to hold important positions in the future among the strata of society. Turkish Ministry of National education invested much more than other schools on Maarif Colleges, such as bringing foreign teachers for the College staff, constructing new buildings for these schools, and so on (Gündüz 2017). It was a general tendency of Turkey's educational policy to educate an elite group to hold significant positions as it was before Maarif Colleges, Turkish government was sending students to foreign countries for education (Gündüz 2017). As was the case, these schools were the representative of this policy yet in a different manner in the context of political environment of the era, as Turkish government was closer to United States of America.

Maarif Colleges were invested to develop and sustain a number of selected students through its quality of education. As Gündüz (2017) indicates these colleges were providing paid education. Although era's minister of education, Celal Yardımcı emphasized these colleges were about to give free education with a rate of 25-30 % of students, as Gündüz (2017) says, this rate had remained only 15 % in total. In this context, it is quite clear that Maarif Colleges were providing education for only those who have enough economic resources at that time. In other words, it can be inserted that these schools have become one of the most crucial institutions of the educational field in Turkey to hold symbolic importance in the field alongside with other elite high schools, such as Robert College, St. Benoit, Galatasaray.

Besides its elite character, as Gündüz (2017) says, Maarif Colleges were providing a good quality of education. In the context of these developments, in 1970's, the number of these colleges had increased to ten. Their quality of education, foreign teacher staff, and providing a paid education had led these schools to hold that symbolic importance for families, in a sort of credentialized nature, or a sort of institutionalized cultural capital. After their establishment, governments tried to preserve Maarif Colleges elite character until 1975. In 1975, Maarif Colleges were transformed into Anatolian High Schools while increasing their numbers due to changes of educational policy.

According to Rutz & Balkan (2010), Maarif Colleges and later on, Anatolian High Schools represent the continuum of revolutionary ideals of the Turkish Republic to provide continuity in a nation state, that is, to develop and sustain a strong middle class. As was the case for governments of Turkey, these schools are selected by various forms of exams for entering high schools. After these developments, although it has transformed varyingly, an examination system has come under the domain of the Ministry of National Education (hereafter MNE) in Turkey (Rutz & Balkan 2010).

Although Rutz & Balkan (2010) focused on elite high schools, especially on Galatasaray Lisesi, they also present their ideas about the transformation of Maarif Colleges into Anatolian High Schools. According to them, Maarif Colleges were also representing the revolutionary ideals of the Republic to develop and sustain a middle-class, as the conveyor of the ideals of a nation-state (Rutz & Balkan 2010). Although Rutz & Balkan (2010) are interested about the rise of a new middle-class, they are indicating that Anatolian High Schools are also representing a continuum of Maarif Colleges' ideals. Rutz & Balkan (2010) discusses this transformation and the examination system came with it as hierarchizing high schools and creating a so-called "objective" criteria for selection of students into these schools.

As mentioned above, examination system has changed thoroughly even in earlier decade for both exams for high schools and universities. However, their nature of

putting a certain “objective” criteria for selection of students are similar. Regardless of their names, both exams, especially high school entrance exam has been structured to measure students’ achievement on areas taught in elementary schools. However, as it is taken only once, and having a long history, this examination system created a selection mechanism to promote higher status schools enjoying their position objectively while low status schools to remain in the lower strata of the hierarchy of high schools. This is also clear when it is case of the placement success rates of high schools. On the one hand, there are successful private science high schools or science high schools enjoying high rate of placement of students into universities, on the other hand, there are occupational high schools remaining lowest rank of success in this hierarchy. Besides its nature of presenting this hierarchy as an objective, or more truly, a meritocratic utopia, this selection mechanism is representing a certain class characteristic, actually following its tradition.

In addition to this discussion, private courses specializing in the preparation for these exams are established to compensate students, and it is exponentially growth after the transformation of rare Maarif Colleges into Anatolian High Schools (Rutz & Balkan 2010). In other words, with an examination system objectively defining high schools position in the hierarchy, and Anatolian High Schools’ historical context, it can be said that these schools are/were carefully situated to sustain and nurture a qualified, selected minority that would hold important positions in the society. Before the transformation of general high schools into Anatolian High Schools, it was more clear when it is the case of bureaucratic decisions about them.

The bureaucratic axioms of Anatolian High Schools can be tracked by reviewing the general directives of Ministry of National Education. According to the latest directive about institutions of secondary education, (Ministry of National Education 2016), there are science high schools, social sciences high school, Anatolian High Schools, fine arts high school, sports high school, Anatolian religious high schools, vocational and technical Anatolian High Schools, and again, vocational and technical high schools in Turkey. The critical point of defining and enhancing Anatolian High

Schools' importance in the eyes of families is the quality of teachers. In 1999, the MNE prepared a test with significant criteria for teacher candidates for Anatolian High Schools. These criteria included, for example, having a degree in English, a good score in the official language exam held by the Assessment Selection and Placement Center (ÖSYM)³, graduating from a university that trains in a foreign language, having a good record for three years in a row as a member of MNE, and, more importantly, being experienced for at least three years in other schools (Ministry of National Education 1999). This directive was theoretically abolished in 2006 (Ministry of National Education 2006). However, its abolishment was put into practice in 2010, which was the same year that the government took action to transform general high schools to Anatolian High Schools in order to enhance the "democratic participation in education and improve general high schools' quality".⁴

As part of the policies transforming general high schools into Anatolian High School, in 2012, we can see another test for teachers to enter Anatolian High Schools, Social Sciences high schools, Science high schools, and Fine Arts high schools. I cannot find any information on why the MNE decided to re-do the test again, or why they did not continue to hold the test after 2012. The end point is that although controversies of bureaucratic procedures and policies are constantly changing regarding about high schools and educational policies in Turkey, the character of Anatolian High Schools was once defined by the quality of its teachers.

For a relatively larger population, a free and, more or less, elite education that Anatolian High Schools provide in the context of their historical place in the development of Turkish education, has contributed to their growing importance through the years. However, interestingly this generally held view about Anatolian High Schools has been seriously challenged after the decision was made to

³ As its abbreviation, from now on, ASPC.

⁴ About the abolishment of selection of teachers: <http://www.haber7.com/egitim/haber/583067-anadolu-liselerine-sinavla-ogretmen-alimina-son>. About the transformation of general high schools into Anatolian High School: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/duz-liseler-anadolu-lisesi-oluyor/abbas-guclu/siyaset/siyasetyazardetay/11.05.2010/1236208/default.htm>

transform general high schools to Anatolian High Schools. As mentioned, this transformation created some turmoil. For instance, Yansı Eraslan, an educator, and entrepreneur of a private college, and a former student of Bornova Anatolian High School, wrote on this very issue (Eraslan 2010). In this article, Eraslan discusses the continuous decline of the quality of Anatolian High Schools, and according to Eraslan, the decision about their transformation is, “the declaration of the banalization” of Anatolian High Schools (Eraslan, 2010, p. 1).

This debate on whether Anatolian High Schools have lost their reputation, or whether their amalgamation into general high schools is a beneficial social policy or not, is not this researcher’s concern. However, these debates and who gives voice to these debates do support the idea that Anatolian High Schools have created or reproduced an advantaged middle class, aware of their status, and that the symbolic and cultural capital derived from this education, elevates their position in Turkish society.

In addition to these developments, there is another crucial point relating to Anatolian High Schools. In 2012, the government took action to close private dersane (private course schools) that flourished from the 1960s (Rutz & Balkan 2010). This move is now considered as one of the reasons that Gulenists⁵ have positioned themselves against the current government. Although it is now clearer about this cult’s goals of overthrowing the government after the attempted coup by this group in 15th July 2016, at the time of the closure of these schools, it is commonly believed that Gulenists held the monopoly on the private courses sector and that they had in place a massive private education network in Turkey, and abroad. After the breakdown between the government and the Gulenists in 2013, and their later illegal movements against the government, the Turkish government

⁵ A religious cult in Turkey have had several followers among Turkish society, once which had strong connections with various governments of Turkish State. After 2013, their well-known position is challenged due to their illegal intervention to the government. Their aim to overthrow the government has become explicit and reach at its extreme against the Turkish Republic by the Coup D’etat of 15th July in 2016.

took decisive action to shut down private courses and have regularized these courses by a transformation of these dershanes into private basic high schools. These courses can also be created for special science group courses, following the MNE's directive,⁶ and these private basic high schools are authorized to give high school diplomas. According to my personal communications with these schools, these institutions' prices ranging from 9,000 Turkish liras to 12,000 Turkish liras in average (personal communication, 1 July 2017). Additionally, since 2012, the MNE made transferring between schools much easier, and these transfers have been subjected to several cases in the Council of the State (Danıştay), and changed to an earlier version, using base scores⁷.

I have interviewed the eighteen students out of 26 students in total, who entered SBS, right before it was changed to TEOG. As the MNE's directive (Ministry of National Education 2016) students are supposed to choose a certain area of study with a view to which areas they hope to study in the future. For example, math-science-weighted area students can choose medical sciences, engineering, natural sciences, and other science related departments. Equally-weighted-area possess the properties of both math and literature-based courses, and students who choose this area can study law, social sciences, or management. Language-based areas train their students to be certified translators, tourist guides, or a literary specialist in whatever the language they have chosen, and for the most part the language chosen is English. Literature-Art-weighted area students may choose communication sciences, journalism, history, or marketing sectors. The categorization of areas which were available to students was much stricter in the past. It should be pointed out that categorization was an important issue of conflict about the Imam-Hatip high schools in the 1990's and into the 2000's as this categorization had allowed students to choose a profession only related to their

⁶ See Ministry of National Education's decision about private educational institutions: <http://www.meb.gov.tr/ozel-ogretim-kurumlari-yonetmeligi-resm-gazetede-yayimlandi/haber/9296/tr>

⁷ See again MNE's latest directive about high schools (Ministry of National Education, 2016), and also see the disclaimers on the Danıştay's decisions about the transfers on the page: <https://e-okul.meb.gov.tr/ortaogretim/okl/ook06006.aspx>

previous area of study in high school. Students who made choices in one of the areas in which they had not studied were exposed to a system of strict score penalties. However, in 2010, this categorization was upheld by the Higher Education Council (YÖK).⁸

In the light of this discussion, a current research (Eğitim-Bir-Sen 2016), reports that there are 1,205 private basic high schools (p. 22). These institutions had 182,876 students at that time in 2015. With a rate of 58 %, 12th grade high school students attend these schools' in their total population, which students are ready to graduate from high school and move to higher education (Eğitim-Bir-Sen, 2016, p. 22). According to this same study, private basic high schools will be much more popular in the coming years as they fulfill the function of both a private course and a high school (Eğitim-Bir-Sen 2016). In a 2017 study, research indicates that these private basic high schools are effective to fill the gap derived from the abolishment of private courses, as they are more successful than Anatolian High Schools in placing their students into universities with a placement success rate of %52 for undergraduate programs, while Anatolian High Schools are at % 47,5 (Gür et al., 2017, p. 43).

From this narrative of Anatolian High Schools, it can be seen that while Anatolian High Schools may have lost their reputation in the general scheme of the perception of Turkish high schools, they have also lost the status of having the most qualified teachers, and subsequently, lost their primary ranking among the hierarchy of secondary schools. Yet still, Anatolian High Schools, especially the older more established ones hold their reputations in the eyes of families, as will be seen in the empirical chapter.

Before beginning the discussion of findings in the next section, I will provide a review of the sociology of education, and then construct a conceptual framework to

⁸ In 2010 Higher Education Council regularized score penalties. See the related news: <http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/yok-katsayi-uygulamasini-kaldirdi,ywcOPJKV7ESa6iJsaP4pcw>

understand the process of cultural capital accumulation among Anatolian High School students.

1.3. Rationale, and Research Questions

Research on educational systems is a core interest in general sociological theory in order to understand the reproduction of social structure according to stratified relations between social classes, family ideologies, and occupational structure. With such a wide field, as can be expected, the literature on the sociology of education is massive considering these constitutive elements of a society. In Turkey-specific literature on education, alongside educational sciences research on new pedagogical techniques and student perception, researchers on education in Turkey have not shown much interest in high school education with a Bourdieusian stance.

This research aims to fulfill that gap of empirical research on high school education in Turkey, specifically focusing on the concept of cultural capital. This study focuses on the intersection of family ideologies, high school education, school environment, and student socialization. It poses the question of how cultural capital accumulation occurs among high school students in an educational system assumed as legitimating a certain propensity to cultural codes, which are unequally distributed mainly through family socialization and social class background. Bourdieu & Passeron's studies about inheritance and reproduction provide a general overview (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979[1964], Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990[1970]). But their emphasis on family ideologies and the educational system's always-already selection mechanisms are inadequate to cover the differences in students' lower level socialization and reflexivity. So, the differences or similarities between cases about predispositions of cultural products and future expectations are most important in the context of school differences, parent involvement, social environment, and student socialization. Furthermore, differences or similarities between genders are equally important, and this study will demonstrate how female students tend to prefer "gendered" professions (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979[1964]). To demonstrate this argument, I collected data about students' cultural taste and skills, their preferred future projections, parents and other close

circle relatives' involvement in the process of collecting information about professions and universities. Sub questions in the interview and field notes about extracurricular activities and school environment indicate other aspects of differences and similarities in cultural capital accumulation in context of the high schools studied.

1.4. Theoretical Insights

In this section, I will first give a brief review of sociology of education, focusing on reproduction theories which will consist of three main sociological approaches to education: Davis and Moore's (1944) functionalist theory; Randall Collins' (1979) Weberian approach; and, Bowles & Gintis' (2011[1976]) neo-Marxist approach. After traditional approaches, there can be placed studies on reproduction through education, including Bourdieu & Passeron's two seminal works, *The Inheritors* and *Reproduction*, Paul Willis' influential ethnography of British Working Class Lads, *Learning to Labour*, will be examined.

After this review, I will outline the socialization part of the theoretical framework, as they are important in understanding students' socialization processes. To conclude, as the main framework is derived from Bourdieu's cultural capital concept, I will present some empirical research, and a rationale outlining my choice to study this issue from a Bourdieusian perspective.

1.4.1. A Review of Sociology of Education: Reproduction

Davis and Moore's (1944) seminal article about the necessity of stratification from a functionalist approach serves the ideals of the functionalist school. I am not concerned with the normative explanations about what role education should play in the stratification systems of society. However, Davis and Moore's (1944) article represents modern ideals about meritocracy and about society in general. Their works main philosophy is still resonating among families, students, and school staff, presented in the empirical data about in-school conflicts. The idea of the meritocracy or more truly, acquired rights through exams are an arena for school conflicts. Davis and Moore's (1944) assumptions about stratification, education, and

how to view a social establishment are a counterpoint to stratification and reproduction theories (Collins 1977). Although their normative attitude towards stratification and meritocracy is not the central concern of this study, it is important to distinguish how the functionalist school represents the functional and meritocratic nature both of schools and exams, and the ways that a strict hierarchy is established between schools, and how subsequent conflicts may develop.

Randall Collins' (1979) study about how education has become credentialized in order to enter certain domains of society represents a good example of a Weberian point of view. According to Collins, standing against functional explanations of a meritocratic society, job markets create environments that require longer years to achieve proper education for it. In this sense, Collins' (1977) maintains that this aim to gain credentials creates a conflict among "status groups" who may hold the required papers and, which also creates a "status culture". As a vicious circle, this situation both contributes to the conflict, and at the same time, reproduces the importance of educational credentials to create social mobility or to maintain social standing

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis' (1976[2011]) historical study about schooling in America represents another mechanical yet reversed idea of the functionalist approach to cultural reproduction. For Bowles, schooling and educational policies directly reflect the conditions of production, and implicitly affect class subcultures, who idealize their positions as stable. For Bowles and Gintis, meritocratic ideals reflecting the conditions of the production create unequal and stratified school cultures. However, their work diminishes the chance of resistance, and rigorously rules out nuances of differentiations. This neo-Marxist, Althusserian view of education has been thoroughly criticized because of its mechanical view of culture as a reflection of the conditions of production (Willis 1981) .

A challenge to this structural explanation of class subculture can be found in the work of Paul Willis (1977). His work can be considered in the cultural studies tradition of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (also known as the

Birmingham School) in Britain. In his book, Willis (1977) tries to explain simply how “working-class kids get working class jobs” as the title of this book suggests. He develops a totally different explanation of working class subculture, in his terms of a “reproductive” one, of how working-class “lads” create a counter-culture through a sense of belonging to the general working-class culture in Britain (Willis 1977, 205). Willis (1977) argues that working-class “lads” are reciprocally articulating the meanings of their working-class culture and its relationship with the school. The subculture continues to develop as they then create a school counter-culture with an active process of attachment to general working-class culture. This detailed ethnography actually achieves what Willis (1977) calls, “[...] a major transitional point, the entry to work, as one of the classic ‘choice points’ where ‘structure’ and ‘agency’ most crucially meet-not where “structure” overpowers ‘agency.’” (205-206). This study’s importance comes from its explicit account of how working class children actually do not conform to authorities. Willis’ (1977) account of resistance can be challenged through relative definitions of resistance of working class among Marxist literature. On the other hand, his explanation may only be relative to Britain’s strictly held class structure. However, it may also confirm that working-class youth do not directly conform to authority and develop their own concepts of resistance by creating their own subculture to react to authority figures.

A more coherent account of culture, in contrast to seeing it as a reflection of the conditions of production (Bowles and Gintis 1976[2011]), or enhancing agency’s role more than itself as was the case for Willis (Willis 1977), can be found in Bourdieu’s works (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964[1979]; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970[1990]). Although Bourdieu may be viewed as substituting culture into class differences, and as providing a mechanistic view of education, his later contributions on cultural capital and the symbolic order enhances the importance of this form of capital. To understand Bourdieu better, we can look to the roots of his theoretical body of this research, that is, the concept of cultural capital as central to education.

In *The Inheritors*, Bourdieu (1964[1979]) develops an embryonic form of his subsequent general theoretical contributions, coauthored with Jean-Claude Passeron. *The Inheritors* is important because it summarizes a wide range of research concerning cultural tendencies of university students, and their relation to social class stratification. Although Bourdieu & Passeron (1979[1964]) present a coherent discussion of how culture itself is distributed unequally among society, and how social class background affects the educational orientation/selection directly, their argument of how social origin is imprinted and reinforced by the school system is clear:

As much research has shown, social origin exerts its influence throughout the whole duration of schooling, particularly the great turning points of a school career. The awareness that higher education (especially in certain disciplines) is expensive and that some occupations can only be undertaken by those with wealthy parents, unequal knowledge about courses and the careers they lead to, the cultural models associate certain occupations and certain educational options (Latin, for example) with a particular social background, and the socially conditioned predisposition to adapt oneself to the models, rules, and values which govern the school system, in short, the whole set of factors which make pupils feel and seem to be “at home” or “out of place” in school, result, other abilities being equal – in an unequal rate of scholastic achievements between the social classes, especially in those disciplines which presuppose previously acquired intellectual tools, cultural habits, or income (13-14).

This quote summarizes Bourdieu’s concern of how *habitus* is shaped around the environment related with education, and at the same time, how *habitus* instills a mental state about future expectations. This overlaps with Bourdieu & Passeron’s (1970[1990]) later contribution, *Reproduction*, which focuses on the role of education in creating the symbolic order of legitimating this orientation/selection. Through a “symbolic order” constructed by “pedagogic action” (which is a form of symbolic violence), unequal relations of cultural redistribution, “cultural arbitrary” imposes itself as objective, and creates the selection of meanings which is legitimated through this mechanism. This neutral attitude of the schooling system is also the basis of the selection order through instilling the sense of being “at home” or “out of place” (Bourdieu & Passeron 1970[1990]).

Bourdieu's later articles and conferences about schooling systems and their reproduction continue in this way. For instance, In *Practical Reasons*, Bourdieu (1998[1989]) further argues about the schooling system by using an analogy with the Maxwell's Demon thought experiment (1998[1989]) comparing the schooling system with the demon's selection. Beyond this selection, schools themselves are inscribing a sense of culture, with its values, rules or in general, a kind of lifestyle that differs even between different strata of social class according to social origin such as between elite families' children and upper-class families' children, students from middle class origin from lower class origin, which would be, of course, aligned to those family ideologies Bourdieu (1998[1989]).

1.4.2. Socialization Theories

The socialization process is at the core of family pedagogies, peer-cultures, and in-school interaction. For this study, family pedagogies include how parents rear their children, how children confront external authority, under which conditions families instill their own accomplishments and/or wider mobility stories, families lack of education and status to their children. Another factor as part of family pedagogies to consider is how students acquire and interpret different information flows coming from several sources including their friends, wider social networks on digital media, and traditional media. These intersectional processes, actually, are what create the process of cultural capital accumulation. When considering the structural constraints, wider occupational tendencies in the labor market, gender differences according to having a "proper" job, economic advantages or disadvantages, provide students ways to interpret all the different flows of information, and then have decisions on what choices to make in the future. All of these complex elements place individuals in certain positions among strata of society, and shape their way of reasoning in the context of their habitus.

This section will elaborate on socialization theories. Firstly, I will sketch how parenting styles affect their children's socialization styles as preconceived in social psychology literature. Secondly, I will discuss how socialization styles reflect social class differences. Thirdly, I will discuss how children acquire sets of skills relating to

culture at the intersection of parenting styles and school socialization. Finally, I will provide a synthesis of this theoretical discussion to present a conceptual framework.

1.4.3. Parenting Styles

Maccoby (2007) reports that socialization theories are now focusing on the quality of interaction between children and parents rather than certain parenting styles. However, it is clear that dominant parenting patterns are almost always in the realm of both social psychologists and sociologists interested in socialization, and how socialization patterns intersect with other dimensions of life. In her study, Lisa E. Pellerin (2005) investigates how school socialization styles overlaps with parenting styles and affect educational outcomes in context of these parenting styles. She uses a well-known psychologist, Diane Baumrind’s categorization of parenting styles to compare schools’ institutional attitude towards students (Pellerin 2005). Pellerin (2005) discusses four different parenting styles, which are “authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and indifferent” (1160-1161). These parenting styles are differentiated according to parents’ attitude of demandingness and responsiveness, as seen in table 1.1.

Table 1.1. Baumrind and Maccoby & Martin's Four Types of Parenting

Dominant Pattern of Parenting Style	Communication Style	Expectations	Outcomes of Children Socialization
Authoritative	High Responsiveness	High Demandingness	Autonomous, or Self-Directed
Authoritarian	Low Responsiveness	High Demandingness	Normatively Dependent
Permissive	Low Responsiveness	Low or Ambiguous Demandingness	Ambiguously Independent

Table 1.1. (continued)

Dominant Pattern of Parenting Style	Communication Style	Expectations	Outcomes of Children Socialization
Indifferent	Low Responsiveness	Low to None Demandingness	Ambiguous

As seen in Table 1.1, authoritative parenting sets “high standards for behavior, maturity, and firm enforcements of rules” and creates for children a “warmth, open communication” environment (Pellerin 2005). Authoritarian parents also expect high standards but do not negotiate the rules or directives. In contrast, permissive parents do not expect so much from their children or create an ambiguous environment about directions, but they approach to their children with warmth and care. In the end, indifferent parents do not expect anything and do not connect to their children at all (Pellerin 2005, 1160-1161). To conclude, Pellerin (2005) asserts that schools are also sites for socialization, and, in general, schools that adopt authoritative attitudes towards students have higher rates for achievement, attainment, proper behavior, and this attitude results in fewer dropout rates and less disengagement.

Besides in-school interaction, other scholars have been interested in showing the relationship between social class differentiations and parenting. In the 1960’s, Melvin L. Kohn (1963) developed a research to investigate parental values, responsibility sharing, styles of authority exercised, and these factors relationship with social class indicators. According to this study, parenting styles of working class families and middle class families are divergent. Kohn (1963) found that middle class families adopt a parenting style to rear their children to develop self-direction, while working class families adopt a high rate of conformity to authority.

Table 1.2. Martin L. Kohn's (1963) Findings about Parental Values and Social Class

Social Class	Working class families		Middle class families	
Childrearing Values	Traditional - Conformity to Authority, Neatness, No negotiation of directives.	Transforming from Restrictive or Authoritarian to Permissive or Authoritative, however in a slower pace.	Developmental - Self-Direction, Negotiable, Knows to Negotiate.	Transforming from Restrictive or Authoritarian to Permissive or Authoritative.
Life Conditions of Families	Poor conditions of income, stability, security, differing problematic areas.	Subject to standardization and direct supervision at work.	Security, Stable Income, General Social Prestige to think "motives and feelings".	Subject to Self-direction, according to high requirement of being argumentative at work.
Possible Outcomes of Childrearing in Behavior	Conformity to external authority		Self-direction, possess the means to confront authority figures	

Lareau & Weininger (2009) in their findings, elaborated on Kohn's findings regarding social class. According to them, although Kohn's findings are applicable at a certain level, the issue of parenting is more dynamic and complex considering middle class families' micro-management of their children's organization of time. While Kohn's (1963) discussion shows that middle class families rear their children to internalize self-direction, and working class parents direct their children to conform authority, Lareau & Weininger (2009) present ethnographic data about leisure time of children, and how this time is managed through organizational rules, how self-direction is created through a process of negotiation, and in what intention middle

class families use choices through controlling of leisure activities to enhance their children’s adoption of making decisions and negotiation. In a later book, *Unequal Childhoods*, Lareau (2011) develops her conceptions of “concerted cultivation” and “the accomplishment of natural growth” further. In parallel with their discussion of Kohn’s findings, Lareau (2011) demonstrates that middle class families use a sophisticated communication style with their children, and critically organize their children’s leisure time to develop *a way of life* that is culturally equipped, successful, skillful, with an awareness about their position in society. In contrast, working class families exert certain directives that allow their children to enjoy their free time by themselves (Lareau 2011). In this sense, Lareau’s (2011) findings both enhance and challenge Kohn’s discussion of self-direction and conformity regarding social class positions. In this sense, we can summarize the parenting style properties:

Middle Class Parents

Concerted Cultivation of children	Self-direction through negotiation
	Choice and Control of leisure times
	Organized Activities: Rules and compulsion by adults

Figure 1.1. Lareau & Weininger’s (2009) and Lareau’s (2011) findings about middle-class parents’ childrearing practices. (Reproduced using mentioned sources)

Working-class Parents

Accomplishment of Natural Growth of children

Directives, not negotiation

Autonomy of children in leisure times

Strict boundaries between adults' world and children world

Figure 1.2. Lareau & Weininger's (2009) and Lareau's (2011) findings about working-class parents' childrearing practices. (Reproduced using mentioned sources).

As these ethnographic findings demonstrate, middle class parents use sophisticated strategies to control and cultivate their children, especially directing them to beneficial leisure time activities through negotiation, not implementing a total self-direction. On the other hand, working class parents let their children enjoy their leisure time freely, isolated from the adult world, having an autonomous sphere in their lives, and this does not directly reflect conformity to authority.

Willy Lahaye, Jean-Pierre Pourtois, and Huguette Desmet's (2011) longitudinal study of inheritance in families from an interdisciplinary perspective represents how family socialization is inherited to preserve the position of the family in the social space (with a Bourdieusian stance) against the conjectural changes of society. Alongside the above figures and tables, it is important to consider the implementation of "organizational egos" of families indicating their nature of normativity (Lahaye, Pourtois, & Desmet, 2011) Accordingly, their 2011 research on inheritances in a family represents an eclectic theoretical framework about socialization in general which ranges from attachment theories to sociocultural reproduction theories. Their study analyzes the changes in family pedagogy from one generation to another. The authors conducted the same study to the next generation, applied to same families in the 1970's. After analyzing the data derived from 18 families, the authors concluded that family socialization changed following the changes of the structural characteristics of society, yet other structural

consistencies are preserved to instill certain family and class *habitus* to the next generation.

This strength of the results of this methodological study indicate the ways in which inheritance models affect the conflict between ego ideals of children and organizational egos of the families in the discussion of family ideologies (Lahaye, Pourtois & Desmet, *Transmettre. D'une génération a l'autre*. 2011). According to Lahaye, et. al. (2011), there are five family logics that are inherited, but lead ego ideal crisis in later life of children: family-based logic; functional logic, prosthesis (assembler) logic; contractor logic; and, inheritor logic. Family-based logic simply put is that the investment in the economic, social, and cultural properties applied by children first and foremost to protect the family. Functional logic asserts that an occupation is the most important part of life to realize ego ideals. Prosthesis logic inserts that using family resources, whether social, symbolic, or cultural capital, to achieve contentment although with a cost of normative reliance on family. Contractor logic presents an ongoing contract between society and the individual such as investing or cultivating himself/herself to be beneficial to the society, yet at the same time expecting their deserved status from the society. This is also the case for in-family interactions discussed in this study, where it can be seen that normative tone is nuanced. Accordingly, there is an equilibrium contracting ego ideals of children with organizational egos of the families for the next generation. In contrast to the other four family logics, Inheritors are directly inheriting family resources to achieve self-realization. Here, we can see family ideology is internalized, and ego ideals are constructed or forced into the organizational ego of the family. (2011)

This literature review on socialization serves as a model for how cultural capital accumulation occurs at the intersection of family and school. Parenting styles and inheritance mechanisms, and Lareau's concepts of "concerted cultivation" and "accomplishment of natural growth" scaffold the basic axioms of this study. Parenting styles, the quality of the communication, and lastly nuanced views of organizational ego exertion on later generations will be discussed further in the

conclusion. But the basic hypothesis derived from this literature is that there are two poles of conceptions, concerted cultivation among middle classes on the one hand, and normative cultivation on the other hand among lower classes, and this will be seen in the data related to the Anatolian High Schools studied.

1.4.4. Hidden Curriculum and Cultural Capital

In *Reproduction*, Bourdieu & Passeron (1970[1990]) presents how educational system creates an unequal yet may seem objective selection mechanism through the exercise of pedagogic action. As Bourdieu states in different places (as cited in Sullivan 2001), schools' selection mechanism is simulating dominant culture's preferences and needs, which is for students a required familiarity with middle-class culture. As this familiarity is gained through family pedagogies, it is also legitimized through education's selection system. This dominating feature of middle-class culture actually puts the rules of the game in the educational field, and that need of familiarity simply creates the symbolic violence for lower classes. Yet as it is legitimized through an objective selection system, and having clearly defined by state regulations, this selection system is seen relying on a meritocratic ideal, and behaving as the Maxwell's Demon.

The debates on educational system in a similar vein was/and still is prevailing the sociology of education in later 1960s and then 1970s. Studies on curriculum, whether it be a formally organized schedule and content of courses, or more generally, local cultures of the school. This debate on hidden curriculum is consisting, firstly, formal content of courses and rules, and then, teacher-student relations, "correct" behavior, linguistic advantages, school environment, advantages about body-centered activities of schools such as having sports complexes (Margolis et al., 2001). Reproduction theories mentioned above and other contributions to the discussion of hidden curriculum consisting the part of the discussion.

Having similar concerns, Basil Bernstein (Bernstein 1977) discusses how middle-class parenting values are resonating with language codes institutionalized in

schools. At the same time Bourdieu (1977) inserts his findings indicating how educational system “gifting” the hierarchy of placing cultural differences, or in other words, that need of familiarity with certain cultural codes (p. 496). Here, it can be said that, Bourdieu through his works tries to place cultural capital as a roof concept to capture the functions of hidden curriculum through the assertion of pedagogic action.

In this sense, it can be placed Bourdieu’s forms of capital into different layers of the educational system. Bourdieu (1986) discusses the forms of capital, presenting cultural capital in a continuous development or a more truly a contextual resource to possess in times of needs or. He defines cultural capital:

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (47)

Although I will discuss the data in Chapter two and three focusing on its “embodied state”, the discussion on Maarif Colleges, Anatolian High Schools and their perceptions amongst families can be considered as its institutionalized form. However, as I will focus on only students’ perspectives, I will emphasize the process of accumulation of cultural capital, or more truly its embodiment throughout the second and third chapter.

This direction for researchers can be interpreted in as much that cultural capital changes evolutionarily, year by year, encounter by encounter, or in certain adaptations by itself, of course, in habitus’ limited environment. Yet it also enables us to think about cultural capital in different context, as it applies itself into the “rules of the game” (Lareau, Evans ve Yee 2016). Bourdieu’s relational sociology requires us to think the study of object in their complexities, to name as an instance its relation to wider structural components, contingent applications. Cultural capital

can be thought to occur or to be created through a complex process in biographical histories, family ideologies, school socialization, work environment, adoption to institutional settings and other different areas of a life cycle. Annette Lareau's series of papers with Elliot Weininger discuss these different components of cultural capital in a broader sense (Lareau ve Weininger 2003) (Lareau ve Weininger 2003b), (Lareau ve Weininger 2009), (Lareau 2011) (Lareau, Evans ve Yee 2016). In their critical assessment of cultural capital, Lareau & Weininger (2003) criticizes the use of cultural capital, as having a certain taste of high culture products and propensity towards their symbolic power. In contrast to this or perhaps in parallel with this, they propose an empirical study of how skills, argumentative capacity against authorities, time management, and other components are actually the crucial part of what cultural capital consists (Lareau ve Weininger 2003). Lareau's later contributions on "concerted cultivation", resonate with this understanding of cultural capital. Moreover, this conceptualization serves better to capture what Bourdieu (1986) calls the *embodied state* of cultural capital, "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (p. 47), at least in educational studies of children and adolescents, in which the process for children is not yet so stable, still in continuous development, and is susceptible to remolding.

1.4.5. A Synthesis of Theoretical Background and Conceptual Framework

Studies on education in social sciences are constructed mostly upon education's instrumental nature for enhancing information about both cultural products and occupational life in the future. Whether it is a Bourdieusian study or not, the studies which are not interested in educational philosophy or a descriptive history of a certain educational preference of a state do not enter the domain of education's relational nature to other dimensions of social life. This approach could be criticized as not accepting education as an autonomous entity. While having its own original and complex features affected by various different factors inside of a school, I have chosen to emphasize its nature of more or less instrumental feature to see its complex elements' effects on cultural capital accumulation. Moreover, as we will see in the next chapter, both families and students are also aware of education's instrumental feature for themselves to acquire imagined outcomes in the future,

and this is entirely applicable to Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*. Education or any other critical domain of life is seen in a sense of "practical reasoning" (Bourdieu 1998[1989]). Of course, agents are aware of the outcomes of their decisions, but in the sense of their limited information, experience, and skills. It is a multidimensional process of deciding what is "the best possible world". In this sense, I have tried to focus on different features of a school both representing a descriptive local culture of an everyday life of high schools in my cases, and its varying nature of assessing the propensity towards cultural products and imagined future inclinations.

To be more precise, I asked students about how they view their school, whether they feel a part of the school or not, the quality of communication between teachers and students, the peer-culture they created, their cultural taste, a range of family questions to see how they see their children's education, students' future expectations, and lastly, crosscutting questions of three of these areas about family, school, and their own ideals.

To interpret their answers, I used socialization theories of parenting styles, especially the four types of parenting, and their complex relation to each other as seen in Lareau's (2011) *Unequal Childhoods* in the concepts of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. Lahaye et al. study on intergenerational inheritance of educational codes (2011) provides the basis of understanding the nature of family transactions, a schema derived from their five models of organizational egos of families. I have situated cultural capital accumulation between these complex features of the process. Family ideologies, school socialization reflecting peer culture, and cultural propensity towards certain products all have their distinct effects on the process. I also asked demographic questions about the placement of children in the family to see whether this placement affects the nature of their relationship within the family or not. Questions were also asked concerning the parents' occupations and educational status to suggest, not to detect, their place among the strata of society. In addition, to my interviews, I collected observational data, and made short ethnographic

expeditions to investigate students' extracurricular activities. As such, I even had the opportunity to participate in some of their activities. These expeditions allowed me to be a participant observer to witness up close the local school culture, the critical friendships of my respondents, existing teacher hierarchies, and parental involvement.

1.5. Methodology and Research Design

Methodological preferences of this study reflect the nature of the object of study, cultural capital accumulation, as it requires capturing the process, complexities involving the nature of this process, and an in-depth perspective to interpret more intimate data that could be acquired only from a qualitative study rather than a quantitative research. As students interpret flows of information that come from two main sources, school and family, and then, wider media influences, I have designed a highly structured interview questionnaire to unearth all of these components⁹. This questionnaire involves four parts relationally crosscutting itself in these different parts. The first part is related to school perceptions such as, teachers, friendships, and school definitions. The second part of the questionnaire is related to students' propensity for certain cultural products. The third part includes questions related to their families' demographic information, and more importantly, school-family relations, family and their reluctance on hobbies or other kinds of extracurricular activities, and lastly, future expectations. In the last part, I tried to enhance the issue of future expectations of students by asking direct questions about their choice of universities and occupation. These interviews were held with eighteen 11th grade students, two 12th grade students, and two 10th grade students. I have asked counseling teachers specifically to meet with 11th grade students as they would be more willing to participate to the study in contrast to 12th grade students busy with preparation to university exams. 11th grades are also not so new to their schools and distant from the crucial turning point, examination.

⁹ See Appendix A.2 or A.4.

In addition to these interviews, I made short ethnographic expeditions to the schools. Using extracurricular activities to observe and, if possible, to participate in the local culture of a school, I collected 75 single-spaced word documents. I tried to create an analytical memo, mixing field notes and interviews, which ended up as a 100 page, single-spaced, word document. I coded the data rigorously, first producing a bunch of codes, and then making them into thematic codes, which reflects the intended survey design of using four different components of the process of cultural capital accumulation.

Both of the schools are situated in Istanbul. The first one is located in Bakırköy, Ataköy, and the other one, in Gaziosmanpaşa. In the course of the study, I tried to enter an older Anatolian High School in Bakırköy, too, which failed due to the counseling teacher's decision of not letting me to conduct the fieldwork. I will discuss this process in the second chapter, where there will be found a more detailed description of the schools.

This ought to be pointed out that this study does not reflect a kind of a total ethnographic text as my expeditions were not so long to acquire all the details of life in an Anatolian High School. In this sense, I did not adopt a style for discussing the data bringing "thick descriptions" of the schools. Rather, I designed my methodology to capture both the complexities of my research concerns, and simultaneously, manage a coherent comparison between schools, students, and families' positions. To achieve this end, I designed the study methodologically in three parts.

As the study relies on Bourdieu's sociology, it uses an epistemological view of relational sociology. I have tried to capture local cultures of the schools for making sense of the elements discussed in hidden curriculum literature in relation with students' dispositions towards cultural products. Alongside with these, I have tried to capture, parental involvement in all of these processes, which will end for me to understand the cultural capital accumulation.

By making comparisons, I attempted to observe the difference between a newly transformed Anatolian High School and an older one. Although, I find it useful to employ Bourdieu's relational sociology, for building theoretical constructs, and finding nuances of my conceptual framework in the cases, I tried to test my theoretical background, especially the concepts of "concerted cultivation", socialization theories, and cultural capital. To achieve this end, I relied on Derek Layder's (1998) *Adaptive Theory*. In *Sociological Practice: Linking Theory and Social Research*, Layder (1998) establishes the perfect equilibrium between strict theoretical constructs which is not open new theoretical reconstruction and Grounded Theory's empirically rich, but theoretically timid perspective. Accordingly, Adaptive Theory builds a theoretical reference point, encourages to collect extensive empirical data, and test the theoretical background in the light of these data to rebuild or invalidate it.

CHAPTER 2

SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS, PEER-SOCIALIZATION, AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

In this section, I will present data about students' school socialization. This theme includes students' perception about their school, their sense of belonging to the school, educational ideals of students, perceptions about friendships at the school, teacher-student relationship, counseling, and whether students try to compensate school education in other ways either having private lessons or school's courses on weekend. The first part will be related with October Anatolian High School (OAHS)¹⁰, Ataköy. The second part will represent data collected from June Anatolian High School (JAHS)¹¹, located in Gaziosmanpaşa.

2.1. A School Having Flows of Students from Its Distant Neighborhoods: OAHS

OAHS is located in Ataköy which is one of the oldest neighborhoods of Istanbul, a suburban area designed for relatively upper classes. It is a carefully designed, and safe area if we compare it with its geographical opposite area of Şirinevler, located on the other side of the E-5 highway which divides Istanbul in two. Ataköy has 10 different regions according to its city plan, and is a satellite city similar to Beylikdüzü, Büyükşehir, which is far at the end of Istanbul on the European side. In contrast to it, Ataköy is quite near Atatürk Airport, and there is a metro line to the inner city of Istanbul. Due to its geographical advantages and its gated communities, this district is thought to be one of the residential areas of the upper-middle classes in Istanbul. OAHS is located at the ninth section of Ataköy, which includes mostly gated communities and is considered to be protected for secure residency as in this community, there are residences for prosecutors, judges, civil servants from the Institution of State Archive, Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) and so on. Besides these examples, Ataköy is popular among upper middle classes with its residents including pilots, hostesses or retired senior bureaucrats around

¹⁰ A pseudonym for its real name.

¹¹ A pseudonym for its real name, as well.

the Ninth Section. As a child of a civil servant from TRT, I collected this information from my own experience in this region.

October Anatolian High School (hereafter, OAHS) was established on a relatively broader land in comparison to its counterpart, June Anatolian High School (hereafter, JAHS), located in Gaziosmanpaşa. OAHS is opened in 1990s with the support of that era's important politicians. It has a separate parking lot for teachers and other executive members of the school. It has a large campus consisting gardens, volleyball courts, basketball courts, and football courts. Besides these, it has a distinctive indoor sports hall which serves as a sports arena for Bakırköy's inter-high school sports events. OAHS's school building is also a bigger building when compared to its counterparts. It is built as a shorter "V" on its area. The main entrance is in the middle of this shorter "V". The left side of this building consists of a library and a study room, a dinner hall where students can choose to eat food served from a catering company. There is a canteen for students who did not choose to eat from this catering system. In the middle of this entrance, there is a lobby-like area for resting or waiting for teachers and students which includes leather coaches on the right side of this "V". There are offices of one of the assistant principals, and the counselors. Corridors and walls around both of these sides are full of bulletin boards consisting students' projects organised separately according to courses. There is a board consisting photographs from various school trips to European countries, and there are sayings and slogans representing the merits of working regularly and on time. Additionally, there is a bulletin panel for teachers which displays national and international seminars on teaching and pedagogy. Behind the resting area, in the middle of the building, there is a considerably larger indoor sport hall, with basketball hoops, and a large basketball court, actively used by students for various sports activities such as volleyball, handball, and basketball. Supporting this case, is the fact that OAHS sports teams are consistently successful in these sports.

In the second floor, there is a mezzanine separated by a wall. On the left side, there is another office for one of the assistant principals who represents the teachers on

the executive board. This administrator is loved by students and usually wears his white lab coat rather than a suit, in contrast to other members of the executive board. His office was mostly open during my visits, and was not restricted to either students or teachers if compared with the other side of this floor, and the offices as described on the ground floor. Right on that corner, there is the teacher's common room where at breaks and other free times, teachers spend their time, having a cup of tea or coffee prepared by themselves in this room. On the other side, there is to be found the principal's and his secretary's office on this floor. Behind the wall separating this mezzanine floor, on both sides there are classrooms. The second floor is the same as it is separated for tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade students.

Downstairs, there is a conference room where seminars are held, plays and small concerts performed, and bigger rituals such as orientation of the ninth classes or memorial days are organised. This conference room was big enough to hold 150 people at a single event. It has a technical control room for making sound checks, and a computer to show presentations. The sound system and stage is not so polished in contrast to the other parts of the school. But in any case, it was sufficient to hold seminars for students from academicians, professionals, and other kind of events.

I held my interviews with students mostly in the dinner hall and library. Some of them were held in classrooms when they were not in use. The empty room near to principal's office was also made available for me to interview. In total, I held interviews with fourteen students. For the most part, Nuray Hanım, one of the student counselors, organised the interviews and arranged the interview places for me. Nuray Hanım was new at the school, and as the counseling teacher's place in the hierarchy between the teachers is not so high ranking, she did not have the authority to arrange interviews with teachers. Under these circumstances, and thanks to her efforts, I had the opportunity to participate parent-teacher meetings, a welcome back party in the teacher's meeting room, in the orientation session for ninth classes, and in other kind of extracurricular events such as university expeditions and occupation seminars for students.

At OAHS, I had interviews with fourteen students. Six of these students were male, eight of them were female. All of them were registered in the eleventh grade. There were only two female English language students. Six of them were in equally-weighted-area, and six of them were at math-science-weighted area.

Despite the fact that OAHS is located in Ataköy, none of the students were residents of Ataköy. Most of the students coming to the school were from more disadvantaged neighbourhoods of Istanbul, including Bayrampaşa, İkitelli, Yenibosna and so on. Although this is the case, these neighbourhoods are close to Bakırköy. While I was at Nuray Hanım’s office and having a conversation about the badge-pinning ceremony, one student came and made this distinction clearer. She and Nuray Hanım were discussing the graduation ceremony and the prices of this ceremony, this student said, “Well, teacher, you know that our school is at Ataköy, but the population is from Bağcılar” (fieldnotes, 9 December 2015). In this sense, some of the students that I interviewed were coming from İkitelli, Bayrampaşa, and Şirinevler. Yet not all of them were from these districts. Some of them, especially, given their family status, live in Bakırköy, Yeşilköy, and Beşiktaş. Yeşilköy and Bakırköy have a distinctive feature among these neighbourhoods. Beşiktaş is also distant to Ataköy, yet it is known as another older satellite city of Istanbul (See the Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. OAHS Students in General and Indicators of Familial Background

Pseudonyms of Participants	Deniz	Sema	Emre	Sanem
Area of Study	English-Language	English-Language	Math-Science-Weighted	Math-Science-Weighted
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Female
Birth Order	Second, two children	First, two children	First, two children	First, two children
Father's Educational Status	High School	Elementary School	Police Academy	Elementary School
Mother's Educational Status	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School

Table 2.1. (continued)

Father's Occupation	Employer	Driver	Police Officer	Foreman - Worker
Mother's Occupation	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife
Residential Address	Bahçelievler	Bağcılar	Yenibosna	İkitelli

Pseudonyms of Participants	Görkem	Hüseyin	Ercan	Firat
Area of Study	Math-Science-Weighted	Math-Science-Weighted	Math-Science-Weighted	Math-Science-Weighted
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male
Birth Order	First, two children	Fourth, four children	Second, two children	Single
Father's Educational Status	University	Elementary School	University	University
Mother's Educational Status	Elementary School	Elementary School	University	University
Father's Occupation	Customs Broker	Core-Drilling Worker	Physician	Physician (Chief)
Mother's Occupation	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Company Owner
Residential Address	Bağcılar	Yenibosna	Başakşehir	Yeşilköy

Pseudonyms of Participants	Sibel	Ayşe	Gamze	Ecem
Area of Study	Equally-Weighted	Equally-Weighted	Equally-Weighted	Equally-Weighted
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Female
Birth Order	First, two children	Second, two children	Second, two children	Second, two children
Father's Educational Status	University	University	High School	University

Table 2.1. (continued)

Mother's Educational Status	University	University - Professor	High School	University
Father's Occupation	Building Contractor	Manager	White Collar Worker	Civil Servant
Mother's Occupation	Education Specialist	Academician	Cook (Trained)	Civil Servant
Residential Address	Bayrampaşa	Bakırköy	Yenibosna	Bayrampaşa

Pseudonyms of Participants	Hale	Kudret	Total N: 14
Area of Study	Equally-Weighted	Equally-Weighted	
Gender	Female	Male	
Birth Order	First, two children	Third, three children	
Father's Educational Status	Elementary School	High School	
Mother's Educational Status	Studying still at Open High School	Elementary School	
Father's Occupation	Retired - Self-Employed	Retired - Bank Employer	
Mother's Occupation	Assistant Teacher at a Kindergarten	Housewife	
Residential Address	Fatih	Bahçelievler	

In addition to my respondents' residential areas, I have accessed OAHS' own report about its students' residential addresses¹². According to this report, its population

¹² Due to not revealing the name of the school, I cannot cite mentioned report.

is coming mostly from Bahçelievler with a rate of 25 %, right after that, it follows Küçükçekmece, 13 %, and Bağcılar, 11 %. OAHS' own environment, sites for relatively upper-classes shows low rates, such as Yeşilköy 1 %, Florya % 1, even its own neighborhood Ataköy has a rate of 3 %.

Almost all students define OAHS in terms of its relatively decent environment, its location, its building, and “cleaner” friendships at this school (Firat, personal communication, 17 November 2015). As mentioned above, OAHS has distinct characteristics which cannot be found in most state high schools in Istanbul. It has an indoor sports hall, a larger garden, and a relatively beautiful environment as it is located in Ataköy. One of the transferred students, Ercan, compared OAHS with his previous experiences as he had transferred from a college. He said, “this school is better than the other state high schools, but there are things should be made more better in conditions such as toilets or sinks etc.” (Ercan, personal communication, 17 November 2015). And when I ask about what are these differences between his past school and OAHS he points out:

Of course, there was a kind of disciplinary attitude towards everything at my college. Everything were better in condition. For example, last year we had some no-teacher classes here. While it is absurd it to compare with a private school, in any case, it is better than any other state schools. (Ercan, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

Other transferred students mentioned about their school in terms of their problems because their cases are different from Ercan's. In 2013, the MNE made a decision, making transfers available between high schools¹³. It was optional for students to transfer in a limited time after first placements are made and these transfers were handled due to students' scores and when there were available vacancies at schools before this decision. However, the changes made easier to transfer between high schools in 2013. It should be noted that this decision was made immediately following the governmental breakdown occurring from Gulenists' intervention. As we will see, students' choices about the compensation of classes are affected after

¹³ See the changes about transferring students in 2013: <http://ogm.meb.gov.tr/www/mill-egitim-bakanligi-ortaogretim-kurumlari-yonetmeliginde-degisiklik-yapildi/icerik/503>

this MNE decision was put in place. Moreover, I detected a certain in-school conflict about the transferred students. In this context, both teachers and students have interpreted this transfer decision by questioning their position among the hierarchy of high school students. At OAHS, it was mostly teachers' attitude towards students that could be deemed controversial. Sibel, as an instance indicates her teachers attitude towards her as:

Well, I was transferred from a different high school to OAHS. And I did not like that school so much. I am really happy to be at OAHS. But last year, when we are transferred here, there are problems occurred about the teachers. My past school was accepting students who have lower scores in contrast to OAHS. Well, scores were lowered, and we came here. Because of that, last year I had problems with teachers. Actually, I have still problems with teachers. I have had problems even coming here while leaving the class. (...) I think they do not accept us. They think that they are hard done by this decision. But as this right is been given to us, we use it and they cannot stand against it. That's why, there is a discrimination against us. They read our papers differently. (Sibel, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

All of the students at OAHS can point out why having a high school education is important in terms of this education's instrumentality to be placed at better universities, and have better jobs in the future. They are well-known that high school education has a certain impact to direct them in certain paths. Besides, they emphasize that they are spending most of their time at schools. In its local characteristics, students have a perception of time according to their school life. For instance, Hüseyin asserts that "when the summer holidays come, friendships are interrupted and everyone retreats to their own lives" (Hüseyin, personal communication, 16 November 2015).

The instrumental role is emphasized by all students. Although this is the case, as they think that high school education is important in order to acquire a better university education and the prospects for good future jobs, one of the students, Ecem, differs from this viewpoint. She already thinks that she is a part of the school. She enjoys performing concerts at school, singing and playing the guitar in almost every extracurricular event. She is a self-proclaimed, successful student at national and international entrepreneurship contests with her project. However, despite

those achievements, she has tried several attempts to transfer to other schools. Ecem now thinks that high school is not so important as she has awards from those contests and has an active school life at OAHS. She shared, “even a student from an occupational high school can become successful if he/she wants to be”. (Ecem, personal communication, 17 November 2015). In contrast to high school, having a better university education is more important for Ecem, because the university is where people decide to area that they will spend their whole life. Ecem’s view about high school reflects a kind of meritocratic ideal in this context as she believes students who are hardworking can achieve anything their goals.

2.1.1. Flourishing a School Spirit: Institutional Identity

Deniz, is the exception to the other students at OAHS who claim that they feel that they are a part of their school. Deniz, an English-Language-area student, defines herself in relation with her musical taste. Her musical taste helps to define her identity, which I will discuss in the culture section. Besides Deniz, all of the students feel that they belong to the school. Three of them even claim that they are the fixtures of this school. Transfers between schools have made two students, Görkem and Hüseyin, come to think they are now fixtures of OAHS. However, there are controversies about belonging to a school. Two of the students, Sanem and Ercan, think that they feel a sense of belonging to OAHS, because they spend most of their time at this school. (Sanem, personal communication, 16 November 2015 & Ercan, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

Although OAHS is not one of the high schools which has relatively symbolic importance, while I was in the field, I attended a badge-pinning ceremony organized to welcome ninth grade students. Nuray Hanım even managed to allow me to participate in its organization. I prepared invitations and distributed them at the parent-teacher conference to invite parents. This can be seen as an emphasis on community, as it is an important ceremony to create stronger ties with parents and the school. At this ceremony, these new students are welcomed and reminded that they are now at a high school, *an Anatolian High School*. The principal gave a speech about the importance of high school education. In contrast to their experience at

elementary school, he pointed out that, now they have their own individual preferences and they are at a more serious learning environment. The principal indicated the badges that demonstrate OAHS distinguished place among the other high schools. Nuray Hanım gave me one of these badges as a gift, and it can be seen that these badges show that OAHS is a member of a European Union project. Nuray Hanım also gave a speech at this ceremony, in which she talked about these EU projects, and the seminars that they will hold at OAHS. Then, they presented the badges to the ninth grade (fieldnotes, 9 December 2015). While we were later talking in an informal interview about this ceremony, Nuray Hanım told me that they try to cultivate a kind of school identity for students, a sense of belonging, a school spirit among the students. She says this is the case for better schools, comparing OAHS with her previous school located in Bahçelievler, which is also an older Anatolian High School (fieldnotes, 19 November 2015). Nuray Hanım had made several different attempts to nurture this school spirit while I was in the field. These included an orientation dinner for ninth grades, a specially designed sweatshirt showing the name of OAHS on it, and an education fair consisting of universities located in Istanbul.

From these descriptions, we can see that while there is not a certain school culture at this newly established Anatolian High School comparing it with high-ranking schools, there is a tendency to be similar to them with the use of such events. This idea of constructing a kind of culture in the school provides opportunities for both students and teachers to enjoy the promotion of the school. It is also shows that schools try to achieve a better place in the hierarchy between the schools by making it more preferable for students, and focusing on its benefits. This is related with the Turkish educational field, in which the examination system places some schools at the top of the hierarchy, and others try to achieve that status by similar means.

It is difficult to enter the classrooms and join classes to see first-hand how students cooperate or handle situations with the authority of the classroom teachers. My initial trips were short to both OAHS and JAHS in order to gain the trust of teachers,

to enjoy such an experience, and to develop relationships with key personnel who can give me the chance to enter classrooms. Counseling teachers are at the bottom of the hierarchy among the teachers, and as Nuray Hanım indicated, “it is too difficult to arrange interviews with teachers, because of, you know, their preferences” (fieldnotes, 9 December 2015). Besides her position in the hierarchy of the school, Nuray Hanım was newly appointed to this school. Due to these reasons, I only had the opportunity to ask students how they cooperate with teachers, how they express their views, and how they cope with the teachers, and to see what skills they use in their encounters with authority.

To this end, I asked students in which classes they were comfortable and whether they expressed themselves easily during these lessons. The first thing revealed in reference to this question was that every student felt better about their own areas, whether it was courses of a math-science-weighted area or an equally-weighted area, and reported that they expressed themselves more easily within their own areas. They further reported that in this school they can express themselves better if the teachers’ attitude is to improve a situation.

A crucial difference in this case is that one student finds herself not at ease in math-dependent courses while she is a student of this area. Sibel says she does not like math, chemistry and physics courses. She likes more courses related with literature and language and expression. In Sibel’s case, we can see that she has chosen math-dependent area regarding her family’s direction. In the discussion of family ideals about education and occupation, we will return to this. (Sibel, personal communication, 16 November 2015).

Ecem also seems to be confused when she tells about her experience at tenth grade:

At tenth grade, I could have chosen math-science-weighted area if the school executive did not change to have area decisions to eleventh grade. She says that her family directed her to choose math-science-weighted area. But now, if we recall her experience of that national and international contests we can see that she has proved herself to her family to choose math and literature

classes to study business and management. Now she indicates that she likes better literary courses as her ideals, which are psychology or business and management is reliant literary courses rather than math and physics classes. (Ecem, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

Firat has extensive information about high schools. As indicated before, he is a transferred student coming from a general high school located in Zeytinburnu. It can be seen clearly that his family investigated the situation of the various schools. He knows that in the past, Anatolian High Schools had prep classes for English. In the case of how he cooperates with teachers, he says, "I express myself clearly but they don't understand me" (Firat, personal communication, 17 November 2015). A general concern among math-science-weighted area students, he says, is that they are obliged to read 400-500 pages of novels in literature classes. Instead, he suggests, "we should prepare for the exam, solving problems and tests at home as we have only one year left to the exam" (Firat, personal communication, 17 November 2015). After the governmental conflict between Gulenists and the current government, private institutions for exam preparation were closed, and some of them were transformed into the "basic high schools", as Firat inserts. In theory, these high schools are literally, official high schools, but in practice, they prepare students for the exams as was the case for private compensation institutions. Firat reminded me of that fact, "my friends who got into these basic high schools do not have to read such books, they easily pass classes and have left the time to study." (Firat, personal communication, 17 November 2015). Even more importantly, their grades affect their grades at the exams, and those students who are attending private basic high schools are not so much affected, as Firat points out. He indicates this as "I do not read these books. I prepare my homework by googling summaries of these novels, and I got low marks because of this, which will affect my points at the exam." (Firat, personal communication, 17 November 2015). This is a certain conflict at OAHS.

I asked questions about friendships at OAHS and acquired information on how students view friendship. In general, there is a concern about transferring between the schools, and how it affected their friendships. Students report either that they

have good friendships or about personal conflicts about building friendships based on benefits, such as expecting classroom notes, and studying for the exams. The issue of friendships is more revealing when it is the case of the patterns of cultural tendencies of the students, and so, it is more revealing to look at the observational data about students' school life. Most of them view friendship as at least good or better than other schools. Two of them, İnci and Deniz are good friends taking into consideration their similar musical taste. Sibel and Kudret are good friends as they both share an interest in reading books and writing poetry. When I interviewed Firat and Ercan at the same time, I noted that they are good friends, too, having similar interests in exploring new exotic foods, and visiting fancy luxurious places. In other words, instead of friendships or similar tastes of cultural products, as I will reveal the data in the culture section, it is more appropriate to look at students' own cultural activities, whether they prefer solitary activities or have interests that require attending private courses.

2.1.2. Counselling Department and Compensation

Another aspect of the school life is, of course, counseling departments of the school. As mentioned before, Nuray Hanım was newly appointed to OAHS, coming from an older Anatolian High School located in Bahçelievler. As students indicate, before Nuray Hanım came to OAHS, there were less extracurricular activities and seminars about occupations organized. Nuray Hanım was very excited about cultivating a kind of school spirit, such as organizing seminars, educational fairs, and university trips to make students encounter possible choices of occupations. While in the field, I attended one, when Nuray Hanım and Haluk Bey (other counseling teacher) organized a university trip to Marmara University. Nuray Hanım organized a ceremony, an orientation dinner for ninth grades, and was expecting to organize an education fair at OAHS to create an environment for students to see several different universities and departments. Nuray Hanım asked me to arrange a seminar, too, in that university trip. For the seminar, I contacted my previous professors about assisting with a seminar on Gender. I already had a connection with Marmara University as I graduated from the sociology department of this university. When we were at Marmara University on the school trip, I also had

improvised an informal occupational seminar related to sociology. In addition to that, a presentation about computer engineering given by an academician from Marmara University.

Although my visits to OAHS were relatively short, about 1.5 hours, I had the chance to observe thoroughly the counseling department of this school as I attended extracurricular activities and a one parent-teacher conference. These visits convinced me that counseling departments at high schools are important for students and their parents. After the parent-teacher conference held at OAHS, for example, several parents came to speak with Nuray Hanım privately, and talked about their problems with their children. These parents were quite interested to acquire Nuray Hanım's ideas about these problems and to gain more insight into their children's future directions (fieldnotes, 19 November 2015). Although counselling teachers are important in the eyes of families and students, they are not taken seriously in the hierarchy of teachers. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to interview with teachers because of Nuray Hanım's newly established relationships with other teachers. But I did notice that more experienced teachers at OAHS, for example, come and see Nuray Hanım to promote their favorite students in those ceremonies, to exercise their position among the hierarchy (fieldnotes, 9 December 2015).

In general, counseling departments have a role in organizing events to nurture school spirit, and these departments are valuable to make students investigate various occupations, and different universities. However, as I will relate through the data about families, their role of these departments is limited only to supporting students, not to directing them.

As the government took action to abolish private courses institutions in 2012, most of the students then took the courses at their own schools at weekends. Some of them reported that they had taken private courses individually. There is only one student who attends a private course institution, and another is considering taking this preparation as a package provided by those private basic high schools. Five of

the students, out of them two are English-Language-area students, and are taking language courses besides the school's course.

This issue of compensation is quite important for families, whether it is a language course or preparing for the university exams. After the government took action, MNE's generalized private courses were organized directly at high schools and that solution seemed to cover this demand. However, as indicated in the introduction, private basic schools are also taking important places. As Firat indicates, in his comments, these schools have the function of both a private course and a high school. Because of that, some students are criticizing for example reading heavy novels at the literature classes instead of preparing for the university exams. This shows that there is a crucial conflict about the gap between preparing for the university exams and having a high school education.

2.2. An Older Anatolian High School, JAHS: "Better Quality of Teachers"

JAHS is located in Gaziosmanpaşa's inner neighbourhoods. It is an older Anatolian school. There is another high school near to it. JAHS is not so close the tramway that crosses Gaziosmanpaşa. As Gaziosmanpaşa is one of the older parts of Istanbul, it has populations that migrated here from several parts of Turkey, and abroad, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are neighbourhoods called as Karadeniz Mahallesi (Black Sea Neighbourhood), and Bosna Mahallesi (Bosnian Neighbourhood). In Gaziosmanpaşa, there are several condensed industrial sites, mostly consisting of textile companies, sided near to tramway. Besides these bigger complexes, there are smaller textile ateliers inside the neighborhoods. Buildings are neatly constructed, and there are no empty spaces between the apartments. Streets are not wider at all; they can handle only two cars, if that. There is a bazaar, five minutes away the school on Thursdays. Then, we can reach the inner center of Gaziosmanpaşa. A non-traffic street consisting small shops of almost everything. After my visits to JAHS, I was taking my field notes around here, at small tea houses.

JAHS building is consisting only one building. It is established in 1990s as well. It shares its garden with another school, although it is separated by a wall. As this is

the case, JAHS's garden is not so large when we compare it to OAHS. It does not have a sports complex at all. Inside of it, there can be seen as it is separated into two parts. Right opposing to this entrance, there is a canteen. On the right, there is a place for hall monitor students who are registering guests into a notebook. This was a common theme for my own experience too, and it is still a tradition at these schools that I have visited. As mentioned before, school consists of three floors, and a minus one floor which there is this office of gym teachers and other sports equipment. Counseling teachers' office is at the second floor where they have a private room to talk students individually. As my all visits to these schools started, firstly, I had to visit the principal's office. It is on the first floor, a relatively larger office, however it lacks the luxurious environment in comparison with other schools. Although JAHS is smaller in size than its counterparts, it has its own distinctive features. On the second floor, JAHS have a special class for learning German. It is more serious to learn German in here than OAHS. In this room, actually, I completed some of my interviews with students. At third floor, there is a well-equipped conference room named after a famous Turkish poet. This poet is mostly famous among religious population of Turkey. As this is the case, this conference room is built with a sponsorship of Gaziosmanpaşa Municipality, which can be seen as representing how political parties invest schools to boost their ideological preferences and cliques among the wider population. This kind of cooperation between schools and municipalities are common as in OAHS, and our trip to universities organized by Bakırköy Municipality.

In JAHS, I interviewed with students varying between the tenth grade to twelfth grade, although the core population were from the eleventh grade. Two of them were 12th grade students, and one of them was a 10th grade student. Students were chosen by random from different areas by the counseling teacher. Here, it can be seen that this school does not have literature-art-weighted area and English language area in contrast to OAHS. Because of this, I interviewed students only from the equally-weighted-area and from the math-science-weighted area. At JAHS, I also had the chance to interview with a teacher, however it was not a revealing one. As most of the interviews and participation in extracurricular activities is done

under the control of Özlem Hanım, this interview was organised by her. Because of this I have interviewed a female teacher who is a gym-class instructor. At schools like this, I can interpret this situation again, in terms of hierarchy between teachers at Anatolian schools. Counseling teachers are still seen as at the bottom of this hierarchy along with gym-class instructors. It makes sense that I was given this chance only with a gym-class instructor.

Regarding JAHS, I interviewed with twelve students, as some of them did not showed up to meetings, and I held these interviews with two students at a time. This was related with Özlem Hanım's decision to complete interviews quickly. At first, this seemed to me controversial, as if students could affect each other's answers, especially 11th grade answers on a 10th grade student. However, this was not the case. This 10th grade student answered the questions from her own perspective. For the rest of the interviews, they were quite revealing, when I reread and coded these interviews. Moreover, the interviews I had with two 12th grade students let me elaborate my thoughts on school definitions, their perspective about future, and in-school interactions as these students were more relaxed and will leave the school in a few months. I interviewed with five male students and seven female students at JAHS. As my interviews were with mostly female students, it was easier to see their perspective about having gendered professions. Moreover, these female students' relationship in-between with their friends, and with their family were more revealing as they were more eager to have a conversation with me. In addition to that, although I have information on where OAHS students are coming from, I could not reach any for JAHS (See the Table 2.2 for JAHS students in general.)

For JAHS, the first thing that I should indicate is that every student knows very well about their position; they all know that they are students of an older Anatolian High School. An eleventh grade has defined JAHS aptly: "it is an ideal school for average students whose score is not so high" (Ferhat, personal communication, 12 February 2016). Two of the students indicated that they came here because their brothers were also students of JAHS. Other students indicated that either they were advised

to choose this school by their relatives or they had gathered information about JAHS before coming here. In other words, JAHS has a symbolic importance among students and families as it is an older Anatolian High School.

Table 2.2: JAHS Students in General and Indicators of Familial Background

Pseudonyms	Leyla	Ayşegül	Eren	Ahmet
Area of Study	Equally-Weighted	Possibly Equally-Weighted	Equally-Weighted	Math-Science-Weighted
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Male
Birth Order	Second, two children	First, four children	First, two children	Second, three children
Father's Educational Status	High School	Dropped-High School	High School	High School
Mother's Educational Status	Elementary School	Dropped-High School	High School	Elementary School
Father's Occupation	Textile Worker	Industry Worker	Nurse	Worker
Mother's Occupation	Assistant Teacher at a Kindergarten	Housewife	Stylist	Housewife
Residential Address	Gaziosmanpaşa	Gaziosmanpaşa	Eyüp	Gaziosmanpaşa

Pseudonyms of Participants	Ahmet	Gizem	Ceren	Mehmet
Area of Study	Math-Science-Weighted	Math-Science-Weighted	Equally-Weighted	Math-Science-Weighted
Gender	Male	Female	Female	Male
Birth Order	Second, three children	Second, three children	First, two children	First, two children
Father's Educational Status	High School	High School	University	Elementary School
Mother's Educational Status	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School	Elementary School

Table 2.3. (continued)

Father's Occupation	Worker	Employer	Civil Servant	Textile Atelier Owner
Mother's Occupation	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife
Residential Address	Gaziosmanpaşa	Sultangazi	Bayrampaşa	Gaziosmanpaşa

Pseudonyms of Participants	İlayda	Reyyan	Zeynep
Area of Study	Math-Science-Weighted	Equally-Weighted	Equally-Weighted
Gender	Female	Female	Female
Birth Order	First, two children	Second, two children	Second, two children
Father's Educational Status	University	High School	Elementary School
Mother's Educational Status	University	High School	Elementary School
Father's Occupation	Accountant	Retired	Truck Driver
Mother's Occupation	Housewife	Retired	Housewife
Residential Address	Gaziosmanpaşa	Eyüp	Sultangazi

Pseudonyms of Participants	Ulaş	Ferhat	TOTAL N: 12
Area of Study	Math-Science-Weighted	Math-Science-Weighted	
Gender	Male	Male	
Birth Order	Second, three children	Second, two children	
Father's Educational Status	Elementary School	High School	

Table 2.4. (continued)

Mother's Educational Status	Elementary School	Elementary School
Father's Occupation	Textile Worker	Civil Servant
Mother's Occupation	Housewife	Housewife
Residential Address	Sultangazi	Gaziosmanpaşa

Almost all students define their schools in terms of good quality of teachers. Students report that their teachers are qualified and experienced ones, most of them have experiences, for example, from private courses. Students of JAHS told me that their teachers are having conversations with them as students are also “individuals” (Reyyan, personal communication, 12 February 2016). There is not a strict student-teacher relationship. Moreover, one student mentioned about JAHS poor conditions of environment, but adds it is the best state school in this neighborhood.

Although students define their school in terms of its good quality teachers, some equally-weighted students are not so pleased about their Math teacher and his strict attitude towards students. They add to that displeasure the school executives disciplined attitude. Other problematic theme at JAHS is, of course, transferred students. As indicated before, I interviewed one of the transferred students at JAHS. She did not mention any different attitude of teachers towards her or any other transferred students. In contrast, she did mention teacher quality in every statement about JAHS. However, it can be seen in other students’ heated arguments about transferred students. For example, Ceren inserts harsh critics about newly transferred students throughout the interview:

Well it WAS a good school in terms of education. But after transfers, I don’t know, its character or its structure has changed. When we were ninth grade, the school was very good. Students were chosen, they were qualified. But after these transfers at tenth grade... well, of course, I do not judge anyone by their scores but after transfers, a mess occurred at the school, and I am not pleased to it. (Ceren, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

As students report their great communication with teachers, it can be seen in both the tenth-grade student, and eleventh grade students' answers that they feel themselves as a part of this school. They emphasize the role of teachers in this case. In terms of friendship or about its population, they know that relatively better-quality students came here. Leyla and Ceren explicitly assert that students of JAHS are qualified, selected students when it was the issue of friendships. However, in general, the main focus about being a part of the school is JAHS's teachers. About this issue, Reyhan even adds that:

I prefer teachers over students. I have better contact with them. I can talk about my personal problems, or psychology, or even philosophy. As an instance, I know that I've talked with my math teacher late hours 2 or 3 am. (Reyhan, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

Students at JAHS also define high school education in its term of instrumental role of acquiring good jobs in the future. As mentioned above, JAHS students know better their positions among other high school students. As will be discussed in the next section on family involvement, these students are well aware of the value of having a qualified education to achieve higher status in the future. Besides this, JAHS students also emphasize the nature of their school in enhancing intellectual capacities. For example, Leyla and Ayşegül place high school education in individuals' personal development. They told me that in high school, people acquire their characters, and develop themselves in terms of culture. They say that high school education let students develop their intellectual interests (Leyla & Ayşegül, personal communication, 11 February 2016).

2.2.1. Discontinuous School Spirit

As I have mentioned before, ideally, schools prefer to be like high ranking schools in terms of their rituals, symbols such as clothes, festivals, and so on. These features are the main indicator of belonging to a school culture as Bourdieu (1998[1989]) and Henry J Rutz & Balkan (2010) inserts. In this path, we can see that schools create their own habitus. At JAHS, we can see that, besides this good connection between students and teachers, there is a connection between wider context of the

school, as it is placed in Gaziosmanpaşa. Through plays, concerts, and other kind of events, this school creates a kind of ritual order.

Although this certain direction affects in-school environment, when I have asked 12th grade students whether they see themselves as a part of this school or not, I came across with answers like “we are to go, well, we are guests at this school anyway”. Hence, we can see that belonging a certain school, as it implies a school culture is not something accomplished by only school’s advantages such as teachers’ quality, wider sports complexes, or certain rituals. It is also related with school’s graduate network, its symbolic power to ascertain status, economic return, social acquaintances, and actually cultural capital within it as it empowers symbolic capital.

In case of how students find themselves in classrooms, there is a differentiation between equally-weighted-area students and math-science-weighted area students. Equally-weighted students report that they do not like math courses, and sometimes this leads conflict between teachers and them, and after that, with the school executive. However, each of them are satisfied with their areas. There is not a single student that reported that they wanted to be in one certain area while they are in a different area.

As mentioned in the part about OAHS, students’ preferences about their friends are more revealing when it relies on observational data, especially in the section of cultural preferences. Although this is the case, it is clear that students have the idea that they are among the selected students. In some cases, however, there can be seen conflicts between students about friendships, mostly occurs from personal differences in a daily school life of adolescents. Besides personal conflicts, İlayda puts it in a different perspective:

Friendships at the school... Umm... Well, I think that, last years... Well with every passing year, friendships are weakened, I guess. Well, when we were ninth grades, 12th grades were so much better friends or eleventh grades. They had stronger ties than us, I guess. In every year, as if it declines. I think school’s unity is diminishing, when I look at us, or other later grades. Maybe it

is related with growing population of the school. Actually, there can be good friendships in two people or three people, but I do not think it is general in the school. (İlayda, personal communication, 12 February 2016)

As it is mentioned before, students built stronger ties based on their similarities. For example, Reyhan, Zeynep, and Ceren are good friends having roles at the theatre play organized at JAHS. The rest of the students are reporting the same thing about having similar interests, citing similar musical tastes as an example.

2.2.2. Counselling and its Supportive Role

In JAHS, we had more formal conversations with Özlem Hanım. Because of that, aside from their extracurricular activities I attended, a theatre play and a seminar on psychology, I was not able to gather sufficient data about the counseling department. However, as the students reported, the counseling department has strong communication with students when it comes to studying for the university exams, supporting students' ideas about future, but not so much when it comes to personal problems. The counseling department at JAHS, as students indicated, for example, has applied a survey about students' tendencies towards certain occupations. Moreover, Özlem Hanım and her colleague sincerely direct students to choose areas of study, and which courses they should study or which university departments they can choose after the university exams.

As an example, Zeynep indicates the supportive role of her counseling teachers regarding her decision to become a soldier in the future:

They motivate us, of course. They answer all of our questions, they make researches about these questions. Well, for example, we talk to each other regularly with Özlem Hanım. I have asked so many questions about the military academy. She said when it comes to applications, tell me, and we can research about it. They really help us. (Zeynep, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

In other words, the counseling department at JAHS also has a supportive role to assist students in their preparation for the university exams by informing them of future occupations, universities, and career paths. Besides, they have a role to solve

or at least ease students' private concerns related with personal problems, in addition to the university exams.

2.3. Comparison of the Two Cases

In terms of their physical opportunities, OAHS has a distinguished place, as it has wider areas for sports activities and an indoor sports hall. OAHS is built on on a larger area in contrast to its counterpart. As it is located in Ataköy, students define their school in terms of its beauty of environment, and so it is that OAHS has distinctive features in this case.

Although OAHS has developed opportunities for its students in context of the sports activities, JAHS's students define their school in terms of its good quality of teachers. This is a quite profound difference between these two schools as the university exams hold an important place in the students' life. As almost all students of both OAHS and JAHS see high school education in its instrumentality to acquire better jobs in the future, students of JAHS reflect this both in relation with its teachers and the quality of the teacher-student relationship.

Two of the schools, in this sense, have different opportunities when compared. OAHS has a school environment replicating its location's middle-class character, providing its students to enjoy wider sports complexes, and a beautiful environment. In contrast, JAHS is showing exactly the same characteristics of Anatolian High Schools, mentioned in the first chapter. Also, we will see in other sections, JAHS has a well-equipped conference room where students organizes plays, and counselling teachers having seminars on occupational choices. Besides, JAHS has a distinct room for learning German. In context of its population's relatively closed rate to only to Gaziosmanpaşa, in contrast to placing its environment up front, JAHS promotes its distinctiveness of being an older Anatolian High School, its better-quality of teachers, and as students imply, selected students. However, both schools strive to institutionalize a school spirit resonating with more elite schools which have certain school cultures sustaining after graduation. In other words, as a form of institutionalized cultural capital OAHS attracting students by

their symbolic importance derived from its location, while JAHS attracting its reputation coming from being an older Anatolian High School.

In terms of how school's locations are having symbolic importance, it would be quite relevant to look at OAHS population. While it is located in one of the oldest suburban areas of Istanbul, it is not popular among the residences of Ataköy. In contrast, it has its symbolic importance in the eyes of relatively lower classes as its population consisting mostly from other disadvantaged neighborhoods such as Bağcılar and Küçükçekmece.

The crucial difference between these two high schools is students' knowledge about their position. In several cases, it can be seen that JAHS students define their friendships as selected and qualified people entered this school. Or in terms of their school definitions, it is the case of their school's quality, not its environment. Because of that, mostly students' anger about the conflictual issue of transferred students, not teachers as in the case of OAHS. This shows that symbolically, attending an older Anatolian High School has its own authentic importance in the eyes of the students. Besides, critiques about the issue of transferred students show that they questioned their position, their effort to be well-prepared to high school entrance exams. In other words, while exams create an objective and rigid hierarchy between high schools, when it is challenged, it becomes a crucial conflict among students.

2.4. Parental Involvement into High School Education: OAHS

Family pedagogies are important in capturing parenting styles in the spectrum of authoritarian to indifferent, and "concerted cultivation" to "the accomplishment of natural growth" (Lareau & Weininger, 2009 & Lareau, 2011). These properties of families are revealed mostly frequently in the family's ideals about education and the advice they provide on future occupations for their children. As I asked students about whether they spend times with their families or not and what they do during these times, they indicated that mostly they have dinners in the evening or have a cup of tea while watching TV. These times can be seen as just passing time, but

actually, during these periods, families exert their ideals on their children. Before proceeding to that part, I want to introduce information related to the parents' educational status and their occupations.

In OAHS, 8 of the 14 students' mothers are housewives. Seven of this group graduated from middle school¹⁴ or elementary school. One mother, who is an assistant teacher at a kindergarten, is still a student of an open high school (see again, Table 2.1). One of the mothers graduated from high school, and had additional training in cooking and is now employed at a food magazine. The other two mothers are university graduates, one from management, not working right now and the other one is working at her own real estate company. There is also a retired civil servant among the mothers. Unfortunately, I do not see the crucial roles that mothers have while I was in the field, and interestingly, some students' answers about their mothers' occupation and educational status were left empty. But as we will see, mothers, especially those who are more or less in touch with education, are important actors to define their children's educational career.

As I have interviewed fourteen students at OAHS, as a representation of how gender patterns affect educational access in contrast to mothers, only three fathers are graduates from middle school or elementary school. Seven of them are university graduates, and the remainder, high school graduates. Three of the fathers are retired, and two of them are still working. Six of them can be considered to have high status jobs, as two of them are physicians, one of them is a manager at a company, one of them is high ranked police officer, one is a building contractor, and one of them is a customs broker. The rest of them include a core drilling worker, a driver, a civil servant, and a foreman at a factory. In this sense, we can see families sending their children to OAHS represent a mixed class structure if we

¹⁴ Before 1997, it was not compulsory to have eight years of education beginning from the elementary school. Because of this, middle schools become part of elementary schools after the decision to make eight years of education compulsory. See: <http://www.haberturk.com/yasam/haber/703133-8-yillik-zorunlu-egitimde-onemli-degisiklik>

accept occupation and educational status as among the indicators of social class. In this respect, it can be seen that OAHS has students coming from middle class or lower middle-class families. As I will discuss next, this feature has also an important role to define families' attitude towards their children's education and future.

Alongside parents' occupations and education, the student's place in wider families having more children is important in this discussion. In most cases, parents assign the elder children to be responsible for the younger siblings. This is reflected in more disadvantaged families. In these families, it can be seen as if a family accomplish rearing their elder children to have a university education, they fulfill their lack of information by assigning elder children to follow up their little children.

Parent involvement in school relations of students at OAHS varies. This relation has also elements of parenting styles. Although some families may prefer to come only parent-teacher conferences of their children, they have authoritarian tendencies about their children's future directions. Because of this, most of the parents are not coming to OAHS, except to attend parent-teacher conferences. But some of them have good relations with the school.

As previously mentioned, mothers who are in touch with educational settings are more interested in their children's education. As these mothers are also aware of the changes occurring in the schooling system. For example, one mother managed to transfer her daughter to OAHS after discovering the implications of the directives handed down in 2013. Besides being in touch with changes in educational policies, possessing social capital is one of the ways to transfer between schools, or as Ayşe puts it, "our principal is both friends with my mother and my father. Helped us to get here but with teachers (...)" (Ayşe, Personal Communication, 17 November 2015) (Her mother is a professor at one of the famous universities in Istanbul, and her father is a manager of a company). Other students who were able to insert their parents' good relations with the executive board into the interviews were Ercan and Firat, children of the two physicians. These students indicated direct

communication between the executive board and their parents in cases of problematic situations, such as low grades, in-school conflicts, and so on.

Two of the students' parents serve on the parent-teacher association¹⁵ of OAHS, and one of the fathers is the president of this association (Emre, personal communication, 16 November 2015). The other one is Ercan's mother. These two students report that their parents' follow-up thoroughly on their records, yet neither of them indicate any direct involvement of their parents' in their future directions. In fact, Ercan's parents are relatively permissive, as we will see next in the issue of occupational direction from the families.

Other parents who have several visits to the school other than parent-teacher conferences indicate an intense interest in their children's records. These parents are mostly mothers who, as mentioned previously, have an added interest in education, due to either being an assistant teacher at a kindergarten or being an academician at a university. Furthermore, parents who can be considered to be have an advantaged status make school contacts directly. Or in other cases, they visit the schools to criticize, for example, some teachers' attitude about their classes or to comment on the university entrance exam. For instance, Görkem reported that his father who is a customs broker would come to the school to discuss the literature teacher's decision about giving long novels to math-science students (personal communication, 16 November 2015).

In contrast to these families, others assign their elder children to be responsible for their little younger brothers or sisters. These elder sisters or brothers are at university or newly graduated from a university. When families are not taking responsibility about their children's directions towards certain universities or

¹⁵ All high schools have these associations, as it is official, according to MNE's parent-teacher association directive: <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/02/20120209-6.htm>. These associations are constructing a bridge between teachers, schools' executive boards, and families. But mostly, they try to collect funds for the school by several activities and they are in charge of the budget, sponsorships, and monitoring the process. They are also obliged to publish it on the boards in schools.

occupations because of their busy working life, they assign their elder children to serve as mentors of the younger siblings. Hüseyin, as an example, has his elder brother attend the parent-teacher conferences instead of the parents, and he talks about his parents' involvement in his education:

My mother and father are not so much interested in my education. (Your elder brothers then?) Yes, exactly. Sometimes, my parents ask me about my exams like "don't you have exams right now?" or "What did you get, what is your score, what are you doing?" but mostly my elder sister and my brothers are interested in about my education. Well, they know the process, of course. My parents do not know so much, because, well, there are so many kids, and coming from a heavy day at the job, who can be interested. I think they see the case like this, because, well, my father can be very tired at nights, and who can expect to show interest in me? Well, he is right, too. Me, too, I don't want them to be interested, but my brothers and my sister, they ask, they are interested. Well, they make me study actually. (personal communication, 16 November 2015, his father is a retired drilling worker, still works by himself, his mother is a housewife).

2.4.1. A Practice and a Tendency towards to Self-Direction in Control of Parents

As indicated above, parents do not hold authoritarian attitudes about their children's decisions about which area to study (English Language, Equally-Weighted, Math-Science, and Literature-Art-Weighted areas) or for their future occupations. They do not give directives about their choices. Although most of the parents are supporting their children's decisions, sometimes, families do get involved and pressure their children to study for the university exams, or they may try to direct their children into certain occupations. In particular, female students reported that their families direct them into occupations such as being a kindergarten teacher or physician, as it was the case for Ayşe and Sanem (personal communication, 17 November 2015). In terms of occupational directions, it is clear to see that the female students have the aim to become a psychologist, dietician, or lawyer. It seems to be that both families and female students express their desire to be in "gendered professions". Some families or close relatives explicitly impose the choice of these occupations of being a psychologist or a kindergarten teacher. On the other hand, examining what male students want to be in future, we can see none of the male students are inclined to make the same choices to to be a psychologist, teacher, or dietician.

In various forms, students' occupational directions reflect their families parenting style. As families in OAHS are more or less composed of an advantaged group, that is having middle-class attributes, these families do want their children to have high-ranked occupations. Görkem shares that while his parents do not involve themselves in his decisions about his future, they do hold expectations to see their children in a more or less highly ranked job:

No, they do not pressure me about my future job. But they do want me to have a high ranked job. They say that if I want a stable and comfortable life, I should have a job above the average. But I say them that, it is not important how much money I will earn, it is important how I live my life, whether I am happy or not. That's why I don't care about what they say to me. (personal communication, 16 November 2015).

In another case, Ayşe came up with a relatively different answer. At the beginning of the interview, she said that she had a pressure on her, and she explains her situation:

Yes, it is so good, so great to have my family's support in my education. But there is... there is a pressure. A pressure on me, that I have made in my head. Well, you know... my mother's, my father's status is apparent. And I, well, I want to be in a job, that will suit them, too. That's why, I have this pressure on me, that I have made in my mind. Well, they are struggling for me to be in good places, too. (personal communication, 17 November 2015).

With Ayşe, we see that her parents' expectations to achieve a high ranked occupation made her to aspire that status. However, this differs when we compare her answers with more disadvantaged students. If we turn to Hüseyin's case, when asked about his interest in rap music, and whether he wants to be a rapper, or a musician in the future, and how his family would view this, he indicated that although he had thoughts about being a rapper, he is very clear that it would be unacceptable, and said, "No, no way. It couldn't happen. Well, the family get mad about this in any way, they could say, "Who are you? You're only a small fish in a pond. You will have a family to look after." (Hüseyin, personal communication, 16 November 2015). Hüseyin is a good friend of Görkem, and they share similar tastes, and are both fans of video games. I will elaborate about this later in the cultural propensities and future directions sections.

More advantaged families' involvement in their children's future occupations are varied, too. In general, they investigate their children's choices, support them in extracurricular areas, and do this in a sophisticated way. A case in point is Sibel who is acting on a TV series. She transferred from another school, located in Bayrampaşa. Her father is a building contractor, and her mother is an assistant teacher at a kindergarten. She has a relatively relaxed home environment that permits her to take roles in TV series or develop her other skills. She is taking dancing courses, attends acting courses, and plays basketball. At the same time, she continues her schooling. When asked about her preferences of being an actress, she reported that she wants to study law, and become a prosecutor, and added, "because people can shine in one moment and then fall from favor in the another" (Sibel, personal communication, 17 November 2015). Although she shared that if she wanted to continue in acting sector, her family would support her in any case, she indicated in another answer, adding to her previous sentence, "Because of that, as our elders say, for not loafing around, I will study law to have a proper occupation." (Sibel, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

Other students report that their parents support them through all their growing experiences. Hale is playing volleyball, has an interest in dancing, to the extent that she and her friends contacted the school executive to start a dancing club at the school, but were refused. Hale says that in any case, whether she wants to be a volleyball player, or dentist, or dietician, her family would support her:

Well, umm... well, they have always asked me about what I want to be in the future. Well, I have two things in my mind. One is being a dentist, the other one is being a dietician since when I was a little kid. They do not pressure on me about what I want but they always remind me to study university exams, "you have a goal, you should study hard to get there", they say. (...) The only pressure from my parents on me is that actually, and I do it already myself. (Hale, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

This kind of negotiation ground between parents and children make it fertile to let children to choose occupations by themselves. However, the expected occupations are high ranked status, or reflect the family environment. In Hale's case, we can see that her family dentist is really close to her mother. She told me that they see their

dentist every month since she was a very young child. In another case, Firat whose father is a head physician at a famous hospital in Istanbul says that he wants to be a pilot. His family lives in Yeşilköy and have a range of friends who are pilots. He says that his father does not want him to be a physician, so he has chosen a career path as a pilot

In OAHS, I present two important examples alongside Görkem's inclination, which will be discussed in the cultural propensities section, Ecem and Sanem. Sanem is a math-science-weighted area student. When we started to have our conversation, even in the beginning, she told me, "I am a math-science student, but I want to be in equally-weighted classes. I want to study either law or psychology in the future". When asked whether she will transfer next year or not, she said, "No, I can't. My family wants me to be a physician." Sanem's mother is a housewife, and her father is a foreman at a factory. From her answers, we can see her parents are showing characteristics of an authoritarian parenting style. She indicated that she could not meet with her friends, for an example of the rules she lives by. When I wanted to open up the issue of how her parents direct her about the future, she told me, "they are very supportive, more than it should be, well, so much so that I forget my exams, they don't, too much" (Sanem, personal communication, 16 November 2015). In Sanem's family circle, we can understand that there are various successful people who are physicians, teachers, engineers, and "even faculty members". These mobility stories are also important for families to show examples when necessary, and pull a lever on for what their children should be in the future. It is also these close relatives who direct the children to certain occupations. For Sanem, one of her cousins says that she should be a kindergarten teacher. Her uncle says that she should be pharmacist. Her mother supports her to be a psychologist. However, in the end, we can see that Sanem is a student of math-science-weighted area, and plans to follow her father's wish, to be a physician.

Ecem is a very different case among the advantaged families' style of concerted cultivation, and disadvantaged families wish to exert authoritarian directives on their children. She plays the guitar and loves singing. She participates in every

extracurricular activity offered at OAHS including performing at a concert, which I attended. She also attended a national and an international entrepreneurship competition and her team won several awards from these competitions. She reported that these competitions actually made her clear about her career path.

Ecem is one of the two children of two civil servants. Ecem wants to study either management or psychology in the future. She is clearer about management because of her achievements in those competitions. When I ask about how her family supports her in times of decisions, she reported that her parents wanted her to choose math-science-weighted area, especially after that competition:

After I had presented our project at that events, my parents and other people's view about me has changed. (...) Everything, all of my ideas are shaped after those events. Later than, my parents told me that "choose whatever you want my dear". Now, I am a student of equally-weighted area. And they can never pry into what I will do. Maybe, if I want to be a musician (laughs). (Ecem, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

In Ecem's case, we see that personal differences and important events can lead students to have divergent inclinations about future. Yet, as Ecem's parents are both civil servants, and have university degrees, Ecem's personal growth can flourish in such an environment that enables this divergence. Her parents provide stable life requirements for her.

2.5. Parental Involvement into High School Education: JAHS

In JAHS, we can count that nine of the students' mothers are housewives. One of these mothers is working at a kindergarten as an assistant teacher. Only one of them graduated from a university, management department. The rest of the mothers either graduated from elementary school or middle school. One students' mother is retired from a corporation and she has a high school degree. The other mother also graduated from high school, yet she has trained herself in designing clothes, and works as a stylist. In JAHS, too, we will see a crucial difference made by mothers who are in touch with education, or have at least, high school graduation (see Table 2.2 again for details).

I have tried to give an ethnographic account of Gaziosmanpaşa. There are several textile ateliers dispersed around inner neighborhoods. Because of this, JAHS' population can have students coming from families that have worked or still working at these ateliers. Accordingly, four fathers are working at either at an atelier or an industrial site. One of them is a truck driver. The rest of them include two civil servants, one retiree, one of them is an account manager, one of them works at a university canteen, one of them works as a nurse, and the last one is tradesman. Seven of them are graduated from high school, two of them are graduated from university, and the rest of them are either have an elementary school degree or middle school degree. As we can expect, university graduation creates a differentiation on both jobs and present characteristics of middle class.

Accordingly, we can see that students I have come across at JAHS are coming from mostly families below the middle class. There is only one student can be accepted as coming from a relatively more advantaged middle class. As Gaziosmanpaşa has vast industrial sites and textile ateliers, in JAHS, there are more students coming from families that work at these jobs. And these jobs can be interpreted as a less advantaged family status.

In JAHS, we can see again mothers' profound role to track their children records, attend parent-teacher conferences, and having private conversations with teachers about their children. As I will reveal data about noticeable situations about some students, it will be apparent again, that mothers who have relatively good connection with education are more interested in their children's situation. In addition to this, other parents are not so disinterested in their children's records; they simply do not come to the school to meet teachers privately. They do track their children at home, asking about their grades, problems at school, and following up their marathon about the university exams. Moreover, in JAHS, we can see parents who have more children attending schools create a different environment. However, in this case, it can be seen that parents cannot track these students, as these students are their eldest kids.

Leyla is an equally-weighted area student. She is transferred from another school to JAHS last year. She indicated her elder brother is also graduated from JAHS. Her mother is working at a kindergarten and she regularly comes to school, and see Leyla's teachers to track her progress. Eren is also an equally-weighted area student. His mother is a stylist. He talks about how his interest in painting is supported by his mother. He also says that her mother persistently comes to the school. There is a certain effort of Eren's mother representing exactly what Annette Lareau (2011) calls concerted cultivation. He indicates, with his mother, they try to give her little brother a reading habit.

In another case, Reyyan shared, firstly how she tried to solve her problems at school by herself, and then negotiate it with her parents. She indicated a certain self-direction in each area of her interest:

Well, umm, if I had a problem at the school, I solve it by myself. I have stated this to my parents, too, I wanted to do it myself. Because, you know, they won't be there in the future. I will stand by myself. I should get used to this situation. They are aware of this situation, too, and I think they understood me. Except that, my mother comes to parent-teacher conferences. My father is a little bit more committed to these conferences. Well, my elder brother already knows my records, my situation at the school, and so on. But my mother, when she comes to these conferences, she always talks my teachers privately. They have conversations about me. Besides, I know that my mother wants to see me at the school, but I want to solve my problems by myself. (Reyyan, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

2.5.1. Elements of a Normative Pattern and Mothers' Role in Education

In general, parents of the students of JAHS, do not come and see teachers regularly. They try to track their students by asking their children themselves. This feature will be more meaningful when we look at educational ideals of families, and the advice they give to their children about their future. In particular, parents' educational ideals about their children show that there is a kind of normative order that is created in the sense of their guidance. This guidance includes parents' lack of education, their unstable low-ranking jobs, mobility stories in the wider network of the family, and their supportive role under such circumstances for investing in their

children to enter such prestigious and older Anatolian High School like JAHS. As Ayşegül puts it:

They make efforts more than my efforts. Well, this is not like this... a kind of discipline, or pressure. But this is related with what they see in their lives, what they gone through. They consistently remind me their choices, and warn me not to regret in the future. So, they try as far as they can. They help me to the full extent. (Ayşegül, personal communication, 11 February 2016).

This is quite a common pattern at JAHS, and more generally among less advantaged families. Half of the students I interviewed used sentences like “without my family, I cannot achieve this” (Ayşegül, Ferhat, Ulaş, Zeynep, and Ahmet, personal communication, 11 & 12 February 2016). showing their good school, how their parents’ struggle to provide them with better conditions. There is a certain feeling of indebtedness to their parents among students at JAHS. This normative order both creates a sense of indebtedness to students on the one hand, and provides the motivation or creates a conscientious responsibility to study hard, on the other, which is presenting a different type of cultivation.

In other cases, I came across a different pattern, too. Civil servant parents see math-science-weighted area as a route to provide more stable occupations, and a more comfortable life. In this sense, Ceren insists that when she chose an equally-weighted area, her father directed her to math-science-weighted area. There is an apparent conflict between her father and Ceren. She reported that when she talks about being a psychologist in the future, her father answered her “you’ll be starved” (Ceren, personal communication, 12 February 2016). In another related case, Ferhat shows even more intense pressure on him. This is explicit in his answers about his family’s support, and his future occupation, being a physician:

Well, you know, this is our last year at this school before the exam, because of that, as we shouldn’t be stressed out, they say “don’t worry about your score, in any case, you’re our beloved son”, but my father is not like that. Sometimes, he inserts that “well, you see how we struggle. Don’t do that. We didn’t study, at least, you have a proper job”. (Ferhat, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

In the case of his future occupation, he talks occasionally about his free own time:

At last, this year, after I get to medical sciences faculty, I will have more free time for myself. I will do whatever I want. After six years, I have my own time. And you can see, you become an engineer, that's great, ok. But you cannot earn so much money any longer from doing that job. That's why, we have to go through that direction, being a physician. (...) It is being a physician, at last. They respect you and stuff like that. (Ferhat, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

In here, it can be seen that in both of these examples, there is a normative order to achieve high-ranked status. However, as JAHS provides a more advantaged environment for math-science-weighted area, and students are more prone to follow that normative cultivation, there are fewer conflicts between students and their parents about their future occupations.

Relatively more advantaged families, as mentioned above, provide a less stressed, more negotiation-based environment for their children. Yet they report or complain about their parents' attitude. Eren puts it clearly:

No doubts, my parents are supporting me in any case about my education. But sometimes, I do feel heavy pressure on me. I have a problem with mathematics. Everyone has problems with mathematics. Well, I know that I have to do it, you know, as I want to study law in the future, I have to do mathematics. But when my parents come down about math, I feel suffocated, and I do not study math deliberately. I hate mathematics. (Eren, personal communication, 11 February 2016).

Eren illustrates characteristics of a concerted cultivation attitude of parents. Another characteristic example is Reyyan. When asked her about her parents' educational ideals, she highlights the difference of her parents from other families, "they created a free environment for me, when that era begin, adolescence they call, they created it from the beginning." (Reyyan, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

In JAHS, parents' pressure is mostly focused on ensuring that their children study adequately for the university exam. Half of the students reported that their families' support them in their choice of direction about future jobs. The exception was

Ceren, when she confronted her parents' about being a psychologist. Other students coming from less advantaged families align to their parents' wishes: they either choose gendered professions or highly ranked jobs. Actually, five of the seven female students expressed a desire to be a psychologist or once thought about being a psychologist. Even İlayda a student who had once considered being a psychologist, reported that she now wanted to be in the medical sciences, not necessarily a physician, but a health care professional. Other female students who had wanted to be psychologists in the future indicated that their parents or their wider family network directed them into other gendered professions, such as kindergarten teacher.

Male students are mostly students of math-science-weighted area. Two of them want to be physicians, one of them, Eren, wants to be a lawyer, and the other wants to be an automotive engineer. Only Ahmet thought about changing area after sitting the university exams. Although a student of math-science-weighted area, he is considering to be a translator in the future, as he says he is good at foreign languages (Ahmet, personal communication, 12 February 2016). However, JAHS do not have a separate area dedicated to foreign languages. Instead, at JAHS, students prefer to study additional courses in either German or English, in addition to their core courses only in the math-science-weighted area or equally-weighted area. It should be noted that there is not a dedicated area of literature-art-weighted area at JAHS, too.

As seen in less advantaged families, less conflicts occur about future inclinations of students. Even Ahmet can stay in the math-science-weighted area and choose a relatively stable job as civil servant, his parents think. In this sense, we can see that at JAHS, students are more apt to follow the normative order.

In other cases, we can expect, parents, or more specifically mothers, to have a stronger connection with education and to show characteristics of concerted cultivation. However, this occurs in the limitations of aspiring to high ranked jobs in accordance with parents' past experiences.

Following this line of thought, it can be expected from Eren and Reyyan's cases, where there is a nurturing and relaxed environment, they can also expect to aspire to career role-models from within their wider network of family. Reyyan reported that she wants to study neuropsychology. This to be expected as one of his cousins is still studying psychology at a university, and from her experience, Reyyan can have access to information about psychology. She explicitly stated "neuropsychology", so it can be inferred that she has had considerable information about future jobs, enhanced by participating in several free courses offered at psychotherapy institutions. (Reyyan, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

Eren likewise has a prominent figure in his wider family. His uncle is a high court chief prosecutor in one of the bigger cities of Turkey. Eren said, "I can ask him about studying law when I want" (Eren, personal communication, 11 February 2016). Yet Eren does not want to be a judge or a prosecutor. Instead, he wants to be a specialized lawyer in German Law. To this end, he has chosen his future university, a Turkish-German University, and is taking German language courses.

One female student, Zeynep, differs from these patterns of concerted cultivation or normative cultivation. Zeynep wants to be a soldier in the future, a military officer actually. She is a quite self-sufficient person, and has even taken roles in the school theatre. Looking more closely at her situation, it might be inferred that there is an absence of an authority figure at home as her father is a truck driver, but on the other hand, her mother has been the head of parent-teacher association, and now she serves a member of it. Zeynep's elder brother also graduated from JAHS. From the data, it might be considered controversial to infer that her inclination to be a soldier in the future is related with an authority gap at home. But quite to the contrary, as she has degrees in karate, and as a role model, her mother's position at the school can lead her to follow her childhood dreams. Moreover, as her father is not at home regularly, it may be the case that her family ties are stronger as she confronts everyday problems in her life.

2.6. Comparison of the Two Cases

There are crucial differentiations between OAHS and JAHS. As JAHS is an Anatolian High School since its inception, it can be inferred that more hardworking students are attending this school. Alongside with OAHS, JAHS does not have distinct areas on such as English-Language-area, and literature-art-weighted area. Students attending JAHS have only two options, either choosing math-science-weighted area or equally-weighted area. From this, it can be seen that first, JAHS is a high school that prepares its students to study for mostly highly ranked scientific jobs such as engineering and medical sciences on one side, and law, political sciences, and the social sciences (especially psychology) on the humanities side. Secondly, it can be demonstrated that JAHS reflecting families' wishes for her children to acquire more stable and high ranked jobs in the future.

In OAHS, there is not a clear pattern about this issue. There are different areas including English-language-area. Two students, for example, want to study in this area in the future. On the other hand, examples such as Firat and Ercan, both children of physicians who are relatively relaxed when it comes to their parents' direction about their future occupations. Other parents were seen to be also more supportive in their children's decisions about the future, or in cases of their cultural activities.

In contrast, at JAHS, it can be shown that there is a certain pattern of a normative order among relatively less advantaged families. Interestingly, students at JAHS repeatedly report their parents' supportive yet advisory roles which is remarkable given these parents' own lack of education and highly ranked jobs. This reflects a crucial part of the study. In the case of parenting styles, and how they are elaborated further by the concepts of concerted cultivation and accomplishment of natural growth, at JAHS, it can be seen there is an alternative path among parents to cultivate their children in a normative order. As mentioned before, this normative order both gives a sense of indebtedness to students and at the same time motivates them.

In both cases, but especially at JAHS, it is indicated that female students have a tendency to choose gendered profession, especially being a psychologist in the future. This aspect of this profession's gendered nature is clear when students' wider network advises them to choose this profession. It is thought that being a psychologist or a kindergarten teacher is more suitable for females among this network.

Accordingly, in both cases, it is relatively clear that the mothers' role is to take care of their children's education and there is significant importance attached to that role. However, it varies, of course. In some cases, the mother's role can be related with her own perfectionist tendencies to protect the family status. But mostly, if a mother has a part time job like being an assistant teacher at a kindergarten, then these mothers are following trends to transfer their students to better schools, and they organize their children's cultural activities, whether through paid lessons or following a certain interest.

Moreover, combinations of two parents who have at least high school education differs from other families. These families are more reliant to have a concerted cultivation style attitude towards their children in both cases. On the other hand, in less advantaged families, there is a certain tendency to normative cultivation, as indicated above.

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL DISPOSITIONS AND FUTURE EXPECTATIONS AT THE INTERSECTION OF PARENTS AND PEER-SOCIALIZATION

As cultural propensities of students are an important part of this study, I asked students how they spend their free time, whether they have some hobbies or not, reading habits, musical taste and whether if it is important for forming friendships or not, extracurricular courses to enhance their skills, and so on (See Appendix A.2 or A.4). From their responses, I wanted to inquire whether students have refined tastes for cultural products or not, and at the same time, I wanted to see how they organize their leisure time. This reflects Lareau & Weininger's (2003) critical elaboration of cultural capital, as they insist that cultural capital is more than having a refined taste of cultural products. In this sense, as we will see, it is more revealing to look at students' time management, enhancement of certain skills, what is the role families and schools in this development, and lastly, whether they prefer these interests turning into professions or not, in hypothetical terms or not. Parents' attitude towards these aspects of life of their children varies. Actually, before coming to their support, some students report that they follow solitary activities such as writing poems, listening to music, or playing video games, in contrast to leisure activities that require team players, or attending private courses, such as volleyball, basketball, swimming, and dancing.

Although students indicate that they all have a certain interest in their lives outside of school, whether focused on solitary activities or hobbies, as they are 11th graders and should allot time to study for their university exams, almost all of them reported that they left their courses for studying. Furthermore, some students reported that their homes were far away from the school, so they ended up spending hours in Istanbul traffic congestion. Because of that situation, they do not have leisure time for themselves, even having after-school conversations with friends.

3.1. Body-Centered Flourishment: OAHS

In this context, I have seen several different patterns about cultural propensities of the students of OAHS. When it is the case of sport activities, as can be expected, there is a distinction between female students and male students. Female students are more prone to fill their leisure time with volleyball. In contrast, male students say that they go to gym, they play basketball, and less than that, they play football. Some of them are even semi-professional players in these sports activities. These students are interested in more than one sport. Two students reported that they even hold licenses in more than one sport, and they could earn money from these sport activities. As the data unfolded, it can be seen that parents of these students are providing enough access to these activities. Other students, whether it is related with personal differences or having less opportunities, are interested in solitary activities.

In terms of musical taste, eight of the students report that they like listening to rock music. This interest has further distinctions such as metal music, alternative rock, Turkish rock, or in general rock music depending on the depth of their interest. Two of these students, who are good friends according to observational data, are interested in rap music. The other two students reported that they like electronic music, or more truly club music, and they like to go to clubs, fancy restaurants, or concerts together. There is not a discernable pattern among students when it is the case of coffee houses, or restaurants except that there are two students who like to visit fancy places, and one student who is interested in rock bars. There is not a distinguishable pattern about reading magazines, except for two students. One of them is interested in video games, and tries to follow magazines about video games. The other one is interested in metal music, which she adopts as an identity. So, she follows metal music magazines. The crucial difference occurs among students when it is the case of having a sportive skill or a type of skill that makes them attend courses. It is crucially important how their parents' support this activity, whether these parents support their children if they want to do it professionally or not. At OAHS, as mentioned before, there is an in-hall sports

complex, and it also has a supportive role for students to enhance their skills, especially in areas of volleyball and basketball.

Friendships developed along similar interests are important, too. However, it is too ambiguous to clearly identify them from the interviews. In interviews, students report controversial directions about their friendships and their interests. They report either their friendships occur around similar interests or that they are affected by their friends and begin to be interested in certain areas due to these relationships. In this case, I have relied on observational data as I cannot get from the interviews, who are good friends or not. As we will see, similar tastes and interests are a crucial part of a friendship. Yet it is not enough to have similar ideals about future. Especially, if one student is coming from a less advantaged family.

Musical tastes create a sort of subculture and can provide a ground to cultivate a certain kind of identity. Although it is not a general pattern among students, three of them clearly have this kind of tendency. However, this pattern is also related with parental attitudes towards their children. When parents hold a more permissive style, their children can find for themselves a kind of niche to explore their preferences, their freedom, and define their identities to differ from others. Deniz is a student of OAHS in the area of English language. She wears blackish makeup, wears black clothes within the limits of the school uniform. Her relationship with her parents is not problematic, at least I understood this from what she told me. However, in case of occupation, or her relationship with the school, or her grades, her parents do not pay so much attention. Similar to her makeup and clothes, she tells that she listens to rock music, actually, metal music, especially Nightwish whose music a kind of a mixing of opera and heavy metal music. Although there are few Rock bars in Istanbul, she indicates that when she goes out, she likes to see Rock bars. Besides these, she plays League of Legends, which is an online video game that requires several gamers to play. It requires two teams in which everyone has heroic characters, and they battle against each other to win opponents' places.

Deniz told me that she doesn't spend much time with her family. In summer, she plays League of Legends at night. Sometimes, she says, she comes across her mother at nights while she was playing League of Legends. She has an elder sister. However, she does not say much about her sister, anything related with her future expectations or their relationship. She tells me that if there is anyone to talk about her future, she reaches out to her friends outside of the school.

As mentioned before, the crucial difference among students occurs when it comes to have a skill that requires more than solitary activity. Every student, more or less, has a certain interest. However, in depth, it is clearer whether students attend or had attended a course continuously which requires spending money on it, whether it be expensive or not.

Görkem and Hüseyin are really good friends at OAHS. They both report that friendships are important for them, and at OAHS this has become transient, as many of their friends transferred to different schools. However, their mutual interest in video games, especially in Counter Strike: GO, which is a video game consisting two teams, terrorists and counter-terrorists fighting each other with weapons, and their shared interest in rap music, brought them closer together as friends. Although they are good friends with similar interests and similar taste of music, there is a crucial difference between them. When it is the case of video games, Görkem is much more eager and excited to do projects about them. He told me that he and Hüseyin opened a YouTube channel discussing video games, along the lines of what more popular gamers are doing, and they introduce their video game reviews on this channel. Görkem also follows a video game magazine, *Oyungezer*. Hüseyin reads this magazine when his friend, Görkem brings it to school. The crucial difference between them occurs in cases of other areas, sportive activities, and of course, in their future directions. Görkem indicates that he was attending a basketball club until last year. He left this club in order to focus on studying for his university exams. In contrast, Hüseyin does not indicate any extracurricular activity, besides being a popular user at Twitter, listening to rap music, watching TV series, and other solitary activities that do not require any

additional courses. More than that, when I asked about his future expectations, Görkem says he wants to be a computer engineer, or more specifically a video game creator, a graphic editor:

Well, you know, everyone will tell you about their extreme ideals. That's why, I can say, I want to study computer engineering at Boğaziçi University to become graphic editor. I've come to here, of course, from playing video games. There isn't anyone around me who is a graphic editor. (Görkem, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

As mentioned, his family wants him only to be at a high ranked job, but Görkem says he will choose an occupation that makes him happy, and it is clear that he chooses this occupation from his interest in video games. In contrast to his case, Hüseyin does not present similar ideals either about his interest in rap music or about video games. Hüseyin indicates that he wants to be computer engineer, too, but it relates to having a stable job. Although from cultural propensities we can derive occupational directions, these properties will be discussed in the section of future expectations of students.

In other cases, parents' perfectionist tendencies have led children not to think about turning their interests into professions. Ayşe plays volleyball at OAHS, and out of the school, at a team which trains volleyball players for Galatasaray. In her case, her father supports her to acquire a sports skill, and even work as a professional:

Yes... Yes, I thought about being a volleyball player. If had only begin volleyball when I was younger. After this age, they say it will be problem according to my height. (Interviewer: What about your family? It's too difficult to happen. Of course, my mother does not want (laughs). But my father would love to see me playing. He was... my father once was playing for Beşiktaş. But hereafter, he quit it because of his teacher. Well, you know, he encourages us to sports activities. My father would absolutely support this, my mother would absolutely do not. Well, she says, actually she is telling me that now, too, when I grumble about why didn't you send me before, she says: "only once if your ankle is twisted, your life is ruined then". That's it, she is not supporting (laughs). (Ayşe, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

I presented her mother's thoughts about her future job in the family section. There is a certain direction of her mother about having a high ranked job. In other words,

although slightly, there is also a normative tendency among more advantaged families, not in terms of achieving a mobility path to acquire better status, but achieving the set of standards of the family's status.

In parallel with Ayşe's situation, as mentioned in the family section, Sibel indicated her skills of dancing, acting, and playing basketball. She reported that she left the basketball team in order to attend an acting course instead, and that in her leisure time, she spends her time with her friends at Kadıköy, or Karaköy, at karaoke parties, and so on. Beside the differences between Ayşe and Sibel regarding their skills of acting and playing volleyball, Sibel already earns money from her skills, and wants to enhance it by attending courses. Yet, as mentioned above, her family wants her to acquire a skill to support oneself which is studying law.

More advantaged families' tendency of leading their children to high-ranking jobs is clear to protect or improve the family's mobility narrative. However, there are also different patterns amongst more upwardly mobile families such as having a permissive attitude. Ercan enjoys spending time with his friends at clubs. He attends gym after the school, and has students to work out with at the gym. He likes to listen electronic music such as David Guetta, Skrillex, Martin Garrix, and W&W and likes to go to night clubs. He even likes to attend concerts of these musicians. With the exception of his visit to fancy eateries such as Huqqa, Kitchenette, most of his time is spent around Yeşilköy, Ataköy, and Bebek. He shared that in the past he was playing football. First, he played for Ataköy, and then he transferred to Galatasaray. But in the end, he decided to focus on studying for the university exams, and he quit football altogether. Moreover, he was an athlete once. In Ercan's case, it is so much clear of his parents' attitude towards his interests. When I asked about whether he wanted to open a gym or not, he told that he already has a few students at the gym, and wants to open a gym sometime. When it comes to his future expectations, he says: "Well, my father says that choose whatever you want, and I send you right away" (Ercan, personal communication, 16 November 2015).

Firat and Ercan are good friends, too, and I interviewed with them consecutively. Firat also mentioned his interest in visiting fancy restaurants. He likes to taste new exotic foods such as Mexican cuisine, Japanese cuisine, and others. He shared that he loves the famous steakhouse Nusr-et. He likes to go to night clubs, and loves to attend concerts, and even takes his father's car to drive around although he does not have a driver's license. In case of his skills, he boasted that he has a license to sail a private boat "up to 28 meters" (Firat, personal communication, 16 November 2015). Moreover, he works at a family friend's company that organizes scuba-diving tours, and also works as a snowboard trainer from time to time. He is interested in these various areas only as a hobby, and is not considering any of these hobbies as a profession. He is more interested in being a pilot in the future, as he admires his parents' family friend's pilot lifestyle.

Ecem's interest in music was detailed in the family section, but it is worth mentioning that in addition to her achievements in the contest in which she participated, she performs at concerts or ceremonies at OAHS, and with her friends, they regularly attend rehearsal studios. As she sings covers of Turkish rock music, she likes listening to rock music. Besides her talent in singing and playing the guitar, she also plays transverse flute. However, currently she dedicates more practice of playing guitar, and attending a guitar course. She does not think of turning music into a profession, but wants to continue it as a hobby.

The rest of the students pass their time with solitary activities such as reading, listening to music, or playing video games. Nearly all of them are not interested to pursuing their interests as a profession. Except one, Kudret, who is interested in writing poems, and, reading classic literature. Kudret likes to listen Turkish folk music, of Erkan Oğur, Ruhi Su, and Erdal Erzincan. He has idealist thoughts about education putting an emphasis on its nature of teaching students how to sustain a life instead of turning them into "race horses" (Kudret, personal communication, 17 November 2015). He indicates that he writes poem in early mornings, and reads literature, mostly classics. He follows a magazine that he did not want me to learn, about, as it is political in nature.

3.2. Distinctive Intellectual and Art-Related Taste: JAHS

In JAHS, students' interests in certain cultural products are various. There is a general tendency to listen to rock and metal music. Some students did not indicate any musical taste in particular. But there again occurs a pattern of having solitary interests on the one hand, and having interests involving a team play or attending courses about them on the other. However, there are students who show sophisticated tastes in music, recreational activities. This presents as a contrast between less advantaged families and advantaged families. For example, there are students from less advantaged families whose parents are cultivating their children in various areas, versus those students whose dominant interests have become studying for the university exams.

Eren when pointing out his interest in painting and reading books, shared that in his leisure time, he likes to work on toile. He likes to visit new places in Istanbul, and finds distinct places in Balat and Kadıköy to visit occasionally. He loves Balat because of its "sociocultural elements". He finds Balat "cosmopolitan" as its residents are from various ethnicities or religious minorities. He likes Kadıköy because it is the place where he can attend opera at Süreyya Opera Hall. As may be predicted, he likes listening to classical music, especially Johann Sebastian Bach. In the case of his reading habits he says:

Well, we read books with my mother. And my little brother. You know, we try to make him to gain reading habit. Because, he is only at the elementary school. But my father does not like to read. (...) We do have a library. There are books that is left from my mother. And I can benefit from it. (Eren, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

In the case of his interest in painting he says:

Well that too... I actually gain that habit from my mother, too. Because we paint together. She already paints, as she is a stylist. Her drawings are different of course, but I have gained this habit from her as my reading habit. Our communication is stronger with my mum. These are all from her. That's why, they support me.

Eren indicates that he wants to continue his painting habit as a past-time activity in the future, besides being a specialist on German law, as we saw earlier.

Reyyan talks about her interest in playing the electronic guitar. She is one of the very active students at JAHS, who has played a role in theatre, which I attended. She points out that at nearly all school events, she has a role, whether it is singing or acting, or reading poems. Her leisure time is organized thoroughly because of her active cultural life. To all that, activity, she adds her interests in literature, going to plays, and exploring new places. About her literature taste, she tries to show how she developed her literary taste:

Yes, I do have a library. Umm... well actually, I have a different style about books. I was reading my elder brother's books when I was a little kid, since elementary school. These books that is suitable for my age at that time, and I didn't like them. Generally, I was reading classics at that time. I like reading books like Adam Fawer's *Improbable and Empathy*. Now, I do have a taste. I like classics and crime novels. And I place them into my library. (Reyyan, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

After finishing the interview with Reyyan, we talked for 20 minutes about rock music bands, especially the bands who have become classics. In the interview, she also indicated that she listens to every "real music" which are from the 60's, 70's, and 80's, besides jazz bands (Reyyan, personal communication, 12 February 2016). She shows how her musical taste is refined, placing several names in a row including famous Turkish guitar virtuous Yavuz Çetin. As I was having the interviews with two students at the same time, other student İlayda seemed to feel uncomfortable at times. After Reyyan presented in which events at the school she attended, İlayda replied the same question about what about her role in these events, she said:

The events that I have participated at the school? No, I didn't participate any event at the school. Why? I don't know why. Well, I have also thought to join the events which my friend had a role, the play or the other one, poetry recitation. But then, I didn't participate. I don't know why this is like this, I would want to participate. (İlayda, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

In other cases, Ahmet talks about his refined taste in alternative rock, and talks about his favorite band, Dilligent Fingers, a sort of underrated rock band. He thinks about studying American Culture and Literature in the future, while at the same

time being a math-science-weighted area student. He told me that in his leisure time, he goes to see movies, or at home, watch animes, which is a genre of Japanese series of animation (Ahmet, personal communication, 11 February 2016).

There was a theatre play organized by students at JAHS, called *Artiz Mektebi*, a written by Kandemir Konduk and Müjdat Gezen. It is about an art school whose principal is a sly guy. In the play, a love relationship develops between a wealthy girl and a poor boy, and in parallel, between two older lovers, one of whom is already a teacher at the school, and the other, a newly appointed teacher. In this play, there were three students I had had the chance to interview. One of them was Reyyan, and the others were Ceren and Zeynep. (fieldnotes, 4 March 2016).

Specifically, from this example only, it can be seen that, there is also a crucial pattern about cultural tendencies of students, as two students, Ceren and Reyyan are the children of relatively advantaged families. While Zeynep, although her family can be considered as less advantaged, her mother's strong ties with the school indicate that these types of families have a concerted cultivation type of attitude towards their children.

3.3. Comparison of the Two Cases

In both cases, almost all students have some sort of interest in their own way. It can be a solitary activity such as writing poems, listening to music, watching animes, or playing video games on the one hand, or it can be sailing boats, being a tutor of snowboard training, on the other. As indicated above, the crucial difference occurs among students about having only solitary interests.

In the case of cultural tendencies, we can underscore the importance of the mother's role to nurture and develop their children's intellectual capacities. As Eren's interests in painting, his reading habits, and his preference for classical music shows, mothers play a divergent role in this process, which is doubled when both parents of the children have an alliance on the issue of concerted cultivation, such as Reyyan's story indicates.

In a different context, it can be seen that students acquire more expensive habits. Both Ercan and Firat are the children of physicians, and although they may share similar interests, their everyday habit of attending night clubs, eating exotic foods, or sailing boats is at opposite ends of the spectrum. However, when their story is combined with their parents' attitude, although they have a relatively more advantaged family, these families do not hold any type of concerted cultivation attitude, which would include again, carefully organized leisure times. In their case, their parents demonstrate the characteristics of a more permissive family.

In the same manner, permissive attitudes can lead students to aspire to make their interests into professions, as is the case with Görkem. Although his family wants him to get a better job in the future, he designs his own way of becoming a graphic editor. Unlike him, his best friend Hüseyin wants to be a computer engineer while sustaining his interest in video games, but estimates his job in a normative order.

Accordingly, cultural propensities in both cases are various. However, it should be indicated that there is a certain distinction between OAHS and JAHS, as at JAHS, students aspire to more intellectual interests while at OAHS, these interests are more physical. This can be both related with OAHS' wider sports complex or JAHS' well-equipped conference hall. But it is more related with students' perceptions about their school, as in JAHS, a majority of the students indicated their qualified friends and also, of course, their well-informed position among the high school hierarchy.

3.4. Future Directions of OAHS Students: “Concerted Cultivation” and Exceptions

In parallel with other the sections included in this thesis concerning cultural tendencies of students and parent involvement with students' expectations, there are themes that connect with the future expectations of these students. In OAHS, two female students want to study in the area of language, either to be certified translators holding a university degree or, they want to study American Culture and Literature. One of the students of these two English-language-area students, Deniz,

also indicated her interest in criminal psychology in relation with her taste for reading related novels. But she also indicated that this might be possible only if her department would teach in English, she for the time being, she wants to study psychology (Deniz, personal communication, 16 November 2015). In terms of her motivation towards the future, she indicates her distinct indifferent identity, "I'm always in the mood, if it happens it happens, if it does not, it doesn't" (Deniz, personal communication, 16 November 2015). There are not any related family acquaintances doing what she wants to do in the future. As mentioned before, her elder sister is not interested in Deniz's situation. She indicated that she talks about her future only with her elder friend outside the school, and Sema, the other student from the English-language-area. When asked about whether the school supports them or not, she again answered the questions in an indifferent manner.

Emre, whose father is a police officer and is the head of parent-teacher association, wants to be a manager in the future. He thinks that he has the qualities of a good leader. Because of this, he wants to study industrial engineering at Istanbul Technical University or Middle-East Technical University. He aspires to attend better universities in Turkey that are also known to have better quality technical departments. When he was a child, his parents directed him toward certain occupations. But now, he thinks that he can choose any occupation in the future. His family has a good friend who is also a manager at a different company. In times of need, he shared that he has conversations about his future occupation with this family friend. He added at the end of the interview that he had concerns in terms of finding a better job. He also indicated that he overcome this fear by having certain aims to attend better universities which would lead him to better occupations. (Emre, personal communication, 16 November 2015).

Gamze wants to be a dietician or a dentist in the future. Her parents work at the same company that publishes several periodicals including a food magazine. Her mother is a cook, who trained after high school by attending food courses specializing in such cuisine as Thai or Japanese, and others. Her father works at the same company with her mother. Both of her parents have high school diplomas.

Although we may see that Gamze's family is a relatively less advantaged family, this is not the case. In terms of cultural activities of her daughter, they support Gamze fully. This is also true whether Gamze wants to be a physician, or a dentist, or a dietician in the future. When I asked about whether she can talk about her future occupation or not, she points out her family's dentist. She tells me that in time of need, she can talk to her to gather information about being a dentist. (Gamze, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

As mentioned before about Hüseyin's occupational direction, it is indicated there is normative pressure on him to get better jobs. He wants to be a computer engineer in the future, but in contrast to his good friend Görkem, he proposes his job, his future ideals as:

I want to study, I hope that I can work for a company dealing with its software problems. I play video games, but I don't want to do anything related with video games. I want to be a software programmer or as I said enter a company, and step by step achieve higher ranks at this company. I want to build a career at this company to get better conditions. Because when I do that, I can set aside time for myself. (Hüseyin, personal communication, 16 November 2015).

In Sanem's case, she explicitly shares of her exhaustion about the university exams and her parents' pressure on her. When asked about her future expectations she says:

Ah I want to finish my university degree as soon as possible, and that's all. Well, I want to do my job, regardless of whatever it is, I want to do my best. I want to be known, I want to be helpful to my country. Later on, for example, I want to study law, and get into politics, and I want to improve my country. (Sanem, personal communication, 16 November 2015).

As I have mentioned before, she is not an equally-weighted-area student and her family wants her to be a physician in the future. In terms of occupation, she indicates this as well. When it is the case of whether or not her family circle includes people who have university degrees, as mentioned before, she has several relatives who are engineers, physicians, and so on. These kinds of mobility stories among less advantaged families are quite important. Families show other success stories which occur in wider networks of their family and serve as examples to elaborate the

normative narrative. In Sanem's case, it can be more than a normative cultivation, it highlights authoritarian characteristics of their conversations with Sanem and her parents.

With Sibel, it can be seen that her mother's extraordinary efforts to cultivate her daughter are realized by registering her in English courses, acting courses, and so on. In her case, Sibel points out that she wants to be a prosecutor in the future. She wants to be the best of everything, whether it is being a prosecutor or being an actress. She also indicates that she is in a beauty contest right now, and will do her best in it. (Sanem, personal communication, 16 November 2015). As for her career path, it is clear to see her mother's involvement. In Sanem's case, there is a tendency of her mother to cultivate her daughter's several interests at the same time, and yet to direct her to a certain area of study which is law. This is a different case from the other parents' attitudes of concerted cultivation or having permissive tendencies about their children. In here, it can be seen that her mother tries to create a mobility story for her daughter, but not an explicitly normative one.

Two cases in OAHS have significantly different characteristics in them. The first one is of course, Görkem, and the second one, Ecem. Görkem want to find his job in his interest of video games. He indicates firstly he wants to be a computer engineer as his best friend, Hüseyin, and then he wants to work as a graphic editor for game companies. He says that he does not have any relative or acquaintances around him working as a computer engineer or a graphic editor. When asked about whether he has an idol or not, he told me, that he has idols on the internet, through playing video games and from preparing game critiques about these games on YouTube.

I have indicated Ecem's distinguished direction. She has won several awards at both national and international entrepreneurship contests. She has various interests such as playing the guitar, performing concerts at the school, and so on. As her self-proclaimed situation shows, she is in control of her own destiny about the future. Her future expectations point this out well. She wants to study management and at the same time continues to make music with her friends. She explicitly makes clear

about her parents' involvement in her decision to go on in the equally-weighted-area. She mentions about her self-confidence, derived from her performances at OAHS and her degrees from those contests, and these confirmations of her ability lead her to choose her own career path (Ecem, personal communication, 17 November 2015).

In contrast to Ecem's self-proclaimed story about her choices, Ayşe's case differs in her mother's perfectionist attitude about her choices. Ayşe is confused about what to do in the future. When asked about her future expectations, she indicated her confusion. She wants to attend a private university and it was as if she made her mind up after my question: she told me that she wants to study psychology or law at the university. As mentioned before, her mother is a psychiatry professor at a famous state university. We had acknowledged that her mother does not want her to choose unreliable occupations such as being a volleyball player. In addition, as her parents want her to acquire a high-ranking job, Ayşe indicated that either she chooses to study psychology or law, and that she will continue on to further studies, adding a Master's degree and a Ph.D.. Similar to her mother's career path, in Ayşe's case, there can be seen a tendency to become reliant her mother's career story.

As this study aims to uncover all elements of how students choose certain occupations, I have asked questions about the counseling department and the school's role in the issue. Ecem's answers actually presents the issue clearly at OAHS. Last year, Ecem said, "I didn't even see any counseling teacher around", showing that previous counseling teachers were not so much interested in supporting students' path through university exams (Ecem, personal communication, 17 November 2015). As also indicated, Nuray Hanım is newly appointed to OAHS, coming from an older Anatolian High School. In this sense, all of the students hesitate to see their counseling department as a motivation source for them. They do not find school's extracurricular events about occupational directions that are often seminars from professionals, university trips, as especially helpful. However, as Kudret, Ayşe, Gamze and Ecem indicate after Nuray Hanım had

come, several more seminars were held. Although these sessions were welcomed by students, they did not find them sufficiently supportive.

3.5. Future Directions of JAHS Students: A Normative Order and Striving for High-Ranking Jobs

In this chapter, I have stated that JAHS do not have either an English-language-area and a literature-art-weighted area. Parallel to this, students aspire to be in social sciences or more technical departments. In this context, JAHS provides a high school education that gives their students the gateway to more stable and high-ranking jobs. There is also a distinct pattern of having gendered professions among the female students, which are psychology as their first choice followed by kindergarten teacher. Similarly, students of the math-science-weighted area predominantly want to be physicians in the future.

As thoroughly explained in the section of family involvement, there can be seen at JAHS that the level of achievement is set higher for students at this school. A certain feeling of indebtedness leads students to aspire to guaranteed jobs, which in turn leads to a kind of normative cultivation. In addition to this, when students were asked about their future expectations, it was clear to see their exhaustion concerning the preparation and importance given to the university exams, and the inordinate amount of time dedicated to studying to be successful in these exams. Forthrightly, this journey can be seen as the struggle for achieving higher standards of the school and their families. Students of JAHS either present their feelings about reaching university life or even adult life as soon as possible. Or in different cases, they dream about going abroad in the future.

In parallel with this feeling of running a marathon among these students, when it concerns their motivation to achieve their dreams, it can be seen that they are truly motivated, and as such, they try to make themselves believe they have open horizons for their future. On the other side, student criticism about the counseling department is mostly related not in terms of future directions but with JAHS students' desire to join more entertaining activities. As Ceren gives the example

that JAHS organized a trip to Europe last year. However, as it was too expensive for most of the students, there was not too much demand to join this activity. Because of this, the trip was combined later with other schools. On the other hand, in terms of occupational direction and university exams, all students that I have interviewed at JAHS reported that their counseling department is very good at their job.

This tendency to be project themselves into the future is related with the exerted pressure on them. Besides their strong motivation, some students indicated that the heavy pressure on them is akin to being in a crucial race, that is, the university exams and their results. However, Reyyan thinks that this pressure is needed to give students responsibility, to keep them vigorous (Reyyan, personal communication, 12 February 2016). In other words, students gain a certain skill in this process such as confronting stressed situations. In JAHS, this is explicitly stated only by Reyyan, although her friends also indicate their strong motivation.

There were two distinct cases at JAHS, as to be expected, as they are Eren and Reyyan's outlook in contrast to the other students' normative cultivation. As mentioned before, Eren has a sophisticated taste of music, art, and literature because of his mother's significant efforts. Eren indicate that he wants to study German law in Turkish-German University, and after that he wants to get into a job in Germany. In time of need, he knows that he can talk to his chief prosecutor uncle. Reyyan is also goes into some depth when it is the case of her future job, indicates that she wants to study neuropsychology in the future, a specialized area in the branch of psychology. She wants to study at Boğaziçi University. In her case, too, , she has a cousin studying psychology in Trakya University.

In contrast to these cases, Ayşegül, Ahmet, Ferhat, and Ulaş show a normative pressure on them that makes them feel indebted to their parents. In these cases, it can be seen that there exist successful mobility stories in the wider family circle. Furthermore, their parents share their own failures, their situation about lacking education, and their status among the the strata of society. Among these cases, only Ceren, a civil servant's daughter, stands against her parents' pressure to study

a technical job and chose psychology instead. However, as it can be seen, she has a relatively more advantaged family in contrast to Ayşegül, Ahmet, Ferhat, and Ulaş.

A very different case is Zeynep who wants to attend the Military Academy. Zeynep indicates that this is one of her childhood dreams. Besides, when she shared this with her counseling teachers, they supported her. She says the reason that she finds being a soldier is important to her:

I have chosen this occupation because of the impact of my close circle. Our teachers were always saying that “you can do this, you already do karate. you have a coldblooded character, and so on”. I want to do this job to be beneficial to my country. (Zeynep, personal communication, 12 February 2016).

3.6. Comparison of the Two Cases

As these two schools are both Anatolian High Schools which hold still an important place in the hierarchy of high school system in Turkey, students at both of these schools aspire to high-ranking jobs such as physicians, engineers, psychologists, lawyers, or managers at companies. There is not a single student among them expecting to be a blue-collar worker, a mechanic, a secretary, a cashier, a salesperson or any other low-ranking occupations. They want to build relatively comfortable lives in the future, and to enjoy having several interests at the same time as acquiring relatively higher status in the society.

In JAHS, it can be seen that the school has taken the university exams more seriously in contrast to OAHS. All of the students at JAHS report their good quality of counseling teachers organizing several events to make students informed about the future. Although school or the counseling departments do not have strict role about directing students to certain areas, the limitations occurred from school’s decisions of having one study area and not having the other, directly affect students’ aspirations and directions to certain jobs. Yet this also relates to students being conversant about their position in contrast to other high school students. As these students know they are selected, they are aware of that their schools train for certain occupations.

The crucial difference between OAHS and JAHS lies in the status of the families. In OAHS, it can be seen there are relatively more advantaged families. Particularly, Ercan and Firat's families exhibit distinct characteristics even from among the other advantaged families. In this context, it can be stated that JAHS' students seriously heed their parents' continuous advice of getting a better education and achieving high-ranking jobs, as a normative set of standards. In contrast, although there are Ayşe's and Hüseyin's examples at OAHS in which it can be seen their parents' authoritarian tendencies, there is not a strong normative order among these students.

On the other hand, at JAHS, there are the divergent examples of Eren and Reyhan. Both of these students want to be specialized in their areas, besides having high-ranking jobs in the future. Only Ecem's case can be considered similar to Eren's and Reyhan's aspirations. However, in Ecem's case, her parents were not holding a certain negotiation-based conversation with their daughter. Emre's and Gamze's cases can be considered similar to Eren and Reyhan's situations. But in these cases, there were not any ideals about being a specialized person in the future.

It should be indicated that two students' cases are crucially different from the other patterns. The first one is Zeynep from JAHS, as her choice of occupation is not a kind of a gendered profession. It does not hold any aspirations about having a relatively comfortable life in the future. The other one is Gökem, from OAHS. As mentioned in the culture section, Gökem is building his career path on his interest in video games. Having relatively permissive parents, Gökem can stand against his parents with his choice to be a graphic editor. Other different cases are Ecem's case from OAHS, and Ceren's case from JAHS. As these two students are daughters of civil servants, it can be seen that their parents want them to have relatively stable jobs by studying at math-weighted-area. Although Ecem's self-proclaimed story is significantly different from Ceren, these students have the chance to choose an equally-weighted-area and study their own preferences in the future. Besides their mothers' important role about shaping their children's decisions, habits, and so on,

these two examples can be considered the tendency among families towards rearing their children to be more self-directed.



CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION: THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE DATA

In the literature of sociology of education, it is revealing to study cultural capital, one of the core concepts of Bourdieu, as empirical studies about cultural capital show (Pitzalis ve Porcu 2016) (Symeou 2007) (Davies ve Noble 2009) (Johnson Kirkpatrick, ve diğerleri 2017). In this study, I have tried to give an account of the complex and dynamic nature of accumulating cultural capital in several areas and, how these are turned into holding certain future expectations. Although their reputation may be lowered as a result of changes to the high school system, Anatolian High Schools are still important places in the field of Turkish education. They still hold high-ranking places in the hierarchy of Turkish high schools. Given that my both cases are located in Istanbul, these schools have relatively more symbolic importance in a wider population. Rutz & Balkan (2015) place them into the narrative of older middle classes and new middle classes struggle in the symbolic order. Eraslan (2010) gives voice to the one side of this struggle. In this study, I am not trying to present the case from this perspective of whether there is a new middle class and older status holders or not. This study aims to uncover the complexities of the process of cultural capital accumulation.

As I have indicated in the first chapter, I have chosen social psychology literature's concepts of parenting styles to describe families' involvement in the realm of students' directions. To understand the characteristics of parenting styles, I used Baumrind's categorization of families' characteristics (Pellerin 2005). In addition to this, Lahaye, Pourtois & Desmet's (2011) study of intergenerational inheritances of certain behavioral codes and their five types of family attitude led me to interpret the nature of those parenting styles of students at OAHS and JAHS. Their description of how families' organizational egos have effects on children led me to understand parents' involvement in the students' direction. In a similar way, I wanted to see how these parenting styles are differing in terms of social class backgrounds. In this sense, I first referred to Kohn's explanation of the effect of

middle class values on children's self-directed motivation, and working class values of conformity to authority. Engendering his schema, I have reviewed Annette Lareau's extended ethnography of middle class families and working-class families. From her work, I chose to use concerted cultivation and accomplishment of natural growth as core concepts for this study. To summarize, I have tried to give a descriptive account of the data using socialization theories, and to explain the differences using Lareau's enhancement of cultural capital into skills, talents, and the use of leisure time, and in accordance with social class background, differing styles of childrearing techniques of parents.

As the concept of cultural capital resides in a more general theoretical attempt to capture the family inheritances, as indicated in the first chapter, this concept relates to reproduction theories. Besides this study cannot present enough data about whether it is reproduction or transformation, as seen in the discussion of the data, students coming from relatively more advantaged families do find their tastes of sophisticated arts and body-centered skills are enhanced by having school education. This is reflected in Bourdieu's (1998[1989]) interpretation of schools as Maxwell's Demon thought experiment. However, in terms of future directions, although some students aspire identical occupations of their fathers or mothers, there are two tendencies among families. The first one is related with acquiring a mobility narrative to achieve better status. The second one relates to having high-ranking jobs, and preserving or enhancing family status. In addition to this, there are certain deviations as seen in cases of Gökem, Ecem, and Ceren. In contrast to their parents' wishes, they showed a different direction about future due to their own individual preferences.

In other words, students are interpreting various sources of information, including their families, peers, and wider media. As this is a crucial point in their life to choose their occupations, students interpret the information collected through those sources, and reach either compromising with their families or having decisions to divert, according to be it wider characteristics of labor market, popular occupations among certain genders, or personal differences. At least, this is the case for

students coming from relatively less advantaged families. In contrast, more advantaged families do have a sophisticated negotiation-based influence on their children. They are emphasizing self-direction in the limits of preserving or enhancing the family status.

4.1. Complexities, Cultural Capital at the Intersection of Parents, School, and Individual Differences

Methodologically, this extensive study has required an interpretation of the data in its complexities. As has been shown, students' aspirations to certain occupations, their cultural tendencies have direct effects from the family, wider family networks, in-school interactions, and digital media. Students acquire, for example, similar music tastes according to their friendships, or have quality times at fancy restaurants. Although these are important aspects of cultural capital, as Lareau and Weininger (2003) put it, seeking patterns about students' dependence on whether solitary activities or more skilled-based or cognitive talents is more revealing; it is more complex to look at those skills, families' involvement, and the schools; role to illustrate the dynamic nature of the process. Accordingly, placing cultural capital in these types of tendencies, instead of whether they have a sophisticated taste of high culture elements, is profound as shown by this study. In certain cases, these refined tastes have a crucial place in understanding students' positions. Yet having certain skills in more than one area, and families' involvement to manage these processes, are more important. The influence of providing neatly organized leisure times, negotiation-based conversations with children, and allowing them to gain various sorts of cultural tendency is made explicit in this study.

Adopting Layder's methodological preference to work on theories and test the core concepts in the light of new data, I encountered different patterns of parenting attitudes, especially among the students of JAHS. In her study, Annette Lareau focuses on how leisure times of children are organized by families. In this sense, she divides middle class childrearing practices in terms of their attitude to organize their children's leisure time in contrast to certain separation of the adult world and children world among working class parents. In this manner, Lareau finds out that

middle class children acquire several different skills relating cultural products thanks to their parents' negotiation-based communication, and that working-class children use their leisure time on their own because of their parents directive-style communication.

As I was interested into see dominantly future directions of students at OAHS and JAHS, there emerged a pattern adding to Lareau's concerted cultivation and accomplishment of natural growth. In a spectrum of these two poles, my cases of JAHS students and OAHS students are oscillating between these concepts. However, at JAHS, as mentioned before, there is a distinct pattern amongst students.

Table 4.1. A Theoretical Model for Capturing Social Class, Parental Involvement, and its Quality

Dominant Pattern of Parenting Styles	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Permissive	Indifferent
Communication Style	Highly Sophisticated Negotiation	Highly Normative Negotiation	Mixed Messages from parents, permittance at extreme	Ambiguous
Characteristics of Children's direction	Autonomous, self-directed yet concerted cultivation	Not Autonomous, Norm-directed yet Cultivated in a Normative Order	Autonomous, Self-directed yet without an experienced direction	Ambiguous
Both Parents' Educational Status (Combined)	Both parents have at least high school education, or one parent (mother) have strong ties with education	Parents Lack Educational and occupational Status, or only one parent (father) have min. high school education	Both parents have higher educational status and/or high ranked jobs	Ambiguous

Table 4.1. (continued)

Possible Social Class Background	Middle-Class, Upper Middle-Class	Working-Class, Lower Middle-Class	Middle-Class, Upper Middle-Class	Mixed but possibly Working-Class
Possible Family Types According to Lahaye et al.	Contractor or Functionalist.	Family-Reliant and/or Prothesis	Inheritor and/or Contractor	No Authority

4.2. Normative Cultivation

In the light of the discussion of the data, at JAHS, I encountered certain students who came from relatively less advantaged families showing intense feelings of indebtedness towards their families. In the literature, Kohn's findings show that working class parents value conformity to authority. Lareau adds a different dimension by using leisure time as accomplishing natural growth for working class children. However, when it is the case of deciding an important turning point of a student's life, families in my cases, especially at JAHS demonstrate aspects of a normative order. This normative order is quite different from middle class parents' negotiation-based communication style and their concerted cultivation attitude. This is also different from working class parents' tendency to give directives, as Kohn (1963) puts it. In these cases, families are not giving directives, as was seen in the situation of Ayşe from OAHS. Although they do not give directives, they do remind their children of their own failures in this life by emphasizing the advantages of having a better education. In addition to this, in the wider family circle, if there are certain successful mobility stories, parents use these stories to show examples of extraordinary achievements to motivate their children. The degree of these normative warnings can reach the extreme as forcing students into certain occupations or areas of study, as was the case for Ayşe. However, these families do not conform to that sort of practice. As other cases show, in families where the mothers have strong ties with education provide an important role for their children, for example, by transferring their children to better quality high schools, letting them cultivate certain talents as in the cases of Leyla and Zeynep. It can be seen that there is a tendency among families to acquire more middle class childrearing practices whether they are less advantaged or not. In the same

manner, families can be placed as less advantaged families in the normative or authoritarian part of the spectrum, families whose mothers have strong educational ties near to concerted cultivation practices yet directing their children to high-ranking jobs, and then the two parents who had at least high school education on the concerted cultivation practices in this spectrum.

As other cases show, in families where mothers are having strong ties with education have important role for their children for example, transferring their children to better high schools, letting them to cultivate in certain areas, as in the cases of Leyla and Zeynep, this shows that there is a tendency among families acquiring more middle-class childrearing practices, whether they are less advantaged or not. In the same manner, these families can be placed as they are showing characteristics of less advantaged families, as positioned in the normative or authoritarian part of the spectrum. In contrast, families whose mothers have strong educational ties near to concerted cultivation practices although emphasizing their children to aspire high-ranking jobs. Lastly, it can be added that, more advantaged families in which both of the two parents have at least high school education can be placed in the concerted cultivation part of the spectrum.

If families are showing a crucial social status, as more advantaged families can show, they can have permissive parenting style characteristics as they have already various sources to possess compensating their children in certain areas. For example, this was the case for Ercan and Firat from OAHS, as they enjoy relatively luxurious cultural tendencies and at the same time having the chance to study whatever they want. In the case of Ercan, there is a certain pattern of the inheritance of father's occupation. But in the case of Firat, it is more related with Firat's admiration to his father's pilot friends.

Accordingly, these patterns show cultural capital accumulation dominantly related with family inheritances, while differing in parenting styles. Although this is significant to put, I should indicate again Görkem, Ecem and Ceren's cases as divergent examples. Especially, Görkem's narrative as he relies only on his interest

in video games to choose occupation show that family is not the only source to have future directions. Ecem's case is also extraordinary considering her self-proclaimed story of performances at the school, her distinct taste of playing music, and her degrees from the national and international contests. Using these, Ecem proclaimed herself to her civil servant parents and choose to be an equally-weighted-area student for studying management in the future. Ceren also has a distinct case in itself as she did not follow her father's direction to study technical occupations. Although she lacks a story of achievements, she stands against her father creating a personal difference.

In the context of this theoretical discussion, it can be added a new concept to understand relatively less advantaged families' attitude towards their children, which can be called as "normative cultivation". This concept can show the distinct feature of a family's constructed normative order and students' response to it by motivating themselves. Using the feeling of indebtedness, and the mobility narratives acquired from wider circles, families achieve making their children to aspire high-ranking jobs and study hard for this aim, in the end.

Accordingly, there is a more general normative order among female students. This was clearer for JAHS, as almost all female students aspire to be psychologists in the future. This normative order is related with having gendered occupations. Having in mind that students have mentioned about this, female students think that being a psychologist or although less dominant but still important, being a kindergarten teacher is much more suitable for females. In some cases, this also doubles that normative order's impact on students.

In a general perspective, cultural capital accumulation has its own complex processes. Following Bourdieu, this study shows that the importance of families in the field of education. In addition to students' certain cultural tendencies, as in the cases of mothers' role in transferring their children to certain schools by acquiring this type of information is also an important part of the cultural capital.

4.3. Concluding Remarks

In this study, I aimed to reveal the complex process of cultural capital accumulation among high school students. I have interviewed 26 students in both Gaziosmanpaşa and Ataköy. As these neighborhoods are quite different in terms of their population's social class background, one can expect that there is a clear distinction between students. However, as I shown, there are nuanced differences among these students as both of OAHS and JAHS are Anatolian High Schools. As shown before, in terms of being an Anatolian High School, JAHS is being more focused on placing their students at better universities, as both students were more hardworking and the counselling department was more appreciated among the students. However, in terms of scores, OAHS has a higher place than JAHS, as currently in 2017, OAHS is accepting students having at least a score around 460, while JAHS is accepting students who have at least 450 points, as it can be related with its location. As Nuray Hanım's appointment to this school is appreciated by the students, and her efforts of organizing several events can put OAHS far more than JAHS in terms of providing better high school education.

I have indicated in the theoretical chapter that middle-class values putting founding principles into the educational field concerning the hidden curriculum and cultural capital literature. In this research, I have shown that both schools have resonances with that culture. However, in Turkey, it can be said that education is still important to achieve an upward mobility. At OAHS, it can be seen that its geographical position leads families of lower classes to aspire its symbolic importance, alongside with OAHS 'advantaged environment on body-centered skills. In contrast, at JAHS, it can be seen that this older Anatolian High School has its symbolic importance from its reputation. Alongside it has an environment replicating middle-class parents' values (i.e concerted cultivation) to cultivate refined tastes of art or intellectual capacities. Yet as it is located in Gaziosmanpaşa, families showing lower class characteristics have still conveying an ideal of guaranteeing better futures for creating a normative order for their children to aspire high ranking jobs in the future.

This study was limited only to two Anatolian High Schools. Despite their complexity, Anatolian High Schools are only one part of the high school education in Turkey. As mentioned in the first chapter, there are now private basic high schools, for example, only after one year that have placed above the Anatolian High Schools. There are also occupational high schools, which are the least successful high schools in terms of placing their students to universities. (Eğitim-Bir-Sen, 2015).

As my cases were limited to Anatolian High Schools, there can be several different patterns of familial involvement to be found, for example, in occupational high schools. As occupational high schools' students remain at the bottom of the educational hierarchy, it can be observed that there is an indifferent attitude towards education, or to aspiring to hold a high-ranking job. In terms of culture, it can be seen their distinct subcultural tastes of music having elements of resistance towards authorities. On the other hand, Imam-Hatip schools are having a different potential as they were always a hot topic considering the debates of education in Turkey. Table 3.1, I have placed in this chapter is presenting a theoretical model for capturing these differences.

On the other end of this hierarchy, there are of course social sciences high schools, science high schools, and private science high schools (Eğitim-Bir-Sen, 2015). In these, there can be more interesting patterns of parental involvement in the educational and occupational directions of the students. These students can aspire their high-ranking status, and at the same time can be imposed families' patterning of being project-kids.

At the end, I can present this research as it has tried to fulfil the gap of empirical studies about high school education in Turkey. Although my cases were limited to two, this study have shown the wider structural components of the process of cultural capital accumulation. Besides, as these schools reside in the field of high school education, they can convey elements of the field of education, as well. In addition, I have proposed a different concept, normative cultivation. This concept can predict certain patterns of parental involvement in the field of education as the

data shows, education is simply having the potential of producing or more truly the belief of producing mobility narratives for parents and students.



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APPENDICES

A. Informed Consent Form

This study is about students' preferences of cultural products and its relationship with familial background and future expectations of students. I will ask questions consisting four different themes related with the issue. I hope that you choose to participate this research and help me to get to understand my concerns. I should indicate that any of your confidential information will not be revealed during the writing of the report, including your name, your school's name or any other issue would expose your identity. I will use pseudonyms for your real name if I address your valuable ideas during the writing of this report. And I should remind you that you do not have to answer all of my questions or at any moment you can withdraw to participate this research. Thank you so much in advance.

B. In-depth Interview Questionnaire for Students

School-related Questions

- 1) Can you please tell me about yourself to get to know you a little more?
- 2) How long do you attend to this high school? From which school did you graduated before coming here?
- 3) How would you define your current school? How do you feel about your school?
- 4) Do you feel that you belong to this school?
- 5) At courses, how do you feel? Do you think that you can express yourself satisfyingly?
- 6) In which course do you feel that you express yourself easily?
- 7) What do you think about friendships at this school?
- 8) What do you think about high school education? What's its importance considering your general life?
- 9) How would you evaluate teacher-student relations at your school?

Cultural Tendencies

- 1) How do you spend your time outside the school? What do you like to do in these times?
- 2) Can you please tell me about how do you spend a day?
- 3) Do you like specific cafés or places to hang out? In which places do you spend your free time?
- 4) How do you spend your time while using your computer?
- 5) What music do you listen to? Do you like a specific style of music? Do you specifically follow a musician or a band? If any, which part do you like most about your music style and those musicians?
- 6) Do you have any friend that has similar music taste with you?
- 7) At home, is it a place for that you and your family having a kind of reading habit?
- 8) Do you read any magazines that you have subscribed weekly/monthly?

- 9) How do you spend your time when you are with your family?
- 10) Do you have any specific interest or hobby that you spend your time on outside the school? Do you feel that you are talented in this area, for example, do you consider turning it to a profession in the future?
- 11) Do your parents support you about your interests?
- 12) How would you evaluate your school about your interests?
- 13) Are you a member of a club or an association relating to your interest? Or do you attend any private courses or other kind of events to develop yourself in this area?
- 14) Do you have any other interests, an art or a sport activity, besides your mentioned interests?
- 15) How do you spend your time at holidays?

Family-related Questions

- 1) What is your birth order in your family?
- 2) What is your parents' educational and occupational status?
- 3) Can you please evaluate your parents' role in supporting your education?
- 4) Are your parents giving advices about your future profession? Can you evaluate their advices on your future choices?
- 5) How would you evaluate your parents' relationship with your school considering your grades and general school life?

Future Expectations

- 1) What do you think about your future? What are your expectations to achieve considering your future?
- 2) Which profession do you want to do in the future? What's its meaning for you? Why do you want to do this profession?
- 3) Do you think that you're motivated enough to realize your expectations?
- 4) Do you have any family members working in the same profession?

- 5) Do you have any acquaintances that do the same profession outside your family circle?
- 6) Which opportunities your school provide you for preparing for deciding your future jobs and universities? Are your teachers directing you when it is the case of deciding your future jobs? Can you take your teachers' advice when necessary?
- 7) Do you attend any organizations or events about occupations at your school? Is your school organizing such events for you?
- 8) How would you evaluate these events, sources, or your school in general considering your future expectations?
- 9) Do you get any sustenance to be prepared for the university exams? As an instance, do you attend any private courses or have private lessons when necessary?
- 10) Do you have any family members that graduated from a university?
- 11) Do you have anyone in your family to support you about your choices of future university and professions?
- 12) Do you have anyone outside of your family to support you about your decisions of universities and professions?
- 13) That was all for me, my questions are finished. Thank you so much. Would you like to add anything else?

C. Arařtırma Katılım Onay Formu

Bu alıřmada lise ğrencilerinin kltrel eęilimlerini ve gelecek tahayyllerini, aile ve okul baęlamında anlamayı amalıyorum. Buna ynelik olarak, sizlerle bu drt temadan oluřan bir mlakat yapmak istiyorum. alıřmanın bu iliřkileri ıkarması umuduyla bu arařtırmaya katkıda bulunmanızı bekliyorum. Hatırlatmam gerekirse, alıřma iinde bu mlakatta verdięiniz cevapları kullanırsam kiřisel mahremiyetinizi ihlal etmeyeceęimi beyan ederim. İsminizin ve okulunuzun isminin kullanılmayacaęını taahht ederim. Gerektięinde isminiz yerine bir mahlas kullanarak katkılarınızı kullanmak istiyorum. Ek olarak, mlakatın tm sorularına cevap vermek zorunda olmadıęınız veya istedięiniz an mlakatı sonlandırabileceęimizi belirtirim. Katkılarınız iin řimdiden teřekkr ederim.

D. Öğrencilere Yönelik Derinlemesine Mülakat Soru Formu

Okul Soruları

1. Bu okulda kaç yıldır okuyorsunuz? Daha önce hangi okuldaydınız?
2. Okulunuzu nasıl tanımlarsınız ve okulda kendiniz nasıl hissediyorsunuz?
3. Kendinizi okulunuzun bir parçası olarak hissediyor musunuz?
4. Derslerde kendinizi yeterli biçimde ifade edebiliyor musunuz?
5. En çok hangi derslerde kendinizi ifade edebildiğinizi düşünüyorsunuz?
6. Okuldaki arkadaşlık ilişkileriyle ilgili düşünceniz nelerdir?
7. Okulunuzu hayatınızda koyduğunuz yer neresidir?
8. Öğretmen-öğrenci ilişkilerini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

Öğrenci-Kültür ilişkisi Soruları

9. Okul dışında zamanınızı nasıl geçirirsiniz? Neler yapmaktan hoşlanırsınız?
10. Bir gününüzü nasıl geçirdiğini anlatır mısınız?
11. Ne tarz kafelerden hoşlanıyorsunuz? Hangi tür kafelerde vakit geçiriyorsunuz?
12. Bilgisayar başına geçtiğiniz zaman genelde ne ile uğraşırsınız?
13. Ne tarz müziklerden hoşlanırsınız? Takip ettiğiniz belli bir müzik türü var mı? Takip ettiğiniz sanatçılar/gruplar var mı? Varsa en çok hangi yönünü sevdiğiniz için bu müzik türünü ve sanatçıları takip ediyorsunuz?
14. Müzik zevklerinizin benzer olduğunu düşündüğünüz arkadaşlarınız var mı?
15. Ev ortamınız genelde kitap okunan bir ortam mıdır?
16. Haftalık/aylık herhangi bir dergi takip ediyor musunuz?
17. Ailenizle birlikte vakit geçirdiğiniz zamanlarda ne tür etkinlikler yaparsınız?
18. Okul dışında da devam ettirdiğiniz müzik, spor gibi özel olarak ilgilendiğiniz bir alan var mı? Bu alanda bir yeteneğiniz olduğunu düşünüyor musun, örneğin meslek olarak yapmayı düşünür müsünüz?

19. Ailenizden bu hobinizle ilgili uğraşınızda destek görüyor musunuz?
20. Hobilerinizle ilgili olarak okul ortamını nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
21. Bu hobinizle/uğraşınızla ilgili olarak herhangi bir spor kulübüne/derneğe üye misiniz? Veya bu ilginizi geliştirmek üzere özel ders alıyor musunuz, dernek etkinliklerine, sosyal etkinliklere katılıyor musunuz?
22. Bu hobiniz dışında özel olarak ilgilenip takip ettiğiniz bir sanat dalı veya spor dalı var mı?
23. Yazları veya okul tatil olduğunda tatilinizi nasıl geçiriyorsunuz?

Aile ile İlgili Sorular

24. Ailenizde kaçınıcı çocuksunuz?
25. Anne-babanınız mesleği ve eğitim durumları nedir?
26. Eğitiminizde ailenizin verdiği desteği değerlendirebilir misiniz?
27. İleriki hayatınızda yapacağınız meslek ile ilgili ailenizden ne tür nasihatlar alıyorsunuz?
28. Okul başarınızın takibinde öğrenci-aile ve okul arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

Gelecek Beklentileri

29. Gelecekle ilgili düşünceleriniz, beklentileriniz nelerdir?
30. Gelecekte hangi mesleğe yönelmeyi düşünüyorsunuz? Bu mesleğin sizin için anlamı nedir? Neden bu mesleği yapmayı planlıyorsunuz?
31. Bu beklenti ve düşüncelerinizi gerçekleştirmek için yeterince motivasyonunuz olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
32. Ailenizde bu mesleği yapan kimse var mı?
33. Ailenizin dışında bu mesleği yapan birisi var mı?
34. Okul üniversiteye hazırlık/meslek seçimi için ne gibi imkânlar/kaynaklar sağlıyor? Öğretmenleriniz üniversite hayatı ve meslek seçimi ile ilgili yönlendirmelerde bulunuyorlar mı? Gerektiğinde danışabileceğiniz kimse var mı?
35. Okulda üniversite ve meslek seçimi ile ilgili etkinlikler oluyor mu?

36. Okulun sağladığı kaynakları nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
37. Okul dışında üniversiteye hazırlık için herhangi bir destek alıyor musunuz? Örneğin dershaneye gidiyor musunuz veya gerektiğinde özel ders alıyor musunuz?
38. Ailenizde üniversite mezunu kimse var mı?
39. Ailenizde size üniversite sınavları ve meslek seçimi ile ilgili destek olabilecek kimse var mı?
40. Ailenizin dışında üniversite sınavları ile ilgili bilgisine danışabileceğiniz kimse var mı?

