STUDENTS' VIEWS ABOUT AND EXPERIENCES AT SCHOOL:
INVESTIGATING THE ROLE OF CULTURAL CAPITAL AND
HIDDEN CURRICULUM


A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY


IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
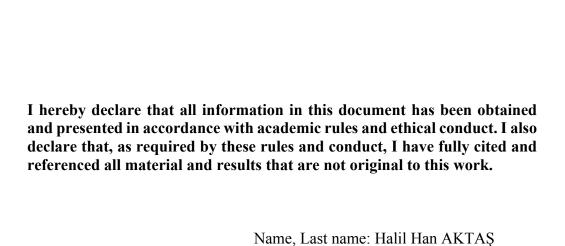THE DEPARTMENT OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION


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SEPTEMBER, 2016

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# ABSTRACT

STUDENTS' VIEWS ABOUT AND EXPERIENCES AT SCHOOL:
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HIDDEN CURRICULUM

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September, 2016, 177 pages

The purpose of this study was to investigate ninth grade students' perceptions and experiences at school. In accordance with this purpose; a science high school in Ankara, Turkey was selected and a qualitative case study was conducted in which data were collected by two data collection tools which were semi-structured interviews and classroom observations. During the period of data collection that lasted 20 weeks, one initial and one final interview were held with each of 17 participants who were selected through purposeful sampling. Also, during that period school was visited and the selected classroom was observed in a whole school day in every other week (10 observations in total); besides, field notes were taken. After the data were collected, organized and read intensively, content analysis was conducted; the data were coded and some themes emerged. The findings of the study revealed that participants showed differences in their cultural capital. Accordingly, their perceptions and experiences changed. The findings indicated that participants had different experiences in terms of hidden curriculum that they experienced. It was found out that how participants benefited from the social and material opportunities at

the school changed in accordance with the hidden curriculum they experienced. It was also concluded that boarder students and extern students' perceptions of and experiences at school were different. The findings also showed that students studying at science high school perceived their school as an institution providing quality education for exams which did not match with the propounded purposes of this type of schools.

**Keywords:** Cultural capital, hidden curriculum, experience at school

# ÖZ

ÖĞRENCİLERİN OKULA İLİŞKİN GÖRÜŞLERİ VE
OKULDAKİ YAŞANTILARI:
KÜLTÜREL SERMAYENİN ROLÜ VE ÖRTÜK PROGRAM
ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME

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Eylül, 2016, 177 sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı, dokuzuncu sınıf öğrencilerinin okula ilişkin görüşleri ve yaşantılarını incelemektir. Bu amaca dönük olarak, Ankara'da bulunan bir fen lisesi belirlenip, nitel araştırma örneği olan bir durum çalışması yapılmıştır. Çalışma için verilerin toplanması esnasında yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ve gözlemler olmak üzere iki temel veri toplama aracına başvurulmuştur. 20 hafta süren veri toplama sürecinde; amaçlı örnekleme yöntemi ile belirlenmiş olan 17 katılımcının her biriyle, biri çalışma başında diğeri ise çalışma sonunda olmak üzere toplamda 34 görüşme yapılmıştır. Ayrıca 20 haftalık süre içerisinde, iki haftada bir okul ziyaret edilmiş ve her ziyarette tüm okul günü boyunca, katılımcıların bulunduğu sınıf gözlemlenmiştir (toplamda 10 günlük gözlem); bunların yanı sıra alan notları da alınmıştır. Veriler toplandıktan, düzenlendikten ve yoğun şekilde okunduktan sonra üzerlerinde içerik analizi yapılmıştır; veriler kodlanmış ve bunlar üzerinden temalar çıkarılmıştır. Çalışmanın bulguları, katılımcıların kültürel sermaye konusunda farklılıklar gösterdiklerini, ve bununla paralel olarak algı ve yaşantılarının da değiştiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Ulaşılan sonuçlar, katılımcıların deneyimledikleri örtük program noktasında farklı yaşantılar edindiklerini göstermiştir. Katılımcıların okuldaki sosyal ve maddi olanaklardan faydalanma biçimlerinin, deneyimledikleri örtük programa göre farklılaştığı ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bunların yanı sıra, yatılı ve gündüzlü öğrencilerin okuldaki algı ve yaşantıları arasında farklılıklar olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Ayrıca; bulgular, fen lisesinde okumakta olan öğrencilerin, bu okul türü için ortaya konmuş amaçlara denk düşmeyecek şekilde, okullarını genel olarak sınavlar için iyi eğitim veren kurumlar olarak algıladıklarını göstermiştir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Kültürel sermaye, örtük program, okul yaşantısı

*To those who think for themselves and question the authority…*

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

to and any interaction I have had till now have had directly or indirectly affected the process that ended up with this study. Thank you all.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

This section includes information about background of the study, purpose of the study, significance of the study and definition of the terms.

### 1.1. Background to the study

Culture is what equips one to be able to exist among other people by supplying diverse materials ranging from symbolic instruments to material entities. Either one is born with nothing pre-existing in her/his mind or with some linguistic patterns or else does not change the condition that s/he exists in a social group where s/he needs to grasp the existing relationships to be able to discover what indicates what in order to locate her/himself. Thus, "human intellection, in the specific sense of directive reasoning, depends upon the manipulation of certain kinds of cultural recourses" (Geertz, 1973, p. 79). Besides, culture, which includes beliefs, customs, language, values and practices that link individuals and groups to institutionalized hierarchies, is also a source of domination that supports the establishment and maintenance of social hierarchies (Swartz, 2013). Culture, as it is a space that makes possible one to order reality by using the tools available for her/him, has a relation with the same person's episteme and universe of things inter-relatedly and inevitably. This is what makes it a productive topic for research because instead of focusing either what is known or what is done; it presents an opportunity to reach a junction point that may help a researcher find cues that attach these ends springing as a result of the dichotomous attitudes to each other. Moreover, culture composes the conditions that call forth a certain morality that steps in to direct agents to operate in a reflexive manner. This has a potential to explain the rationale of seemingly irrational action of which fate depends on its own success to survive in a world

where events are lost that annihilates thoughts herewith as thoughts are to be upon events (Baker, 1995).

As a sociologist, who investigated concepts by their epistemological background and tried to tie structural ends that are separated as a result of dichotomous discussions, Pierre Bourdieu portrayed a theoretical frame that aims to mediate between social structure and social action by discussing about culture (Swartz, 2013). *Habitus*, a key component of Bourdieu's sociology, is one of the conceptual tools that shows his aim. Defined as the total of acquired qualifications, perceptions, recognitions and activity patterns obtained by social conditions related to a specific time and place by Ansart (1990), habitus is a concept that lays open how agents operate inter-relatedly with the environment of which they are a member (as cited in Ünal, 2004). It stands as a system that presents agents' formulations for perceptions, tastes and practices by utilizing the past experiences, and locates things according to intellectual and cognitive structures built upon them. And as it can be inferred from the definition, it is not a concept that represents only a stable structure working toward past, but it also plays a generative role regulating the events one experiences on intellectual or cognitive plane ever after. By this concept, social action is explained as practices of strategies in a social structure and it is developed by the help of habitus one has, which depends on the experience and possession of capital (Swartz, 2013). The concept is also a good example of Bourdieu's epistemology suggesting a reflexive investigation practice instead of substantialism for social investigations, which brings out new dimensions to understand power relations and opens unquestioned legitimacies up for discussion. Social action, which is strategies filtered through generative structures, through habitus acquired by experiences, takes place in a social setting. Therefore, there is aggregation of various habitus in a specific context. Defined as arrangement of relations on an objective basis for positions taking part (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), *field* is the context where different habitus come together and perform their strategies to take action to reach certain resources (Sever, 2010). The field theory enables to

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handle social action both historically and relationally, by this way it rejects structuralism proposing definite statements and subjectivism making agents puppets of rationality or benefit as the theory considers social conditions and individual conditions one within the other (Etil & Demir, 2014). Another concept propounded by Bourdieu is *cultural capital*. Social surrounding is a state in which continuous pieces of history come together and build an order where agents operate that makes it important to comprehend the term of capital, how it is expanded and its impacts in social world (Bourdieu, 1986). As a notion mostly used related to economy-politics, capital shows how accumulation of things may play a role in organization of social structure. However, in Bourdieu's theoretical frame, the notion refers to a broader sense that points to the accumulated entities other than monetary resources as well. According to Bourdieu, there are four guises capital may present itself; economic capital by which one can gain wealth, cultural capital acquired in school or out school and revealed in habitus, social capital including opportunities one has depending on belonged group, and symbolic capital represented by attributions such as physical appearance, honor and reputation (Ünal, 2014). Cultural capital, as a notion highly related to habitus, presents a comprehensive remark on how accumulation of experiences taking place in social world one lives shape the frame through which s/he perceive and react to reality. Presented in three forms by Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital can be in the "embodied state" which is related to tendencies evidenced physically or by the means of mind over time, the "objectified state" which refers to possessed cultural goods such as pieces of art or any other good enabling agents to reach some opportunity that supports them in cultural aspects and the "institutionalized state" which is taking place in the forms of academic qualifications (p.242). By these conceptual frame and tools, Bourdieu presents a perspective that ties social action and social structure each other in a way that uncloses how agents locate the coordinates they are and how they operate accordingly.

Till now, a perspective toward social world has been described and such a perspective is needed through the analysis of any social action to fish out the reasons that conduces things to exist as they are, and to find out the underlying factors that create an explicitness that is not questioned and accepted as natural. Education, which is considered to be equivalent to schooling in world of modern states, is a social action that requires the aforementioned approach as well and deserves to be comprehended deeply to understand what its nature in our time is instead of evaluating it by concepts that take us far from what really exists. As a pervasive component of the time being, schooling is accepted to play a significant role for both micro level such as students, families and macro level like countries; this is why there is an intense focus on education to pose short or long term problems and find solutions to these issues (Becker, 1975). Currently, there are several arguments on education in Turkey including the improvements of infrastructures of schools, changes in curriculum, reorganizing the administrative staffs and so on, these are important discussions to be held; yet, how these arguments reflect on practice at schools is another important scope to be considered. However, the echo of these arguments may not be as easy to be captured by observing the written documents. Commenting on written curriculum to define what is happening at schools may not be a wise strategy to follow if one is aware of contextual differences taking place among schools. Moreover, even if the application of the written arrangements keeps similar; the curriculum, which presents seemingly substantial or transcendental things, may just stand for images which are to be ordered by the students in practice and in such a case students' habitus and cultural capital play a crucial role while they order their experiences to build a unity. Thus, pedagogic action, which is explained as an imposed cultural arbitrariness by an arbitrary power therefore a kind of symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015), has possibility to be met differently as students experiencing it can be either familiar with what it proposes or they may have developed a habitus which is not matching the conjectural expectations.

It also has been argued that there is a hidden curriculum where sometimes the real action takes place besides the manifest curriculum (Gordon, 1981). Hidden curriculum has alternative definitions from different perspectives in the literature; yet, it can be defined as one's learning from nonacademic learning experiences, which takes place in an intellectual setting that is situated in physical and social settings, and mindful effect of latent effect; and it can be observed by the activities existing by regulations at schools, type of appraisal, activities that are not included in manifest curriculum, undocumented information through written curriculum, classroom discourse, seating order (Sarı & Doğanay, 2009b; Vallance, 1973; Yüksel, 2002). Although the speculated aim for most of the cases is to provide each student with equal chance for education, the real conditions may not realize such ideals which might be a result of aforementioned hidden curriculum. As such, how popular discussions on education develop conditions for students, whether the gap between advantageous and disadvantageous is closed or not, what kind of future roles are presented for students from different milieus are crucial questions to be addressed; and one of the ways to address these issues is understanding hidden curriculum. Moreover, hidden curriculum is not a sudden and groundless closed circuit, it has reciprocal relation to participants included in a setting. Especially students', as addressees of the curriculum, are affected in this process and their participation into the process affect it as well. As discussed by Lamont and Lareau (1988) culture is an issue contributing to education which implies that students' cultural capital makes difference in their education. And it seems that hidden curriculum is one of the grounds where students' cultural capital become a crucial aspect. To understand the interrelation between these, considering hidden curriculum a dynamic reflexive structure that both characterizes the relationships and is characterized by the relationships in a given context, instead of a reductionist constant approach, appears to be inevitable. Thus; it will be possible to develop a point of view that takes meaningful cues such as students'

past experiences or cultural life into consideration and uncloses unquestioned or despised practices taking place in school.

## 1.2. Purpose of the study

There might be different attitudes observed among students toward schools which has an effect on their behaviors performed directly or indirectly in school settings. In many cases it can be claimed that students' satisfaction with schools may improve their academic achievement and attitude toward school; and, as Şimşek (2011) has pointed out, by this satisfaction level decreases, the attitude may grow worse and even result in dropouts. As a setting of practice, hidden curriculum can be one of the factors affecting students' attitudes in both positive and negative ways toward school. As discussed by Giroux (1983) "class-specific educational experiences", which has an interrelation with students' cultural capital, affect their response to educational practices; and hidden curriculum, as challenging conditions for students with cultural capital that does not respond to the conjectural expectations in some cases, may bring along a resistance toward school (p. 258). Accordingly, instead of categorizing students as successful and unsuccessful or else, aiming to comprehend the conditions that put them in these positions, despite being a more laborious task, seems more meaningful.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate how students' cultural capital may play a role on their educational experiences by focusing on the hidden curriculum they experience. In accordance with this purpose, the research questions aimed to be answered in this study are:

1. What are the manifestations of participants' cultural capital?
2. What are the participants' experiences in classroom?
3. What are the participants' views about school?

**1.3. Significance of the study**

Besides activities carried out at schools, there are other factors affecting students' academic life directly or indirectly. As psychological living creatures, human being attach their values, emotions, feelings and views to the process they experience in their daily life. Inevitably, these become factors affecting how one interiorizes and reflects on the outside world. Therefore, considering these aspects gets importance during school time to help students develop better relationships in schools which has direct or indirect effects on their success. As pointed out by Adıgüzel (2012), there might be various reasons affecting students' attitudes toward school such as; cultural differences, socio economic background, teacher related reasons which might be attributed to authority. As a general issue, socio economic status has been discussed for a long time about its effects on one's social activities including the life at school. However, it has been a matter of discussion that whether it is enough to consider socio economic status such determinative to handle complex relationships by its own. Cultural capital, which is related to one's social and academic qualities, is one of the factors that may explain the accomplishment of "pedagogical communication" that is related to social and academic aspects (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 71). Educators, like Illich (2013), put forward that a child from a disadvantaged milieu can rarely possess the same position with a child from a wealthy family just by having the right to receive an education at equal quality, and having the same economic and material aspects in school setting does not adequately answer the differences among students from different milieus. As proposed by Lamont and Lareau (1988) the term, cultural capital, presents a perspective to understand how one's life with family and sources related to social and cultural aspects obtained via family background may affect her/his scholarly life. The effects of cultural capital may reflect on one's perception of the environment surrounding her/him and affect the nature of the relationships with outside. In his study, Matthys (2013) shares his own experiences related to his academic career expressing the excitement as he started to a job at university and depicts

others', who are from higher classes, attitudes toward their job which is seen more self-evident by them. Such innate attitudes might be effective to affect one's role, status, choices and reactions s/he gives and receives in social environments s/he participates in reciprocally. It has been argued that schools are places where values shape the nature of the relationships taking place (Mcknight & Chandler, 2012) and in such cases cultural capital may affect one's role. As aforementioned, although there are discussions and interventions on education at different levels including policy level, these are mostly on written curriculum which may not provide enough understanding for all the time. Differences in perception and practice of hidden curriculum by students with various cultural capital is a research area to be investigated in Turkey. The number of studies on hidden curriculum is quite few, and there is no direct study focusing on the cultural capital within the relationship between hidden curriculum and students' experiences and practices in school in Turkey. Therefore, the study will develop the theory in Turkey context and provide practical suggestions to problems investigated. The study will also provide contribution to the literature by presenting findings on the problem.

## 1.4. Definition of the terms

**Habitus:** "Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.72).

**Cultural capital:** The qualifications that are socially decided worth to be desired and acquired as a sign of symbolic wealth (DiMaggio, 1982).

**Hidden curriculum:** "The curriculum of rules, regulations and routines of the things teachers and students must learn if they are to make their way with minimum pain in the social institution called the school" (Jackson, 1966, p. 354).

**Metaphor:** "A way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.36).

# CHAPTER 2

# REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this part, the related literature will be presented to share necessary components of the study by defining and exemplifying them.

## 2.1. Education and Reproduction

As a human activity, education has interrelation with the organization of life in many aspects as it aims to design the next generations directly or indirectly. This makes it a politic matter of debate; independent of seemingly emancipatory aspects articulated, the ultimate goal of education is to raise individuals who obey or respect authority by making them defenseless subjects of ideologies or ideals (Aktay, 2014). This nature of education is a bit ironic; because once one utters it, the condition does not change when s/he becomes a part of the power that sets the ideals.

To explain this, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) puts forward that "all pedagogic action *(PA)* is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (p. 5) . It is important to understand what is implied by cultural arbitrary to be able to comprehend the main argument presented. As developed historical things, cultural arbitraries turn into to cultural capital by their gaining economic and symbolic value in educational market (Göker, 2015). This point of view presents good implications about how conditions leading the practices and values considered during these practices evolve and show themselves in educational settings.

About education process, especially in settings that are established as a result of schooling, there are some other notions discussed by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990); "pedagogic authority" is one of these notions that give cues

about the nature of pedagogic action (p. 11). It is explained as the inevitable component of pedagogic action because what makes pedagogic action to be possible is its being imposed by its own arbitrariness which hides the true proposition it generates and this brings pedagogic authority which enables it to be exercised. What is implied by pedagogic authority is that the pedagogic action takes place in a specific time and place in which an arbitrary culture presents itself as the authority as a result of historical circumstances, which makes it important to understand relationships with a reflexive perspective.

"Pedagogic work", which is different than temporary and unusual symbolic violence, is the work of generating structures, such as a habitus, that enable elements of pedagogic action to remain even if it ends (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p.31). By pedagogic work, pedagogic authority imposes or consecrates the products as worth to be desired; by this way it generates cultural needs which produce regular practices in life of agents. The power of pedagogic work, as discussed by Bourdieu and Passeron, reminds what is argued by Althusser (2014) about ideology; while talking about the ideology, he puts forward that ideology interpellates individuals as subjects which means that it creates explicitness for individuals that does not require questioning. Similar to what is proposed by Althusser, pedagogic work creates conditions that lead students or individuals being exposed to it to develop habitus which generates determinations and hides these determinations at the same time. Another notion held is "the educational system" and pointed out as:

> Every institutionalized educational system (ES) owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, by the means proper to the institution, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self-reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfilment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which it does not produce (cultural

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reproduction), the reproduction of which contributes to the reproduction of the relations between the groups or classes (social reproduction). (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 54)

By this definition, it is emphasized that to be able to establish and develop institutional bases to generate desired habitus, there are requirements to be considered and fulfilled; and, educational system is what determines and organizes these aspects. As a whole, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) present a system that reproduces itself, the cultural arbitrary it looks out for and the relationships between the groups who get benefit from the system and who are obliged to adapt the conditions that cultural arbitrary produces. Evaluating what happens at schools, it is not difficult to infer that school is perceived to play a role of conveying the culture of dominant classes to the dominated classes in Bourdieu's perspective. According to this perspective, schooling and education system are among the major implementing agencies of symbolic violence and create an illusion of that the rulers have the qualities and skills that carry them the to the positions they have by hiding the effects of their families or social surroundings; this seems to play a role to legitimize and support the reproduction of power (Özsöz, 2014). Bourdieu (1989) puts forward that "through the distribution of properties, the social world presents itself objectively, as a symbolic system" and there are struggles in this system to gain power to legitimize how world is described by certain groups in society (p. 20). About this issue, symbolic power, to be able to maintain and legitimize itself uses violence and this constitutes the very essence of symbolic violence. As Jenkins (1992) discuss, symbolic violence is related to imposition of symbols and meanings legitimate for groups or classes to other groups or classes and Bourdieu (1998) states that symbolic violence has potential to transform power into charisma, a magic or an attraction (as cited in Türk, 2014).

Gathering these issues together, it is understood that education is a quite politic issue to be discussed and its being politic is not just about its being

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mentioned in arguments related to politics. As a sociologist saying that assuming the awareness of the thing being done while doing science, is assuming the awareness of how questions, tools, methods and concepts have been developed historically (Etil & Demir, 2014), Bourdieu opens issues to be discussed reflexively and education is among these aspects. Therefore, it becomes important to take into consideration that education is a vehicle to develop tools for individuals to order reality at its very basic, and that is what makes education politic. Moreover, education does not realize that by sudden interventions; yet, it does play a role that affects the individual gradually with a relation to her/his background. And during this process, it has a potential to legitimize and reproduce symbolic power which has a relation to existing economic and politic relationships (Swartz, 2013). Similar to these ideas, Bernstein (2000) also emphasizes the symbolic power in the relation of culture and education. He argues that the speech codes used by students from different classes show differences in that students from lower classes generally use "restricted codes", while students from upper classes are equipped with "elaborating codes"; in the former one "meanings are symbolically condensed and restricted to those sharing common bodies of knowledge", while for the latter "meanings are semantically expanded and exchanged with those not sharing the body of knowledge" (Moore, 2013, p. 70). And Bernstein (2000) puts forward that, in school, generally elaborating codes are expected to be applied during pedagogic processes; however, these expectations are not supplied by all students; as students from middle or upper classes have more possibilities to be familiar with the content suggested by this code, they are more possibly to understand the contextual expectations than students from lower classes. And, in such cases it seems they have difficulties that are not felt by the former group.

These discussions show that there are perceived effects of students' accumulation of prior livings on their experiences in school. And school, as a setting where an arbitrary culture imposed by an arbitrary power, inevitably hosts some cultures by considering them more worthy to be desired and

transferred. Therefore; it becomes crucial to argue the notions that refer to these aspects, and cultural capital seems to be a good conceptual tool to work on this issue.

## 2.2. Cultural Capital

Discussed before, it has been emphasized that school has a relation with any aspect of regular life. Although it cannot be attributed a role that organizes the daily life by its own, it is difficult to ignore that it is a process which becomes a determining vehicle in society. However, the relationship between school and individuals in this aspect is a matter of discussion. It has been questioned by various approaches and there are different ideas as results of different positions. Like it will be discussed in hidden curriculum part, for example views of people from functionalist approach, such as Parsons (1951), is about that the maintenance of system and social order is the primary goal to be considered and the school is a device to integrate individuals to this system in accordance with this goal (as cited in Ünal, 2014, p. 54). These attitudes portray conditions that explain the existing social structures as natural and what happens through these structures and what individuals obtain are results of their own abilities, which is discussed as meritocracy. In such argumentations, it is put forward that the ones who are in advantageous positions are individuals who either has the necessary qualifications to get these positions or work enough to deserve these positions. And, in general, it has been argued that supplying equality in terms of the opportunities presented to students abolishes problems related to equality; by this way in traditional perspectives, choosing students in accordance with their being hard working or talented annihilates inequality and the reasons people get benefit from schooling differently are attributed to their attainment to education (Margolis, Soldatenko, Acker, & Gair, 2001).

Nevertheless; as aforementioned in the previous heading and discussed before, individuals or agents are not beings of one type in terms of what they bring as parts of their characteristics in school setting or the opportunities they

have in general. On this issue, Bourdieu puts forward the notion of capital to deal with the problems related. He puts forward four types of capitals that are: "cultural capital", "social capital", "economic capital" (Bourdieu, 1986) and "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1989); and, he argues that agents get benefit from these capitals in their social world as much as they possess them. Social capital refers to already existing or potentially existing opportunities agents have that are related to their enduring social surrounding or their being a member of a group, economic capital includes the monetary sources possessed (Bourdieu, 1986) and symbolic capital is "the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition" (Bourdieu, 1989, p.23). These three capitals show that agents have different types and volumes of resources that are available for them and how they possess these resources plays a role in their experiences in the social world they are a member of. The remaining one, which deserves to be considered at least as much as the three mentioned, cultural capital also points out aggregation of historical resources that have the potential to create changes in agents' experiences.

While discussing the literature on reproduction, it was mentioned that Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) evaluated all kind of pedagogic action as a symbolic violence as it imposes an arbitrary culture to those who does not possess it. To be able to understand what this idea suggests and how education may become a vehicle to reproduce the existing conditions in society, it is crucial to ponder on the notion of cultural capital. While talking about culture, Lamont, Small and Mario (2008) refers it as "symbolic boundaries"; the reason why they prefer to use such an expression is that they believe culture is among the factors what separate worthy from unworthy by using a reference system that may take its roots from moral aspects, economic expectations and so on (p. 84). What is offered by this expression presents the idea that culture is among the factors that symbolize material and develop possible explanations over it, in a way its create possibilities to be realized in material world, and this may affect individuals'

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decisions in processes they take part (Ball, Davies, David, & Reay, 2002) by generating structures related to their choices.

Thus, culture develops classification systems that might be attached to symbolic power, and school is among the places that impose the dominant classification systems; also it supplies the required conditions to produce, transfer and accumulate various cultural capital (Swartz, 2013). The accumulation process may have differences among groups and this causes stratification in society, and to explain stratification in society, Bourdieu uses the terms habitus and cultural capital that are related to each other. As a term with a meaning close to class sub-culture idea, habitus refers to unconscious mind including the ideas an individual has about her/his possibilities of success and how society works; and, it is common among the members of specific social classes or status groups (Swartz, 2013). By this term, Bourdieu puts forward that agents' preferences in their educational life are shaped by their dispositions more than deliberate or planned steps. While talking about habitus, Bourdieu (1984) states that "taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier"; by this statement, he points out the generative structure of habitus. It is not a static schema of perceptions, tastes, dispositions or choices, it has a dynamic structure and it has an effect how those mentioned classifications classified. By this way, habitus is a concept that presents possibilities to investigate social stratifications without hiding the reasons behind magical visions that create illusions. And it shows how classifications related to tastes, perceptions, dispositions or choices may change agents' experiences during locating themselves in society.

Besides habitus, cultural capital is presented as a factor that affects the obtained success among classes by Bourdieu. He suggests that while thinking about culture, it should be considered that it is a kind of capital that can be purchased in exchange for time, energy and money and then be exchanged to high status occupations or high salaries, especially when it is about the educational aspects of culture (Swartz, 2013); and, by using the term cultural capital, he refers to verbal abilities, awareness of general knowledge,

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information about schooling as well (Lamont, Beljean, & Clair, 2014). What Bourdieu discusses is that children inherit their parents' cultural capital. It is discussed that "aspiration to cultural practice varies in the same way that cultural practice does" (Bourdieu, Darbel, & Schnapper, 1991, p. 37) which makes cultural behaviors dependent on social determinations more than individual admiration logics (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 39); therefore, it is to be discussed that what are described being talented or qualified on planes where people from different cultural capital come together, such as education.

To be able to develop a frame for cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986) suggests three forms of cultural capital. First, the embodied state, which is the aggregation of cultural capital "in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, *Bildung*, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation", refers to cultural capital that is accumulated during a period of time for the sake of self-development and obtained by the person who invested on it (p. 243) and his form of cultural capital is argued to start to be acquired before the school. The second form is the objectified state, which is described as "the cultural capital objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments etc., is transmissible in its materiality", refers to the materials available for individuals that open a channel for them to order the reality accordingly and develop their perceptions of world (p. 245). The last form suggested is the institutionalized state which is described as "the objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications" (p. 245). This one is especially a questionable form of cultural capital, because Bourdieu (1986) argues that it legitimizes the privileges possessed by some groups as such legally accepted qualifications promotes the illusion that there is no effect of the privileges that advantageous groups have during processes to reach such qualifications.

By putting forward this frame for cultural capital, and generating indicators for these states, Bourdieu (1984) aims to point out how individuals' social position relates to the cultural capital they possess. As it can be observed

in his book *Distinction*, Bourdieu aims to develop objective structures and tools that can be used for his own context which is France in 1970s. However, as a very central argument of cultural studies and actually an essence of works by Bourdieu, culture and distribution of cultural capital show differences among countries. And inevitably, power relationships changes accordingly. As historical things transformed into capital arbitrarily, it is not a good strategy to import what is accepted capital in France context directly; but researchers should try to understand the dynamics in their own context and investigate how capitals are formed in their settings (Göker, 2015). Moreover, it has been argued that sometimes cultural capital is used as an investment to be exchanged to get good positions or high salaries. This makes it important for individuals to evaluate the society in terms of economic expectations and invest accordingly. As discussed by Budak (2014) the social and economic conditions of 1970s and structures of flexible employment society of today do not fit each other fully, he shares some themes that give some cues about the current development of middle class cultural capital:

I. Cultural elitism defined with narrow frames is substituted by a diverse cultural capital that includes even popular items time to time.

II. Dichotomies such as high culture & low culture, avant-garde aesthetics & popular tastes lose their importance.

III. Rather than the content of cultural aesthetics, what determines the cultural capital is a repertoire of practices attaching different domains (culture, career, education) to each other.

IV. Managing cultural diversity is more popular than cultural expertise.

V. Conceived, institutionalized cultural elements with obvious exclusivist logic are valued; yet, they are not central part of cultural capital practice. (pp. 160-163)

As pointed out by these themes, it may not be a wise strategy to use the cultural capital as a tool by its original structure in other contexts without considering the contextual realities of the field to be studied. And it seems that historical-sociological works to present household, parents and children demography in Turkey are needed (Göker, 2015) to be able develop the concept in Turkey context.

## 2.3. Hidden Curriculum

Hidden curriculum, as curricular content that is not clearly stated in written documents or directly posed by executives, is a broad term in that it has various definitions from different perspectives that change how it can be explained, practiced and evaluated. The term was used for the first time by Philip Jackson in his book *Life in Classrooms* in 1968 to describe how classroom events are directed by "rules, routines and regulations" (Hemmings, 2000). The locus of the term was to identify how students learn to be a part of schools through daily events of a school day. Jackson put forward his ideas on the term as below:

> The other curriculum might be described as unofficial or perhaps even hidden, because to date it had received scant attention from educators. This hidden curriculum can also be represented by three R's; but not the familiar one of reading, (w)riting, and (a)rithmetic. It is, instead, the curriculum of rules, regulations, and routines of the things teachers and students must learn if they are to make their way with minimum pain in the social institution called the school (Jackson, 1966, p. 354).

As it can be inferred from the statement, Jackson thought that education was a process where attendants needed to socialize in order to fulfill the contextual requirements, and those requirements were practical and social aspects of the life in school. Thus, the definition portrays a situation that school is not an institution that only transfers knowledge from one generation to

another; but also transfers the values and norms accepted by society. Different than official curriculum, which includes determined objectives to be acquired by students as a result of specific experiences (Demirel, 2005), hidden curriculum has definitions which points out different practices and issues that may occur in school setting, such as nonacademic learnings that develop educational effects existing at school (Çobanoğlu & Engin Demir, 2014), social rules existing at the school to be obeyed (Lynch, 1989), impressions students get by the environment including physical and social aspects of the school (McLaren, 2003), the messages teachers convey to the students as a result of their morality with or without any intention (Shirk, 1976), students' perceptions of physical building of the school (Nicholson, 2001), or how time is spent during courses and how students socialize during the courses (Sadker & Sadker, 2000). As the aspects pointed out by numerous educators and researchers show, hidden curriculum is attributed different meanings which makes it a research topic that can be studied by various point of views. Therefore, it is important to put forward what is being investigated specifically during the studies conducted about this topic. However; no matter the aspect being held is, it is an issue to be considered as "educators have a responsibility to make the hidden curriculum as explicit as possible" (Portelli, 1993) to be able to understand the true nature of education and possible underlying reasons which might be invisible in assumed explicitness of practices.

About this issue, Gordon (1982) discusses that there are three possible divisions hidden curriculum can be categorized and related to, which are "outcomes", "environment" and "latent influence" (p.p. 188-189). By these definitions, he categorizes the existing literature on hidden curriculum. In outcomes definitions, he argues that there are two types of outcomes definition; the first is "academic learnings" that are related to official curriculum and the second is "nonacademic learnings –attitudes, values, dispositions, certain social skills- which are associated with the hidden curriculum". As it can be inferred, how students learn the dynamics in the school setting and develop their

characteristics in relation to these dynamics has an effect in their experiences in school and it is related to hidden curriculum. By environment definition, he argues "cognitive environment" and "physical and social environments": cognitive environment refers to formal structure of relationships related official curriculum, while physical and social environments are related to hidden curriculum. The last one, which is latent influence definition, includes two sub-divisions that are "conscious, deliberate influence associated with the manifest curriculum and an unconscious, unplanned influence associated with the hidden curriculum" (p. 188). By this categorization, he puts forward that hidden curriculum does not only refer to subjects being held; but, how they are held, the environment making possible them to exist, relationships and the context where they occur and nature of the learning process itself.

Unlike Gordon (1982), Portelli (1993) puts forwards four definitions for hidden curriculum that can be identified in existing literature, and he presents them as:

(a) the hidden curriculum as the *unofficial expectations*, or implicit but expected messages;

(b) the hidden curriculum as *unintended learning outcomes* or messages;

(c) the hidden curriculum as *implicit messages* arising from the structure of schooling;

(d) the hidden curriculum as *created* by the students. (p.345)

Except (d), three of the definitions has direct or indirect relationship with what is suggested by Gordon (1982), but the expression "the hidden curriculum as created by students" says something new and different. Explaining the definition, Portelli (1993) refers to Snyder's work. Snyder (1971) argues that hidden curriculum which is created by students refers to a body of hints used by students to keep up with the complication and vagueness they encounter. However, this definition develops a meaning that puts students into positions of

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people who are consciously or unconsciously aware of the basis of tasks they need to fulfill and who use strategies to overcome them; it seems quite possible that contrary situations may exist. As Rose (1990) states, in modern democratic societies, there are psychological norms making people to be well adjusted; normative expectations such as anxiety caused by the fear of being discordant can be given as example of these psychological norms. Considering this, what was suggested by Snyder can be a frame for students to organize their practices parallel to a self-discipline as well; in such cases students can develop perspectives that lead them to feel difficulties that are not targeted by people who set the tasks for them.

Moreover, this can reflect on students' relationships with space they are in. Lefebvre (1991) states that "(social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products"; but, it includes products and interactions taking place simultaneously and relatively (p. 73). Therefore, social space is the result of the prior actions and it orients forthcoming actions. By this way, how space is interpreted by students may affect their experiences in school. On this issue, it discussed that there is a reciprocal relationship between "power and the organization of bodies in space" (Edwards & Usher, 2003, p. 3) as the distribution of power and how it is put in practice can be observed in this organization. Considered by such a concern, school is an institution where the distribution of power can change the practices exercised by the participants and hidden curriculum can be the stage where such effects come to the light. Because, it can present various opportunities or barriers that either ease or complicate how individuals construct their identity and how they perform power in a specific space (Wilson & Cervero, 2003).

While discussing the hidden curriculum Schimmel (2003) argues that there is a basic contradiction between hidden curriculum and manifest curriculum, which is taught by the courses, readings and exams at school. The reason underlying this argumentation is explained by the difference between these two. According to him, the manifest curriculum aims to develop

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characteristics like creativity, autonomy seemingly; however, what is transferred to students are generally waiting, competing, being adaptable, respecting to authority or developing "self-discipline" (p.18). Thus, what is theorized and practiced are quite different in reality. Also, theorization of practice that is not included in manifest curriculum, which is theorization of hidden curriculum, shows differences. These differences are basically caused by the theoretical approaches used. As a matter of discussion, the hidden curriculum has been defined within various approaches and the studies conducted on the topic are characterized under two main groups, which are functionalist and Neo-Marxist perspectives (Hemmings, 2000; Sarı & Doğanay, 2009a, 2009b; Yüksel, 2002).

### 2.3.1. Functionalist Approach

As Skelton (1997) explains, according to functionalist perspective school plays a role as a device to equip students with necessary norms, values and skills that are desired by the society to maintain and develop existing order. This perspective considers hidden curriculum as a chance to increase such learning experiences; parallel to this consideration no matter whether the content of hidden curriculum occurs unintentionally or organized deliberately, it employs a crucial role to convey useful messages to students. Therefore, there are examples that in some cases, an intentional use of hidden curriculum is put in practice; for example there are cases where hidden curriculum is used to transfer information on sustainability to students (Cotton, Winter, & Bailey, 2013; Winter & Cotton, 2012), as supportive activities (Çubukçu, 2012) and as strategies to help students develop more democratic attitudes (Kiss, Szeger, & Hera, 2013).

As it can be understood, functionalist approach puts the society into the center of its discussions and considers the benefits society may obtain by the help of education. Durkheim (1956) thought that what helps a society maintain its existence is the homogenous similarities available among the people constituting it and education is what makes it possible to equip the members of

the society with necessary devices. This approach looks out for the benefits of the whole society prior to benefits of individual and discusses that the benefit of the individual depends on the conditions of the society. Therefore, education plays a role to prepare students to acquire skills or attitudes to service the needs of the society. According to Durkheim (1956), also the definition and content of the education changes in accordance with its own dynamics. Thus, the functional may change from time to time depending the place. As it can be inferred, this approach avoids to discuss existing conflicts in societies. About this issue, Margolis, Soldatenko, Acker and Gair (2001) present Parsons' ideas who supports that inequality is annihilated through this approach as students are subjected processes that choose the successful ones and reward them, by this way working and being talented is taken into consideration. However, they argue that functionalist approach has potentials to maintain existing values which possibly hides the conflicts and true nature of these conflict. On this issue, Tan (1990) mentions that functionalist approach asserts that "equality of opportunity" ensures that students will not have differences during their educational experiences depending on their group or whether have privileges or not (p. 570). However, this argument is held differently by another approach which is next to be discussed. On these issues, Veznedaroğlu (2007) defines and summarize hidden curriculum for functionalist approach as:

    (a) A device to transfer existing values, norms, views and beliefs in society to next generations to be able to link them up to society and develop a unified homogeneous society.

    (b) A facilitator to produce values, norms, and beliefs shared by the members of society.

    (c) A plane directing students to respect authority and become a part of the existing structures in society.

    (d) A device for surveillance

(e) A device to annihilate values and ideologies cast out by society (p.p. 14-15)

Therefore, it can be concluded that when there is a hidden curriculum, in view of functionalist approach, it serves the requirements determined by society either claimed clearly or implied.

### 2.3.2. Neo-Marxist Approach

As the other perspective, considering Neo-Marxist approach, the role of hidden curriculum changes quite considerably. Similar to functionalist perspective, Neo-Marxist perspective emphasizes the link between school and society; yet, this perspective draws attention to how this link may cause schools to reproduce existing social structures and play role in maintaining legitimacy of existing structures in society (Giroux, 1979). Neo-Marxist educators focus on various relationships including link between school and social, economic and politic life, teacher and student role, classroom and school environment. Through various investigations on these relationships, different aspects of hidden curriculum are put forward. It has been argued that hidden curriculum serves as an apparatus to meet the need of labor in society by introducing such directive hidden curriculum to working class students (Anyon, 1980; Apple, 1980; Willis, 1981). How such a direction takes place in school is investigated by numerous studies. In his study, Anyon (1980) observed different types of school work for schools receiving students from different social classes and put forward that in working class schools mechanical learning with no space for decision by students was mostly held. Similar to these findings, Willis (1981) argued that working class students were prepared as labor power at schools through one case study and five comparative studies. Besides, other social aspects are studied and found to be affected by hidden curriculum, such as reproduction of codes related to underachievement of indigenous people (Kidman, Yen, & Abrams, 2013), reproduction of norms against marginalized

people (De Lissovoy, 2012), reinforcement of racial bias by textbooks (Donovan, 2014).

While discussing the issues related to interpretation of hidden curriculum through Neo-Marxist approach, Sezen (2011) handles the issue by two sub-topics which are conflict theory and resistance theory (p. 36). Discussing about the conflict theory she argues that conflict theory puts forward that working class is used as a part of "reproduction process of the system" as stated by Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) and at the same time, is limited in terms of taking part in administration (as cited in Sezen, 2011, p. 36). For resistance theory, she mentions that "the ideology of the dominant culture" is not directly accepted by the participants taking part in the processes related to education (p. 45). On this issue, there are concerns on that although hidden curriculum can play such roles organizing the experiences of students in educational settings, it does not mean that students are passive for all the time. As Apple (1980) and Giroux (1983) argued, there might be a resistance toward hidden curriculum by students which may affect their attitudes at schools. These discussions present a point of view which points out the reactions showed by the students either clearly or secretly. As it is a pervasive comment, the school is attributed roles such as providing social mobility for people from lower classes; however, according to this approach, it is an illusoriness and what happens in reality is the ignorance of the experiences and expectations of students from lower classes.

## 2.4. Metaphor of School

During the discussion about the interrelation between school and society in education and reproduction part, it has been presented that there are arguments about what students experience at school is in a way a reflection of their cultural livings and daily opportunities they have in their daily life through the material and symbolic world they take part. And it has been discussed that cultural capital they possess, which is a component of their habitus, is among the factors they use to perform as agents in specific fields to reach certain resources by applying

strategies depending on their habitus. Moreover, it has been argued that besides manifest curriculum, there is a hidden curriculum existing in educational settings, which sometimes can be more effective than manifest curriculum (Gordon, 1982). As quoted from Portelli (1993) before; there are cases in which hidden curriculum is created by students. In such cases, the role of cultural capital can be discussed about its affecting the students' perceptions of school that might be related to their perceptions of hidden curriculum. With this position; to be able to deepen those impressions, and reach comprehensive findings about the issue some tools are offered in the literature related to educational sciences. And, metaphors are among the tools to investigate such topics.

As a cognitive tool that individuals can use to explain or understand abstract, complex or theoretical phenomena (Saban, 2008), metaphors present opportunities to understand what individuals think and feel during their experiences. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) defines the essence of metaphor as "the transference of meaning from one situation to another and describing one thing in terms of something else" (p. 5); this definition points out that metaphor use can help individual gather her/his ideas about something by referring to something else that ease to organize what s/he would like to speak of. It has been discussed that human beings are living creatures that produce meaning, attribute various meaning to objects, cases and events; perceive, interpret the environment and world they live in by the help of meaningful symbols; thus, human being build world upon meaningful symbols (Şişman, 1998). By this way, experiences are built upon numerous factors each affecting human, and they may not be explained directly all the time; to be able to express these aspects that cannot be verbalized clearly, metaphors can give cues about the processes experienced by individuals and clarify what is meant. While doing so, metaphors mostly transfer knowledge from a known domain to an unknown domain (Cerit, 2006) and by doing so they ease to communicate among individuals by making complex concepts more understandable and familiar (Engin-Demir, 2007). These features

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of metaphor make it a good intellectual instrument which can be used during the investigation of complex structures they are related to.

As a result of industrial revolution, children were used as labor force in many countries, and besides other possible reasons, to be able to prevent that condition compulsory education was put into practice in some industrial countries (Fyfe, 2005) and as time passed it has been discussed what the goal of school is and how it should be organized. To be able to answer related questions, discussions were held and alternatives were developed; however, school has been keeping its place as a vehicle to organize and shape modern societies (Bülbül & Toker-Gökçe, 2015). Nevertheless, it is still a matter of discussion what school is, and metaphor is an instrument used during this course. As suggested by Silman and Şimşek (2006) new metaphors may bring out new identities and help individuals get beyond the limits of status-quo. Therefore, to be able to understand what school is, metaphors can present possibilities to reach how its participants perceive it without being limited to formal structures and limitations of ordinary communication. In accordance with this perspectives, various studies have been conducted with individuals from different status including candidate teachers, teachers and administrators (Baker, 1991; Boydak-Özan & Demir, 2011; Cerit, 2006; Doğan, 2014; Özdemir & Akkaya, 2013; Saban, 2008) and in general school has been portrayed differently by metaphors such as factory, tree, garden, mother or home by candidate teachers and teachers (Saban, 2008) or resembled a place to grow up for administrators and teachers (Cerit, 2006).

However, how students perceive school is another scope to be considered too. As a matter of discussion, school is a place where individuals spend a considerable amount of time. In Turkey context, there are some studies focusing on the metaphors students use for school. In a cross cultural study, Engin-Demir (2007) compared the metaphors used by Turkish and American middle school students, the findings show that Turkish students preferred metaphors such as "home", "family", "learning place", "source of knowledge", "friendship" which

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direct a care giver role to school. In Saban's (2008) study the most frequently used metaphors of school are house, knowledge center and home which shows that students evaluate the school as a place where they support each other and like each other. In Cerit's (2006) study, school is again resembled to a place to get knowledgeable, a place where students are cared and a kind of prison. It has been argued in this study that accepting school as a center of knowledge may be problematic as it may not answer the needs of ever changing conditions of information societies; and resembling it to family shows that it plays a very central role in students' life. Özdemir and Akkaya (2013) developed some themes for the metaphors used by high school students studying at general public schools, and they put forward categories such as: school as a restrictive and punitive place, as a place of happiness and trust, a place of knowledge and enlightenment, as a frightening and harmful space, as meaningless and aimless place, as a shaping and directing place, a place of maturation, a place of competition, as a complex place, a place of acculturation and socialization. And in another study, Özdemir and Kalaycı (2013) investigated the attainment to school and students' metaphorical school perception and they discussed that how students perceive the school change their attainment to school. Thus, it can be concluded that metaphors can be a good strategy to use understand how students perceive the school and how their perceptions relate to their experiences in the school. By this way, it can be investigated what schools offer enough or cannot supply enough from students' perspectives, or it can be discussed whether schooling is what really necessary for the children from their point of views.

# CHAPTER 3

# METHOD

In this section; the design of the study, the researcher's role, setting, participants, data sources, data collection process, data analysis procedure and trustworthiness are presented.

## 3.1. Methodological Review

In this part of the method section, the methodological aspects of the study will be presented.

## 3.1.1. Qualitative Inquiry

A part of the aim to perform a study is to comprehend a problem by reaching the conditions that create the problem or where the problem occurs. Parallel to this, putting forward what leads a researcher to conduct her/his study is a crucial part of research. However; besides this argumentation, the way how researcher access the data that constitute a ground to test her/his postulation and how the data accessed are handled have great importance in the nature of research inevitably as well. This makes it certain that researcher has responsibility to develop and follow a proper design that answers speculated aim of study which is reflected in research questions. In this study, it is aimed to understand how cultural capital may play a role shifting students' experiences and perceptions in school setting by hearing and observing their thoughts and practices related to hidden curriculum. So in this study, social setting and social action existing in the setting is the focal point, and as suggested by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), social action is put forward and can be interpreted reflexively. Moreover, hidden curriculum is a dynamic structure that is constituted by the participants taking place in the conditions making it exist. So, to be able to fulfill the goal determined for this study, an approach which enables to reach the data

in its natural setting is required; therefore, qualitative inquiry, which creates possibilities to comprehend what individuals actually experience in a specific context (Merriam, 2002), is determined as proper to design this study. Qualitative research is defined as:

> A situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make use of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.3)

As it can be concluded from the definition, qualitative research provides possibilities and strategies which help researcher get in the studied issues directly instead of reflecting them via reductionist ways. What enable qualitative research to support researcher in this direction are some characteristics such as its encouraging the researcher to handle setting with its natural conditions, characterizing the research as a process itself, reasoning with a complex attitude, facilitating the researcher with a role enabling her/him to use lenses to interpret what exists in the context and intense description of context to portray a holistic view and develop interaction with it (Hays & Singh, 2011). These characteristics present good strategies to reach the goals of this study as they make it possible to researcher to get involved in the setting and collect data while participants live and perform as they actually do which promotes means to comprehend what actually experienced is that quantitative research may not fulfill as Griffiths (1998) has pointed out.

### 3.1.2. Case Study

For this study, a qualitative research method is used as the meaning of a specific unity of experiences for people participating in a certain process can be understood and interpreted by this method comprehensively (Maxwell, 1996). The design of the study is a case study, which Jones (1998) expresses that can be a good way to examine issues deeply. According to Stake (2005), case study, which is commonly preferred example of qualitative inquiry, is not a matter of methodological preference, but rather a preference of the thing to be tackled. Yin (2011) points out case study by defining them studies that deal with phenomena where they actually occur and he presents two types of case studies which are "intrinsic case studies" and "instrumental case studies" (p. 18). Intrinsic case studies are presented as studies focusing on the uniqueness of a case that is held by its own, on the other hand, instrumental case studies cover cases not with an intend to investigate their unique assets but to reach findings that may work for other cases as well. Although the uniqueness of experiences is one of the main arguments of this study, the study is not conducted for the sake of the uniqueness that can be reached by its own; but to investigate the dynamics and mechanisms that may affect unique agents' experiences as well. Therefore, the study aims to obtain findings that may present a comprehensive perspective for other cases as well, which makes the study an example of instrumental case studies.

To be able to conduct a study, there are some steps to be followed which develops the organization of the study and makes it consistent with its speculated aims. Case studies, which are to explore cases in natural settings in depth to obtain a meaningful, holistic view have some steps to be followed as well. As proposed by Stake (2005), researchers conducting case studies should consider some issues which are:

1. Bounding the case, conceptualizing the object of study;
2. Selecting phenomena, themes, or issues (i.e. the research question to emphasize);
3. Seeking patterns of data to develop the issues;

4. Triangulating key observations and bases for interpretation;

5. Selecting alternative interpretations to pursue;

6. Developing assertions or generalizations about the case (pp. 449-450)

Accordingly, while conducting this study, these suggestions have been considered. Yıldırım and Şimşek (2013) explain that in case studies, multiple data collection methods are used to reach plentiful and various data confirming each other. Cresswell (2007), who addresses case study as a methodology contrary to Stake (2005), defines it as exploration of "a bounded system or multiple bounded systems over time through detailed data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g. observations, interviews, audiovisual material and documents and reports)" which is followed by reporting of "a case description and case based themes", and he indicates how data collection process and methods are crucial for case studies. Therefore, a case study which includes multiple data collection methods, which are interviews and observations, is conducted to investigate the proposed problems for this study.

### 3.1.3. Researcher's Role

As its very own focal point, this study aims to discuss the effects of values agents have on their ordering the reality and interacting with it. And, as parallel to subjects of the research for this study; I, the researcher who has conducted the study, am the subject of the same situation as well. Therefore, my position is not value free, which means from the first the time I decided to study this issues to the last stroke of pen all my perspective, thoughts, actions, strategies and so on have been affected by my existing knowledge and values. While discussing on positivism, Habermas (2011) put forward a thought provoking perspective by suggesting that what happens at the first step is not to decide on scientific problems; yet, building the possible objects of cultural knowledge on the contrary. Similar to what Bourdieu, the sociologist whose concepts I have borrowed to be able to conduct this study, has showed us by his

ideas embodied in notions such as habitus and cultural capital; Habermas has pointed out the problems related to separating the roles one has as a researcher and as a part of a cultural setting. Even he has discussed the resemblance between the underlying ideas of postulation of being value free to be able to generate technically evaluable knowledge and political will that recommends specialist to keep away being arrogant as a result of mightiness (p. 93). Cultural arbitrariness imposed by an arbitrary power, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) used to refer pedagogical action, is a sentence that signals the political background, mechanism that keeps constant however the content changes. Thus, as a researcher, I have tried to keep in my mind that I have tendency to have bias during the whole process while conducting this study; however, I have also reminded myself that I might have bias that could detain me to oppose to what should be opposed, which I liken what Stirner (2000) named as ghosts to refer unsourced beliefs that create a world of appearances behind which there is nothing. I, as a researcher who was born in a village in eastern part of Turkey; lived and studied there for a long time until my university education, have experienced the effects of differences in cultural capital. Also I had a university life that let me witness how individuals' prior experiences may alter their following livings. That directed me to investigate the issue to be able to make inferences that may improve experiences of individuals who are in similar conditions. To be able to persuade myself that I follow a path that reaches a holistic scene, I have read, shared my ideas with my colleagues, experts and friends interested in the topic. I have studied as much as I can and I have always tried to be honest toward myself. Besides, as suggested by Lather, (1986) I have tried to leave space for the experiences of the participants and understand the theory through these experiences in the study as well, instead of interpreting them by what theory suggests only. By this way I aimed to develop an open-ended understanding that includes how participants struggle in real life conditions rather than perceiving them as unimportant objects that provide me with data.

## 3.2. Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to investigate how students' cultural capital may play a role on their educational experiences by focusing on the hidden curriculum they perceive and practice. In accordance with this purpose, the research questions aimed to be answered in this study are:

1. What are the manifestations of participants' cultural capital?
2. What are the participants' experiences in classroom?
3. What are the participants' views about school?

## 3.3. Setting of the Study

In this study it is aimed to understand how cultural capital may play a role while students perceive the elements of hidden curriculum and practice accordingly. Thus, nature of the study requires a school setting that includes students from different milieus and with various cultural capital as much as possible. Also, studies focusing on educational subjects have the possibility to include factors such as academic achievement or intelligence that are believed to affect how participants operate in the setting they take part; therefore, in order to achieve the proposed aim to find cues showing how cultural capital might be a component that changes the experiences students have in school setting via listening their perceptions and observing their practices related to hidden curriculum, it comes into prominence that the participants show resemblance in terms of such elements. Science high schools, which are established as schools that target to prepare students with high level of intelligence and talent for science and math for higher education on math and science fields (M.E.B. Fen Liseleri Yönetmeliği, 1999), have been settings that enroll students according to their exam results, which makes them schools that host students seemingly close each other in terms of aspects like intelligence and academic achievement. Also these schools are places where students from different cities and milieus more possibly come together compared to other types of schools. Moreover, this type

of schools generally has better infrastructure in terms of materials, social and environmental conditions for the students studying there which makes them a good research area in that they bring students who may make use of such utilities differently together. For this reason, while choosing a school these issues were considered to reach a meaningful setting that responds the speculated aim of the study, and a science high school in Ankara, Turkey has been decided as the setting of the study. The school chosen is one of the top schools that receive students with highest exam results and students' exam results show quite little difference. In order to maintain confidentiality while presenting the data about the school, the name of the school is not given here. The science high school where data were collected is a result of the trials to create new curriculum to keep up with the technological developments, which was attached importance especially with the impacts of World War II (Fen Lisesinin Kuruluş Tarihçesi, n.d.). As described by the related regulations on article 6, these schools aim to:

1. Prepare students with high level of intelligence and talent for science and math for higher education on math and science fields

2. Raise scientists needed in math and science fields

3. Help students acquire research abilities, prepare conditions for students to keep up with the scientific, technological developments and inventions

4. Raise individuals who can use new technologies, generate new information and prepare projects

5. Support students to learn foreign language to a good level to be able to help them do scientific research, and follow scientific and technological developments (M.E.B. Fen Liseleri Yönetmeliği, 1999).

### 3.3.1. Physical Environment in the School

As a school established to fulfill the goals aforementioned, the school where data were collected has a campus evoking the image a small university, which can be considered big in comparison with other schools that are at the

same level. Although it is not far from the city center, it is located a quite area and it has a small forest within its campus that presents a green view and hosts animals such as cats, dogs and birds. The buildings of the school are isolated from the outside by its garden, and the outside of the school is a peaceful residential area that has no crowd. There is a security booth at the entrance where a security staff waits during the day and checks people getting in and out. Designed by the same architect with one of the prominent universities in Turkey, buildings have designs that are not much usual for high schools. The main building consists of rooms for school administration and teachers, laboratories, classrooms, library and spaces for use such as kitchen for staff. Observed a bird's-eye-view, main building is constituted by six separate parts that are connected; one for school administration and teachers, a big corridor in the middle, a library in the end of the corridor, another relatively small corridor attached to the big corridor linking these parts to three other parts that include classrooms and laboratories. There are three available doors at use; main entrance, a door opening to garden at the big corridor that is mainly used by students and teachers, and another door near the rooms for school administration and teachers mainly used by them to exit to garden. Entering the school, one directly encounters announcements that present information about the success of the students studying there, the conferences and other activities organized by the school. There are the names of the students who became the most successful in their graduation year on the walls. Near the rooms used by school administration and teacher, there is a space where the rewards won are represented. The corridor linking the buildings each other has big windows making the area bright field and presenting the scene of the garden. There are billboards in this are that are used by student groups to share their research findings, photos taken in their activities, texts or drawings they produce, cultural activities available in the city such as theatre plays and so on. This corridor, which includes plants, is also used as a place to socialize; there are sitting areas where students may come together to chat, or reach documents about their hobbies or educational purposes, also

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there is a place separated for a giant chess set where students play chess in their free time. Walls, similar to other areas in school, are used effectively here, there are drawings, rewards and such kind of materials all over here; and, there is a nice drawing here on one of the walls depicting the students with blank faces which gives an impression that the school tries to help students feel they are a part of the school, each student may feel her/himself a part of the drawing. Reaching the end of the corridor, there is a library where students have the opportunity to reach computers to work, magazines and periodicals, a good amount of books, working areas and a meeting room. Entering the other corridor that opens to classrooms and laboratories, the walls are similarly full of materials related to scientific information, drawings on the wall itself. Also there are some materials presenting historical figures such as leaders' faces. In this corridor there is a table tennis area where students actively use. And there are three separate buildings attached to this corridor including classrooms and laboratories; the laboratories included are physics, chemistry, biology, computer and foreign language laboratories. Although the laboratories related to science are a bit old, they have a wide variety of equipment to be used. There is also a 3D printer produced by the students studying at the school.

Besides the main building, there are two dormitory buildings one for male another for female students who are from other cities or whose houses are far from the school. There is a separate gym building for the use of students; basketball, football, volleyball equipment is available here. Also there are other materials such as billiard table and sand bag available. Students have an open basketball field where they can use in good weather as well. The school has its own cultural center as a separate building near the main building and this center is used actively to organize conferences on various subject including educational, social, cultural, scientific and artistic issues. Separately, there are a cafeteria where students fulfill nutritional requirements, a music room near the cafeteria where students choosing elective music course use and they can access musical instruments like guitar, drum, and violin there. Next to each other, a

canteen where students get together to enjoy free time and have a snack, and a social facility established by graduate students that hosts the offices for parent-teacher association, foundation and association of the school are located in the campus. Lodging buildings used by personnel are the other buildings taking place in the campus and there are located near the gym building. Buildings in the campus are kept clean and spruce in general.

### 3.3.2. Social Environment in the School

As a school established to succeed the mission to raise qualified individuals in accordance with the speculated needs presented above, the school where data were collected has teachers elected by Ministry of National Education (MoNE) who are expert on their fields and experienced in science olympiads and preparing projects. While expressing their thoughts, some of these teachers told they believed that this school was not just to prepare students for exams, but also lead them to acquire skills that may help them conduct scientific research, so besides content included in the written curriculum, various activities and different materials are sometimes used by teachers. In general, students and teachers seem to feel easy to communicate with each other. While conducting the study, a teacher on temporary duty stood for the school principal and he seemed to be quite busy attending to meetings as the school has collaboration with numerous organizations. Other personnel in school administration were quite helpful while conducting the study and they portrayed a willing image for the study as they believed such studies might help them develop the conditions at the school. This condition was similar for the teachers as well. Corporate image is one of issues cared about in the school; school administration shared with me that they prepared some posters informing families about the facilities they have, to be distributed during exams held there such as high school entrance exam, also the materials posted openly explaining the successes of the school and students studying there show the proposed aim to introduce a good image of the school. In terms of rules and regulations, the

school makes room for a comfortable atmosphere where there is no direct path to follow; teachers and administration expressed that they trusted the students as they believed the students are quite conscious and successful. That comfort was at such a level that even some teachers and the security personnel complained that the students were given too much freedom that was not good in some cases.

As described in physical environment part, in the school there are many spaces where students exhibit their work, thereby it is clear that they have some chances to work together and produce such outputs. Science projects are among the activities done in the school; with the observance of guide teachers, students do science and research projects attending the related contest organized by institutions like TUBİTAK, at the end of the year these projects are exhibited and projects chosen by the expert graduates are rewarded by the foundation of graduates to encourage students. The school attends national and international science olympiads, so students chosen for teams are prepared by teachers and students who has won reward before. Also, there are numerous seminars held at cultural center introducing different topics to students such as popular experiments from other countries, new technologies, healthy nutrition, and sustainability and so on. Design project are activities organized to support students to develop skills such as problem solving, group work, develop new ideas, and technical skills. As there are students from other cities or whose houses are not close the school, there are dormitories for both male and female students; and dormitory life affects students' daily life at school a lot. It develops new friendships and students spend most of their time together. Another part of the social life at the school is student clubs which include: science clubs, astronomy club, theatre club, photography club, folk dancing club, music and chess club. These clubs actively work and produce, for example music club organizes concerts at the end of semester and astronomy club arranges amateur telescope workshop. Sometimes, students go to activities such as sport competitions and theatre plays with their students. Lastly, there is a foundation of graduates which work intensely to develop the conditions of the school.

Besides renewal of the physical parts of the school, this foundation also guides the school by giving or organizing seminars, helping olympiad studies, or stands as a consultative committee for scientific issues.

## 3.4. Participants

As proposed, this study aims to investigate how cultural capital may be a component that plays a role in students' experiencing and operating in school setting by understanding their perception of the elements of hidden curriculum and their practices taking place in accordance with the conditions they use their strategies in; thus, reaching participants that show the characteristics enabling the researcher to examine speculated issues is crucial for the study. Thus, a purposeful sampling is followed for the study. Purposeful sampling is a way of reaching the most related and productive data (Yin, 2011) by including people and situations that may present such data (Cresswell, 2007) which provides in-depth understanding (Patton, 2002). As a strategy to form the sampling, maximum variation strategy is preferred. As Cresswell (2007), puts forward, this strategy includes some criteria pre-determined on which participants are decided considering that they have differences on these criteria. In the study, the criteria on which participants are decided is their cultural capital. In order to determine the sample with the proposed criteria, some steps are followed. By this way, a 9th grade class has been determined as the sample, which includes students from different cities, milieus, background and cultural capital. The reason why 9th grade students are determined as the sample is that the students in this grade are new at the school, therefore they do not have much information about the setting they have become a member. Thus, compared to other grade levels, those students have more probability to apply their previous experiences to keep up with the conditions that are new for them which presents chances to observe cultural capital in charge.

While forming the sampling, as offered by Berg (2001), some examinations have been done by meetings with school administration and

teachers at the school determined to reach the most representative sample to assure relatedness of the data to aspects desired to be investigated. Analyzing the documents about four 9th grade classes which have been supplied by the school administration, three of the classes has had quite few number of externs, and students' distribution in terms of regions they attend has not been as diverse as the remaining class. So, one of the sections, which has 32 students, has been opted for the sampling. They were given consent forms. Then, by the help of a form including questions about students' cultural capital, family background, their exam results, some information about them has been collected. The forms distributed has been ordered with numbers written on top, and students have decided whether to write their names on the form. The forms filled by the students have been analyzed, and 15 students have been decided as the participants. To assure that students having the characteristics which might present useful data are not missed, observations have been done for two days in the classroom and two other students, which are P16 and P17, have been decided to be included in the study as their manifestations have been different from other students. Completing this procedure, study consists 17 participants, 10 male and 7 female 9th grade students. The information collected about students are listed in the tables following. In general, the tables present students' family background (table 1), where they live, their high school entrance exam results, the type of the schools they have graduated, the activities and courses they have participated in (table 2), the goods they have that may support them in terms of cultural aspects (table 3) and their engagement with cultural events including the time they spend with their families (table 4).

Table 3.1: *Parents' Education Level and Occupations*

| P | Sex | Mother's | | Father's | |
|---|-----|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | | Education | Occupation | Education | Occupation |
| P1 | Female | Secondary School | Housewife | University | Veterinary |
| P2 | Male | University | Translator and interpreter | University | Former National Intelligence Organization personnel |
| P3 | Female | University | Nurse | University | Army officer |
| P4 | Male | High School | Housewife | University | Lawyer |
| P5 | Male | High School | Housewife | High School | Security guard |
| P6 | Male | Two-year degree | Nurse | Master degree | Health officer |
| P7 | Female | High School | Housewife | High School | Tradesman |
| P8 | Male | University | Civil servant | Master degree | Public prosecutor |
| P9 | Male | University | Teacher | University | Doctor |
| P10 | Female | Master degree | Civil servant | Master degree | Manager of a foundation |
| P11 | Male | University | Civil servant | University | Civil servant |
| P12 | Male | University | Nurse | University | Sergeant major |
| P13 | Female | Primary School | Housewife | University | Gendarmerie sergeant |
| P14 | Male | High School | Housewife | Two-year degree | Health officer |
| P15 | Male | High School | Housewife | University | Teacher |
| P16 | Female | University | Housewife | University | Sergeant |
| P17 | Female | University | Radiology technician | University (on medical) | Self-employed on trade |

Table 3.2: *Demographics on Accommodation, Exam Results, Graduated School and Activities*

| P | Boarder & Extern | Exam Result | School Type | Attended Activities |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| P1 | Boarder | 498 | Private | A private volleyball school, knowledge, composition contests |
| P2 | Extern | 499 | Private | Badminton tournament |
| P3 | Extern | 498 | Private | None |
| P4 | Extern | 500 | Private | None |
| P5 | Boarder | 497 | Private | English course |
| P6 | Boarder | 498 | Private | Chess course and contests |
| P7 | Boarder | 497 | Public | Taekwondo |
| P8 | Boarder | 499 | Private | Guitar course, math contests |
| P9 | Extern | 498 | Private | None |
| P10 | Boarder | 497 | Private | Guitar course, volleyball contests, chess contests |
| P11 | Extern | 498 | Private | None |
| P12 | Extern | 497 | Private | Basketball tournaments, chess contests |
| P13 | Boarder | 498 | Public | Taekwondo |
| P14 | Extern | 497 | Public | A contest named "This is my product", volleyball tournaments |
| P15 | Boarder | 498 | Public | None |
| P16 | Extern | 498 | Private | None |
| P17 | Extern | 498 | Private | Singing lesson |

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Table 3.3: *Demographics on Possessed Cultural Goods and Certificates*

| P | Possessed Books | Daily Reading | Possessed Goods | Rewards and Certificates |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| P1 | 200 | 1 hour | None | Rewards in volleyball, knowledge, composition contests |
| P2 | 250 | None | Guitar | "LEGO Robotic" attendance medal |
| P3 | 400 | 1 hour | None | Cambridge English certificate |
| P4 | 500+ | 45 minutes | Paintings, guitar | None |
| P5 | 50 | 1 hour | Paintings | English certificate |
| P6 | 150 | 30 minutes | None | Rewards from chess contests |
| P7 | 120+ | For hours | Violin | None |
| P8 | 300 | Rarely | Reed flute | Rewards from math contests |
| P9 | Does not know | None | None | None |
| P10 | Does not know | Rarely | Guitar | None |
| P11 | 200 | 20 minutes | None | None |
| P12 | 200 | 30 minutes | None | Rewards from painting contests |
| P13 | Does not know | 30 minutes | Violin and guitar | None |
| P14 | 60 | 30 minutes | Paintings | Rewards in "This is my product", volleyball tournaments |
| P15 | 100 | 30 minutes | Saz | None |
| P16 | 40 | 30 minutes | Paintings | None |
| P17 | 100 | 1 hour | Violin, saz | None |

Table 3.4: *Demographics on Cultural Engagement*

| P | Theatre | Cinema | Free Time with Family | Artistic Engagement |
|---|---------|--------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| P1 | Twice a month | Twice a month | Cinema | Interested in literature and theatre plays |
| P2 | Six times a year | Twice a month | Watching T.V. | Doing pencil drawings |
| P3 | Twice a month | Twice a month | Cinema, theatre, walk | None |
| P4 | None | Once a month | Watching T.V. | Interested in music and theatre |
| P5 | None | Four times a year | Having conversations | None |
| P6 | Rarely | Once a month | Having conversations | Interested in art painting |
| P7 | None | Rarely | Watching T.V. | Learning violin, drawing pictures |
| P8 | Rarely | Twice a month | Conversations, eating | Playing reed flute |
| P9 | None | Twice a year | Walk, chat, games | None |
| P10 | None | Twice a year | Planning travels | Interested in music and theatre |
| P11 | Rarely | Twice a year | Having conversations | None |
| P12 | Twice a year | Twice a year | No specific activity | None |
| P13 | Twice a year | Once a month | Shopping | Interested in music |
| P14 | Once a year | Twice a month | Picnics | None |
| P15 | Rarely | None | Reading, movies | Interested in music |
| P16 | Rarely | Twice a month | Picnic, eating, T.V | Interested in drawing |
| P17 | None | Rarely | Shopping, eating | Interested in music |

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## 3.5. Data Sources

For this study, a qualitative research method is preferred to reach the data to be able to investigate speculated problems, accordingly instruments that work such kind of research method are used for this purpose. As Moustakas (1994) points out, observation, interviews and documents constitute the main instruments for qualitative research method, and for this study observation and interviews are used to collect data. Data collection started in October 2015 and ended in March 2016. As the study aims to investigate how students' cultural capital play a role on their experiences in school setting by studying the elements of hidden curriculum they perceived and practiced, the first semester students attended the school was chosen as the period to collect data as that semester would be time that they perform their strategies to be able be a part of the school.

Table 3.5: *Summary of Data Collection Tools*

| Time Span | Observation | Interviews | Field Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| From October 2015 to | 10 days in total | 34 (17+17) interviews | 10 times |
| March 2016 | 8 classes per day 40 min. each class | 1st 14 to 23 min. 2nd 29 to 37 min. | 5 pages in total |

At the beginning of the semester, in October, interviews with 17 students were held to be able to comprehend how their prior experiences were and what kind of characteristics their cultural capital showed. Those interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Then, till March, classroom was observed for 10 weeks. Each week, a separate day was chosen in order to take various lessons in to consideration and each day, all eight lessons were attended and observed directly. During observation, notes were taken down to cover participants' practices. And, in March the second interviews with same 17 students were held to be able to hear their experiences in their own words.

### 3.5.1. Observation and Field Notes

As a qualitative study conducted to investigate how students' cultural capital may play a role changing their perceptions and experiences in school setting by focusing on their perceptions and practices related to hidden curriculum via a perspective proposing that social action exists in a field where various habitus come together and use certain strategies to keep up with the conditions they become a part as Bourdieu has suggested, this study handles the practices through a reflexive way that directs me to organize my interpretation dependent to the conditions available for students and developed by them. This makes it crucial to get into the area where the real action takes place in order to reach cues that reveal why things are as they are and what the dynamics leading them to follow such a path are. As a data collection strategy preferred for qualitative studies, observation presents potentiality to enter the space studied to be able to develop a view covering this reflexivity.

It has been pointed out by Schmuck (1997) that besides what is said or what is obtained over verbal presentations, practices present a source of data for qualitative studies as well to be able to include what participants experience or feel in a given context. Therefore, in order to reach rich and meaningful data that enable me to relate theory to practice, I preferred observation and field notes as another data source in the study. While conducting the observations, I attended the classes and was there while activities took place and participants performed their strategies which made me position myself as observer-as-participant that is described as the act of participating in and observing a field at the same time, not choosing a side much that might result in the negligence of the other (Yin, 2011). Besides, it is suggested that in fieldwork researchers should be able to develop a flexible position that helps them include circumstances that are not expected or seem ambiguous (De Laine, 2000). By this way, it becomes possible to capture the events which present meaningful information; thus, I tried to keep my eyes open and understand circumstances that seemed irrelevant as well.

Doing the observations, a procedure was followed which is put forward by Cresswell (2007) as selection of observation site, determining the participants to be observed, charging a role as observer, determining a protocol to conduct observation, depicting the conditions that present comprehensive portrait of what is observed, having someone to introduce observer, and withdrawing after completing the observation. Parallel to these steps, I determined the school and received necessary permissions, meeting with school administration I chose the class and participants, as an observer I positioned myself as observer-as-participant, to meet the requirements of the problem proposed I entered the site with no determined schemas as much as possible to be able to sense the dynamics of the context itself, I took field notes to save the meaningful details I came up to, I received the help of teachers to meet the participants and completing the observations I withdrew thanking to participants as they helped me collect data. Following these, by the help of observation and field notes, I collected data that provided extensive comprehension of context and participants.

### 3.5.2. Interviews

As another permanent way to collect data in qualitative studies (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013), interviews present opportunities to hear agents to be able understand what their own thoughts over experiences in the processes they become a part and give a place to effects of conditions they face over their feelings. In this study, hidden curriculum constitutes a central position to be studied and it is handled as a complex dynamic structure that both affects the participants and is shaped by them as well; therefore, what participants experience and feel become a crucial aspect to be considered, which makes interviews a good way to reach and collect data to study the problem proposed.

Discussed by Miller and Glassner (2004), interview has been attributed various power and difficulties depending on the approach undertaken; it may present a determinist strategy to test what really existing is through a positivist perspective if organized well enough, it may become a channel to access the real

experiences and feelings of participants considered from an emotionalist perspective, or it may become a narration of social world when it is conducted with social constructionist lenses. For this study, reflexive perspective supplied a ground to handle issues worked on, which means discussions developed in the study are aimed to include the inner dynamics of the field studied. For this purpose, as much as structural issues that are believed to order the conditions for the setting from where data collected, the factors that showed up in the same setting as a result of its own mechanisms were taken into consideration.

In accordance with these aspects, while developing the forms for interviews, related literature on the issue was closely examined and some procedures such as nine steps offered by Yıldırım and Şimşek (2013) were followed. Then forms were developed remembering that the questions should be both understandable and to the point to be able to reach to meaningful data. Not to miss useful data, sub-questions were included in the forms and the questions were kept open ended to let participants express themselves. Considering these all, interview forms for the first and the second interviews were developed. These forms were introduced to the experts that worked on the subjects studied, which are cultural capital and hidden curriculum. Four experts were consulted during that process and they were faculty members in departments of sociology and educational sciences. Receiving expert views, the forms were structured to the final state. Completing the interview forms, they were presented to the Human Subjects Ethics Committee in Middle East Technical University (METU) to control ethical violations. After the approval of the committee, the forms were used to collect data at the beginning of the semester and in March 2016 for face to face interviews.

## 3.6. Data Collection Procedure

Reviewing the literature on the topic studied, a conceptual frame was developed and related issues were gathered to be able to shape how to handle the problem and data to be collected. On this, forms for interviews were developed

and presented to the experts to be able to obtain a useful strategy to reach meaningful data. Receiving the experts' feedback, the forms were sent to Ethics Committee to check ethical considerations. During the committee checked the forms, I listed some schools that presented characteristics which could be suitable to investigate the problems presented. To be able to collect data in those schools, an application for approval from MoNE was done. Having the approval of Ethics Committee and MoNE, schools were visited and a science high school was selected as the most proper school as that school had students from various cities that hosted different cultures and students studying there had quite little difference in their exam results. Meeting with school principal, I presented necessary documents, asked whether I could collect data in the school and received a positive answer. Then school administration and teachers were consulted as they had information about the classes, following that a class was determined as the setting to collect data as the number of boarder and extern students was close to each other and cities from where students came showed quite differences. Following that, I was introduced to the class by teachers and I distributed a form to get some information such as students' former life, cultural capital, family information. Analyzing the information on the forms, I decided to include 15 students in the study. On October 22, 2015 I started the interviews. I met extern students during lunch time or idle classes and I interviewed with boarder students after classes ended. While doing the interviews, I attended the lessons and observed the students to be sure to include students having the characteristics that presented meaningful data. During the observation, two students drew my attention by their attitudes and participation which leaded me to ask them to participate in the study, as they accepted I included them in the study which made the number of participants 17. Completing the interviews, which lasted a week, I visited school once a week to attend the courses and observe participants along the entire day. For each course I asked the teacher if I could attend the lesson and receiving the approval I sat back in the classroom with little interaction during lessons. During break time and other free times, I

chatted with students who came and started talk with me and sometimes I attended their chat when I felt I could, I tried to be neither too close nor too distant. For 10 weeks I continued to visit the school for observations. As I wanted to investigate how students developed and used strategies in a setting they were new, I decided to maintain the process as long as possible to create possibilities to give a space to what happened in time. Thus, I visited the school giving some intervals. As a result of time considerations to complete the thesis I decided to end data collection in March 2016 and on March 23 I started the second interviews with the same 17 students to hear what they experienced during the time passed. The interviews lasted a week to complete. Then I thanked all students, teachers and school administration as they helped me during the process, thus data collection was completed.

### 3.7. Trustworthiness

Although the nature of scientific knowledge itself is a matter of discussion which can be discussed from different locations through various perspectives as examples of parallax view, how it is produced and presented is an important aspect to be able to give others a chance to understand the conditions by which this knowledge comes to light. Therefore, I, as a researcher, am responsible to conceive some issues to be able assert a claim that is to be a reflection of reality witnessed at a specific time and place as the knowledge I produce is to be handled in a field that has its own structures to test the speculated truths. In accordance with this necessity, there are some strategies that have been pointed out in the related literature to be considered. While putting forward some examples, Lincoln and Guba (1985) presents prolonged engagement, triangulation, member check and peer debriefing as some these strategies to be followed.

*Prolonged engagement:* While carrying out the study, I was with students as they attended the classes and that covered five months intermittently which developed a relationship and acquaintance between us. Thus, they were

comfortable to share their feelings during interviews and act as they were during classroom observation.

*Triangulation:* To collect data, interviews and observation were used. By this way it was aimed to overcome some issues such as students' expressing themselves as they would like to or observer bias to handle what was observed.

*Peer debriefing:* From the development of the forms to the analysis of the data collected by the help of those forms, I consulted experts who were interested in the problems investigated in the study which are hidden curriculum and cultural capital. By this way I aimed to be transparent to be able to develop a perspective that was addressed by various considerations.

## 3.8. Data Analysis

As a challenging part of qualitative research, data analysis is a process rather than reaching findings instantly. Pointed out by Adorno (as cited in Habermas, 2011, p.49) what is defined as valuable is not transcendental for an object; on the contrary, it is immanent in it which makes a theory dependent to the point of view that makes its object legitimate. As a process of ordering data to end up a legitimate interpretation of the object to be studied, data analysis for qualitative research is not a step that starts at a specific time period, it even takes place during the data collection with the company of that point of view Adorno signaled.

Cresswell (2007) portrays qualitative data analysis as a spiral process constituted by steps that are not independent from each other, which are listed as management of data, reading, description and classification, representation. He represents these steps for case studies as files formed for data, reading the texts by taking notes to develop codes, introducing the case and its conditions and developing themes.

Miles and Huberman (1994) emphasize that cross-case analysis is a good strategy to be able to develop generalizability and obtain more comprehensive understanding because this kind of analysis brings out a point of view that give

variant cases opportunities to be spoken for and enables researcher to "calculate where a given order of events or incidents is most likely to occur or not occur" by referring to Glaser and Strauss (p.173). And they mention this strategy is useful to strive to bridge the particular and the universal to each other by giving space for the uniqueness of the case while considering the principles that make it to become what it is at the same time, this interpretation shows resemblance with Bourdieu's trial to mediate between social action and social structure by asserting the term habitus.

In this study, data collection was done by the help of interviews and observation. For the analysis of interviews content analysis was used. The aim to use content analysis for the first interviews was to give the readers a chance to have an idea about what kind of characteristics the participants had at the beginning of the semester when they had no or quite little information about the environment they became a member. Then the final interviews were analyzed by content analysis to understand what participants' experiences and thoughts were. Besides, observation notes and field notes were analyzed to be able to develop a broader understanding and comprehend how participants' thoughts were reflected on their practices. While doing the analysis, the steps suggested by Cresswell (2007) were considered; data collected were organized, the text were read intensely, notes were taken during these readings and themes were developed. These steps were followed for each participant first, then the participants were analyzed together keeping in mind the suggestions by Miles and Huberman (1994). During the data analysis, MAXQDA 12, which is a qualitative data analysis software, was used to organize data, take notes and develop themes.

# CHAPTER 4

# RESULTS

In this study, it was aimed to answer three research questions which were to investigate three aspects that were (1) the manifestations of participants' cultural capital, (2) participants' experiences in classroom and (3) the participants' views about the school. To explain these issues, data were collected via interviews and classroom observations. Then, content analysis was conducted over the data transcribed.

In this section, the findings are presented under themes in accordance with their responding to the related research question.

## 4.1. Manifestations of Participants' Cultural Capital

In order to investigate participants' cultural capital, questions related to the issue were included in both the initial and final interviews. And the findings are presented accordingly.

### 4.1.1. Manifestations during the Initial Interviews

To be able to the investigate the first research question "What are the manifestations of participants' cultural capital?", the form which was distributed to determine the participants was used initially and data collected by that form were presented in the method section under participant part. In this part, some information about their possessed cultural goods, their engagement with cultural activities, the certificates they had and their family background were presented. However, to be able to reach a more comprehensive understanding for the research question, the initial interviews were conducted and the data collected were analyzed by developing some themes.

**4.1.1.1. Tastes and Prior Experiences**

As a basic component of cultural capital, students' prior experiences and their tastes may play facilitating or complicating roles depending on the context they are a part of. Tastes are what create distinctions among people and develop inequalities by generating different cultural consumption practices (Bourdieu, 1984). Therefore, it is important to understand what students bring with them into classroom setting to be able to explain their experiences. In this aspect, participants showed some differences and similarities. While responding the questions about their thoughts on the effects of their tastes and prior experiences on their experiences in the school, some participants expressed that these aspects had helped them in the school:

*I am a person who is interested in astronomy and my family supports me in that. When I came here I learnt there is an astronomy club here which made me quite happy. And whenever there is a discussion on that, I can easily engage in, I mean I can get into discussions. I am knowledgeable at a certain level. Also, I like reading which makes me good at writing, all my teachers mention this. I trust myself in literature, for both reading and writing. I also watch activities such as theatre, cinema and concerts by following critiques. Thus, people listen to me when I join them. So I can tell you that these aspects help me. (P1)*

*I have been interested in science since my childhood. I watch a lot of documentaries on various subjects. I actually watch historical documentaries as well; but, I can't remember them much, maybe as some general knowledge. But documentaries on, for example, astronomy, physics, and math are more permanent and they help me. (P2)*
*Of course I had such experiences. For example, there are times while we were watching T.V. I got curious about something and explored them*

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*with my father. Then I encountered them in class which made it easy for me for to explain. (P3)*

*I have a big family. For example, I have four sisters. My mother is a woman who likes reading and I remember she read aloud for us all the time. I think that was good for us. Instead of sitting at home doing nothing, or having nonsense conversations, we talked about books or watched movies together and talked about them. I believe these helped me in terms interpretation and critical thinking skills. (P7)*

*Let me give an example, my father is a public prosecutor, also my elder sister studies law. They generally discuss some issues at home which is useful for me. I learn about my social environment. I learn what can possibly happen, what are the reasons for making some laws and my relation to them which makes me feel comfortable... I know what to do when I have some troubles. (P8)*

*Actually my parents love reading books and we usually discussed on books which helped me a lot at school. (P10)*

*My father is a soldier which made us live in many different cities. So, I tried to adapt numerous places. At first I had difficulties. But now I'm used to it. I can easily develop friendships.  (P13)*

*For example, I'm interested in history. I always read about historical events which makes social science courses easy for me. (P15)*

As it can be observed over the quotes from the initial interviews, participants expressed some of the advantages of their tastes and prior experiences that helped them in school setting. In some cases, their tastes supported them with a comfort and self-esteem which eased it to feel

comfortable with a new social environment and become a member with less difficulties as in the case of P1 and P13. In other examples, such as P2, P3, P7, P10 and P15, the participants explained that their interests and experiences with their family have direct impact on their school work. The case for P8 showed a more sophisticated situation that was witnessed during the observations as well, he explained that he knew what his rights were and what the consequences of his behaviors could be, which supported him to feel comfortable to express himself and behave as he liked. Besides these, some participants thought that their tastes and prior experiences had no effect on their experiences at school:

> *I had no difficulties at school; but, it is because of my interest in courses. There is no case I can say I could be comfortable without working on courses. (P4)*

> *My uncle is an English teacher, this might have brought me some advantages; yet, I don't think there was such effects. (P5)*

> *I don't think so. Only my elder brother helped me for my homework. There is nothing else. (P9)*

> *I don't know how to explain; I can't say I had such advantages. My family is not such a family, for example it is not a family interested in science or something like that… I can't say there are such effects. (P11)*

> *No. I mean there was not such an environment then. We had all similar views. Here, it is quite different. (P12)*

> *For example, I'm not a person who likes reading much that is why I think I am not good at language and literature. I don't think my life at home and school are so interrelated. If I am successful at school that is only*

*because of my paying attention to the lectures, there are no other factors affecting it. (P17)*

In the cases presented above, participants expressed that they thought their experiences and tastes had no effect on their practices in school setting. They directly attached their success or comfort at school to their interest in school activities and their hard work on them. Although these quotes have no direct relation to the tastes and prior experiences, they seem to have an interrelation to participants' dispositions and attitudes which is the next theme to be handled.

### 4.1.1.2. Dispositions

The notion of capital may sound like some materials possessed through a period of time or inherited; yet, as discussed before, the term cultural capital does not directly refer to such use all alone. As pointed out by Bourdieu, the term also includes some embodied states that may show up as attitudes or postures or some other forms that might be spoken of dispositions. This makes it important to include the participants' ideas about their dispositions to be able to develop a deeper understanding about their cultural capital. As a part of the questions included in the first interviews, related data were specified and analyzed as well. Participants' cultural capital showed some varieties in this aspect:

*I am a person who likes talking and I like to end my speech when I start once… Being a leader is among dominant aspects of my personality… I am a person whose advises are cared… Empathy is important for me. (P1)*

*For example, being talkative is an important characteristic for me. I don't like people who sit all the time, or who are always silent. My friends*

*should be full of life, energetic… I feel strong enough to solve my problems. (P7)*

*I am actually a direct person. I don't abstain from saying my thoughts. At school or with my family, I share my ideas easily… I want to have a large circle of friends. I would like to communicate with everybody. (P8)*

*I have been class president for seven times till now, and now I am class president here, again. I like being a leader, I trust in myself… I am a straightforward person, when there is a problem, I directly talk about it. (P14)*

*I usually feel comfortable. When I participate in a new environment I might feel a bit nervous at first, but I adapt easily… I express my ideas, for example, if there is something I have difficulties to understand in class I can directly ask it… I share my ideas, I talk much (smiling), so I speak of everything. (P16)*

*Actually there is no example I remember that stressed me at school. On the contrary I feel more comfortable at school. I am not a nervous person; I don't get stressed… I am here by my own effort that is why my parents respect my ideas, I make my own decisions. I trust myself. (P17)*

As quoted from interviews, some of the participants showed high self-esteem and shared that they felt comfortable in daily life and at school setting. A sentence P8 put forward was quite exemplary in this aspect; he, as a response to a question about success, said "*I thought how much it could matter if I couldn't do well. And indeed, what can happen most? It is not a big deal.*" These participants had some characteristics that comforted them to participate in the activities taking place and be active in the processes sometimes without caring being active. And they showed some characteristics which might ease their

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socializing in new environments they participate in. On the other hand, some of the participants shared their ideas on some characteristics they had which could complicate processes for them:

> *People tell me they feel I am a distant person. I always tried to overcome it; but it seems I could not achieve it. I think this is caused by my being shy. I don't feel comfortable among people. (P5)*

> *In terms of communication, I guess I am a silent person... I feel the stress of being unsuccessful, I mean I felt a pressure on me when I thought the possibility that I failed. (P6)*

> *I am (hesitation) a bit shy. I might have some problems expressing myself among people. (P9)*

> *I have a situation that I have tendency to feel myself guilty. I mean I get curious thinking that other people can accuse me of being faulty and I cannot explain my position... Till now, my mother cared me so much, she did most of my work, and this could be why I don't feel self-confident much... I behave in accordance with others, I don't put forward different ideas. (P10)*

> *I might get stressed by anything, I am aware of that I have problems related to self-confidence, even if I achieve something I still cannot trust in myself. (P13)*

> *Actually I am a shy person. For example, I could not directly communicate with others. From the 1st grade till 5th grade I was a quite passive child. That is why I would not like to take responsibility, this is why I haven't participated in many activities till now. (P15)*

Different than participants who defined themselves self-confident and comfortable to express their ideas, these participants explained that they had possibilities to have difficulties which might result in their withdrawal from the environment they were taking part in. Reviewing the ideas explained by them, for example, it would not be difficult to conclude that P1 or P8 would more likely participate in the processes existing in a social environment than P10 or P15. Although this participation can potentially be underestimated, it should not be ignored that on physical or social planes, physical or social actions are what affect the existing practices. Therefore; participants, who actively interfere the surrounding they are in, are more possibly the ones who change the environment in accordance with their willing and needs. Besides these participants, there are some other participants who used different strategies:

> *I believe one should adapt to environments in accordance with what they require. There are ways one should follow changing in different environments. I think I have no problem understanding what an environment requires me to do and acting accordingly... I am not shy, but I don't want to come to the forefront. (P2)*

> *Generally, my expectations from myself is more than what other people expect from me. Thus, I don't feel any pressure on me, even my parents and teachers asked me to stop studying sometimes. (P4)*

While some of their friends explained that their characteristics and attitudes supported them with some opportunities helping them feel comfortable in adapting to and being an active member of the environments they were part of and some others expressed that they had some difficulties to achieve those; P2 and P4 shared their ideas enlightening that they were good at understanding the dynamics of the environments they entered, or they showed over ambition

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which leaded them to feel no stress. By this way, according to the interviews, some participants perceived direct effect of their dispositions on their experiences at school. That effect could be either positive or negative. And, especially in the examples of P2 and P4, that effect was neutralized by getting aware of the contextual necessities.

### 4.1.1.3. Prior Experiences in School Setting

Although participants' prior experiences at school setting may not stand as a part of their cultural capital by its own, their expressions and how they handle the related issues may present some cues about their values attached to school. As discussed before, values attributed to materials, experiences or relations is a part and result of culture. Thus, considering how participants address to these experiences may present opportunities to investigate their cultural capital.

Asking the students about positive experiences they had during their former schools, most of the students remembered times they had good exam results or they received rewards related to those good exam results. P1 explained she had been happy when she got the highest grades among her friends. For P4, the memory was the time he had two plaques while other students got one as he was quite successful. Similarly, P6 said he had felt very good when he had been the most successful student in an olympiad exam held by a private school and his name was announced by a ceremony. P8 presented his being the top scoring student at his school and receiving medals at ceremonies related to math olympiad as his memories worth to remember. P9 remembered the time he received full grade in high school entrance exam and coming the current school. Like P9, P13 also considered the time she received full grade in high school entrance exam as her memory worth to be remembered. P14 mentioned the time he had been congratulated by his teachers as he had received high score from the high school entrance exam. P15 said he had felt good whenever he had received good exam results. These examples show unsurprisingly that the participants had

grown with a culture of success leading them to study on courses or school related activities to be appreciated.

Besides those, there were other types of views as well. Some of the students included activities such as sports or some others could not remember specific experience to be remembered. P2 told of that he entered badminton team at his former school after getting injured and leaving basketball compulsorily as a good memory. He explained being interested in sport and spending time on it had always made him happy. P3 explained that she liked her former school due to its being quite clean and offering quality education. P7 remembered her teachers, because some of them had understood her needs aroused from her hyperactivity and let her move in class as she had liked. Similarly, P10 talked about the social environment and warm atmosphere at her former school which made her happy. P11 expressed he had been happy winning a football tournament at his former school. P16 mostly mentioned social issues as experiences making her happy, for example she gave an example about one of her close friends who had come the same class with her and spent time together. P5, P12 and P17 did not remember a specific case as a positive experience. Although these participants were successful in terms of academic achievement as much as their friends, they showed extra interests in other aspects as well.

As negative experiences, students mentioned about some different events. P1 talked about her being bullied by four female students at corridor in her former school and receiving no attention from school administration, but she had solved the problem by following legal procedures. She also expressed that sometimes she could not have enough time to talk as she liked which made her feel uncomfortable. P2 mostly talked about getting injured and getting obliged to stop playing basketball as a sad memory. P3 had been affected by her friend's behaviors and she complained the formal structure of relationships taking place in school environment. The experience P6 talked about was his breaking some tiles at school and having some problems with school administration about this issue. For P7 the hyperactivity which was solved by a teacher she liked had been

a problem for a long time before, as it had not been understood by other teachers till the teacher she talked about. P2, P8, P13 and P15 were the students who complained about changing schools as they had had to adapt new environments which caused difficulties. P15 explained he was affected by 4+4+4 change in Turkish education system negatively in this aspect. For P9, P12 and P17 problems caused by teachers' instruction techniques resulting in some tension and their being rude were bad memories, P12 also had had friends with bad habits that had disturbed him. P10 had experienced some discussions as she had studied in a school which had hosted a religious atmosphere conflicting with her and her parents' world view. P13 and P15 were not satisfied with physical conditions of the school they had graduated and inadequacy of social activities. P16 complained about the level of her friends as they had not been as successful as her which had resulted in teachers' focusing on them more than her. P4, P5, P11 and P14 gave no specific examples and they said they had no such experiences. As it can be concluded from the interviews, most of the participants were uncomfortable by teachers' attitudes and physical conditions of schools. P1, P2, P7 and P10 portrayed different profiles in this aspect as they actively engaged with the problems and developed solutions.

### 4.1.1.4. Relationships and Perceived Expectations

What makes cultural capital an effective element in agents' experiences, in the case of this study their experiences in school setting, is that it plays a role that organizes the internalization process of the experiences together with habitus.

*I mean, I feel there is a big difference between daily life and school life. I live differently with friends, with teachers, or outside with elder people or my peers. It changes. (P2)*

*There is such a warm atmosphere here that I feel as if I was here all the time, it feels all familiar. (P4)*

*Of course at school we cannot be same as we are outside. Because everybody is not like us. There are various types of people. That is why we should be more moderate. (P15)*

*I do not interrelate my daily life and my life at school to each other. I don't know, some of my friends have parents who are teachers, they have some advantages in this aspect, but I don't have such an advantage. (P17)*

Quotes taken from the initial interviews depicts some images describing the issue. As a student who was quite interested in being at school, which will be detailed while presenting findings about experienced hidden curriculum, P4's expression gives some clues about his attitude. He felt similarities between his relationships outside the school and his experiences taking place in the school which eased it for him to be a member of the school and feel comfortable there. For the other quotes, for example P17, the situation was a little different; she felt school was an odd place where she lost her time for nothing useful.

To be able to understand what generates such differences in participants' ideas, investigating their relationships outside the school and how school is included in these relationships seemed to be meaningful. In accordance with this, participants were asked how they shared their experiences in school with their families and what the content of this communication was. Also, expectations they felt by their families were asked to them. 15 of the participants explained they preferred to share their experiences at school with their family and they felt comfortable to do so. P7 and P11 were the only participants who explained that they preferred not to talk about their experiences at school with their family,

especially when there was a problem at the school. While explaining the underlying reasons they said:

*I am not a sharing person when it is about school. Especially when I have a problem, I deal with it myself. Only if I can't solve it, I consult them. I believe this is because I feel strong enough to do so. Or maybe, I sometimes do not want to raise the issues. (P7)*

*If I talk about the issues at school, there might be situations that my parents question whether there are problems at school. They might get more interested in me. And, I don't like attention on me much. (P11)*

As they put forward, these participants viewed school as a space where the activities practiced were to be evaluated by themselves disconnected from the daily life, which brings profiles that consider the school and necessities about school to be handled as missions to be completed to be able to proceed towards next stages. This makes school a step to be passed.

Different than this attitudes, remaining participants all explained they shared their experiences with their families showing some nuance. For example, P1 expressed that her family knew everything about her life at school. P2 told me that her mother, as his father and mother were divorced like P17, was always by his side during his life, especially for his academic life. Quoted above, P4 said he considered school as a familiar place for him, and his relationships with his parents were quite intimate, once I had witnessed he put his arm around his father's shoulder and talking to him like a friend. As presented before, P10 expressed that her mother had always been so interested in her school life that she had problems of confidence, but this also carries some cues about the integration of her daily life and school life into each other that she could barely separate them. P12 spoke of his relationship with his parents in a positive manner; yet, he mentioned that his prior relationships and current relationships

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had quite little similarities which might cause some confusions in his new environment.

As an extension of the relationships and their effects on school life, the expectations participants felt present some opportunities to rich meaningful comprehensions as well. Not surprisingly, the participants were students who felt high level of expectations from their social environments. All the participants explained that their family had always expected them to become successful in terms of academic life. They generally portrayed profiles that could keep up with the expectations. However, some of the participants explained they had felt some pressure on them which had resulted in stress:

*I felt a pressure on me. I was afraid of being unsuccessful and not meeting the expectations which affected me negatively time to time. (P6)*

*My parents' expectation was too high, actually it is still the same. And it causes stress on me. Also my expectations have the same effect (P9)*

*I have been feeling this stress since 4<sup>th</sup> grade (P10)*

*I had fears to disappoint my parents; I still have (P15)*

*Stress… I was afraid of not having a good exam result. But my parents helped me calm down. They told me if I had not been successful I would have gone to a private school, there would not be any problem about my education. (P16)*

In the cases of P6, P9, P10 and P15, their relationships with their social environments and their families caused tensions for them that stressed them. This situation had a potential to make school a quite important space to be taken serious for them. As presented before, P8 expressed once "*I thought how much*

*it could matter if I couldn't do well. And indeed, what can happen most? It is not a big deal.*"; compared to that attitude, it would not be peculiar to conclude that participants feeling such tensions would feel more stressed at school in case of any difficulties, and even that tension could be the difficulty itself. For the case of P16, it can be said that her relationship was what released her from the tension that could change her ideas which might result in a cold atmosphere image of school. Yet, as it is handled in the part of students' classroom experiences, P16 felt quite comfortable in classroom which might be related to her relationships directly or indirectly.

## 4.1.2. Manifestations during the Final Interviews

As this study was conducted in a period that lasted for about five months, it was considered that participants had new experiences which might affect their possessed cultural capital. By this consideration, it was determined to focus on their manifestations of cultural capital in final interviews as well to be able to include such aspects. Here in this part, the findings related to this issue will be presented by themes.

### 4.1.2.1. Tastes and Interests

After spending time at the new school where they attended to a new environment in, participants had new social and cultural opportunities to be active in. Inevitably this process became a part of their both cultural capital and habitus, and it affected their perspectives in such a way that they had possibilities to evaluate their following experiences in new ways. Therefore, how they spent that time presents some understanding for the research question.

Related to this, P1 was interested in various activities; she attended to volleyball team in school, took part in olympiads, watched theatre plays as she had available time. She also wrote stories as a hobby. P2 attended conferences held at school which were organized by the school. He also went to theatre and cinema at the weekend with his mother. Moreover, he had some courses about

sports such as archery. As related to art, he explained he was interested in drawing and music, he learnt playing guitar during the time he spent. P5 was in volleyball team as well, he also said that he tried to be in activities such as theatre visits as much as he could. But he was not interested in any artistic works. P7 was also a member of volleyball team of the school, and she started to learn playing violin in the courses given by the school. Besides, she tried to learn drawing techniques to develop her drawing skills. P8 attended computer and physics olympiads, visits organized by the school and guitar course given by the teachers, he also went a private course to learn playing guitar. P11 took part in football tournament, worked for olympiads and he was a member of chess club in school. But he did not spend time for art as he said. P12 was a member of an Erasmus Project, participated in olympiad studies, scientific activities, attended volleyball tournaments and went theatre by school visits. P14 attended to conferences held by school. P15 attended experiments organized by the school twice. These participants were students who were aware of the facilities of school and used them, some of them also attended activities out the school as in the case of P2, but he was an extern student who spent most of his time outside the school.

Other participants explained they mostly spend their time studying lesson. Boarder students who came from other cities mostly spent their time in campus. Some participant such as P7, as presented above, developed strategies to get use of school facilities; but, this was not the condition for all. Some participants, for example P3, P6, P10, P13, P15 were the participants who explained they spent time with their friends either in campus playing games such as volleyball, or going outside the campus to shop. P4 mentioned that he focused on courses and science and his motivation was to spend time issues related to those subjects. P9 as an extern student spend his time with his elder brother, with whom he lived, at home either studying or chatting with his brother. P17, another extern student, complained that there were no activities organized at school. That was an interesting aspect as boarder students were quite satisfied with the

activities school presented for them. P17 explained she spend her time going a swimming course and working on music.

As one of the indicators of cultural capital, possessed cultural goods present important information. However, engagement with these goods is another scope to be considered as well. The number of books participants had was asked to them at the beginning of the study by the forms distributed. But in the final interview, they were asked how many books they read during the time the study continued. The average number of the books read by the participants was five and for most of the participants three of the books were determined by teachers as a requirement of literature exam. P4, P7 and P12 were the participants who read more than five books. P4 explained he read about 20 books which were mostly related to science. P7 expressed she liked reading and read about 10 books which made her feel sad as she normally had read more than this number. P12 mentioned that his father suggested books to him and he read those books which were about 10 in total. P2, P9 and P17 were the participants who read less than five books. P2 said that he did not like reading much and he preferred to watch documentaries instead as that addressed his learning style more. P9 said he read two books as he felt it necessary for exams and he explained that he normally did not read much. P17 was the participant who explained she did not read any books during that time.

As it can be concluded from the interviews, some of the participants had some tastes and interests that leaded them to actively take part in activities organized by the school or outside the school. And some other participants were mostly interested in courses. Like in the example of read books, participants' characteristics changed their practices. While some participants normally liked reading and read the books that were compulsory to be read as a hobby besides the books they preferred to read; some other participants did not even consider to read those books and complained about the application in literature course.

**4.1.2.2. Dispositions**

In the initial interviews, participant showed differences in terms of their attitudes that might reflect on their experiences and play a role in organizing their relationships. P1, P2, P4, P7, P8, P14, P16 and P17 were the participants who expressed some cues that pointed out their high self-esteem and comfort in processes they take part in. P5, P6, P9, P10, P13 and P15 explained that they had some issues making them to have difficulties which included characteristics such as being shy or feeling the lack of self-confidence. On the other hand, P3, P11 and P12 showed some characteristics that helped them to adapt to environments they participate in feeling neither strange nor familiar. To be able to understand how they experienced the effects of their dispositions, they were asked some similar questions in the final interviews as well, and their answers were analyzed.

As in the initial interview, P1 expressed that her dispositions showed some qualities that helped her during the time the study was conducted:

*I think I am a person who can express her ideas easily. Thus, I don't have difficulties to communicate with people. And I am a person who can show empathy, as I have this skill, I can understand others and others can understand me. These all help me with my relationships. (P1)*

For the case of P2, he explained he overcame the problems he faced during the time he spent by his character and that also helped him develop good relationships:

*My friends think I am a character-wise person. They felt hopeless whenever they had difficulties related to courses or exams, I helped them. As I developed a strong personality, I haven't experienced such things till now. I don't mind problems much, this helped me keep my psychology healthy. (P2)*

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While evaluating her experiences in the school, P3 expressed that she was good at understanding the context and reacting accordingly:

*For example, I spoke in right time and in right manner. By this way, my teachers liked me, liked my character. Or I, for example, made jokes, or became sad when I had to, those helped me adapt to the environment. I am a child who can easily adapt, what can I say else? (Smile) (P3)*

P4 was a participant who were mostly interested in learning and being successful, and he talked about some of his characteristics that he believed helped him:

*Being direct and telling what you think is a better attitude. Some people abstain from telling their ideas directly, or they don't ask what they don't understand fearing that other people may laugh at them. People should not do this. I am not such a person. This helps me not only here, but also all my life. I also don't tell jokes during the lesson. If you behave serious, people take you serious. (P4)*

P4 also expressed that he had been encouraged to question since his childhood by his parents. As a different example; P5, who explained that he felt shy in initial interview, had some problems he had during the time he spent at his new school:

*There is such a situation; I have problems to talk with my female friends. I don't know why, maybe it is because I am shy. Or it may be caused by the social environment where I have grown up. When I think about it, I can't understand the reason, I guess it is my character. (P5)*

As a participant who came from a seemingly more conservative environment, P5 had problems related to relationships which had potential to affect his experiences in school. P6, another participant who defined himself a silent person in the initial interview, described his dispositions as:

*When something happens, it happens at the moment. I don't ponder on it later. There are times I want to say something, then I just give up. I don't feel it necessary, I think nothing will change if I say it… When there is a responsibility, I do it first then I spend my time on other things. (P6)*

As discussed before, events have their ground at a physical plane which result in the fact that actions changing the physical and people creating such actions are more possibly to affect the environment they are a member of. P6 seems to adapt the environment and do the requirements to be able to keep on.

*I am a curious person; I always research what I wonder. This helped me a lot. And determination is also another aspect I should mention about. Because, people may give up if they don't understand after a while; but I don't… Some teachers call me "the opposition" because I always ask questions, I don't like being passive. (P7)*

P7 showed that she insisted on her ideas and thoughts if she had questions in her mind. And she had no shyness to explain it. This seemed to play a positive role in her experiences in the school as she portrayed a comfortable school image in her mind that was there to help her.

*I am a straightforward person. Maybe it is something causing problems for me sometimes besides good things. But I say whatever in my mind no matter what others think. Maybe these are some dispositions developed*

*before. Most probably my parent did not limit me. This helped me a lot. Here I can talk to my teachers, friends or administration easily. (P8)*

Similar to his statements in the initial interview, P8 pointed out that he could easily express his ideas in any cases. And he, in an example, explained that he broke some customs of school by his character which will be detailed in perceived hidden curriculum part.

*Maybe you may notice, my accent is not so gentle. I try to develop it, but it can cause some negative experiences… I try to be friendly as much as possible. I guess I can keep up with the environment here. (P9)*

As a participant who came from the eastern part of the country, P9 had a little different dialect that made him feel embarrassed in the school. And, he showed some characteristics that he generally tried to be accepted in the social environment.

*I have improved something, seriously. Because, normally I had difficulties to be among people, even I did so I could not talk, I kept silent. But now, I am not such a person. I can really explain my ideas now… But I still don't know much about my personality. I can say I still don't know about myself. Self-confidence is so important; I am not a fully self-confident person still. (P10)*

P10 was quite shy during the initial interview and had difficulties to explain her ideas contentedly. During the final interview, she portrayed a more comfortable image, and expressed it. However, she explained that she still felt some problems related to the issue.

P11 had not mentioned specific characteristics about himself in the initial interview; yet, in the final interview he expressed his ideas about himself which might be useful and are as below:

*My preference is not to speak; I don't want to talk much. There are no feelings such as being shy underlying this preference, or things like being afraid of the reactions by teachers or friends. If I have a question in my mind, for example, I prefer to research it myself. Directly asking such things is choosing the easy way I think. I keep my ideas. (P11)*

As he put forward, P11 had some characteristics which did not hinder him to adapt environment; but, leading him to be silent and observe.

*I am an earnest person who likes learning new things, I read about anything. These both help me. People like me as I am a calm person. And, I have knowledge on various subjects which is good for me. (P12)*

P12 emphasized that his being a quite person eased his relationships with others. His attitudes and expressions mostly drew an image that he did not want to be forefront among people and accepted the common decisions. Besides, his being interested in learning helped him to be active in classroom activities.

*I don't know why, but still I have problems related to stress. Actually, I know it is ridiculous. Getting sad for exams or else, that sounds nonsense. But I can't manage it. (P13)*

Similar to her expressions in the initial interview. P13 explained she had difficulties as she got stressed easily even if she succeeded better than she expected. She also expressed that she did not feel the need to insist on her ideas when there was a situation to do. Her expressions drew a profile who took the

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school too serious that made her to fear the consequences generated by her actions which had potential to make her motionless.

P14, on the other hand, depicted his disposition explaining that he was a social student who liked interacting with others and environment itself which could help him learn the people around him and express his need or ideas:

*I don't like being introvert or sitting all the time. I like communicating with people. I like moving around. It has been like this ever since I know myself. I like joking and making people smile. When they are happy, so am I. (P14)*

As in the initial interview, P15 stated that he was not a person who could easily engage in the social environment and express himself:

*I am not a very social person. I don't know, this has been the case since my childhood. I cannot express myself easily. Also, my communication skills are not so developed. Sometimes I feel shy, sometimes I find no reason and I don't explain my thoughts. (P15)*

P16 described her characteristics by using adjectives such as talkative or social. But she had some concerns and complaints related to and caused by her dispositions:

*As I changed numerous schools, I am used to meet new people. This has been a gaining for me. I can easily talk about my ideas and problems without any concern or distress. I feel close to people. I care people a lot; but, I can't see similar attitudes from people. This makes me sad. (P16)*

As a participant, P17 was uncomfortable with the environment she was in; because, she thought that the social environment was not satisfying in the school and her friends were generally distant. This could be related to her personality as she liked being social. She stated that:

*I am not a shy person. There are people who don't like talking, or who are not capable of generate meaningful sentences; I believe this is a big problem and disadvantage. In such a case, one cannot express her/himself. I don't think I am such kind of a person. I think I am a bit outspoken, sometimes even aggressive. (P17)*

As in the initial interviews, during the final interviews participants answered questions that were to understand their dispositions to be able to comprehend their experiences. Similar to their first expressions, P1, P2, P4, P7, P8 and P14 stated that they felt the advantages of their dispositions during the time they spent their new school. P3, P11 and P12 were the participants who did not directly showed characteristics to affect the environment in accordance with their needs but developed skills to keep up with the dynamics they observe. P5, P6, P9, P13 and P15 were the participants who had dispositions that caused some difficulties on their experiences. P10 was the only participant who stated that she had some changes which were positive according to her. She expressed that she developed some skills to express herself and feel comfortable with other people. P16 and P17 were the participants who emphasized that they had no concerns about their dispositions and on the contrary they felt quite happy about it; but, they stated that there was not an environment they felt satisfied in terms of social aspects.

## 4.2. Students' Experiences in the Classroom

In this study, it was also aimed to investigate the hidden curriculum existed for 9th grade students who attended a science high school in Ankara

province. In accordance with this purpose, participants were asked questions related to issue. However, to be able to develop a better understanding and reach supplementary data, classroom observation was done. The data collected by observation were organized and analyzed to be able to answer the second research question which was "What are the participants' experiences in classroom?" To be able to present the findings about the participants compactly, it was decided to discuss each participant separately for this research question instead of giving the findings by themes.

*Participant 1*

In general, P1 showed an attentive profile. She carried out specific roles in classroom. She was active for example to remind the last subject held to the teachers when they needed, a sign of that she was quite careful about the interactions taking place in the class. As aforementioned, she was among the students who interacted with the smart board in the classroom, and she was the only female student doing so. When a course started, she went to board, started it and prepared it for the use of teachers even if teachers did not ask so sometimes. She also took some other roles as well, while distributing the exam papers, she was the student who did it; or in some cases she helped teachers organize the exam papers for other classes. Or, when there were students out the classroom, she was among the students who were sent out to call them. This showed that she was willing to take charge in classroom and it was appreciated by the teachers. In terms participation, she was active as well. When there were questions to be answered, she answered it without waiting for the permission from teacher in the contrary to some of her friends. But when she had a question herself, she generally raised her hand and waited for the permission. There was a case in which she argued with the teacher for a question and in the end she was right and teacher gave her credit for the situation. And, in general she was comfortable to explain her ideas to teachers and classroom. Once, she went near a teacher during the lesson and talked about her project for about ten minutes with no concern. In another example, she walked toward the board and explained

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her ideas which were appreciated by teacher. Those were the examples she perceived the classroom as a place where she could put forward her ideas to learn better and she felt comfortable to do so.

*Participant 2*

Observing P2, it is easy to say that he was a silent student in general. Yet, when he spoke, he generally expressed what in his mind was. Usually, he sat on his chair and watched the interactions taking place in class. He looked quite careful listening to lectures and paid attention to teachers. Most of the time, he nodded what teachers said and when students were expected to participate, he raised his hand and waited for permission. He spent his time alone during the courses with minimum interaction with his friends either listening to teachers or drawing pictures. He was active especially in English courses. As his mother was a translator and interpreter, his English was quite fluent which was useful for him seemingly; English teacher called him "Mr. Perfect" most of the times he attended to the activities, and he answered such statements modestly saying "I am not such big headed". He seemed knowledgeable in other fields as well; for example, he could talk about Nietzsche sophisticatedly in a course which was appreciated by teacher. He was among the participants who used smart board in the classroom with no concerns. In general, he portrayed a profile that did not want to come to the forefront but aware of what happens in classroom and he seemed ready to be active whenever he needed to which can be interpreted as he perceived the classroom as a place where he needed to fulfill some tasks and he seemed to achieve his goal.

*Participant 3*

During the observations, P3 was a student who was interested in lecture usually. She followed lecture, and took notes during courses. The times she talked to class was mainly related to the questions asked to her. Other than those cases, she generally talked to P7 who sat behind her. They had conversations with each other during the any courses observed and most of their conversations seemed to be related to the topic if there was a lecture. She did not have difficulty

to talk to teachers directly; yet, all her speeches were related to the subject being held. The characteristic she showed different from her friends was her intonation. She talked loudly when she had something to say and that was the case for her conversations with P7 sometimes as well. She looked comfortable to do so, and there was no limitation by teachers in this aspect. In terms of socialization, she easily moved around and talked to her friends during the courses and showed a social personality. However, their socialization was mostly to learn about the topic, to ask question or similar issues. Thus, P3's practices were mostly to keep up with the lectures and learn the subjects.

*Participant 4*

As he explained in the interviews, P4's attitudes were quite direct in the class. He had a distance to teachers and his friends in terms of personal relationships; but, when it was the courses, and course related issues he seemed to be comfortable to express what he thought and felt. During an observation, a teacher asked him whether he could recite a poem, his answer was *"I know some poems, but I don't want to recite it now."* He was quite active in participating academic groups in school. He was a member of school council and he seemed busy on those issues. He actively participated in the activities in class during courses and had one to one conversations with teachers both during the courses and after the courses to find answers to his questions. To say something, he usually raised his hand, and if the teacher did not let him speak he chose to keep silent on the contrary to most of his friends. He took on some task in the class. He brought documentaries to watch during some courses related to topic held, he sometimes had materials about the subjects that were used by teachers and some of the teachers appreciated that during the observations. He used smart board in the classroom quite frequently and he even worked away its codes time to time. During the physical education courses, he did not play any games; but, he studied some other lessons. He seemed to like the school so much that after the exams had finished all the students stopped to go to school; yet, during a visit

I met him, he explained the reason he was there saying that he spent his time more quality at the school.

### *Participant 5*

Together with P6, P5 was the participant who sat (they were next to each other) most of the time and kept silent. He sat on his chair during courses, besides he did not stand up for most of the breaks as well. During those times, he either played games on his mobile phone or did nothing and waited. During the courses, he crossed his arms and sat uprightly listening to teachers. Although he did not participate into the activities, he told answers he found his friends, especially to P16. The only times his voice was heard were when teachers asked questions directly to him. In such cases, his responses were short and clear. He sometimes had short conversations with P6 and P16 and all those conversations were about questions to be answered. He and P15 were the only participants who stood up when teachers entered to the classroom, remaining participants preferred to sit on their chairs and welcomed teachers. An interesting event I observed was that a teacher was not at the school as she went to abroad for an Erasmus Project and last two courses were canceled. Although P5, P6 and P15 were boarders, they did not leave the classroom. During the time they spent, P5 read a book for a while, then waited for break time bell doing nothing.

### *Participant 6*

While taking notes during the observations, the most frequent sentence I had written down about P6 was that "P6 is sitting at the moment, listening to the teacher and nodding what s/he says". He was a participant who followed lectures quite carefully and watched any kind of interaction taking place in the classroom with a curiosity; but, he was silent and did not participate in any of those. The only course I heard his voice numerously was biology course which he showed interest in. Also, it is worth to mention that the teacher of the course was adored by her students. During the only course he showed participation willingly, P6 was called "my son who likes biochemistry" by her. And it was nice to see. Although he seemed to have a great curiosity (he was always near the zones

where an action took place), he did not interact with others or events. He silently watched them. During some courses, he talked with P5 as aforementioned, and the content of their conversations was the questions they needed to answer usually. As presented for P5, he was among the three participants who did not leave the classroom during the cancelled courses doing nothing and waiting for exit bell.

### Participant 7

"The last time bender". That was an epithet the math teacher attributed to P7 as a joke. The reason he did so was that she asked so many questions during the courses. And she really did. During the whole courses I observed, P7 was a participant who was pretty interested in what was happening in the classroom and externalized her feelings and thoughts. There were sentences such as "you are too fast; I can't follow it" directed to teachers by P7 many times. And she seemed comfortable to do so. She looked interested in lectures and took notes while teachers gave lectures. In terms of socializing, she portrayed an active profile, she had conversations with her friends, who were P3, P9 and P11 most of time. In general, participants studied alone; yet, P7 felt comfortable to study with her friends in general. When she had questions, she did not feel the necessity to raise her hand contrary to some other participants. In her free times, she studied other courses asking the permission from teacher, she drew pictures, she played games on her mobile phone or she listened to music with no concerns.

### Participant 8

While the most frequent note taken about P6 was his sitting silently on his chair, the case for P8 was that he sat on his chair putting his head on desk either to take a nap or play game on his tablet. He seemed to be a participant who liked having time with friends during breaks, his friends came to the class and took him outside many times during the observations. However, when it was course time, he entered to the classroom, went to his place and got the position described. That was the case when there was a teacher in the classroom and gave lecture. He seemed to have no concerns about that situation. Once, it was his

turn to answer a question, teacher asked "Who is next?" while his head was on the desk, his friends gave his name and he raised his head, then answered the question with no sign of surprise or anxiety; and that happened many times. The response he received from a teacher was "well done". Also his posture was different than his friends. For most of the time, he sat cross-legged while other participants paid attention to sit properly in accordance with their perception of proper. He had direct conversations with teachers, once he asked one of the teachers to check his own exam paper as he had a lower grade than he expected. So, in general, P8's practices reflected a manner free of some admitted rules in classroom.

### *Participant 9*

In terms of socialization, P9 was not a participant who seemed quite active. During the earlier days of the term, he was active to get friends but as the time passed he started to spend his time on his own chair studying lesson alone. Contrary to P8, P9's postures were more embarrassed. During the math course, he participated actively; yet, in other courses he looked bored and he generally watched around. His interactions with teachers seemed mostly related to the courses. His usual questions were about grades. He generally asked questions like "Does it affect our grades?", "Can I have extra points as I did this task?" which showed that he considered his academic achievement. Although it is hard to put it forward, he looked as if he had some problems related to self-confidence; once, he started his speech while asking a question by saying that "This time it will be a logical question." And, he was reluctant to participate in. As an example, they did a group work; although his group done a good work, he had hesitations to present it and had discussions with his friends about this issue.

### *Participant 10*

P10 was a student who stood out amongst her friends by her participation and how she did it. Majority of participants waited the permission from teachers during the courses; yet, P10 was always active and without waiting for the permission, she explained her ideas, or said her answers most of the time. She

seemed to be quite interested in lectures or what teacher told. There was a case when P15 raised his hand to speak five times, P10 answered all those questions without permission. Similarly, when teachers solved problems on board, she usually accompanied saying the next steps loudly. In terms of socialization, she had spent most of her time at the beginning of the term either sitting at her place alone or talking to somebody on her mobile phone. However, as the time passed she developed relationships with most of the students in her class; but, in general she was quite polite in her relationships, she asked permission from her friends to sit their chair even if it was free for example. Similar to P7, she intervened lectures if there was something she could not understand and most of her interactions were about the lecture, especially during the courses.

### *Participant 11*

Similar to his friends, P11 was a successful and concerned student. However, he did not put that attention into practice much. In general, he did not participate during the courses, and when he did so, it was due to that teacher asked some questions to him. He did not have problems to answer such questions; yet, his voice and postures while giving answer were a little introverted. He spoke quite silently and did not look at the teachers directly. One of the practices he showed different than his friends was that whenever he said something, he felt it necessary to stand up for it although there was not such a rule determined. Despite his seemingly introverted personality toward teachers, he was among the students who had interactions with their friends during courses. He had conversations with P2, P7, P8 and P9 during the courses. The content of those conversations seemed to be related to courses. He asked help of his friends whenever he needed with no concern. And sometimes he sat next to his friends in some courses to solve problems together, which was done by P3, P7 and P12 as well. The course he was active more than average was religious culture and moral knowledge course. He seemed to be knowledgeable about religion and Persian language which helped him understand the terms related to

that course. In general, he was good at understanding his needs and solve them by the help of his friends or teachers by asking.

### *Participant 12*

The most frequent notes taken about P12 were "he is listening to the teacher with great interest", "he is taking notes" and "he is solving some problems". P12 was a student who sat in front and watched teachers during the courses. He seemed to pay attention teacher's all speeches and actions. He usually kept silent during the courses with little interaction. Whenever he had something to say, which included answers for questions, something to say about the subject or else, he just raised his hand and waited for permission. He sometimes had conversations with another student sitting behind him to solve problems together. Other than those, he sat looking at teacher and observed lecture. While expressing himself, he had difficulties sometimes. In an example, he started to tell his ideas in class, after a while, he could not finish his statement. Then another student talked about the same issue; P12's reaction was that "I meant the same thing but I could not explain it". This could be related to his being a little introvert.

### *Participant 13*

Like her friends, P13 was quite interested in the subjects being held during courses and paid attention to teachers' speeches when they gave lectures and took notes during those times. However, her practice did not only include those activities. She was a student who had relationship with most of her friends and she showed participation in social aspects both during the courses and breaks. As stated, while there was a lecture she focused on only teacher; yet, when there was a free time during the course, she directly turned to her friends or stood up and walked around the classroom to have conversations with her friends. The content of those conversations was not only constituted of courses but also daily talks, jokes or their problems. She seemed to care her friends' problems and tried to console them when they were sad. She had direct dialogues with teachers when there were issues and she had thoughts about those issues.

Once, she and some of her friends had attended a visit organized by the school and they missed a subject, so she asked the teacher whether he could review it next lesson; receiving a negative answer she directly told teacher "We have no fault. It is a visit organized by the school." and she was the only students showing that reaction. In some courses, she had some knowledge which she acquired herself and used effectively. For example, in literature course, she was knowledgeable about image and presented some examples which was appreciated by teacher.

### *Participant 14*

As the class president, P14 portrayed a quite active profile. Similar to P1 and P4 he took active roles in classroom. He, as a part of his duties, counted students in the classroom to help teachers take the roll. Prepared the smart board in classroom for the use of teachers. Delivered teachers' and school administrators' messages to the class. Naturally, he had communications with teachers more than any other participant. And his relationships seemed to be quite intimate, he once talked to a teacher saying "Wow, our favorite course again!", or said to biology teacher "As I spend my all time for biology, I don't need to study for exam". And while talking to teachers, he seemed quite self-confident. His relationships with his friends were similar too. He had conversations with all students in the class. During courses, he seemed interested in lectures, but he did not participate into the activities much. Usually, he said something about the subject when the turn to answer a question was his. But, he generally stood up and walked around the classroom to chat with his friends or teachers during the courses. As in the case of P13, the content of his conversations showed a variety of topics. During the cancelled courses, he suggested his friend some activities such as going outside the campus and spending time there. So, in general, P14 was a student who cared his courses; but also spent his time enjoying it.

### Participant 15

While talking about P15, P17 once said "He is like mafia". The reason she said such a thing was not that P15 was bully or something like that. On the contrary he was very polite and quiet. She used such an epithet because P15 was silent. He usually sat on his chair talking to nobody. During the courses or during the breaks it did not change. He either studied or just watched around. He spent most of his time alone during the breaks. During the courses, he carefully followed what teachers said and tried to learn the subjects. He was not so attentive; and, when he had something to say, he raised his hand and waited for permission. If he did not have permission, he generally kept silent and waited for it. With P5, he was the only participant who stood up when teachers entered to the classroom in the beginning of the semester. His posture and gestures were characteristics for him. He generally sat leaning on his desk and used his hands to express himself when he had difficulties to explain his thoughts verbally. There were some cases he could not express himself exactly and stopped talking. He was among the students who did not leave the classroom in cancelled courses. While talking about P4, I said he was at the school after completing the exams and the courses was over; that they the other student who accompanied P4 was P15. In general, he was interested in learning; but, he did not portray an attentive profile.

### Participant 16

P16 was the most energetic student in the class by far. The notes I frequently took down about her were "She is walking around the classroom.", "She huffs and puffs" and "She is talking to her friends". During the breaks or free time, she left the class anyway; during the courses, no matter there was a teacher in the classroom or s/he gave a lecture, P16 was usually standing and walking around either to talk her friends or look at their notes. She seemed to have problems to concentrate on the lecture. She tried to listen to teachers but in a short span of time she was distracted by anything. She seemed comfortable with her relationship with teachers. Whenever there was something she

complained, she directly reflected it. Once, she uttered "Please slow down. You said we would write three pages, but it is already ten pages now". Although she was quite attentive and participated to the activities, she seemed to be dissatisfied with her academic achievement in her new school. Several times, she said "I am the most unsuccessful students in this class" during the courses. And also she complained to be studying all the time; she once told a teacher that "Life is already difficult. We are not living the moment; we live the plans of future" when the teacher told them they would confront with harder conditions. Thus, P16 seemed to be bored time to time. She tried to compensate that by spending time on various activities or with her friends; however, in those cases she felt guilty as she did not like the idea to be unsuccessful. During a conversation, she told she liked painting, but she could not spend time on it as she needed to study.

### *Participant 17*

In terms of reflecting her thoughts, P17 was the most comfortable student. She participated in any of the courses and she was the student who asked questions most. While participating in, she did not need to wait for permission and sometimes she directly had dialogues with teachers. She paid attention to the interactions taking place in the class and sometimes mocked them. Once a teacher asked "Are you listening to me?" to the class to get their attention, and her reaction was shaking her head in a manner saying no; in another example she showed a material to teacher in chemistry laboratory and asked "When did you use it last?" When she was bored, she reflected it openly. She seemed to be social as she talked to anyone in classroom easily. However, that was excessive sometimes; there were examples I observed that she affronted her friends. As in the case of P16, P17 complained to be studying much, she thought that there was an intense studying environment in class and it disturbed her time to time; she explained it to a teacher saying "There are times we spend break times studying." One of her statements seemed to be proper explaining her attitude, she once asked to a teacher "May I leave the classroom?" when the break time bell rang and the teacher kept on solving a problem on the board; she thought there were

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some rules she needed to obey in the school to be able to fulfill requirements and she tried to do what seemed necessary to her.

## 4.3. Students' Views about the School

As another issue, hidden curriculum was determined to be investigated in this study. The school, where the data were collected, presented many opportunities for students, sometimes emphasizing them and sometimes not so clearly. Therefore, functionalist and Neo-Marxist perspectives were both considered during data collection and data analysis to comprehend how students noticed and did not noticed the opportunities they had during the time they spent in their new school, and what the underlying reasons for those were. Besides, students brought some thoughts into the school that might affect their practices and could be related to their cultural capital. Thus, the third research question "What are the participants' views about the school?" is aimed to be answered in this part.

### 4.3.1. Equipment and Supplies

Describing the school context in method chapter, it was explained that the school, where the data were collected, had numerous physical equipment to be used by the students. However, there was not direct guidance neither encouraging nor limiting students to do so. This situation created conditions that students who used those facilities got the advantage of using them, while students who did not use them just devoid of using them. And, it seemed students' cultural capital played a role in that process. Among the physical facilities, use of smart board in the classroom was an interesting subject to be held. Some of the participants used it quite effectively for their needs or just to enjoy it while others kept away from it. P1, P2, P4, P8, P11 and P14 were the participants who used the smart board contentedly. P1 was the only female participant who used the smart board and she explained:

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*I am among people who generally use it. Because, I am interested in such technologies, which is why I try to be active when it is needed. (P1)*

Besides being interested in technology, P2 stated that he thought being social was among the factors affecting the use of such facilities:

*For example, when we gather around the smart board, some of our friends feel shy. They prefer to remain in the background in terms of getting socialized. But we try to use available facilities to be able to find out what we wonder before we forget it. (P2)*

As it can be understood from the statements by P2, how they approached to the available equipment affected the benefit they could get from it. P4 was another participant who actively worked on the equipment and explained his situation as below:

*In the end, I have no fear to break it. Because, whatever you do with it, it will be restored when you reset it. That is why I can use it with no concern. Also, teachers ask me to prepare it for them, it makes me comfortable as well. (P4)*

Compared to ideas above, ideas by P7, P9 and P12 present the difference between participants' attitudes:

*I think it is unnecessary. I don't understand its raison d'etre. It always breaks down. I see no reason to use it. (P7)*

*Some friends use it during breaks. But I don't use it. I don't find it interesting. It is a little big. (P9)*

*Sometimes friends open something during the breaks to research it, or they watch videos. I go to watch what they do time to time. There is nothing else I did with it. (P12)*

As it can be concluded from the statements by participants, students' experiences on that equipment changed in accordance with the meaning they attributed to it. As other available equipment and supplies, participants mentioned sport materials, musical instruments, laboratory tools, materials at library and cupboard in the classroom. Participants who used the sport materials were P1, P2, P5, P6, P7 and P8.

*As I am in volleyball team, I use the equipment at gym quite a lot. (P5)*

*I use the equipment at gym usually. I have always loved billiard. That is why I generally go there to play it. (P8)*

In general, participants expressed no concerns using the sport materials at the gym. However, these six participants were the ones who were interested in sport and spent extra time using the equipment there. The participants who used the equipment in music room were P7, P8 and P13. As presented before, P7 attended a violin course there. P8 and P13 used the equipment there to develop their skills and sometimes attended some courses. Although the room was open to be used, none of the other participants used the equipment there.

In terms of using the materials at laboratories, most of the participants explained that they thought the space and equipment available at the space were to be used in company with teachers. P10 and P15 talked about the issue as:

*I think we are limited to use laboratories. We can go there only during biology course, and that is by teacher's initiative. There are laboratories there and there is nobody using them. (P10)*

*As teachers has warned us about laboratory security, we generally don't use the equipment there. (P15)*

However, P1 though about this situation differently. She expressed the space and equipment were available to be used to a certain level:

*Some of the teachers take us to the laboratories. Yet, they are free to be used by students. Of course, we can't do experiments by ourselves, but we can get use of the equipment there. Generally, students studying for olympiads use there. (P1)*

It can be observed over the statements participants put forward that how students attributed rules or routines to equipment changed their experiences with them. For the materials to be used at library, P12 was the only participant who mentioned the subject. And P16 was the only participant who used the cupboard available in classroom not to carry her books. P17, on the other hand, complained that there were some customs at the school that promoted elder grades to have priority to use equipment available and she told that she could not use them due to that condition which was a part of hidden curriculum she perceived about the issue.

Participants' expressions on their experiences using the equipment and supplies available in the school showed that some of the students did not perceive a hidden curriculum limiting them to touch and use these facilities and they used them in accordance with their interests. On the other hand, some participants felt some limitations: such as P7 for the case of smart board, was afraid of breaking it, or P17 complained the customs of the school.

### 4.3.2. Use of Physical Spaces

As discussed before, the school hosting the study had numerous physical spaces available to be used. How participants used or did not used those spaces

showed differences. Therefore, the reasons underlying those preferences were considered and investigated during the study. The class where the data were collected was defined as a hardworking class by its members. And for most of the participants, that was a reason to spend time in classroom during the breaks to study. P2, P4, P5, P6, P7, P9, P10, P11, P13 and P15 all explained that they preferred to spend their free time staying in the classroom. The reasons underlying their preferences showed difference though. P2 for example, stated that he liked his place in the classroom and felt comfortable there. P4 defined himself as person who was not full of action, and he explained the reasons not to leave classroom during the lessons when there is no teacher at the classroom as:

> *It is a course in the end. That is why I don't leave the classroom. The teacher may come and take the attendance. Some friends leave the classroom in such cases, but I don't. (P4)*

In his case, he did not risk to be regarded absent contrary to his friends, which showed that P4 minded the rules about space use in school. P6 was a participant who stated that he had no alternative for sitting in the classroom for his free time:

> *I would prefer to be outside the classroom if I had something to do, but I don't have. That is why I sit in the classroom during breaks. (P6)*

For the case of P9, he said that he spent most of his free time in classroom and went out only for his physical needs. He was surprised noticing that situation:

> *I haven't left the classroom till now. I really don't go outside. I have noticed it when you asked. Sometimes I went to dormitory after the*

*school. But I haven't left the classroom much. I have really noticed it now. (P9)*

P10 and P13 emphasized that the class was quite successful and that made them feel necessary to study in breaks as well. P11 explained he did not know the reason not to leave classroom when he was free. P15 thought the breaks was not adequate to use it effectively and he was not successful in this aspect.

P8, P14 and P16 were the participants who thought they used the breaks effectively to relax or socialize:

*I guess I am the students who gets out most in my class. There is a serious studying atmosphere in the class, people study even during the breaks. I don't support this situation. I get out, visit other classes, and talk to people. (P8)*

*Almost each break I get out of the classroom and relax. (P14)*

*Sometimes it gets so hot. In such times, even if nobody comes with me I get out of the class. When there is no teacher in the class during the course time, I leave the classroom. I meet with friend and chat with them. (P16)*

Although these participants were aware of that their friends spent their time studying mostly, they preferred to get out either to relax or enjoy the free time they had. And it was interesting that the students created that intense studying environment. Sometimes the teacher asked them to leave the classroom to breathe outside; yet, during the observations, the situation did not change.

Another aspect investigated was their moving around freely during the courses when there was teacher in the classroom. Participants who thought they

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felt comfortable to walk around during the courses were P3, P7, P14 and P16. Describing her case, P16 said:

*I am an energetic person. Even if I sit, I shake my foot at least. Even sitting is difficult for me. And I don't see any problem moving around during the courses. (P16)*

The case for P16 was indeed such. During the observations, she always walked around to chat with friends, to ask questions to teacher, to take her book and so on. Although most of the participants explained that they felt free to walk around during the courses but did not prefer it; P4, P12, and P15 expressed they did not like that idea. P4 explained his thoughts about this issue as:

*In my opinion, it is not something good. If I were the teacher and someone moved around the classroom, for example to tell something to her/his friend or else, it would not be nice. I would be distracted, I would expect everyone to sit and listen to me. (P4)*

Although the teacher had no problem with students walking around the courses, or there was no warning related to that situation; P4 had such a perspective which leaded him to sit his place and not to move during the courses.

Library was the space used by only P12 regularly. He expressed that there was the only place silent enough for him to concentrate on his studies. Gym was used by all the participants; but, P1, P2, P8, P11, P12 and P14 were the participants who used the space often. The social facility built by the foundation of graduate was used only by P4 as there was a conference given by a graduate who worked on science and P4 was interested in such events. P3 and P17 expressed they spent most of their free time near a radiator at the corridor as there was warm. And as similar for the previous theme, P17 expressed that most

of the spaces were used mainly by elder grades and she felt uncomfortable with that situation.

### 4.3.3. Image of the School

The school where data were collected is a school that aims to develop conditions for its participants to have possibilities for better learning opportunities and life experiences as it was expressed by the school administration during the first meetings to get approval for the study. The missions considered for that purpose created a hidden curriculum developed within functionalist perspectives. However, how that hidden curriculum was perceived by students is as important as its existence. In this aspect, participants expressed their thoughts about the image of the school they perceived. Most of the participants were satisfied with the conditions at the school. P1, for example, was a participant who were aware of the facilities in the school and used them effectively which made her quite happy to be there. Participants' expressions about their ideas on the image of the school were about six topics generally, which were scientific events, socialization, discipline, physical conditions, quality education and customs of the school. P2, P4, P12 and P15 were the participants who expressed that the school enabled them to be active in terms of engaging science directly. P2 expressed his ideas as:

*Thankfully, school administration invites researchers working on various fields from numerous universities. They come here and give us conferences and these are helpful for us as we want to work on these fields in future. (P2)*

As P2 stated, he believed the school he studied presented him opportunities to be knowledgeable about the fields he was interested in. And he seemed to get use of those experiences. Five of the students emphasized the social life during the interviews; P1, P2, P4, P7, P8, P10, P12, P13, P14 and P16

were the participants who thought that the school was a place where they were quite happy in terms of socialization:

*Here, everyone has a certain level of tolerance. Everybody listens to others' ideas. Even if one does not like the other's ideas, s/he still show patience to listen to her/him. (P7)*

P7 and the other participants mentioned thought that there was an environment where everybody showed respect to each other and presented new point of views. On the other hand, P17 was not so contented with the social environment in the school. As explained before, she thought there was some non-written customs in the school which leaded her to feel that she spent her time there in vain:

*I am bored here. I feel my time is spent here for nothing. There are many things to do outside the school. There are many people worth to meet. I can do lots of things outside here, I can see new places, meet new people. But, what am I doing? I sleep at my desk stupidly. (P17)*

The school had a quite big campus with facilities in it as described in method part. Some participants thought that was an advantage for them, while some other participants were not satisfied with the physical conditions. P2, P4 and P5 were the participants who thought school was good in terms of facilities it had:

*I have no negative thought about physical conditions in my school. Yes, it is a bit old, but I don't care it. It has a green campus, its own forest. I like it. We can walk whenever we want far away from the noise of the city. (P5)*

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However; P3, P6, P8, P10, P14 and P17 did not think similar. P6 and P8 complained about the dormitories as they were not at a good condition. P17 was not happy as the school was out of the city and isolated from the outside. P10's statements were interesting to hear:

*First of all, our classroom should not be at basement. I don't think the physical conditions of the school are sufficient. Actually, I believe the school administration does not use monetary sources for the school wholly. There are photocopy machines here, but teachers make extern students to copy documents. Is not there a toner here? (P10)*

For those participant, the physical conditions of the school were not suitable for the image of such a successful school. Another aspect investigated was the discipline rules perceived in the school. As aforementioned, the school administration and teachers did not impose strict, openly described rules to students. And some of the participants, who were P2, P4, P7, P9, P11, mentioned about this situation.

*Comparing here to my old school… There were many rules there and teachers followed us. But here, there is not such a thing. (P11)*

During talking with security staff, he complained that the school did not has strict rules which caused some discipline problems in according to him, but school administration seemed to trust the students studying there. And those participants were aware of it. Quality education was among was another aspect that participants mentioned. P4, P5 and P9 were the participants who emphasized that:

*When I met with the teachers and observed their instructions, I told myself "I am at the right place". (P9)*

*Like we are the most successful students of Turkey, they are the most successful teachers. (P5)*

Also, P4 stated that there was focus on science as much as courses or exams in the school which helped him like the school. Contrary to these views, P10 and P13 talked about some concerns they had. P10 complained they did not have enough chance to use facilities like laboratories and P13 was unhappy with curriculum as it was so technical and did not leave space for practice. However, there were many activities other participants attended such as experiments, courses or conferences. The last topic spoken of by the participants were the customs of the school. The school where data were collected was established decades ago and it has a culture developed during the past years. By this way, there was a hidden curriculum related to the customs of the school. P13 was a participant who liked those customs:

*In the end, there is a culture here. It continues here. And I like living it and be a part of it. (P13)*

However, P8 and P17 were dissatisfied with some of those customs as it was mentioned before. They thought that those customs sometimes limited their rights to use facilities available. P6 and P15 were the students who explained they liked the school in general but did not give any specific examples about the aspects they were satisfied or dissatisfied. In general, it has been observed that students noticed some of the elements of hidden curriculum in accordance with their character. Noticing those elements mostly caused by their either easing or complicating the participants' experiences.

### 4.3.4. Participation

As discussed before, human being attach their values, emotions, feelings and views to the process they experience. In the case of this study, data were

collected from 17 participants who were new in the school and tried to know the school in any aspects. Therefore, they had a process in which they developed strategies to learn about the dynamics of the environment and act accordingly. The social environment was among those aspects they involved in and had various point of views in accordance with their cultural capital or other factors. While doing so, they showed numerous attitudes and had impressions of a hidden curriculum that either satisfied or dissatisfied them. Thus, they showed participation into some processes they felt they needed to or they simply kept away. Investigating their participation gave some cues about their perception of hidden curriculum. Related to this issue, participants had statements indicating that they had different attitudes. Some of the participants tried to be active as much as possible and they were interested in any kind of processes. Some participants explained they participated into the processes when it was necessary. Another group of participants put forward that they were the ones who initiated activities for themselves and their friends. There was a group of participants who were mostly interested in courses and they participated to be able to develop their learning when they had difficulties or they were curious about something. Another group included participants who were interested in problems in classroom or school and tried to develop solutions for those problems. The last group included participants who were reluctant to participate in processes they come across and focused on their studying. P1, P2 and P14 were the participants who were interested in any kind of activities they noticed:

> *I try to take part in any activities and reveal my thoughts as much as possible. If I have something in my mind that I believe true, I defend it. I try not be passive. (P1)*

P2, who was quite attentive, stated that he focused on positive more than negative and tried to be active in events that developed him:

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*I don't like talking about problems all the time. There are times friends complain about problems, I don't participate in these times. But, if there are opportunities supporting us I try to be active and communicate with people. I wonder what others think. That is why I try to be active. (P2)*

The participants who explained that they participated into the processes when they felt it necessary were P2 and P17. P2 explained that his friends were silent in some courses that created problems with teachers, and in such cases he tried to be active to satisfy teachers in terms of participation. P17, on the other hand, put forward that she believed that their decisions were not taken into consideration for most of the time, but she stated that when there was an event affecting to her, she took part:

*The school is of the extern students, because they live here. I don't care it... I believe teachers even don't know our names most of the times... But when there is a situation about me I really show my reaction. (P17)*

P3, P10 and P16 were the participants who thought they were the students who started events in their social environment. P3 stated that *"Generally I am the one who suggests activities to do, I call everyone, persuade people to attend."* Those participants seemed to be interested in social activities more and enthusiastic to participate in such events. P4, P7 and P9 were the group who were mostly interested in courses. P4, who stated once that *"I love this school, if I did not need to sleep or else, I could live here"*, expressed that his main motive was to learn and he was active whenever it is about courses:

*It is mostly related to courses; I ask questions or I talk about the subject being held. I do research about the topic for example, I share them. Mostly such things. (P4)*

Contrary to P4's ideas, P8 put forward that he did not give much importance to courses and he was interested in other issues which were related to problems in classroom or school, also P14, who was class president, was interested in such issues and they both were in touch with school administration:

*I am about average for all courses. I mean I am happy with my grades. I don't mind them a lot. I believe I am good enough... I am interested in projects that may develop school conditions, I share my ideas and friends support me for most of the time. (P8)*

As it can be observed, P8 and P14 were active in their social environment which eased their relationships. During the interviews, participants were asked about their relationships with school administration for example; most of the participants did not even meet the school administration, but those two participants were in communication with them and told their ideas whenever they needed. The last group was participants who were reluctant to participate into processes around and focused to pass the courses. P5, P6, P11, P12, P13 and P15 were in that group. Those participants had no problems to participate in such activities; yet, their priorities seemed to be different. For example, in the case of P11, he put forward:

*For example, discussions are not kind of my interest, so I don't deal with them. If there is a teacher in the classroom, I may participate in. But among friends, I don't participate in such things. Generally, I don't care them. (P11)*

As it can be observed, P11 seemed to be interested in activities by the company of teachers, if there were not such conditions, he mostly was not interested in the activity. The expressions of participants showed that their interests and expectations leaded them to participate in different processes in

different manners. Some of them decided to be active and developed relationships even with school administration, while some others were focused on courses and willing to pass courses with good grades. Inevitably, their experiences during those processes were different too.

### 4.3.5. Relationships with Teachers

As participants spent most of their time during the courses, they were with teachers and developed relationships with them. However, how they explained those relationships and evaluated teachers' positions form them showed differences. For some of the participants, they developed some relationships during the period that they felt comfortable to criticize teachers when there were some mistakes, for example during the courses. For other participants, teachers were to give lectures and they felt no necessary to be close with them.

Participants who thought the teacher's role was to give lecture were P6, P8, P9, P11, P12, P16 and P17. Those participants developed distant relationships with the teachers in the school. They generally attributed an authority role to teachers in the school. They felt no necessity to develop friendships with teachers and expected them to be good at instruction.

> *In the end, s/he is superior to me. S/he determines the grades. Necessarily I have respect to them. (P11)*

> *I don't mind to have good relationships with teachers. It is enough that s/he teaches well for me. It does not matter whether s/he is close to me or not. (P17)*

> *I mean it is enough that s/he is not rude. I think there is no need to be friends or else. (P12)*

P16's case was a little different though. She wanted to have close relationships with teachers, but she believed the teachers in the school was not as friendly as her former teachers which made her think likewise. P5, P14 and P15 were the participants who respected the teachers in the school as they were successful for them.

*Here is the best school in Turkey, and they are the best teachers. I am aware of that and I maintain my relationship keeping it in my mind. (P5)*

*In the end, teachers are what constitutes this school. So, how good I acknowledge them, the more I like this school. (P15)*

As in the case of P15, the relationships with teachers shows the role of the school as well which gives cues about his perception of hidden curriculum. He defines the school as a place to learn only. The group defined their relationships with teachers as neutral but with a good nature included P2, P3, P4 and P13. They told that they liked their teachers in that their attitudes were good and they were good at teaching.

*As they are teachers, there is a respect toward them. But, I think we developed good relationships. I believe they like me and I like them. Or, at least I believe they like me. They behave in this way. They show understanding and their acts are positive toward me. (P3)*

Those participants expressed that they had no problems related to teachers and they believed that teachers helped them in any conditions. P7 and P10 were participants who felt friends with teachers.

*Evaluating it, I think the dominant type of relationships with teachers is friendship. Of course there are some teachers who are not so close; but,*

*they are few in number. It is normal. But, generally I feel close to them. (P10)*

The participant who felt open enough to criticize teachers was P1. She expressed that she liked her teachers and felt close to them. And she expressed there were time they did mistakes and in such cases she directly intervened in:

*Especially in math courses teachers do mistakes. It is normal, they can do it. When I try to correct them, they don't believe me. We have arguments in such cases sometimes. I feel stressed then. I don't want to be disrespectful; but, there is something wrong. When they notice it, they correct it. (P1)*

As it can be seen in the quote; although P1 was aware of that it could cause problems with teachers, she insisted on what she believed and it shaped her relationships with teachers. So, it can be concluded that nature of the relationships with teachers changed for the participants in accordance with the meaning they attributed to them by their perceptions of hidden curriculum in the school.

**4.3.6. Metaphors Used in Describing the School**

The aim of the study was to understand how students perceived school and what their thoughts about it were by investigating their cultural capital, the elements of hidden curriculum they perceived and their classroom practices. To be able to broaden the inferences and reach a more comprehensive understanding, it was decided to hear their metaphors for school which might open a space for what they thought and felt in a meaningful way. Therefore, they were asked to use a metaphor for school in accordance with the third research question, which is "What are the participants' thought about the school?", during both the initial and final interviews. The reason to ask it in both interviews was

to observe any possible changes that could occur during the time they spent. In accordance with that, the findings are presented under who sub-topic; one for the initial metaphors and another for the final metaphors.

### 4.3.6.1. Students' Metaphors in the Initial Interviews

As a student who was interested in astronomy, P1 had no difficulty to find a metaphor for school and she preferred *"space"* as a metaphor and explained the reason for her decision as:

*School really resembles the space. Because there are specific people there, teachers for example; specific planets. You learn something from all them. And there are stars there; some are close, some are distant, you are among them. There is knowledge in any part of it. And space always enlarges, so do experiences in school. That is why. (P1)*

As her sentences summed up, P1 described the school as a place where she had opportunities to learn new things, and her experiences grew all the time. For P2, school was a *"factory that produces robots"* and he explained his reason as below:

*Here, we are learning in a way that we are asked to be all similar. There are some structures we are forced to be proper to. (P2)*

P2 thought that the school was a place where people's differences were ignored and they were designed in a way to maintain existing structures. P3 chose *"hell"* as a metaphor for school. She explained her metaphor stating that there were not such experiences making her to think so; yet, she had some personal reasons:

*Actually, I am person who likes courses; but, I don't like coming school. Waking up early in the morning, coming here. I don't like it. I especially hate waking up early in the morning. (P3)*

As she explained, the reason she used hell as a metaphor for school was that it had some effects in her life making her to do something at specific time and being forced to that disturbed her. P4 was among the participants who could not find a metaphor for school. I tried to get some cues about it; yet, he insisted on that he did not have one in mind:

*When I say school, there is nothing it resembles in my mind. It is already what it is. It is school. (P4)*

For P4, school was a characteristic place by its own and he felt no necessity to find a metaphor for it. P5 preferred *"friendship"* as a metaphor for school and said there was nothing else he could find. And he explained that school was the place where he had experiences with his friends which he liked. P6 also used *"friendship"* as a metaphor for school at first. But contrary to P5, he tried and used a more specific metaphor when I request him to do. The metaphor P6 found was *"stadium"* and his explanation for it was:

*Students are always together and they are like as if they defend or support a side. That is why I choose stadium. (P6)*

By his metaphor, P6 explained that he felt himself as a part of a group who tried to meet their interests and struggled with the possible obstacles. P7 had two metaphors in her mind; one was *"home"* and the other was *"jail"*:

*It always changes; sometimes, it is like a home where I have opportunity to learn. In the other times, it becomes difficult to communicate with*

*teachers during the exams for example. In such cases, I feel as if I was enclosed and forced to be successful. (P7)*

P7 used her metaphors regarding her experiences changing in the school during the time she spent till that moment. She usually felt comfortable at school and enjoyed her time there, however felt the pressure of expectations and intense studying time to time. P8's answer was "education" at first, he expressed that the first thing came in his mind was that. However, he then explained what made school a place he liked were his friends and he went there for them. His metaphor for school was *"wood"*. And he explained his reason by saying that everything they used there was made of wood. P9, similar to P4, did not use a specific metaphor for school. He said *"It is all about education"* and he explained that he felt comfortable at school more than outside. P10 also could not find a metaphor for school. She explained:

*Actually there is nothing in my mind when I think. School is a quite different place I don't know what it resembles. There are many types of students and it changes according to each. I don't know what to say. (P10)*

For P11, school resembled *"prison"*. While expressing his ideas, he mentioned discipline and rules, and explained:

*There is complete discipline in school. I mean jail is not something bad: there are rules there, you are kept in a space there. In school, we are kept in a space. I like school; but, it is like a prison. (P11)*

The interesting point in P11's statements was that he thought he was kept in a space without his will; yet, he tried to like it as he thought he needed to. P12,

mentioned mostly about studying and his metaphor was *"cow"* (an epithet attributed to students who study quite much):

> *Because it is all memorization. Teacher always ask us to study with no pressure. Or, to be honest there is a pressure on us. But a little. However, I feel I need to study, I can't manage it. That is why I study a lot and I use this metaphor. (P12)*

During the interview, we did not know each other and he could abstain from telling his thought directly. P12 seemed to be unhappy studying that much however he had a dilemma; he complained about it; but, he still did it. For P13, it was *"meeting"*:

> *Because, there is someone telling something and we listen to her/him. Actually, I would want a different education system. I wish I had some other metaphors; but, this is the case. We are not here to learn indeed, we are here to pass exams and I am complainant about this issue. (P13)*

P13 asked for a system with a focus on students' interests instead of exams. She complained being forced to learn things they did not want to learn and that seemed to be abstracted by her metaphor. P14 had two metaphors and his metaphors were exactly same with P7, which were *"home"* and *"jail"*. As P7 did, he explained in some cases he felt as if he was at home and in others it was like being in jail:

> *When I have communication with people here or become successful at courses I feel it like a home. But, when I get during courses for example, it becomes like a jail. (P14)*

He thought the school was not or should not be a place to be serious all the time and study. They needed to relax and socialize as well. For P15, school was a place related to courses mostly. He used *"course"* as a metaphor and explained his point saying:

*I studied in a public state before here. There were not facilities or social activities much. We were always occupied with studying. That is the reason. (P15)*

As a result of his former experiences, P15 thought that school was a place where they were supposed to study and be successful which could take him away participating activities available. P16, who was a social and energetic student caring about her friends, used *"research group"* as a metaphor for school and defined her statement:

*It is like a group of people who set out to investigate something. Because, till now, I have had good friendships and we wanted to learn all together. (P16)*

As a reflection of her personality, P16 emphasized the social aspects of the environment in school and she evaluated school as a place to come together with people and work together. P17 had difficulties to find a metaphor for school for a while. She explained that her experiences in school had changed in accordance with the grades she had passed. She said she had not thought such a consideration before. But in the end, she said school resembled *"Kızılay Square"* (a prominent square in Ankara province) for her. And her reason was as below:

*Thinking about school, it is a crowded place. People are always in a hurry. It reminds me Kızılay Square. School is something like it. There are always some conversations all around. (P17)*

Similar to P16's point, P17 emphasized the social environment and relationships taking place in school setting. Thus, during the initial interviews, participants used some metaphors evaluating their perceptions about school and explained their reasons for those metaphors. To be able to understand how their experiences in their new school affected their perceptions, they were requested to use metaphors for school during the final interviews as well, and they are presented in next part.

### 4.3.6.2. Students' Metaphors in the Final Interviews

In terms of metaphors they used, some participants preferred the same metaphors and some changed their ideas after the time they spent in their new school. P1 was among the participants who changed metaphor. She used *"forest"* as a metaphor instead of space during the final interview and explained her position as:

> *This time I will say something different, in the first interview I said space. But now, it resembles a forest for me. Because, there are many things underlying that we don't see. There are various living beings in it, it is all green. Everybody, each tree in forest example, is different and if they are grown well, they will all support world to be a better place. (P1)*

Although her metaphor seemingly changed, P1's attitude and perspective seemed to be close to her initial position. She evaluated school as a place that might present good opportunities to help its participants develop themselves and their surroundings. She had her positive point of view in her final metaphor too. But, undeniably, she developed a more sophisticated metaphor. P2 expressed that there was no difference on his ideas about the subject and it was again *"factory that produces robots"*:

> *My first answer has not changed. It is factory that produces robots for governments or states by molding people. Although it is a bit better in*

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*this school, there is no big change still. Teachers or we cannot resist it. I don't know what we can do, it is not my area of expertise. Educators should consider this; I think they can change it. (P2)*

As in the initial interview, P2 expressed that he believed they were forced to think and act same through the time they spent at school. Those words can be regarded as cliché, however, regarding such sentences as cliché has become cliché itself too. Therefore, they deserve to be heard in my opinion. P3 also changed her metaphor. In the initial interview, her metaphor was hell; however, during the final interview she seemed to have forgotten it and she used *"giant"* as a metaphor for school. And she said:

*It is because this school is so big. I think it is like a giant. A huge, gray and sad giant. I don't know, it is maybe its color what makes me feel such. It looks like sad to me. But it does not upset me (smile). (P3)*

Answering the question, P3 focused on the physical aspects of the school. She was not much happy with the physical conditions of her new school and that seemed to affect her thoughts. P4, who did not use a metaphor during the initial interview and said "School is school, it is already what it is", said the same things in the final interview as well. However, as I requested him to try to find something that time insistently, he used *"laboratory"* as a metaphor:

*In laboratory, people work on science; although on a small scale, we work on science here as well. Especially compared to other school, we really do it. That is why I think it resembles laboratory. (P4)*

As a participant who was interested in science and studying about it, P4 answer showed that he approached the school as a place where he could practice his interests. During the initial interview, P5 mentioned only friendship when he

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thought about the issues he could relate to his metaphor. In the final interview, he used *"dormitory"* as a metaphor for school. He was a boarder student and explained his metaphor saying:

> *The reason I think so is my friends. I feel comfortable at dormitory, and my home is there. I believe even if 20 year pass from now, I will remember my room there. This is why dormitory is what come to my mind when I talk about school. (P5)*

He emphasized his life at dormitory and P5 seemed to be happy there which affected his metaphor. For P6, who used stadium as a metaphor for school in the initial interview, the proper metaphor in the final interview was *"house"*. The reason I preferred house instead of home can be understood by his explanation:

> *I mean almost whole of my life is here. It is all my relationships here. As I spend most of time here, it is like a house for me. (P6)*

Different than his friends who used home as a metaphor, P6 thought that he was at school as he was at his house once. He did not mention intimacy or else, but he focused the time spent there. Therefore, he emphasized being there physically. P7 also changed her metaphors, which had been home and jail before. Her new metaphor was *"cell"*. She showed interest biology during the time she spent at her new school and her metaphor seemed to be affected by it. While explaining the reason she preferred that metaphor she said:

> *It is a complex structure. It is like a cell. There are many units in it which have their own functions and they work differently. For example, there is school building, dormitory, gym or others. It is built on a huge space. We*

*use all this places for different purposes or evaluate them differently.*
*(P7)*

As it can be observed from the statement, P7 evaluated school as a system which had separate units coordinating to fulfill a common goal. And her positions seemed to be using those facilities in accordance with her purposes. P8 had used wood as a metaphor for school during the initial interview. In the final interview, he changed it and used *"team"* as a metaphor. As a student who portrayed a social profile, he spent much time with his friends and his metaphor seemed to be related to his attitudes. He stated the reason he used that metaphor as below:

*I don't know how to say. I am here to communicate with my friends, to enjoy time together. Also we do our tasks. We are like working on a project. Gathering around a table and working together. (P8)*

P8's expressions showed that he thought that he had some responsibilities at school; however, he had some other aspects in his mind to be practiced like having time with friends, socializing, and learning about the environment he is in and so on. While presenting his ideas, P9 expressed that he liked school and had a better time there for example than home. However, his metaphor did not reflect such a perspective. He used *"army"* as a metaphor for school and explained his reason:

*The only thing that would come to my mind would be army. There is a standardization at school. I believe this is not correct; to be same. Also there are solid rules in some cases. It is similar to army. (P9)*

As a participant who did not use a metaphor during the initial interview, P9 used that metaphor. Although he explained school was a place he liked more

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than other environments, he still had concerns about it. P10 was a bit more disturbed. She thought school was the most boring place she had ever seen. She admitted that she believed there were some advantages she obtained by the help of school; yet, she was stressed there as well. Thus, unlike the initial interview, she used a metaphor in the final interview and it was *"hell"*:

*The dormitory is like heaven; but, the school is hell. The reason is that I am comfortable there. I can wear whatever I like in dormitory, or I can get out whenever I like. It is like home. But, here in school, the time does not pass. I look at my watch and it is only ten minutes the course started. (P10)*

As a boarder student, P10 evaluated her life in dormitory and in school separately. She seemed to want to be with her family and that stressed her a little. Seemingly, she had difficulties to adapt to environment more than her friends. P11, who had used *"prison"* as a metaphor for school did not change his idea. However, he added another metaphor besides, which was *"company"*:

*I guess I said it is like a prison in the initial interview. I still think it is like a prison. There is not much change. Maybe, here is a little more comfortable. It is still like a prison but an open one. It may be like a company too. You need to fulfill your tasks. (P11)*

P11 was a participant who was introvert during the initial interview; and, during the beginning of the semester, he seemed to be skeptical toward his surroundings. However, gradually he developed his relationships and it seemed that improvement impacted his ideas even if it was a change on a small scale. P12 had used cow as a metaphor for school as he had thought that they had studied too much. In the final interview, he changed his metaphor and preferred

*"Kızılay Square"* which had been used by P17 during the initial interview. His reason to use that metaphor was quite similar to P17's argument:

> *There is everything here, all we need are close here. It is also a place full of action. There is always something happening. This is why it resembles Kızılay Square. (P12)*

It seemed that P12 had interaction with activities taking place in his new school and he perceived that there were opportunities he could benefit from. P13 had complained that they had been forced to learn things they had not wanted to learn in the initial interview and she had used meeting as a metaphor as she had believed there had been people who had tried to teach them something without considering their wills. However, she seemed to have changed her ideas in final interview. That time, she used *"life"* as a metaphor for school:

> *I think it is life itself. As I am a boarder student, I spend all my time here. I live here. That is why here is life for me. I don't know how to say, my prior life is strange for me now. When I go to my hometown, there is not so familiar for me. I am all here. (P13)*

P13's statements showed that she put school into center of her life and determined remaining in accordance with it. As a participant who complained about school, that was a big change. It seemed that she could adapt to the school well and she liked the environment there. P14, who had used home and jail together for school as metaphors during the initial interview. In the final interview, he directly preferred *"jail"* alone and explained his position saying:

> *Yes, we have good time here; but, it is still too much work to do. Eight classes per day and sometimes I stay here to attend extra courses. I like*

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*learning but when it is such heavy it makes me feel tired. That is why I think so. (P14)*

P14 seemed to be happy being at the school; however, he was interested in being with friends and having time more. When it was about studying, and with an intense tempo, he got bored and he felt depressed then. To be able to understand that condition, looking at P15's case can be useful. As a participant who had been interested in studying, he had used course as a metaphor in the initial interview. But, after the time he spent, he changed metaphor and used *"home"* instead.

*Previously, it reminded me only courses. But now, I can say that it is our home. In the end, we live here in this campus. All our experiences are here. I feel it like a home. (P15)*

Similar to other boarder participants, P15 felt him comfortable in the school and adapted to the school more easily which seemingly had an impact on his perception of school. P16 had used research group as a metaphor in the initial interview as she had liked the social environment in her prior school experiences. However, her metaphor changed in the final interview. She chose *"baby"* as a metaphor that time. She explained the reason:

*There are lovely aspects you may love with babies. But there are difficulties as well. Thus, when you look back in the future, when you look at your child, you see your own labor. It is same for school. (P16)*

At the beginning of the semester, P16 was eager to be an active member of the new social environment and socialize. However, during the semester, she had some difficulties, and she were not happy with her grades. Those, seemed to have affected her attitudes. P17's case was interesting to observe. She used

Kızılay Square as a metaphor for school in the initial interview. During the semester, she participated in activities in classroom actively and expressed herself anytime she needed. However, in general she was not satisfied with her conditions in her new school. That reflected on her attitude during the final interview. She preferred not to use a metaphor during the final interview. She told me that she was bored in school. She believed it was a loss of time to be there. And expressed herself as below:

> *I don't feel like here when I am outside. I feel quite different in daily life. I become a quite different person. The environment is different. I don't know how to say, here is so formal for me. Thus, I don't want to use a metaphor. If I say something now, I will say it just because you request it. And I don't want to do so. (P17)*

During the observations and interviews, I have observed that there was a difference among students' attitudes and expressions in accordance with their being extern or boarder. In general, boarder students liked the school they studied more than extern students. They seemed to have perceived a hidden curriculum that helped them develop themselves and feel a member of the school they attended. However, extern students perceived the school as a place they were to fulfill some tasks only.

Table 4.1: *Metaphors Used by the Participants*

| Participant | Boarder & Extern | Initial Metaphor | Final Metaphor |
|---|---|---|---|
| P1 | Boarder | Space | Forest |
| P2 | Extern | Factory | Factory |
| P3 | Extern | Hell | A sad giant |
| P4 | Extern | None | Laboratory |
| P5 | Boarder | Friendship | Dormitory |
| P6 | Boarder | Stadium | House |
| P7 | Boarder | Home & Jail | Cell |
| P8 | Boarder | Wood | Team |
| P9 | Extern | None | Army |
| P10 | Boarder | None | Hell |
| P11 | Extern | Prison | Prison & Company |
| P12 | Extern | Cow | Kızılay Square |
| P13 | Boarder | Meeting | Life |
| P14 | Extern | Home & Jail | Jail |
| P15 | Boarder | Course | Home |
| P16 | Extern | Research group | Baby |
| P17 | Extern | Kızılay Square | None |

As it can be observed in Table 6; P2, P11 and P14 used either the exactly same metaphor or changed it slightly. They showed characteristics similar to their initial conditions during the time they spent. Other participants either changed their metaphor or the ones who had not used a metaphor during the initial interviews used one. Evaluating the metaphors used, it has been observed participants' cultural capital played a role on them either by directly presenting participants conceptual platforms developed by their experiences, as in the case of P1 or P7; or by supplying dispositions that helped them relate their

experiences and their thoughts to each other, as in the case of P4. Besides, there was a point worth to be considered; students who had cultural capital which leaded them to be comfortable in general and students who had cultural capital that directed them to be cautious perceived the hidden curriculum in the school differently and their experiences with their attitudes changed too. For example, P14, P16 and P17 were students who seemed to have prior experiences that helped them socialize or explain themselves easily before. The school where data were collected was a school with a comfortable environment; yet, this comfort was not something different for them. Thus, they did not have new experiences seemingly broadening their perspectives. Even P16 and P17 were dissatisfied with their new environment. However, as in the case of P6, P12, P13 or P15, some participants benefited from the comfort of their new school and used the facilities they had not had during their prior school experiences more effectively. Therefore, it is concluded that the participants experienced the hidden curriculum differently.

# CHAPTER 5


# DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS


In this part of the study, the results of the study will be discussed to be able to reach conclusions, and the implications for practice and future research will be presented. Lastly, the limitations of the study will be explained.


## 5.1. Discussion

It was aimed to investigate 9th grade students', who started to study at a science high school in Ankara province, experiences and perceptions of school in this study. To be able to conduct the study a qualitative research design was preferred which is specifically a case study. A science high school was determined as the context where data would be collected and data were retrieved by semi-structured interviews and classroom observation. Two interviews were conducted with each 17 participants, initial one at the beginning of their first semester at their new school in October, 2015 and final one after about six months they spent at the school in March, 2016. During this time, 10 classroom observations were done. With the consideration of time factor, some intervals were left between observations and each week a day was determined and during the whole day, all courses were observed. Completing the data collection, data were analyzed, codes and themes were developed by the help of MAXQDA 12. And in this section, discussion of these themes will be done in accordance with the related research questions to be able clarify findings.


### 5.1.1. Role of Cultural Capital in School Experiences

Culture is among the factors that affect how individuals practice their individuality. It has a relation to the beliefs, customs, linguistic expressions, values attached to the surrounding and practices (Swartz, 2013). Therefore, it

can be inferred that how students experience the world during or before the school is an extension of their livings and opportunities. By this way, they develop their unique ways to perceive and recognize social world (Ünal, 2014). So, it is argued that how students become a member or a part of the school, which has its own culture in general, is a result of their cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Lamont and Lareau (1988) discuss that cultural capital makes difference in school experiences and it seems to be consistent with the findings of the study. As some of the participants showed, having some tastes that are useful in the school setting helped them adapt to the new environment they entered, or develop skills that are needed to be able to fulfill the expectations in school setting. Those skills included the communication skills, having experiences and tendency to do research, critical thinking and being good at using language effectively. Participants who had tastes encouraging them to be active in school seemed to have adapted to the school more easily and expressed that they felt comfortable in school which reminds what Jackson (1966) points out by discussing that students need to learn some aspects of school if they want to spend their time with less problem. However, there were some other participants who did not have such kind of tastes or experiences, and they evaluated the school as a place where they needed to complete some tasks to be able to get rid of the requirements. On this issue, students presented three different categories; one of the groups had such tastes and they benefited from them, the second group did not have such tastes but they developed some strategies to understand what they were expected and they performed what they were expected with an awareness, and the last group did not have such tastes or strategies and they struggled to be able to be appreciated. The first group seemed to have been equipped with some qualifications as a result of their tastes that were valued at the school (DiMaggio, 1982), the second group seemed to be informed about schooling and its requirements (Lamont et al., 2014) which leaded them to be distant to the events but still to fulfill the requirements; but the last group seemed

to feel the deficiency of such an awareness which indicated that their cultural capital mismatched with the culture imposed arbitrarily in the school (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

It is argued by Bourdieu (1984) that "there is a strong correlation between social positions and the dispositions of the agents who occupy them" (p.106). This implies that dispositions are subject of discussion which may explain how agents are positioned in a social setting and how their experiences change accordingly. Findings of the study indicated similar consequences. Some of the participants had some dispositions that distinguished them from the other participants in this term. Those participants had a tendency to be social as they were talkative, direct, comfortable, experienced in social aspects or self-confident. Besides, those participants seemed to be able to develop proper relationships as they developed linguistic competence that corresponded to the dynamics of social environment of school as pointed out by Bernstein (2000). Yet, there were other participants who expressed themselves by adjectives such as distant, silent, shy or explained that they felt fear of being guilty or stressed which reminds the statement "symbolic boundaries" by Lamont, Small and Mario (2008) that showed they had some limitations resulted by their cultural capital which reflected on their dispositions (p. 84). In the case of the school where data were collected, students were expected to be self-confident and active; thus, students with such dispositions were advantageous as they enjoyed and benefited from the opportunities at the school. On the other hand, the students with symbolic boundaries that directed them to be silent spent their time to carry out the missions they felt necessary to be done. Therefore, participants demonstrated differences in terms of their experiences at school depending on their dispositions.

School is a place where existing relationships are shaped by the channel of values and perceived accordingly (Mcknight & Chandler, 2012); so, how students perceive their experiences and interpret them is a result of their values that are a part of their cultural capital. "In identifying what is worth of being seen

and the right way to see it", the process is affected by cultural components (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 28); thus, how students perceive their prior experiences in school, how they relate their relationships to school and what kind of expectations they feel present cues about their cultural capital. The findings of the study showed that, the 9th grade students studying in the chosen science high school related their experiences to success mostly. Most of the participants remembered the times they got rewards or good exam results when they were asked to share their good memories about school. This indicated that the participants were from social environments where success was given importance. However, it was interesting that only four participants remembered memories that were not related to academic success directly, which were related to sport activities and social environments. On this issue, it has been discussed that attaching school and school related aspects such a central role may be dangerous as knowledge is not directly limited to school anymore (Cerit, 2006). Depending on their cultural capital, some participants expressed that school was quite familiar to what they experience in their daily life and some others explained that it was a strange place for them that made them to behave moderately. This showed parallelism with the perspective which discusses that the school is an institution that imposes some classification systems and participants with similar systems have advantageous compared to the ones who are inconsistent (Swartz, 2013). Similarly, it was found that students who had such advantageous either did not feel pressure about being unsuccessful by saying "*I thought how much it could matter if I couldn't do well. And indeed, what can happen most? It is not a big deal*" or evaluated the pressure as a source of motivation; however, students who separated school as a place different from their daily life and appreciated it something to be held by its own felt the stress of being unsuccessful more than the former group. It shows that how school is perceived and experienced changes among students depending on their cultural capital which determines their values, tastes, dispositions, relationships and expectations.

To be able comprehend whether there were any changes about how participants approached to themselves and their experiences in school, observation and final interviews were referred. The findings indicated that in general participants maintained their initial attitudes and perceptions during the time they spent and experienced the livings in the school accordingly. Only four participants changed their expressions about the issue. One of those participants had problems about his accent which made him feel embarrassed that had direct relation to his cultural capital as he had different language use than the dominant language use existing in the school (Bernstein, 2000; Bourdieu, 1984). Two of the participants thought the school was not social and intimate enough, and both those participants were extern students. And the last participant explained that she developed some characteristics that helped her express herself better by the help of the opportunities she had in her new school. Those findings indicated that although the participants were presented similar contextual conditions, they evaluated those conditions in accordance with their own perceptions. While doing so, it was observed that students, who had cultural capital that seemingly directed them to be silent and observer, were sometimes more satisfied with the school than the students with cultural capital that leaded them to be social or active. The reason for that issue seemed to be that there were more to be explored by those students in their new environment in some cases. The latter group seemed to be used what they met in the school and it was not something interesting for them. But, it should be emphasized that being satisfied with something does not directly refer to take advantage of something.

## 5.1.2. Students' Views about and Experiences at School

To be able to collect information about the hidden curriculum existing in the school where data were collected by the means of observation, the setting was described in the method chapter. And it was explained that in accordance with the missions manifested for science high schools, the school where data were collected aimed to present an environment to improve learning

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opportunities for students studying there in terms of physical and social aspects. This indicated that there was a functionalist approach existing in the case of the school where data were collected. By such an approach it was aimed to help students acquire specific norms, certain values and skills (Cotton et al., 2013; Çubukçu, 2012; Kiss et al., 2013; Skelton, 1997; Winter & Cotton, 2012) that would encourage them to develop research abilities, follow scientific and technological developments, use new technologies and produce knowledge (M.E.B. Fen Liseleri Yönetmeliği, 1999). Thus, physical and social environments were designed to achieve such goals as described in method chapter. However, it is discussed that besides including definitions such as "unofficial expectations", "unintended learning outcomes" or "implicit messages"; hidden curriculum is also something "created by the students" (Portelli, 1993, p.345). Moreover, it can be discussed that how they create and learn from nonacademic learning experiences, from hidden curriculum (Yüksel, 2002) is an aspect that varies by their cultural capital as well. And, the results of the study indicated similar findings.

Students' perceptions related to hidden curriculum were grouped under five main themes which were related to; equipment and supplies available at the school, use of the physical spaces at the school, image of the school, participating into the activities and relationships with teachers. In terms of using or interacting with the equipment and supplies available at the school, students showed differences. Some students used the available equipment saying that they were interested in using them, they felt comfortable to use them or had no fear to harm them. On the contrary, some other students did not use the available tools explaining that either they found them unnecessary or they did not use them as they were afraid to break them. It is discussed that being familiar with consumption practice of cultural goods does not only refer to analysis of the codes belonged to those goods; but also to the recognition of the devices carrying those codes and being familiar with manners to use them (Arun, 2014). The results indicated that students' tastes and dispositions supported them to

recognize the available opportunities and use them effectively. Thus; students from schools that imposed different kinds of school works (Anyon, 1980) or from milieus that encouraged or directed them to interact with different kind of experiences (Lamont et al., 2014) created divergent hidden curriculum that leaded them to use the available equipment and supplies or avoid to touch them.

As another aspect investigated, how students used the physical space was an interesting issue to be pondered on. As Tor (2015) discussed in her doctoral thesis, physical environment is a medium that conveys some messages about the social order, how learning is existing and the nature of relationship taking place in a setting; and it is a part of hidden curriculum by this way. Also, it has been argued that students get some impressions from the physical and social aspects of school as an effect of hidden curriculum (McLaren, 2003). Accordingly, in the study, how participants perceived and used the physical spaces was investigated and it has been observed that most of the students preferred to stay in classroom generally. The reason of this preference seemed to be related to the hidden curriculum in the school; because, students explained that there was an intense studying social environment in the school that leaded them to stay in classroom and study even if it was unnecessary. Sometimes teachers even asked students to leave the classroom, but they still chose to sit there which showed similarities with McLaren's (2003) arguments. Nevertheless, there were some cases in which participants displayed different situations; some of the students explained that they liked to get socialize which leaded them to leave classroom and meet their friends, and some others stated that they wanted to leave the classroom but they had nothing to do alternatively. Those findings indicated that how students perceived that social surrounding affected their behaviors in the school as they create rules to be obeyed by this way (Lamont & Small, Mario, 2008; Lynch, 1989). Also, moving in the classroom during the courses was an interesting issue. Most of the participants preferred to stay in their place during the courses, and some of them explained it saying that it might be disturbing for teachers; however, a few participants were quite comfortable and they had

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conversations with their friends during the courses by that way. This indicated that how students spend their time during the courses and how they develop relationships in these times is related to the hidden curriculum they create (Sadker & Sadker, 2000). On this issue, it is also found that students showed interest in using the spaces that they related to their tastes and expectations more than other spaces. Thus, students who had such tastes and perceptions explored the school more than students who evaluated the school as a place to fulfill the required tasks.

The image of the school students perceived, another aspect that they attributed to the school, also presented some information about the hidden curriculum in the school. Science high schools are institutions that aim to raise scientists by supporting students with social and physical resources with a functionalist approach (Çubukçu, 2012; M.E.B. Fen Liseleri Yönetmeliği, 1999). However, how this purpose is perceived by students is another scope to be considered if it is desired to understand what kind of a hidden curriculum students create in the school. In terms of the missions manifested for science high schools, only two participants recognized the aforementioned aspects of the school and they thought the school presented opportunities to prepare them to work on science. Most of the participants mentioned the social atmosphere in the school as they believed the school was good at presenting opportunities helping them socialize. In general, participants talked about the physical conditions of the school and complained about it. And some of them talked about the quality of education. This indicated that despite of the mission imposed to the science high schools, students studying there perceived the school as a traditional institution to equip them with knowledge for exams (Cerit, 2006).

In the presentation of the literature about functionalist approach, it is stated that this approach emphasizes the equality of opportunity as guarantee of equality in educational experiences and explains the differences among social positions by talent or hard working (Tan, 1990); yet, it has been discussed that talent is something rooted in individuals experiences shaped by and shaping their

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cultural capital (Yang, 2014). On this issue, discussing the participation into activities and processes by the students experiencing same conditions at the same place can present some understanding. In the study, it was found that despite being at the same environment, interacting with same people and having similar results from the exams that supplied them to gain right to study at the same schools, students showed participation at different levels and by different ways; and their reasons to do so showed variety. In general, students preferred to participate in course related activities such as solving problems, answering the questions asked by teachers, or asking questions related to subjects being held. However, some of the students actively participated into decision making and they developed direct relationships with teachers and students from other classes either to start some activities or find solutions for problems without being asked to. This showed similarity with the arguments explaining that students sometimes develop some strategies to keep up with the complications and uncertainties they experience and by this way they create a hidden curriculum that comfort them (Snyder, 1971); and another argument that discusses individuals may create a hidden curriculum that direct them to develop self-discipline (Rose, 1990).

The fifth theme was the relationships with teachers. It is discussed that how students perceive the relationships at the school is a part of hidden curriculum, and relationships with teachers constitute an important division of this point (Giroux, 1983; McLaren, 2003). The findings indicated that teachers were attributed meanings such as authority to be respected, experts, friends, people who can do mistakes and people doing their job. Those meanings attributed to the teachers showed that students, in accordance with their interaction with hidden curriculum, positioned themselves toward teachers and acted accordingly. Students defining teachers as authority showed tendency to accept what they were asked to do, while students evaluating teachers as experts tried to benefit from their experiences. Students who felt friends with teachers were comfortable to communicate with them and express their feelings or

thoughts. Defining teachers as people doing their job leaded students to try to develop neutral relationships with them and accomplish their tasks to be free. There was only one participant who pointed out that teachers were people who could do mistakes, and that attitude comforted her to discuss with teachers when she thought there was some mistakes. Therefore, it can be concluded that how teachers are perceived is related to hidden curriculum and it affects students' experiences in school.

To sum up, findings of the study showed that how participants perceived the hidden curriculum affected their practices. Accordingly, how they experienced the school; social and material opportunities of the school changed as well.

It is discussed that metaphors are useful intellectual tools to investigate how individuals experience or perceive the processes they are participated in due to the fact that they simplify the complex structures by transforming them into more understandable concepts (Engin-Demir, 2007; Saban, 2008). Therefore, in compliance with the purpose of this study, which is to understand 9$^{th}$ grade students' perceptions and experiences in school, metaphor use was applied in the study and during both the initial and the final interview, participants were asked to use a metaphor of school to explain what they think about school and their experiences in school.

In the initial interviews, three of the participants either did not want to use a metaphor or could not find a proper one which showed that they did not feel the need to evaluate school in such a perspective. Two of the participants explained that they believed school was an environment that helped them develop themselves and learn new things; the metaphors they used, which were space and research group, corresponded to the point of view that evaluated the school as a place of knowledge and enlightenment (Özdemir & Akkaya, 2013). Four of the participants explained that school was a boring and disciplinary environment for them by using metaphors such as hell, jail or prison which indicated that they had concerns about their freedom and self-determination

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(Engin-Demir, 2007). It was interesting that two participants used home as a metaphor of school together with jail; this indicated that although they had some concerns about the disciplinary aspects of school, they still perceived school as a place that cared them (Balcı, 1999). Four participants preferred course, meeting, cow and stadium as metaphor to express that the main issue of school was to study and being successful for them, which indicated that for them school was a place of competition (Özdemir & Akkaya, 2013). One of the participants resembled school a factory that produced robots which implies that school is a place where interactions are taking place mechanically and there is no expectation of generating something new (Beavis & Thomas, 1996). Kızılay Square and friendship were the other metaphors used by the participants which reflected that school was a complex place and a place to get socialize (Cerit, 2006).

Those metaphors indicated that most of the students evaluated the school as a place where they needed to study to learn and practice to be able to success and they were not contented with this situation. And also it was possible to observe the effect of cultural capital in some cases, for example in the case of the participant who chose space as a metaphor. Nevertheless, most of the participants changed their metaphors in the final interviews. It was observed that only two extern students used positive metaphors for the school and one of the new metaphors was laboratory which was the only metaphor related to the manifested purposes of the science schools (M.E.B. Fen Liseleri Yönetmeliği, 1999). Remaining extern students either emphasized that school was a place where they needed to study to be happy without desiring it, or expressed that it was a sad, lifeless place where they needed to follow some rules. On the contrary, only one boarder student used negative expressions about the school by using hell metaphor. Other boarder students used metaphors like house, home, team, life, cell, dormitory or forest which showed that they perceived the school as a place reminding their families where they received care and they could have good relationships (Saban, 2008).

The findings indicated that there is a big difference among the experiences of boarder students and extern students. As some extern participants stated during the observations and interviews, extern students possibly feel like strangers in the school setting compared to boarder students. And it seems this creates a hidden curriculum in boarding schools. Another issue to be considered is that manifested purposes of science high schools do not seem to be perceived by the students studying there. In general, students emphasized the academic goals or social aspects of school in their metaphors.

## 5.2. Conclusion

The findings indicated that students' experiences and perceptions of school changed as their cultural capital showed differences. In some cases, students' tastes, dispositions, prior experiences in school, how they perceived the relationships and expectations supported them in school setting as they were prepared for the situations they encountered with. On the other hand, some student either did not feel such effects or affected negatively from those aspects. In accordance with that finding, the results also revealed that students perceived hidden curriculum differently and their practices changed too. Students with cultural capital that matched with the social environment of the school and students who created hidden curriculum that helped them understand what they were expected at school seemed to be comfortable in terms of using the equipment and supplies available in the school, and physical spaces existing in the campus. Also they imaged the school they studied as an environment that helped them develop themselves in various aspects. Consequently, they participated in the processes taking place in the school more actively and had better relationships with teachers. On the contrary, students who had cultural capital mismatching with the social environment of the school and perceived a more repressive hidden curriculum had difficulties during the activities related to those issues.

The findings also revealed that students had differences in their experiences in school in accordance with their being extern or boarder. Extern student felt isolated at school compared to boarder students. Also, boarder students were aware of the facilities available in the school and those students were more active in terms of using them. Lastly, it was figured out that students who studied at science high school did not perceive their school as an institution that raised individuals who were qualified in terms of research abilities and capable of generating new technologies or knowledge.

To conclude, presenting students seemingly equal opportunities did not result in similar effects as the students had characteristics showing differences in accordance with their cultural capital and they perceived hidden curriculum.

## 5.3. Implications

This study investigated what and how 9th grade science high school students perceived and experienced school. The findings indicated that their experiences and perceptions changed as their cultural capital showed differences and how they perceived and reacted to hidden curriculum changed accordingly. That situation directed them to practice and behave different from each other in the same setting. Also their metaphors showed varieties; however, it was found that boarder students developed positive attitudes toward the school compared to extern students. In this section of the study, implications for practice and further studies will be discussed to be able to extend the findings.

### 5.3.1. Implications for Practice

The first implication of the findings is related to cultural capital. As the results of the study revealed, sometimes there can be students in school setting who do not have habitus and cultural capital that matches with the social environment in school. In such cases it is observed that students' trajectory is interrupted as they cannot perform their original attitudes or practices which may direct them to be marginalized or excluded that may result in an inertia.

Ignorance of such inertia may cause such students to be isolated from the environment that has potential to affect their current and future experiences. Thus; if schooling is accepted as an inevitable element of the time, educators, especially teachers have an important role to consider this aspect. They may develop some strategies to leave some space for such students. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) discussed the difference between implicit pedagogy and explicit pedagogy emphasizing that legitimate way to develop a habitus and cultural capital is to be familiar with the goods in the context they exist instead of forming a planned or strategically calculated inculcation. Yang (2014) discussed that the explicit pedagogy is as crucial as implicit pedagogy pointing out that students need to develop habitus addressing to what they are expected. This discussion emphasizes the position of reason; however, what Bourdieu and Passeron ask is "but whose reason?" which is an important question. Therefore, educators should be aware of the context they are acting in and develop understanding about this issue to mediate the ends in this tension. Leaving the stage completely may make the nature of education questionable; yet, controlling and determining each aspect of education has potential to make students the victims of education as their own reality may be ignored.

Another issue to be considered is hidden curriculum. As the findings indicated, presenting students equal opportunities related to social or material aspects may not be adequate to provide them equal chances to reach those opportunities. In the study, it was found that the equipment and supplies, physical spaces were used differently by students. Moreover, students developed different types of relationships with teachers, they participated into the processes accordingly and they perceived the image of the school differently. Some of the students were active in that process some others showed an inertia as discussed above. Thus, it seems necessary to encourage students to interact with the dynamics of school and recognize facilities available. To do so, it seems a good strategy to activate them in other aspects of schooling than academic goals. By

this way, students may develop attitudes that help them be active participants rather than being passive recipients.

Another implication is about boarding schools. The results of the study revealed that boarder students and extern students experienced and perceived the school differently. In general, school is conceived to be belonged to the boarder students and extern students feel they are isolated. This issue seems problematic as extern students are affected in a way that they abstain from using available facilities, participating in activities held at school and benefiting from opportunities as much as boarder students do. To be able to overcome this problem, boarding schools need to develop a school culture that includes the extern students as well. To be able to do so, families can be informed about activities organized at school and asked to direct their children to attend such organizations. Also the number of such activities can be increased to encourage extern students spend their time more meaningfully in school.

The last implication is about science high schools. As the findings indicated, these schools are not perceived as places to develop abilities to generate knowledge by doing scientific research although this an aim put forward for such type of schools. In general, students perceive these school as institutions where they can receive quality education to get high result in university entrance exam. During the conversations with students and some of the teachers, that was a point pointed out. And some of the teachers and students explained that they wanted a more practice oriented education. Giving ear to such statements can be a good strategy to overcome this issue. As students are imposed to solve tests for most of the time, their perceptions about school develop in this way; however, presenting them opportunities to practice what they learn and do research may change their perceptions about science high school that may support this type of school to achieve its goals.

### 5.3.2. Implications for Further Research

As discussed in literature part about cultural capital, it was mentioned that there are no adequate studies in Turkey to supply a perspective to understand

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what constitutes the content of what is called as cultural capital. Thus, there is a need to conduct more studies on this issue that supply demographics of household, parents and children considering the historical and sociological aspects of the term in Turkey context. As cultural hierarchies cannot be seen directly in contexts such as Turkey; objectified cultural capital, especially when it is imported from the studies conducted in other countries, cannot reveal the differences in experiences of agents from different social classes. This point shows how crucial to understand the dynamics existing in Turkey and develop tools to investigate related issues.

Hidden curriculum is a subject of research that is discussed in Turkey; however, how students' cultural capital play role in hidden curriculum they create is a matter of discussion still. As the findings indicated, students with various cultural capital perceived the hidden curriculum differently and their experiences changed accordingly. By the help of studies conducted to investigate this issue, legitimate hierarchies can be deconstructed and reconstructed to be able to develop a culture of education that promotes social equality instead of a competitive education understanding that isolates individuals within their successes or failures.

As another issue, studies can be conducted to understand the dynamics of boarding schools to be able to develop understandings to create better learning opportunities for each student. By findings of such studies, strategies to develop relationship among students can be put forward and by this way more social learning environments can be designed that enhance both extern and boarder students' experiences.

And lastly; science high schools are institutions to be studied on. There are quite limited studies focusing on these institutions. As these schools are to raise qualified individuals that is valued in the society and world, they have potential to create hierarchies in society which is an issue to be investigated in terms of inequality and reproduction in society. Besides this possibility, these school are also places established to raise individuals who are qualified in

science and have potential to develop technologies that may bring services for society. Thus, it is a matter of discussion how these schools work and what their effects in society are.

## 5.4. Limitations of the Study

As a case study, the study included a limited number of participants who were 9th grade students studying in a specific setting that was a science high school in Ankara, Turkey. Thus, the findings seem to be limited in terms of generalizability. However, to be able to increase the generalizability and transferability, the context and participants were described comprehensively. By this way, findings can be used in other settings after the evaluation of the context that was investigated and the context to be investigated; confirming the similarities of the settings and participants, the findings can be benefited in other settings.

The interviewer effect can be discussed as a limitation of the study. Although people may trust in their communication skills, it is an issue of context and experience. The initial interviews I had with the participants were my first experience of such a practice. Therefore, especially the early ones of the initial interviews could be completed inexpertly. Yet, as I had a few interviews, I developed some strategies to be able to help interviewees explain their ideas more detailed. Also I tried to compensate the problems related to the interviews by having conversations with the participants during the time I visited the school for observation. Fortunately, the final interviews were more organized and completed with no concerns as I had more experience and I was familiar with participants which helped both sides to be intimate and comfortable in expressing thoughts.

Another issue worth to be mentioned is about the content and characteristics of objectified cultural capital in Turkey context. As it was discussed during the literature and implications, there is a lack of studies investigating cultural capital in Turkey. This made it difficult to frame the

concept and operationalize it to be able to study on it. I was aware of the concerns shared by researchers interested in this notion, these concerns reflect a perspective that argues it is not a good strategy to import the meanings attributed the notion and its indicators directly due to contextual differences. And I agree with these concerns. To be able overcome this limitation I consulted other researchers who are interested in the topic and tried to be careful while performing my perspective. I included the forms of cultural capital presented by Bourdieu by checking their suitability to the Turkey context, and I gave ear to the participants while they explained their tastes, dispositions and experiences which were related to their cultural capital. By this way I tried to understand what participants benefited from as cultural capital. While doing so, I tried to understand the dynamics of the field they were together to be able to comprehend what were valued and what were not. Thus, the indicators and emphasized aspects may show some differences with what Bourdieu discussed for France context; however, this is due to that I tried to understand what Bourdieu imposed to the notion by investigating his epistemological approach and transfer the essence of his thoughts instead of referring to what is seen to be politically correct.

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: Initial Interview Questions

**Görüşme Formu**

**Görüşülen Kişi (takma isim):**

**Tarih/Saat:**

Merhaba,

ODTÜ, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümünde, Prof. Dr. Cennet Engin-Demir danışmanlığında yürütmekte olduğum yüksek lisans tezi çalışmam için; 9. sınıf öğrencilerinin kültürel sermayelerine bağlı olarak deneyimledikleri örtük program öğeleri ile okulu algılayışları arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemekteyim. Bu bağlamda, yapacağımız görüşmede sizin fikirlerinizi almayı hedeflemekteyim. Görüşmeye başlamadan önce, size bu görüşme esnasında toplanacak verilerin sadece bilimsel amaçlar doğrultusunda kullanılacağını ve kişisel bilgilerinizin tamamen gizli tutulacağını belirtmek isterim. Sizin için bir sorun oluşturmayacaksa, konuşma esnasında her hangi bir noktayı kaçırmamak adına görüşmeyi kayıt altına almayı istiyorum. Dilemeniz halinde görüşmeyi bırakabileceğinizi bildirip her hangi bir sorunuz olması durumunda memnuniyetle cevaplandırılacağını bilmenizi isterim. Katılımınız için teşekkür ederim.

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**Görüşme Soruları**

1. Geçmiş eğitim yaşantınızı göz önünde bulundurunca, okul ortamında karşılaştığınız ve olumlu ya da olumsuz bulduğunuz sizde iz bırakan şeyler nelerdir?

2. Daha önceki eğitim yaşantınız sırasında katılmaktan keyif aldığınız ya da takip etmekte zorlandığınız dersler hangileridir? Bu beğeni ya da uzaklığı ortaya çıkaran faktörler sizce neydi (dersin içeriği, öğretmen, kişisel sebepler vb...)?

3. Kişisel beğenilerinizin, kültürel yaşantınızın, okul dışındaki ilişki biçimlerinizin vb... okulda size kolaylık sağladığı ya da zorluklarla karşılaşmanıza neden olduğu durumlar nelerdir? Şimdiye kadar okul ortamında bu konular ile ilgili kendinizi gergin hissettiğiniz durumlar oldu ise açıklayabilir misiniz?

4. Şimdiye kadarki eğitim yaşantınızda, okul ile ilgili düşünce ve hislerinizi aileniz, öğretmenleriniz ve arkadaşlarınız ile ne derecede paylaştınız? Sizce neden?

5. Şimdiye kadarki eğitim yaşantınızda, başarı konusunda aileniz, öğretmenleriniz ve arkadaşlarınız size ne gibi beklentiler yansıtmıştır?

6. Şimdiye kadarki eğitim yaşantınızda, sınıf içerisinde alınan kararlarda ne kadar aktif yer alabildiğinizi düşünüyorsunuz? Bu konuda aklınıza gelen örnekler nelerdir?

7. Okulda arkadaş edinirken dikkat ettiğiniz konular nelerdir? (Aile, beğeniler, yaşayış biçimi vb...)

8. Dönem sonunda öğretmenlerinizle ve arkadaşlarınızla nasıl bir iletişim geliştirmiş olacağınızı ön görüyorsunuz?

9. Şimdiye kadarki yaşamınızı göz önünde bulundurduğunuzda, okul size neyi anımsatmaktadır? (herhangi bir canlı, nesne, etkinlik, mekân vb...) Neden?

10. Yeni okulunuz ile ilgili ilk izleniminiz nedir?

11. Bu konularda başka belirtmek istedikleriniz nelerdir?

**Görüşme Formu**

**Görüşülen Kişi (takma isim):**

**Tarih/Saat:**

Merhaba,

ODTÜ, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümünde, Prof. Dr. Cennet Engin-Demir danışmanlığında yürütmekte olduğum yüksek lisans tezi çalışmam için; 9. sınıf öğrencilerinin kültürel sermayelerine bağlı olarak deneyimledikleri örtük program öğeleri ile okulu algılayışları arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemekteyim. Bu bağlamda, yapacağımız görüşmede sizin fikirlerinizi almayı hedeflemekteyim. Görüşmeye başlamadan önce, size bu görüşme esnasında toplanacak verilerin sadece bilimsel amaçlar doğrultusunda kullanılacağını ve kişisel bilgilerinizin tamamen gizli tutulacağını belirtmek isterim. Sizin için bir sorun oluşturmayacaksa, konuşma esnasında her hangi bir noktayı kaçırmamak adına görüşmeyi kayıt altına almayı istiyorum. Dilemeniz halinde görüşmeyi bırakabileceğinizi bildirip her hangi bir sorunuz olması durumunda memnuniyetle cevaplandırılacağını bilmenizi isterim. Katılımınız için teşekkür ederim.

Arş. Gör. Halil Han AKTAŞ
Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi
Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü
halilhan@metu.edu.tr

**Görüşme Soruları**

1. Dönem içerisinde dersler dışında katılmış olduğunuz etkinlikler nelerdir?

2. Dönem içerisinde ne kadar kitap okudunuz? Okuduğunuz kitapları neye göre belirlediniz?

3. Dönem içerisinde sanatsal uğraşlar için ne kadar vakit ayırdınız? Ne tür etkinliklerde bulundunuz?

4. Dönem içerisinde katıldığınız kurs-yarışma ve almış olduğunuz sertifikalar, ödüller vb… nelerdir?

5. Geçen dönem içerisinde sosyal medya kullanımınız nasıl olmuştur? Hangi sosyal medya araçlarını kullandınız? Kullanım amacınız ağırlıklı ne oldu? Ne tarz paylaşımlarda bulundunuz?

6. Dönem içerisinde sınıf içerisinde ve okulda sizi etkileyen, olumlu ya da olumsuz bulduğunuz, iyi ya da kötü hissettiğiniz yaşantılar neler oldu?

7. Okulunuz ile ilgili başka türlü olması daha iyi olabilirdi dediğiniz konular nelerdir? Bu konuda fikirleriniz nelerdir?

8. Dönem içerisinde okulda kendinizi rahat şekilde ifade edebildiğiniz ya da kendinizi ifade etmekte zorluklar hissettiğiniz durumlar-konular neler oldu?

9. Dönem içerisinde katılmaktan keyif aldığınız ya da takip etmekte zorlandığınız dersler hangileridir? Neden?

10. Dönem içerisinde kişisel beğenilerinizin, kültürel yaşantınızın, okul dışındaki ilişki biçimlerinizin vb... okulda size fayda sağladığı ya da zorluklarla karşılaşmanıza neden olduğunu düşündüğünüz durumlar neler olmuştur?

11. Dönem içerisinde kendinizi gergin hissettiğiniz durumlar oldu ise bunlar ne ile alakalı konulardı?

12. Okulda arkadaş edinirken öncelik verdiğiniz konular neler oldu? (Aile yapısı, beğeniler, yaşayış biçimi vb...)

13. Dönem içerisinde, okul ile ilgili düşünce ve hislerinizi aileniz ile ne derece paylaştınız?

14. Geçirdiğiniz dönemde, başarı konusunda öğretmenleriniz size ne gibi beklentiler yansıtmıştır?

15. Dönem boyunca, sınıf içerisinde alınan kararlarda ne kadar aktif yer alabildiğinizi düşünüyorsunuz? Neden? Nasıl?

16. Dönem içerisinde öğretmenlerinizle nasıl bir ilişki geliştirmiş olduğunuzu düşünüyorsunuz?

17. Dönem içerisinde arkadaşlarınızla nasıl bir ilişki geliştirmiş olduğunuzu düşünüyorsunuz?

18. Öğretmenleriniz ile kurmuş olduğunuz iletişimde fikirlerinizi ne rahatlıkla dile getirebildiniz? Bu konu ile ilgili zorluklar yaşadıysanız sizce sebepleri nelerdi?

19. Arkadaşlarınız ile kurmuş olduğunuz iletişimde fikirlerinizi ne rahatlıkla dile getirebildiniz? Bu konu ile ilgili zorluklar yaşadıysanız sizce sebepleri nelerdi?

20. Dönem içerisinde öğretmenleriniz ile kurduğunuz ilişkilerin okula karşı tutumunuz üzerinde ne gibi etkileri olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? Örnek verebilir misiniz?

21. Dönem içerisinde arkadaşlarınız ile kurduğunuz ilişkilerin okula karşı tutumunuz üzerinde ne gibi etkileri olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? Örnek verebilir misiniz?

22. Dönem içerisinde okulda bulunan materyallerden (akıllı tahta, müzik aletleri, spor aletleri vb.) faydalanma sıklığınız ne olmuştur? Örnek verebilir misiniz?

23. Şuana kadar okulunuzun yerleşkesinde en fazla kullandığınız alanlar hangileri olmuştur? Hiç kullanmadığınız alanlar varsa nelerdir? Örnek verebilir misiniz?

24. Geçirdiğiniz dönemi göz önüne alırsak, okul size neyi anımsatmaktadır? (herhangi bir canlı, nesne, etkinlik, mekân vb...). Okulu neye benzetirsiniz? Neden?

25. Bu konularda başka belirtmek istedikleriniz nelerdir?

## APPENDIX C: Demographic Survey

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Annenizin eğitim durumu ve mesleği nedir? | |
| 2. | Babanızın eğitim durumu ve mesleği nedir? | |
| 3. | Siz hariç kaç kardeşiniz var? | |
| 4. | Eğitiminizi yatılı olarak mı sürdürmektesiniz? | |
| 5. | Daha önceki eğitiminizi nerede tamamladınız? | |
| 6. | Bundan önceki eğitiminizi bir devlet okulunda mı özel okulda mı tamamladınız? | |
| 7. | TEOG sınavına hazırlanmak için dershaneye gittiniz mi? Evet ise ne kadar süreliğine? | |
| 8. | Liseye kaç puanla yerleştiniz? | |
| 9. | Okul dışında katılmış olduğunuz (sanat, spor, bilimsel vb...) kurs ve yarışma benzeri etkinlikler varsa nelerdir? | |
| 10. | Almış olduğunuz ödül ya da sertifikalar varsa lütfen belirtiniz | |
| 11. | Evinizde bulunan kitap sayısı ne kadardır? | |
| 12. | Kitap okumaya ne kadar vakit ayırırsınız? | |
| 13. | Düzenli takip ettiğiniz dergileri lütfen belirtiniz. | |
| 14. | Sanatsal uğraşlarınız var mıdır (müzik, resim, edebiyat, tiyatro, el sanatları vb…)? | |
| 15. | Evinizde alakalı materyaller (çalgı aleti, tablo, heykel vb.) varsa lütfen belirtiniz. | |
| 16. | Sinemaya gitme sıklığınız nedir? | |
| 17. | Tiyatroya gitme sıklığınız nedir? | |
| 18. | Kullanmakta olduğunuz sosyal medya araçlarını belirtiniz. | |
| 19. | Aileniz ile birlikte en çok vakit ayırdığınız etkinlikler nelerdir? | |

| 20. | Evinize düzenli olarak (hemen hemen her gün) gazete alınır mı? | |
|---|---|---|

# APPENDIX D: Voluntary Participation Form

## Gönüllü Katılım Formu

Bu çalışma, ODTÜ Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü'nde, Prof. Dr. Cennet Engin-Demir danışmanlığında, Arş. Gör. Halil Han Aktaş tarafından yürütülen yüksek lisans tezi çalışmasıdır. Çalışmanın amacı, 9. sınıf öğrencilerinin kültürel sermayelerine bağlı olarak deneyimledikleri örtük program öğeleri ile okulu algılayışları arasındaki ilişkinin incelenmesidir.

Çalışmaya katılım tamamıyla gönüllülük temelindedir. Çalışma boyunca toplanan bütün veriler ile katılımcı bilgileri tamamen gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacı tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Elde edilecek bilgiler sadece bilimsel amaçlı kullanılacaktır. Görüşme formu kişisel rahatsızlık verecek sorular içermemektedir. Ancak, soruları cevaplarken sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz görüşmeyi yarıda bırakmakta serbestsiniz. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Halil Han Aktaş (Tel: (312) 210 40 42; e-posta: halilhan@metu.edu.tr) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

*Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum ve istediğim zaman yarıda kesip bırakabileceğimi biliyorum. Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum*.

İmza:

# APPENDIX E: Parent Consent Form

## Veli Onay Formu

Sayın veli

Bu çalışma, ODTÜ Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü'nde, Prof. Dr. Cennet Engin-Demir danışmanlığında, Arş. Gör. Halil Han Aktaş tarafından yürütülen yüksek lisans tezi çalışmasıdır. Çalışmanın amacı; 9. Sınıf öğrencilerinin kültürel sermayelerine bağlı olarak deneyimledikleri örtük program öğeleri ile okulu algılayışları arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir.

Çalışmaya katılım tamamıyla gönüllülük temelindedir. Çalışma boyunca toplanan bütün veriler ile katılımcı bilgileri tamamen gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacı tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Elde edilecek bilgiler sadece bilimsel amaçlı kullanılacaktır. Veri toplama araçları kişisel rahatsızlık verecek nitelikte sorular içermemektedir. Ancak, soruları cevaplarken sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü öğrenciler, kendilerini rahatsız hissetmeleri halinde görüşmeyi yarıda bırakmakta serbesttirler ve bu konu hakkında bilgilendirileceklerdir. Çalışmaya onay verdiğiniz için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Halil Han Aktaş (Tel: 0 312 210 4042; e-posta: halilhan@metu.edu.tr) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve onay veriyorum

| | |
|---|---|
| Tarih | : |
| Öğrencinin adı soyadı | : |
| Velinin adı soyadı | : |
| İmza | : |

# APPENDIX F: The Consent Letter of the Ministry of National Education

T.C.
ANKARA VALİLİĞİ
Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü

ÖĞRENCİ İŞLERİ
DA...  ...ANLIĞ
Ev. A... Sa... :

Sayı : 14588481-605.99-E.10399514                    15.10.2015
Konu: Araştırma İzni

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİNE
(Öğrenci Daire Başkanlığı)

İlgi: a) MEB Yenilik ve Eğitim Teknolojileri Genel Müdürlüğünün 2012/13 nolu Genelgesi.
b) 09/10/2015 tarihli ve 4176 sayılı yazınız.

Üniversiteniz Eğitim Fakültesi Eğitim Programları ve Öğretim Alanı Bölümünde araştırma görevlisi olan Halil Han Aktaş'ın **"9.sınıf öğrencilerinin kültürel sermayelerine bağlı olarak hissettikleri örtük program öğeleri ile okulu algılayışları arasındaki ilişkinin incelenmesi"** başlıklı araştırma kapsamında görüşme yapma talebi Müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmüş ve araştırmanın yapılacağı İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğüne bilgi verilmiştir.

Görüşme formunun (3 sayfa) araştırmacı tarafından uygulama yapılacak sayıda çoğaltılması ve çalışmanın bitiminde bir örneğinin (cd ortamında) Müdürlüğümüz Strateji Geliştirme (1) Şubesine gönderilmesini arz ederim.

Ali GÜNGÖR
Müdür a.
Şube Müdürü

Güvenli Elektronik İmzalı
Aslı İle Aynıdır.
15./10./201.5

19.10.2015 - 15412

Konya yolu Başkent Öğretmen Evi arkası Beşevler ANKARA
e-posta: istatistik06@meb.gov.tr

Ayrıntılı bilgi için
Tel: (0 312) 221 02 17/135

Bu evrak güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır. http //evraksorgu.meb.gov.tr adresinden 465c-ba45-3b81-b12b-820c kodu ile teyit edilebilir.

**TÜRKÇE ÖZET**

**ÖĞRENCİLERİN OKULDAKİ DÜŞÜNCE VE YAŞANTILARI:**
**KÜLTÜREL SERMAYENİN ROLÜ VE ÖRTÜK PROGRAM**
**ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME**

**GİRİŞ**

Kültür, sembolik ya da maddi olanaklar da dâhil olmak üzere insanların diğer insanlarla bir arada var olabilmeleri için onları donatan, bunun yanı sıra belirli kaynakların manipülasyonu yoluyla insan bilincini oluşturan öğelerden biridir (Geertz, 1973). Ayrıca; inanışları, gelenekleri, dili, değerleri ve belirli pratikleri de içeren ve bireyleri kurumsallaşmış haldeki hiyerarşilere bağlayan kültür, bu hiyerarşilerin oluşumunu ve devamını sağlayan bir baskı aracı olarak da rol oynayabilmektedir (Swartz, 2013). Bireylerin kendileri için mevcut bulunan olanakları kullanarak gerçekliklerini kurmalarını mümkün kılan bir alan olarak kültür, kaçınılmaz olarak bireylerin epistemesi ve maddi dünyalarıyla karşılıklı bir ilişki içerisindedir. Bu da kültürü, belirli ikilikler arasında seçim yapmak yerine bu uçlar arasında birleşme noktaları bulabilme olanakları sunduğu için, araştırmacılar açısından verimli bir çalışma alanı kılmaktadır.

İkilikler üzerine yapılan tartışmaların sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan yapısal ayrımları birleştirme çabası içerisinde, kavramları epistemolojik arka planlarını göz önünde bulundurarak araştıran bir sosyolog olarak Pierre Bourdieu kültür üzerine yaptığı tartışmalar ile toplumsal yapı ve toplumsal eylem arasında bağlar kurmaya çalışmış bir araştırmacıdır (Swartz, 2013). Belirli bir zaman ve mekâna bağlı olarak, yaşantılar yoluyla edinilmiş nitelikler, algılar, tanıma biçimleri ve eylem yapıları olarak tanımlanabilecek habitus kavramı (Ünal, 2004) bireylerin üyesi oldukları ortamın dinamiklerine bağlı olarak nasıl eylediklerini açıklamak

yönünden Bourdieu'nün teorik çerçevesinde kilit rol oynayan kavramlardan biridir. Habitus kavramı eyleyenlerin geçmiş yaşantıları vasıtasıyla geliştirmiş oldukları algı, beğeni ve pratikleri ile alakalı olarak geliştirmiş oldukları çözümlemeleri ifade etmektedir. Ve kavramın tanımından da çıkarılabileceği gibi, kavram geçmişe dönük çalışan bir sistemin yanı sıra gelecek eylemleri de düzenleyen bir sistem vurgusu içermektedir. Bu kavram vasıtasıyla toplumsal eylem, toplumsal yapı içerisinde kişilerin geçmiş tecrübe ve sahip oldukları sermayelere başvurarak geliştirmiş oldukları stratejilerin uygulanması olarak açıklanmaktadır (Swartz, 2013). Böylelikle toplumsal eylemin belirli bir sosyal alanda, üretici yapılar vasıtasıyla şekillendiği vurgusu yapılmaktadır. Nesnel bir zeminde, mevcut halde belirli pozisyonlarda bulunanların ilişkilerinin düzenlenmesinin bir temsili olarak alan kavramı (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) farklı habitusa sahip bireylerin bir araya geldiği ve belirli kaynaklara ulaşabilmek adına stratejilerini kullanıma soktukları bir bağlam olması itibariyle (Sever, 2010) toplumsal eylemin tarihsel ve ilişkisel olarak ele alınabilmesine olanak sağlayan bir diğer kavramdır. Eyleyenlerin bir alan içerisinde habituslarını kullanıma sokmaları esnasında başvurdukları referans noktasını oluşturan sermaye kavramı ise, Bourdieu'nün geliştirmiş olduğu kuramsal çerçevenin temelinde yatan unsurlardandır. Sosyal çevre, tarihin süregelen parçalarının bir araya geldiği ve böylelikle bireylerin eyledikleri bir düzen oluşturduğu bir durumdadır ki bu sermaye kavramının anlaşılmasını önemli kılmaktadır (Bourdieu, 1986). Genelde ekonomi-politikle alakalı olarak kullanılan bir kavram olan sermaye, toplumsal yapının düzenlenmesi esnasında şeylerin birikiminin oynadığı rolü gösteren bir kavramdır. Fakat Bourdieu'nün kuramsal çerçevesi içerisinde, kavram parasal kaynakların yanı sıra farklı içeriklere de sahiptir. Bu çerçeve içerisinde dört farklı sermaye türü belirtilmektedir: varlığı sayesinde maddi kazanç elde edilebilen ekonomik sermaye, aile ile veya okuldaki yaşantılar vasıtasıyla edinilen ve kendini habitusta ortaya koyan kültürel sermaye, eyleyenlerin ait oldukları gruba bağlı olarak edindikleri olanakları içeren sosyal sermaye ve tanınmışlık, bilinirlik gibi

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sıfatları işaret eden sembolik sermaye (Ünal, 2014). Habitus ile yakından ilişki içerisinde olan kültürel sermaye kavramı, kişinin içinde yaşadığı sosyal dünyada edindiği tecrübelerin birikiminin, gerçekliği algılamakta ve buna göre hareket etmekte oynadığı rolü göstermektedir. Bourdieu (1986) tarafından üç farklı formda açıklanan kültürel sermaye; bedenselleşmiş biçimde (zaman içerisinde fiziksel ya da düşünsel yatkınlıklarla kendini gösteren; sunum tarzı, konuşma tarzı gibi), nesneleşmiş biçimde (kültürel manada kişileri belirli olanaklara ulaşma konusunda destekleyen; sahip olunan sanat eserleri gibi) ve kurumsallaşmış biçimde (kişinin sahip olduğu akademik ve belgelenebilir nitelikler olarak) gözlemlenebilmektedir. Bu teorik çerçeve ve kavramlar vasıtasıyla, eyleyenlerin toplum içerisinde bulundukları koordinatlara nasıl geldiklerinin ve bununla alakalı olarak bu pozisyonlarda nasıl eylediklerinin anlaşılması amaçlanmaktadır.

Bu yaklaşım, sosyal dünyada gerçekleşen toplumsal eylemin anlaşılması esnasında, şeylerin olduğu gibi olmasına yol açan nedenlerin irdelenmesi ve doğal olarak kabul edilip sorgulanmadan kalan apaçıklıkların altında yatan nedenlerin soruşturulması noktasında bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır. Ve modern devletler dünyasında okullaşma ile bir tutulan eğitim de bu tarz bir yaklaşımın gerekli olduğu bir alan olarak durmaktadır. Günümüz dünyasının yaygın bir kurumu olarak okul, hem öğrenci ve ailelerin hayatıyla alakalı olarak mikro düzeyde; hem de ülkeleri kapsayacak şekilde makro düzeyde önemli etkilere sahip bir konumdadır (Becker, 1975). Yakın zamanda, Türkiye'de eğitim ile alakalı olarak; okullarda altyapı iyileştirmeleri, program değişiklileri, okul idareleri ile alakalı düzenlemeler gibi belli başlı konularda yürütülen tartışmalar olmaktadır. Bu konular, üzerinde tartışılması gereken konular olarak önem taşımaktadır; fakat bunun yanı sıra bu tartışmaların okuldaki uygulamalara nasıl yansıdığı da üzerinde durulması gereken bir başka noktayı oluşturmaktadır. Özellikle bağlamsal değişiklikler, resmi müfredat üzerinden yapılan yorumlamaları yetersiz kılmaktadır. Kaldı ki uygulamalar benzer tutulsa dahi, öğrenciler için tözsel ya da aşkınsal içerikler gibi sunulması itibariyle resmi

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program yine aynı öğrenciler tarafından anlaşılır kılınması gereken bir şey haline gelme olasılığı barındırmaktadır ki bu da öğrencilerin kültürel sermayesini önemli bir hale getirmektedir. Böylelikle, keyfi bir iktidarca dayatılan bir kültürel keyfiyet olması itibariyle sembolik şiddet olarak ifade edilen pedagojik eylem (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) öğrencilerin kültürel sermayelerinin, bağlamsal beklentileri karşılayıp karşılamamasına bağlı olarak farklı şekillerde tecrübe edilme olasılığına sahiptir.

Bunların yanı sıra, resmi müfredattan farklı olarak, bazen gerçekte olup bitenin yer aldığı ortam olarak ifade edilen örtük program üzerine de tartışmalar yürütülmektedir (Gordon, 1981). Farklı yaklaşımlara göre alternatif tanımlara sahip olan örtük program; akademik olmayan öğrenme tecrübeleri sayesinde öğrenme, fiziksel ya da sosyal ortamda ortaya çıkan düşünsel ortam, gizil etkilerin uyandırdığı bilinçli etkiler gibi noktalara işaret etmekte ve okullardaki düzenlemelerde, takdir etme biçimlerinde, resmi programda içerilmeyen etkinliklerde, sınıf içindeki söylemde gözlenebilmektedir (Sarı & Doğanay, 2009a; Vallance, 1973; Yüksel, 2002). Tanımdan anlaşılacağı üzere, örtük program temelsiz, birden bire ortaya çıkan bir yapı olmaktan ziyade ortamdaki katılımcılar ile şekillenebilme ihtimali barındıran bir durumdadır. Ve programın muhatapları olarak öğrenciler hem bu süreçten etkilenmekte hem de bu süreci etkilemektedir. Böylelikle öğrencilerin eğitim tecrübelerinde etkide bulunan kültürel sermaye (Michele Lamont & Lareau, 1988) ve örtük program incelenmesi gereken öğeler olarak görünmektedirler.

### Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu çalışmada, bir fen lisesindeki dokuzuncu sınıf öğrencilerinin okul ile ilgili düşüncelerinin, algılarının ve okuldaki yaşantılarının belirlenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Çalışma farklı yapı ve hacimlerde kültürel sermayeye sahip öğrencilerin, kültürel sermayelerinin göstergelerinin belirlenmesini, öğrencilerin deneyimledikleri örtük program öğelerinin ortaya çıkarılmasını, bununla paralel olarak sınıf içindeki yaşantılarının belirlenmesini ve öğrencilerin okula dair düşüncelerinin araştırılmasını amaçlamaktadır.

Belirlenmiş olan bu amaçlara dönük olarak, aşağıdaki araştırma sorularına yanıt aranmıştır:

1. Katılımcıların kültürel sermayelerinin göstergeleri nelerdir?
2. Katılımcıların sınıf içindeki yaşantıları nelerdir?
3. Katılımcıların okul hakkındaki düşünceleri nelerdir?

**Çalışmanın Önemi**

Okulda gerçekleştirilen eylemlerin yanı sıra öğrencilerin akademik hayatını doğrudan ya da dolaylı yollardan etkileyen başka etkenler de söz konusudur. Psikolojik bir varlık olarak insan, yaşamında tecrübe ettiği süreçlere değerlerini, duygularını, hislerini ya da görüşlerini dâhil eden bir konumdadır. Dolayısıyla kaçınılmaz olarak bu gibi etkenler, kişilerin dış dünyayı nasıl içselleştirdikleri üzerine yansımaktadır. Böylelikle, bu gibi etkenleri göz önünde bulundurmak, öğrencilerin okulda geçirdikleri zamanda daha olumlu yaşantılar edinmeleri için önem kazanmaktadır. Öğrencilerin okula dair tutumlarını etkileyebilecek; kültüre bağlı farklılıklar, sosyo-ekonomik durum ya da otorite ile ilişkilendirilebilecek şekilde öğretmenlerle ilişkiler gibi nedenler söz konusudur (Adıgüzel, 2012). Öne çıkan bir konu olarak sosyo-ekonomik durum, okul hayatını da içerecek şekilde, kişilerin hayatında oynadığı rol bakımından uzunca bir süredir incelenmektedir. Fakat karmaşık yapıdaki ilişkilerin anlaşılması noktasında sosyo-ekomik durumun tek başına bu denli belirleyici olup olmadığı bir tartışma konusudur. Sosyal ve akademik konularla ilişki içerisindeki pedagojik iletişimin gerçekleştirilmesi hususunda belirleyici etkenlerden biri olarak kültürel sermaye, bireylerin sosyal ve akademik nitelikleri ile alakalı bir konumdadır (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Illich (2013) gibi eğitim ile ilgilenen insanlar, dezavantajlı durumdaki sosyal çevrelerden gelen öğrencilerin, sadece eşit olanaklarda eğitim şansı elde ederek avantajlı bir sosyal çevreden gelen öğrencilerin bulunduğu bir noktaya gelme ihtimalinin oldukça düşük olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Bu, okul ortamında benzer maddi ve materyal koşullara sahip olmanın farklı sosyal çevrelerden gelen öğrenciler arasındaki farklılıkları karşılama konusunda yeterli olmadığını vurgulayan bir

bakış açısıdır. Bu noktada kültürel sermaye, öğrencilerin aile yaşamlarının ve aile yaşamlarına bağlı olan sosyal ve kültürel etkenlerin, eğitim hayatlarında ne gibi etkilerde bulunabileceğine dair bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır (Michele Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Kişilerin sahip olduğu kültürel sermaye, içinde bulunduğu ortamı algılamasında etkin bir rol oynayabilir ve çevresiyle geliştirdiği ilişkiler üzerinde etkide bulunabilir. Örneğin, kitabında kendi deneyimlerinden bahsederken, Matthys (2013) akademik kariyerine geçiş esnasında yaşadığı kaygılara rağmen, kendisine göre daha avantajlı kesimlerden gelen kişilerin bu kaygıları duymaktan uzak oluşlarına vurgu yapmaktadır. Böylesi tutumlar, kişilerin karşılıklı etkileşimde bulunarak var oldukları sosyal ortamlardaki rolleri, statüleri, seçimleri veya aldıkları ya da gösterdikleri tepkileri etkileme olasılığına sahiptir. Okulda yer alan ilişkilerin doğasının, kişilerin sahip olduğu değerler vasıtasıyla şekillendiği tartışılmakta olan bir konudur (Mcknight & Chandler, 2012). Böyle durumlarda kültürel sermaye aktif rol oynama ihtimaline sahip bir öğedir. Daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi, her ne kadar eğitim ile alakalı bir çok tartışma ve müdahale söz konusu olsa da bunların çoğu resmi müfredat ile alakalı durumdadır. Farklı yapı ve hacimde kültürel sermayeye sahip öğrencilerin tecrübe ettikleri örtük program Türkiye'de araştırılması gereken bir konu pozisyonundadır. Örtük programa dair Türkiye'de yapılmış olan araştırma sayısı oldukça kısıtlı sayıdadır ve bu çalışmalarda kültürel sermayeye yer verilmemiş durumdadır. Bu noktada, çalışma bu bakış açılarının Türkiye bağlamında incelenip geliştirilmesinde ve alakalı problemlere öneriler sunma noktasında fayda sağlayacaktır.

## ALANYAZIN TARAMASI

Bu çalışma amacına uygun olarak alan yazın taramasında kapsanan konular aşağıdaki şekildedir:

1. Kültürel sermaye
2. Örtük program (İşlevselci ve Neo-Marxist yaklaşımlar)
3. Okul metaforu
4. Pedagojik eylem

## ARAŞTIRMANIN YÖNTEMİ

Bir fen lisesindeki dokuzuncu sınıf öğrencilerinin okula dair düşüncelerinin ve okuldaki yaşantılarının belirlenmesine dönük olarak gerçekleştirilen bu çalışma bir nitel araştırma örneğidir. Çalışmada bir sosyal ortam olarak okul ve bu ortamda gerçekleşen sosyal eylemler odağa alınmıştır, bu nedenle bireylerin belirli bir bağlamdaki tecrübelerinin anlaşılmasına olanak sağlayan nitel araştırma tercihine gidilmiştir (Merriam, 2002). Nitel araştırmalar, araştırma konularının doğal ortamlarında incelenmesine ve yorumlanmasına olanak sağlayan araştırmalardır (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Çalışmanın deseni olarak nitel araştırma desenleri içerisinden durum çalışması tercih edilmiştir. Yaygın şekilde kullanılan bir nitel araştırma deseni olarak durum çalışmaları olayları gerçekten meydana geldikleri yerde inceleyen çalışmalardır (Stake, 2005; Yin, 2011). Çalışmada, belirli bir sosyal ortamda gerçekleşen etkileşimler göz önünde bulundurulduğundan durum çalışması deseni tercihine gidilmiştir.

### Katılımcılar

Bu araştırmada katılımcıları eğitim hayatlarını bir fen lisesinde dokuzuncu sınıfta sürdürmekte olan öğrenciler oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada farklı yapı ve hacimlerde kültürel sermayeye sahip öğrencilerin okuldaki düşünce ve tecrübelerinin anlaşılması amaçlandığından, uygun veriye ulaşabilmek adına amaçlı örnekleme yöntemi yoluna gidilmiştir. Amaçlı örnekleme yöntemi, araştırma amacına uygun veri sunan kişi ve durumlara ulaşılabilmesini sağlaması yönünden en uygun ve verimli verilere erişim sağlayan yollardan biridir (Cresswell, 2007; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2011). Bu yolla farklı şehir, sosyal çevre, sosyo-ekonomik durum ve kültürel sermayeye sahip dokuzuncu sınıf öğrencileri belirlenmiştir. Dokuzuncu sınıf öğrencilerinin tercih edilmesindeki sebep bu öğrencilerin okulda yeni olmaları nedeniyle ortam hakkında çok fazla bilgiye sahip olmamaları ve böylelikle kendileri için yeni olan durumlarla baş edebilmek adına diğer sınıflara göre geçmiş tecrübelerine daha fazla başvurma olasılığına sahip olmalarıdır. Katılımcılar belirlenirken okul idaresi ve öğretmenlerle sınıflar hakkında görüşülüp uygun bir dokuzuncu

sınıf şubesi bulabilmek için bilgi alınmıştır. Sınıflarla ilgili belgeler incelendikten sonra otuz iki kişilik bir şube belirlenmiştir. Öğrenciler arasından gönüllü katılım formu ve veli onay formu vasıtasıyla çalışmaya katılmayı kabul edenlere demografik bilgi formları dağıtılmış ve bu formlarla toplanan verilerin analizi neticesinde on yedi katılımcı belirlenmiştir. Katılımcıların onu erkek yedisi kadın öğrencilerden oluşmaktadır.

### Veri Toplama Araçları

Nitel araştırmalarda gözlem, görüşme ve belgeler temel veri kaynakları olarak kullanılmaktadır (Moustakas, 1994). Bir durum çalışması olan bu çalışmada gözlem ve yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler olarak iki veri toplama aracı kullanılmıştır. Gözlem, sözel ifadelerin yanı sıra, nitel araştırmalar için önemli olan belirli pratiklerin yakalanması açısından önemli veri kaynakları sunmaktadır (Schmuck, 1997). Bunun yanı sıra görüşmeler de kişilerin dâhil oldukları süreçlerde edindikleri tecrübe ve yaşantılara dair düşüncelerini anlayabilmek için onların kendi ifadelerine yer verebilmek adına güçlü veri araçlarıdır (Miller & Glassner, 2004). Böylelikle, görüşme soruları alakalı literatürün taranması sonucunca ve çalışılan konuda uzman kişilere danışılarak geliştirmiş ve etik konuların göz önünde bulundurulması adına gerekli birimlerce incelenmiştir. Gerekli izinler de alındıktan sonra 22 Ekim 2015 tarihinden itibaren belirlenen on yedi öğrenci ile ilk görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmeler tamamlandıktan sonra belirlenmiş olan sınıfta iki haftada bir olmak üzere toplam on gün gözlem yapılmış ve bu günlerdeki tüm dersler gözlemlenmiştir. Yaklaşık beş ay sonra 23 Mart 2016 tarihinde ise bir hafta süren ikinci görüşmelere başlanmış ve böylelikle veri toplama süreci tamamlanmıştır.

### Araştırmanın Geçerliği ve Güvenirliği

Bu çalışmaya dair geçerlik ve güvenirlik ile alakalı hususları geliştirebilmek adına belli başlı konular göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Öncelikle araştırmacı verinin toplandığı alanda beş ay kadar süren uzun süreli vakit geçirerek katılımcılar ile bir tanışıklık kazanarak onların güvenini

kazanmıştır. Böylelikle katılımcıların görüşlerini daha rahat ifade etmelerine olanak sağlanmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra veri çeşitlemesi göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Çalışmanın amacına uygun olarak, veri toplama sürecinde görüşmelerin yanı sıra gözlemler de yapılarak öğrencilerin ifadelerinin pratikteki karşılıkları gözlemlenmiş bunun yanı sıra gözlemlerde oluşabilecek araştırmacının ön yargıları katılımcıların görüşmelerdeki kendi ifadeleri ile ortadan kaldırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

### Veri Analizi

Nitel araştırma yöntemlerinde veri analizi, çalışmaların belirli bir anında gerçekleştirilen bir işlem olmaktan ziyade, birbiriyle etkileşim içerisinde olan adımlarda ortaya çıkan ve verinin toplanmasına başlanmasından itibaren ilerlemeye başlayan bir süreçtir (Merriam, 2002). Bu süreç ile alakalı olarak ortaya konan belirli görüşler söz konusudur; örneğin bu sürecin, verinin düzenlenmesi, tanımlanması, sınıflandırılması ve yorumlanması gibi adımlar içeren bir sarmal süreç olduğuna dair görüşler söz konusudur (Cresswell, 2007). Bu çalışma kapsamında betimsel analiz ve içerik analizi kullanılmıştır. Betimsel analiz yolu ile öğrencilerin sınıf içerisindeki yaşantıları aktarılmış ve böylelikle okuyucuların çalışma grubu hakkında bilgi sahibi olması amaçlanmıştır. İçerik analizi sürecinde ise, öncelikle yapılan görüşmeler birebir yazılı hale getirilmiş, düzenlenmiş ve yoğun şekilde incelenmiştir. Bu esnada kodlar tespit edilmiş ve bu kodlar üzerinden temalar geliştirilmiştir. Bütün bu analizler esnasında, bir nitel veri analizi yazılımı olan MAXQDA 12'den yararlanılmıştır.

## BULGULAR

Bu çalışma kapsamında (1) öğrencilerin kültürel sermayelerinin göstergeleri, (2) öğrencilerin sınıf içerisindeki tecrübeleri ve (3) öğrencilerin okul hakkındaki düşünceleriyle alakalı olmak üzere üç temel araştırma sorusunun yanıtlanması amaçlanmıştır. Bu konuların aydınlatılması için toplanan veri analiz edilip sonrasında ulaşılan bulgular ilgili sorulara cevap verecek şekilde sunulmuştur.

Öğrencilerin kültürel sermayelerinin göstergeleri ile alakalı sorular hem ilk hem de ikinci görüşme esnasında öğrencilere yönlendirilmiştir. İlk görüşme esnasında toplanan verilerden çıkarılan sonuçlara göre öğrencilerin beğeniler ve geçmiş tecrübeler yönünden, eğilimler yönünden, geçmiş okul yaşantıları yönünden, ilişkiler ve bu ilişkilere bağlı olarak algılanan beklentiler yönünden olmak üzere belirli konularda kültürel sermayelerinde farklılıklar gözlemlenmiştir. Beğeniler ve geçmiş tecrübeler konusunda, bazı öğrenciler sahip oldukları beğeniler ve tecrübeler sayesinde okul ortamında belli başlı kolaylıklar yaşarken başka öğrencilerin bu konuda herhangi bir kolaylık elde etmediği belirlenmiştir. Paralel olarak öğrencilerin eğilimlerinin okuldaki sosyal ortama uygunluk göstermesine bağlı olarak, bu yönde özellikler gösteren öğrencilerin okulda kendilerini daha rahat hissettiklerini ve böylelikle okulda gerçekleşen etkinliklere daha aktif katıldıkları belirlenmiştir. Daha çekingen durumda olan ve okuldaki sosyal ortamdan farklı eğilimlere sahip olan öğrencilerin ise daha izole halde bir tecrübe yaşadıkları anlaşılmıştır. Ayrıca fen lisesinde dokuzuncu sınıfta öğrenciliklerini sürdüren öğrencilerin genel olarak başarı odaklı bir geçmiş eğitim yaşantısına sahip oldukları ortaya çıkarılmıştır; bu öğrencilerden az sayıda kişi geçmiş eğitim yaşantılarına dair olarak akademik konular dışında hususlara vurgu yaptığı belirlenmiştir. Bununla paralel olarak, bu öğrencilerin genellikle kendilerinden yüksek bir başarı beklendiğini algıladıkları saptanmıştır. Kimi durumlarda bu öğrenciler için bir motivasyon kaynağı olurken, bazı durumlarda ise bunun bir stres kaynağı olduğu belirlenmiştir. İkinci görüşme esnasında öğrencilerin kültürel sermayelerinin göstergeleri noktasında ciddi bir değişiklik olmadığı ortaya çıkmıştır.

Çalışmada gözlemler yoluyla öğrencilerin sınıf içindeki tecrübeleri gözlemlenmiştir. Ulaşılan bulgular, öğrencilerin sınıf içerisinde, kültürel sermayeleriyle ve bu konudaki ifadeleriyle tutarlı pratikler sergiledikleri belirlenmiştir. Okul ortamında değer verilen beğeni ve tutumlara sahip, daha girişken ve sosyal olma gibi eğilimler gösteren öğrenciler sınıf içerisinde daha aktif roller alıp sınıf içi etkileşimlerde daha fazla yer alırken; bu gibi özelliklere

sahip olmayan öğrenciler daha pasif durumlarda kalmayı tercih edip genellikle ders odaklı hususlara odaklanıp gerekmedikçe katılım göstermemişlerdir. Ayrıca kimi öğrenciler sınıf içerisinde belirli rutinleri göz ardı ederken, örneğin izin alma gereksinimi duymadan söz almak, ders esnasında sınıf içerisinde öğretmen varken gezinmek ve arkadaşlarıyla dersten bağımsız sohbet etmek gibi; bazı öğrenciler de aslında okulda söz konusu olmayan kuralları göz önünde bulundurup, kendilerince doğru olan tutumlar edinmişlerdir; örneğin idare tarafından boş olduğu belirtilen son derslerde sınıfı terk etmeyip hiç bir şey yapmadan zilin çalmasını beklemek gibi.

Öğrencilerin okul ile ilgili görüşleri de incelenen bir diğer konu olmuştur. Bu konu, örtük program göz önünde bulundurularak ele alınmıştır. Bulgular temel olarak altı ana tema altında toplanmıştır, bunlar; okuldaki araç gereçler, fiziksel alanların kullanımı, okulun öğrencilerin gözündeki imajı, okuldaki süreçlere katılım, öğretmenlerle ilişki ve öğrencilerin okulu tanımlarken kullandıkları metaforlar. Öğrencilerin okuldaki araç gereçleri kullanma konusunda, eğilimleriyle ilişkili olarak farklılıklar gösterdikleri saptanmıştır. Kendine güvenen ve aktif tutumlar gösteren öğrenciler okuldaki araç gereçlerden faydalanabilirken; sosyalleşme konusunda zorluklar yaşayan, güven problemi yaşayan öğrencilerin araç gereçlere zarar verme korkusu ya da bunları kullanmaya gerek duymama gibi durumlar neticesinde bu kaynaklardan yararlanmamışlardır. Benzer şekilde, öğrenciler öğrencilerin fiziksel alanları kullanımı da yakın sonuçlar göstermiştir. Ayrıca, fen lisesinde okumakta olan bu öğrencilerin genel olarak akademik başarıya dönük ciddi beklentiler hissetmelerinden ötürü, boş vakitlerinin çoğunu çalışarak geçirdikleri ve çoğunlukla sınıfı dahi terk etmedikleri belirlenmiştir. Öğrencilerin belirli beğenilere sahip olmalarının ise bu konuda teşvik edici roller oynadığı ortaya konmuştur, örneğin ilgi alanlarına dair aktif şekilde çalışan öğrenci kulüplerinin mevcut olduğu öğrenciler, okuldaki kullanıma açık alanlardan daha fazla faydalanmıştır. Verinin toplanmış olduğu fen lisesinin öğrenciler tarafından algılanan imajı altı başlık etrafında yoğunlaşmıştır, bunlar; bilimsel olaylar,

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sosyalleşme, disiplin, fiziksel şartlar, kaliteli eğitim ve okulun gelenekleri ile alakalı konular olmuştur. Az sayıda öğrenci okuldaki bilimsel etkinliklerin kendilerinin gelecekleri ile alakalı yeni vizyonlar sağladığını dile getirmiştir. Öğrencilerin çoğunluğu okulda demokratik ve hoşgörülü bir ortam olduğundan bahsetmiştir. Öğrenciler, okuldaki ortamın disiplin açısında rahat olduğunu ve önceki okullarına göre kendilerini daha özgür hissettiklerini dile getirmişlerdir. Fiziksel şartlar konusunda, öğrencilerin çoğunluğu okuldaki maddi olanakların yetersiz olduğunu ve araç gereçlerin çok eski olduğunu belirtmiştir. Genel olarak okulda sunulan eğitimin başarılı bulunduğu ve öğrencilerin bu konuda kendilerini üniversite sınavına hazırlanma hususunda avantajlı hissettikleri saptanmıştır. Ayrıca okulun geçmişten gelen belli geleneklere sahip olduğu ve bunların kimi durumlarda benimsendiği, kimi durumlarda ise üzerine şikâyet edilen bir konu olduğu belirlenmiştir. Okuldaki süreçlere katılımın da öğrencilerin eğilimleri ile paralellik gösteren bir nokta olduğu gözlemlenen bir konu olmuştur. Öğrencilerin, sosyalleşmelerinde rol oynayan bazı özelliklere sahip olmaları durumunda ve bunun okuldaki sosyal ortamla uygunluk göstermesi durumunda okulda daha aktif şekilde katılım gösterdikleri belirlenmiştir. Öğretmenlerle ilişki konusunda beş bakış açısı ortaya çıkmıştır; öğretmenin hatalar yapabilen biri olarak görülmesi, saygı duyulan biri olarak görülmesi, işini yapan biri olarak görülmesi, otorite olarak görülmesi ve alanında uzman olarak görülmesi. Öğrencilerin bakış açılarına göre de öğretmenlerle farklı ilişkiler geliştirdi belirlenmiştir. Öğrencilerin kullandıkları metaforlar ilk görüşme ve ikinci görüşmede farklılıklar göstermiştir. Öğrencilerin kültürel sermayelerine ve tecrübe ettikleri örtük programa benzerlikler gösterecek şekilde kullandıkları metaforların çeşitlendiği saptanmıştır. Genel olarak yatılı öğrencilerin okula dair kullandıkları metaforlar daha olumlu bir bakış açısı çizerken, gündüzlü öğrencilerin okula dair daha olumsuz görüşler geliştirdikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Yatılı öğrenciler okulu daha ziyade ev ve aile ortamıyla ilişkilendirirken, gündüzlü öğrenciler okulu zorla tutuldukları bir yer olarak algılamışlardır.

**TARTIŞMA**

Bu çalışmada, bir fen lisesinde dokuzuncu sınıfa başlayan öğrencilerin okula dair görüş ve okuldaki yaşantılarının anlaşılması amaçlanmıştır. Bununla da ilgili olarak öğrencilerin kültürel sermayeleri ve tecrübe ettikleri örtük program göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Kültürün dil, inanışlar, gelenekler, dilsel ifadeler ve çevreye atfedilen değerler ile alakalı olarak sunduğu düzlemin, bireylerin sosyal dünyayı tanıma ve düzenleme konusunda etki sahibi olmasında rol oynadığı tartışılmaktadır(Swartz, 2013; Ünal, 2014). Bu da öğrencilerin okulda nasıl bir yaşam geçirdiklerinin, kültürel sermayeleri ile alakalı bir husus olduğunu göstermektedir (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Çalışmanın bulguları bu bakış açısı ile benzer noktalara işaret etmektedir. Çalışmada, Jackson'ın (1966) da işaret ettiğine benzer olarak, kendilerini daha aktif olmaya iten belirli beğenilere sahip öğrencilerin okulda daha aktif olduğu ve okuldaki ortama daha çabuk adapte olduğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Lamont ve Lareau'nün (1988) de belirttiği üzere, iletişim becerileri, araştırma yapma beceri ve tecrübesi, eleştirel düşünme becerisi ve dil becerileri gibi özelliklere sahip olan öğrencilerin kültürel sermayeleri okuldaki tecrübelerinde daha olumlu sonuçlara ulaşmalarında yardımcı olmuştur. Bu konuda üç farklı öğrenci grubu ile karşılaşılmıştır. Kimi öğrenciler okulda değer atfedilen belirli özelliklere sahip olduklarından kolaylıklar yaşamıştır (DiMaggio, 1982). Bazı öğrenciler okullaşma ve okullaşmanın gerekleri hakkında bilgi sahibi olmanın avantajlarından faydalanmıştır (Michèle Lamont et al., 2014), diğer öğrenciler ise böylesi destek sağlayan özelliklere sahip olmamaları nedeniyle okuldaki zorluklarla karşılaşmışlardır (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Sosyal konum ve bu konumlarda bulunan eyleyenlerin eğilimleri arasında güçlü bir ilişki olduğu tartışılmaktadır (Bourdieu, 1984). Bu bireylerin tecrübelerinin bulundukları sosyal konuma göre değiştiğini işaret etmektedir ki çalışmanın bulguları benzer sonuçlara ulaşmıştır. Bazı katılımcılar, konuşkan olma, düşündüklerini doğrudan ifade etme, rahat ve özgüvenli olma gibi eğilimlere sahip olmanın ve dili etkili kullanmanın verdiği avantajla okulda daha

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aktif roller edinip daha olumlu tecrübeler edinmişlerdir (Bernstein, 2000). Bunun aksine, kimi katılımcılar kendilerini sessiz, asosyal, utangaç gibi sıfatlarla ifade edip bunlarla benzer pratikler ortaya koymuşlardır; bu katılımcıların sembolik sınırlar yaratıp bunlara uygun davranmaya çalıştıkları belirlenmiştir (Michele Lamont & Small, Mario, 2008). Buna bağlı olarak kimi öğrenciler okulda geçirdikleri vakti kendileri açısından daha olumlu şekilde anlamlandırırken, bazı öğrenciler de okulda gerekli gördükleri görevleri yerine getirmekle uğraşmışlardır. Okul, içinde tecrübe edilen yaşantıların değerler yoluyla algılandığı bir ortamdır (Mcknight & Chandler, 2012). Böylelikle okulun nasıl algılandığı öğrencilerin kültürel sermayeleri ile ilişkili bir husustur. Ayrıca okulun bazı sınıflandırma sistemlerini dayatan bir kurum olduğuna dair tartışmalar da söz konusudur (Swartz, 2013).  Bu sınıflandırma sistemlerine aşina olan öğrencilerin, okulda yaşadıkları tecrübelerin gündelik hayatlarından faydalanabilmelerinden ötürü daha olumlu şekillerde olduğu belirlenmiştir.

Çalışmanın bulguları veri toplanan okulda, fen liselerinin kuruluş amacına uygun şekilde belirlenmiş işlevselci bir örtük programın söz konusu olduğu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Fakat öğrencilerin tecrübe ettikleri örtük program konusunda farklılıklar gözlemlenmiştir. Öğrencilerin okuldaki araç gereçlerin ve kültürel ürünlerin kullanımına aşina olup olmamasına bağlı olarak bunlardan faydalanma biçimleri farklılıklar göstermiştir (Arun, 2014). Ayrıca eğilimleri konusundaki farklılıklar da öğrencilerin tecrübelerini etkilemiştir. Anyon'un (1980) tartıştığı gibi, öğrencilerin önceki yaşantılarında alışık oldukları okulda gerçekleştirdikleri etkinliklere bağlı olarak yeni okullarındaki etkinliklere katılımları değişmiştir. Çalışmada, öğrencilerin başarılı olma kaygısıyla yoğun şekilde çalışmaları durumunda boş zamanlarında dahi sınıfta kalıp çalıştıkları görülmüştür, bu da sosyal ortam ve fiziksel ortam arasında bir bağın bulunduğunu ve fiziksel ortam kullanımının sosyal ortamda alınan mesajlardan etkilendiğini göstermiştir (McLaren, 2003; Tor, 2015). Okulun öğrencilerce algılanan imajı konusundaki bulgular, eğitimlerini fen lisesinde sürdürmekte olan dokuzuncu sınıf öğrencilerinin, bu okullar için ortaya konan amaçlara

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uygun düşmeyecek şekilde bu okulları üniversite sınavlarında başarılı olmalarına katkı sağlayacak şekilde iyi eğitim veren geleneksel kurumlar olarak algıladıklarını göstermektedir. Okuldaki süreçlere katılım konusundaki bulgular ise, kimi öğrencilerin karşılaştıkları zorlukları aşabilmelerine olanak sağlayacak bir örtük program tecrübe ederken (Snyder, 1971); bazı öğrencilerin ise öz denetime varan bir örtük program tecrübe ettikleri belirlenmiştir (Rose, 1990). Bunların yanı sıra, öğretmenler ile geliştirilen ilişkilerin tecrübe edilen örtük program ile ilişkili olduğu ve bunun öğrencilerin okuldaki tecrübelerini etkiledikleri saptanmıştır. Son olarak, öğrencilerin okulu tasvir ederken etmek için kullandıkları metaforlar yatılı öğrenciler ile gündüzlü öğrencilerin okuldaki tecrübeleri arasında büyük oranda farklılıklar olduğu; gündüzlü öğrenciler okulda kendilerini yabancı hissederken, yatılı öğrencilerin okulu evleri gibi gördüğü belirlenmiştir. Ve bu metaforlar, fen liseleri için ortaya konan amaçlarla paralel olmayan şekilde, öğrencilerin bu okulları iyi eğitim veren geleneksel kurumlar olarak algıladığını göstermiştir.

Çalışmadan çıkarılan sonuçlardan yapılan çıkarımlar pratikte belirli öneriler ortaya koymuştur. Bu çıkarımlara göre, okullarda beklenilen kültürel sermayeyi karşılayamadığı için sosyal yörüngelerini yitirme ihtimali olan öğrencilerin durumlarının göz önünde bulundurulması gerektiği ortaya konulmuştur. Ayrıca öğrencilerin örtük program ile ilgili tecrübeleri sonucunda ulaşılan çıkarımlar, okullarda öğrencilerin mevut dinamikleri ve olanakları anlamalarına teşvik edilmesi gerektiğini göstermiştir. Bunların yanı sıra yatılı okullarda, gündüzlü öğrencilerin de yatılı öğrenciler kadar verimli okul tecrübeleri edinebilmeleri için okulda anlamlı vakit geçirebilecekleri etkinliklerin yapılmasının faydalı olabileceği ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Son olarak, fen liselerinde teorinin yanı sıra uygulamaya da yer verilmesi yoluyla bu okulların öğrencilerince bilim insanları yetiştirmek için var olan kurumlar olarak algılanması yoluyla amacına uygun kurumlar haline getirilebileceği belirlenmiştir. Gelecekteki araştırmalar için ortaya konan çıkarımlarda ise kültürel sermaye konusunun Türkiye bağlamında tarihsel demografik veriler

sağlayabilecek çalışmalarca ele alınması ve konunun böylelikle daha verimli bir hale gelebileceği anlaşılmıştır. Örtük program kavramının da hala çalışılması gereken bir konu olarak mevcut bulunduğu belirlenmiştir. Ayrıca yatılı okulların ve fen liselerinin, çalışılması gereken kurumlar olarak bekledikleri ortaya konmuştur. Son olarak, çalışmada bir takım kısıtlılıklar söz konusudur. Bunlar; araştırmacının görüşme konusundaki deneyimsizliğinin ilk görüşmelere yansımış olma ihtimali ve kültürel sermaye kavramının Türkiye'de nasıl ele alınması gerektiğine dair yeterli bir alan yazının olmamasıdır.

## APPENDIX H: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

**ENSTİTÜ**

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☒ X

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

**YAZARIN**

Soyadı: Aktaş

Adı: Halil Han

Bölümü: Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce): Students' Views about and Experiences at School: Investigating the Role of Cultural Capital and Hidden Curriculum

**TEZİN TÜRÜ**: Yüksek Lisans ☒ X     Doktora ☐

**1.** Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın. ☐

**2.** Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullanıcılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ☐

**3.** Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ☒ X

Yazarın imzası                    Tarih