

FORMS OF CAPITAL AND EDUCATION: THE CASE OF JANITORS'
FAMILIES IN BÜYÜKÇEKMECE, ISTANBUL

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FAMILIES IN BÜYÜKÇEKMECE, ISTANBUL**

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ABSTRACT

FORMS OF CAPITAL AND EDUCATION: THE CASE OF JANITORS' FAMILIES IN BÜYÜKÇEKMECE, ISTANBUL

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This thesis examines the janitor's family's motivation to attend higher education even though their economic capital has remained the same. Since it is known that the transformation of economic capital accumulation cannot be explained solely by economic determinants, Bourdieu's forms of capital constitute the theoretical framework of this thesis. In the scope of this thesis, in-depth interviews were conducted with 70 janitors or/and their family members in Büyükçekmece, İstanbul. Participants migrating from the same regions (Zonguldak/Bartın) migrated to the same region (Büyükçekmece/İstanbul) to do the same occupation (janitor), which constitutes the boundaries of the thesis. The participants are divided into groups primarily to show the expectations of parents and children from education and the differences between generations. On the other hand, parents' and children's groups are also divided into groups within themselves, aiming to discover how they experience the same processes. It was obtained that while the purpose of cultural capital accumulation for the middle class was to reproduce their economic capital, one of the purposes of cultural capital accumulation for the lower class serving these classes in regions where middle and upper classes are located may be symbolic capital accumulation before

economic capital accumulation. Another consequence was different from the general literature. It is a known fact that Anatolian High Schools are relatively more successful than Vocational High Schools in terms of university entrance rates. During the interviews, I observed that lower-class students were successful in university entrance when they attended Vocational High Schools.

Keywords: Forms of Capital, Education, Social Exclusion, Janitors' families, Lower Class



ÖZ

SERMAYE BİÇİMLERİ VE EĞİTİM: BÜYÜKÇEKMECE, İSTANBUL'DA YAŞAYAN APARTMAN GÖREVLİSİ AİLELER ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez, apartman görevlileri ve ailelerinin ekonomik sermayeleri aynı kalmasına rağmen yüksek öğrenime devam etme motivasyonunu incelemektedir. Ekonomik sermaye dönüşümünün sadece ekonomik belirleyicilerle açıklanamayacağı bilindiğinden, Bourdieu'nün sermaye biçimleri bu tezin teorik çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır. Bu tez kapsamında İstanbul Büyükçekmece'de 70 apartman görevlisi ve/veya aile üyeleri ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu tezin kapsamını oluşturan katılımcıların özellikleri, aynı bölgelerden (Zonguldak/Bartın) aynı mesleği (apartman görevliliği) yapmak için aynı bölgeye (Büyükçekmece/İstanbul) göç etmeleridir. Katılımcılar öncelikle ebeveynlerin ve çocukların eğitimden beklentilerini ve kuşaklar arasındaki farklılıkları göstermek için gruplara ayrılmıştır. Diğer yandan bu çalışmada ebeveyn ve çocuk grupları da kendi içlerinde gruplara ayrılarak, katılımcıların aynı süreçleri nasıl deneyimledikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bu tezin literatüre katkısı olarak, orta sınıf için kültürel sermaye birikiminin amacı ekonomik sermayelerini yeniden üretmek iken, orta ve üst sınıfın çoğunlukta bulunduğu yerlerde ikamet eden alt sınıf için kültürel sermaye birikim amacının sembolik sermaye birikimi olabileceği gözlemlenmiştir. Elde edilen diğer bir sonuç ve

katkı ise genel literatürden farklıdır. Anadolu Liselerinin üniversiteye giriş oranlarında Meslek Liselerine göre nispeten daha başarılı olduğu bilinen bir gerçektir. Fakat derinlemesine görüşmeler sırasında alt sınıfa mensup öğrencilerin Meslek Liselerine gittikleri zaman üniversiteye girişte daha başarılı olduklarını gözlemledim.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sermaye Biçimleri, Eğitim, Sosyal Dışlanma, Apartman Görevlisi Aileleri, Alt Sınıf





To my family

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xv
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Research Methodology	5
1.1.1. Data Collection	5
1.1.2. Field Study	7
1.2. The Structure of the Thesis	9
1.3. Limitations.....	10
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: BOURDIEU’S THE FORMS OF CAPITAL.....	12
2.1. Habitus.....	13
2.2. Capitals and Their Relations.....	14
2.2.1. Cultural Capital	16
2.2.2. Social Capital	17
2.2.3. Economic Capital.....	17
2.2.4. Symbolic Capital.....	18
2.3. Field Theory.....	19
2.4. Literature Review	20

2.4.1. Janitors' Occupation.....	20
2.4.2. Positioning in the City.....	21
2.4.3. Capital Conflicts between Apartment Dwellers and Janitors	22
2.4.4. Migration Stories of Janitor's Families	24
2.5. Social Exclusion	26
2.6. Expectations From Education.....	28
2.6.1. The Concept of Expectation.....	28
2.6.2. Their Expectations	29
2.6.2.1. Family's Expectations from Education.....	29
2.6.2.2. Student's Expectations from Education.....	31
2.6.2.3. Results of Expectations	32
3. INTERNAL MIGRATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION	34
3.1. The Family Story of Migration.....	35
3.1.1. During Migration	37
3.1.2. After Migration	39
3.2. Social Exclusion and Inclusion.....	40
3.3. Migration and Education	44
3.4. Importance Given To Education.....	46
3.4.1. Perception of Education Up To Higher Education	47
3.4.2. Expectations From Higher Education	50
4. FAMILY HISTORIES AND THEIR INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION WITH ITS RESULTS	54
4.1. Migration From Zonguldak/Bartın To Istanbul	58
4.2. Higher Education Preparation Process	60
4.2.1. Children Experiences	61
4.2.1.1. Early Process of Preparing For Higher Education	61

4.2.1.1.1. Institutional Effects	62
4.2.1.1.2. Studying Space Effects	64
4.2.1.2. During The Higher Education Preparation Process	65
4.2.1.2.1. Relations Within The Apartment Building	65
4.2.1.2.2. Relation With Friends and In Classroom and Working Experiences	67
4.2.1.2.3. Expectations From Higher Education In The Preparation Process	70
4.2.1.3. Group C Who Attended University.....	72
4.2.1.4. Group D Who Did Not Attend University	74
4.2.2. Family's Experiences	76
4.2.2.1. Group A Whose Children Attended University	78
4.2.2.2. Group E Whose Children Were Not The University Ages	82
4.3. During Higher Education Periods and Its Impact	89
4.3.1. Groups Questions	90
4.3.1.1. Children Experiences	90
4.3.1.1.1. Group C Who Attended University.....	90
4.3.1.1.2. Group D Who Did Not Attend University	98
4.3.1.2. Family's Experiences	99
4.3.1.2.1. Group A Whose Children Attended University	99
4.3.1.2.2. Group B Whose Children Did Not Attend University	101
4.4. After Graduating From Higher Education	103
4.4.1. Children Experiences	104
4.4.1.1. Group C Who Attended University.....	104
4.4.1.2. Group D Who Did Not Attend University	109
4.4.2. Family Experiences	115

4.4.2.1. Group B Whose Children Did Not Attend University	116
4.4.2.2. Group E Whose Children Were Not the University Ages	117
5. CONCLUSION	119
BIBLIOGRAPHY	125
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A: IN DEPTH INTERVIEW'S QUESTIONS	131
APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	139
APPENDIX C: APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE	151
APPENDIX D: THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU	152



LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Number of Participants.....	7
Table 2. Distribution of Educational Status of the Interviewees in Isparta.....	23
Table 3. Education Level of People Living in Sinanoba/Büyükçekmece	23
Table 4. Unemployment Rates in Turkey.....	38
Table 5. Relations with High School and University Attainment.....	63
Table 6. Financial and Moral Supports Percentage.....	65
Table 7. Number of Friends who Attended University	67
Table 8. Working Situation of Participants	69
Table 9. Percentages of Private Teaching Institutions Attainment	77
Table 10. Katılımcı Sayısı ve Tanımı.....	141

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FYDP	Five-Year Development Plan
KYK	Credit and Dormitories Institution
SEB	Social-Economic Background
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise
TTK	Turkish Hard Coal Enterprise Institution



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the educational motivations of people who migrated from the Zonguldak/Bartın after the 1990s and currently work as janitors in Büyükçekmece are examined. This story has emerged with the observation of the unequal conditions experienced by the janitors in Büyükçekmece, where I have lived for 24 years. In other words, it consists of an effort of an outsider to observe the closed class relations and experiences. When I was still in elementary school, I was interested in the fact that the children of the janitors chose each other as friends. Additionally, their successes and failures in their educational lives were also similar levels. Moreover, they cannot improve their economic conditions after attending higher education. People's economic situation shapes their educational success and vice versa. However, this transformation is realized by the middle class. Therefore, this is one of the contradictions experienced by janitors living in the region. On the other hand, it could not be as tricky for janitors in different districts to participate in education and turn this investment into economic capital. One reason for this is the financial situation of the people living in the region. For instance, Büyükçekmece/Istanbul is a region where the middle and upper classes usually reside. Therefore, educational expenses are higher than other cities.

Since it is known that the transformation of economic capital accumulation cannot be explained solely by economic determinants, Bourdieu's forms of capital constitute the theoretical framework of this thesis. Besides the inequality situation described above, two concepts are essential in the stories of these people. However, these concepts do not form the basis of the thesis covered in the theoretical discussion. These consist of families' migration history and mining backgrounds. I will not dwell on the migration stories of families but on

their being miners; As migration stories trigger educational expectations, these concepts will also be mentioned. However, it should be noted that this thesis does not study migration or mining issues. The fundamental theoretical framework of this thesis is Bourdieu and his concepts of capital. In addition to the concepts of cultural capital and social and economic capital, the concept of symbolic capital, which can be considered an interpretation of these three concepts by individuals, will be used.

Janitor as a profession is considered desirable, especially for the lower class. One of the fundamental reasons that make this occupation desirable is that being a janitor has side benefits. One of these benefits is, for example, the provision of housing. The apartment buildings that employ janitors are located in regions where the middle and upper classes are concentrated, making it difficult for the lower class to reside with their own economic conditions. For example, many participants emphasised this point and stated they could not meet the housing expenses in Büyükçekmece and would have to move to other regions. However, they believed they must live in Büyükçekmece for their children's future. Therefore, it is understandable that people who migrated from small cities to big cities to save capital for their children's future chose the profession of a janitor.

On the other hand, when their conditions are considered, it is questioned whether higher education provides social mobility for those who migrated while accepting losing their social status. In other words, before the field study, it was observed that janitors lived under social exclusion conditions. They are excluded from, for example, the university preparation process. Because in Büyükçekmece, the private teaching institutions' fees and the educational expenses (service fee, meal allowance) make an education cost higher than the participants' income. This income deficiency means that the children of the participants also must work. Therefore, it is attended that the participants are deprived of free time, and inadequacy of economic capital hinders the accumulation of cultural capital. It has been observed that not only the inadequacy of economic capital but also the inadequacy of social capital impedes

the accumulation of cultural capital. Another phenomenon observed in the interviews with the janitor's children is that the participants give up on cultural capital accumulation because they do not have social capital. In other words, the participants cannot participate in higher education due to a lack of economic capital. On the contrary, they "give up" on cultural capital accumulation because they are aware of the inadequacy of social capital.

For field work, in-depth interviews will be conducted with 5 groups. These groups are the parent group consisting of Groups A, B, and E, and the children group consisting of Groups C and D. Group A includes parents with at least one of whom has attended university but has no children who have not attended university. Group B contains parents whose at least one child did not go to university. Group E includes participants whose children are not of university age. On the other hand, Group C consists of children who attend university, while Group D consists of children who did not attend university or dropped out of university. The relations between family and children are important. Therefore, it is divided into 5 groups to examine the differences between groups.

At the beginning of my fieldwork, it was argued that the accumulation of cultural capital, which was seen as one way to raise the participants' economic capital, is essential for changing class positions. This view confirmed Bourdieu's thesis that capitals should be transformed into each other, But the results of my fieldwork revealed a different perspective. According to participants, cultural capital accumulation is unnecessary if they do not have adequate social capital. Because cultural capital cannot be transformed into economic capital without social capital. Moreover, it has been detected that these people, who are aware that there will be no contribution to their capital savings as they continue to live in Büyükçekmece, make great efforts to educate their children at the university. Most participants expressed the difficulty of transforming cultural capital into economic capital without social capital in all groups. But in any case, even if it will not result in economic capital accumulation, the A, B, and E group participants want their children to attend university. In this case, it can be argued

that the participants tend to reproduce the poverty conditions in which they live. Because, as seen in this study, the number of low-skill workers among university graduates is substantial. Therefore, one of the research focuses is “What is the motivation for the reproduction of poverty?”

The second research focus is “What constitutes their motivation to attend higher education even though their wage or class position has remained the same?” Bourdieu's fundamental concepts will be used while explaining this question. The key concepts are cultural capital, social capital, and economic capital. The importance of these concepts emerges when examining the educational perspectives of the participants. In addition to what the participant expects from cultural capital, the concept of social capital, which shows why it might be impossible to transform cultural capital into economic capital, will be used when explaining the education perceptions of the participants.

Expectations before the field study mainly consist of the expectations of economic capital accumulation of the participants. However, it was observed that this aim could not be realised even though they attended university. Moreover, some participants believed that if they had improved their economic capital, their class position would still remain the same. Therefore, it was observed if they have any hope of changing not only their class positions but also their place in the eyes of society, they want their children to attend university for this purpose. In other words, participants are dissatisfied with the position in which society perceives them. For instance, during the interviews, it was observed that the participants often called themselves "*kapıcı*" (doorman) instead of "*apartman görevlisi*" (janitor). For this reason, they were asked which one they preferred. Even the participants who wanted to be called "*apartman görevlisi*" referred to themselves as "*kapıcı*," so the reason was examined. In this case, the number of people who label them this way and who think they cannot get rid of it even if their children are university graduates is not small. Therefore, the third focus can be observed with the perception of symbolic capital.

1.1. Research Methodology

1.1.1. Data Collection

Data collection was in-depth interviews. There are 5 groups to have been interviewed. In this research, the participants consist of janitors living in Büyükçekmece. Janitors who migrated from Zonguldak, Bartın, or Karabük after 1990, with or without a mining history in their families, constitute the sample. The interpretive paradigm is used because the effects of the social, economic, and cultural context in which families live will be evaluated with their different experiences. This study will use the in-depth interview method as the data collection method. It is planned to use an interpretative paradigm and divide the sample into groups to play an important role in past experiences and plans and to draw the correlation between them. The study's central question is the origin of the motivation of janitor's families and their children while attending university. They migrated from the same place for the same profession in the same years and participated in education and the relationship between migration and education. There are approximately 70 janitor families that meet these standards. These families consist of a father (being a janitor), a working/non-working mother, and 2 or 3 children.

Initially, it aimed to interview 20 people in Group A and 15 in Group E, as observed in the first draft below;

- Group A: Parents with or without a family history in the mining industry. Additionally, at least 1 or all of their children have attended higher education (20 people).
- Group B: Parents with/without a mining history in their family and none of their children attended higher education (10 people).
- Group C: Children who have attended higher education (15 people).
- Group D: Children who have not attended higher education (10 people).

- Group E: Families whose children are not of higher education age (15 people).

However, during the interviews, it was realised that there are more people than estimated in Group E. Therefore, by changing the number of participants, 5 people from group A were transferred to group E. In this way, it was thought that a better impression could be given about the density of the participants.

The participants were divided into groups primarily to show the expectations of parents and children from education and the differences between generations. On the other hand, parent and child groups are also divided into groups within themselves, aiming to discover how they experience the same processes. With the separation of parent groups within themselves, I attempted to observe the capital accumulation motivations of the families. In this way, I questioned how families, for example, Group A, whose children attend university, and Group B, whose children did not attend, perceive cultural capital and which lack of capital they look for as the reasons for their inability to develop their economic capital. In groups C and D, which are the children's groups, I tried to observe the economic capital expectations of the children and which capital they invested. In addition, I tried to observe the future expectations the families in Group E had from the future and which capital they would invest.

The total number of participants is 70. In the parent groups, more than the number of people in each participant group were asked questions. This is because many families have more than one child with different experiences. For this reason, it can be seen in the table 1 how many participants answered the questions designed for each group;

Table 1. Number of Participants

	Number of Participants
GROUP A	19
GROUP B	12
GROUP E	35

It should be noted that if one of the children of a family has attended higher education and the other has not, the same family will be evaluated in Groups A and B. Participants could be selected from the same family. For example, in addition to the interviews with the husband and wife, one or more children from the same family could be interviewed.

1.1.2. Field Study

The field study was conducted from December 2021 to March 2022. This section will explain the headings under which these questions were created. Groups A, B, and E were asked 18 questions in common. 4 of these questions aim to understand the period before the family migrated. The following 4 questions consist of questions about the professions of the family. These questions not only question how they found the job of janitor but also examine the relations within the apartment building. Afterwards, 8 questions were asked, and the participants' expectations and experiences regarding education were questioned.

There are 11 questions explicitly asked for Group A. While most of these questions examine the expectations of participants from university education, some question the inequalities their children are exposed to. Then, it was focused on which professions the families wanted their children to do, and it was observed whether the children of the families could use their social capital to find a job.

Group B participants were asked 7 questions. Participants were first asked what they thought was why their children did not go to university. This question has an important place when viewed from the general framework. Because the answers asked to the children of the janitors who do not attend university and the answers given by the family are inconsistent. This shows that families and children have different capital accumulation expectations. On the other hand, the participants were asked 3 questions such as “what if...”. The last 3 questions are used to examine the economic capital accumulation processes of children and the help and support of families in this process.

The last group of parents interviewed in Group E. A total of 9 questions were asked to the participants of this group. Since the children of Group E are not yet at university age, all of the questions asked are about university perceptions. In other words, respondents were asked what would happen if their children attended university or not... These questions are based on the contributions of university education to social capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital.

In addition to the parent participants, interviews were also conducted with the children of the janitor's families. Participants were examined in 2 groups. The first group is Group C. This group comprises participants who have received and are receiving a university education. The second group is Group D. This group consists of participants who did not attend university or who dropped out of the university. 13 common questions were asked to Groups C and D. These questions are about experiences in their education life up to university. In addition to whether they were exposed to any inequality and exclusion in this process, their work experiences were also questioned. While some of these questions examine the participant's relationship with the apartment residents, another part aims to understand the expectations of university education for their future.

The participants of Group C were asked 26 questions specific to their group. These questions can be examined under 4 main headings. These topics begin

with a question that examines a hypothetical situation regarding families' migration decisions and continues with 25 questions about the university preparation process, the university education process, and the process after university graduation.

The last participant group, Group D, consists of participants who did not attend university or left the university. In this direction, 12 questions were asked to the participants. These questions can be evaluated under 4 groups. These groups begin with a question that questions a hypothetical situation regarding families' migration decisions. The following 2 questions ask about their families' occupations and other reasons for their decision not to attend university. Afterwards, they were asked about their experiences related to the period that constituted their university years. In addition, it was questioned about their relations with their social capitals who attend university. Finally, some questions were asked about the participants' job-finding processes.

1.2. The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is composed of five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction chapter. This section introduces the research in general terms, and the research question is asked. Also, in this section, the participants of each group are defined. In the second chapter of the research, the Bourdieu's framework is introduced, and its basic concepts are explained. In addition to Bourdieu's forms of capital, a literature review of poverty, migration, and social exclusion has been carried out. In the third chapter of the study, parents' groups were examined. In this direction, a correlation was sought between the reasons for migration and educational perspectives with various questions starting from the migration story of the families to their perceptions of education. In addition, the motivations of families to direct their children to higher education were questioned. In the fourth chapter of the study, investments in education and the results of these investments are examined. While making this study, the investments of the families and the education and work-life experiences of the

children based on the results were examined. In this way, whether the families' investments were realised in the expectation of their motivation was observed. Lastly, the fifth chapter is composed of the conclusion of the thesis. In this section, the results from the general framework are evaluated, and the study's contribution to the literature is discussed.

1.3. Limitations

Comparing and generalising this study with other regions is relatively complicated. The reason for this is the fact that the boundaries of the thesis constitute people migrating from the same regions migrate to the same area with the aim of doing the same occupations. The aim of this study is to examine the motivation of janitors' families and their children to participate in higher education. For this reason, I tried to examine which type of capital they mainly wanted to accumulate through the questions. Bourdieu's types of capital are embedded in the questions, and questions to be asked to people have been constructed. On the other hand, since the experiences of the lower class living in the middle and upper-class regions are questioned, it is estimated that the experiences of the lower class living in the other areas and of the participants in this study will differ.

On the other hand, the migration of the participants from the provinces of Zonguldak and Bartın constitutes the limits of the thesis. In other words, even if the lower class sample living in the middle and upper-class regions is obtained, it is expected that the participants would be migrated from Zonguldak or Bartın. There are three reasons underlying this regional limitation. The first one is that most of the participants live in rural areas of these regions. In other words, it consists of participants living under conditions of rural poverty. For this reason, there are no institutions where they can receive education in their regions, and they have to go to the nearest city to receive an education. The second reason is whether there is a mining history in the participants' families. The reason for this is whether or not the participants have a professional predisposition originating

from their region. It has already been seen that most male and parent participants have mining experience in their families and individually. They took the professional inclinations they inherited from their families while migrating to a different region. The third reason is that people living in almost the same areas migrate to the same district. Therefore, they constitute an example of transforming social capital into economic capital.



CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: BOURDIEU'S THE FORMS OF CAPITAL

This thesis is generated through empirical research and theory. Furthermore, Bourdieu indicates the importance of empirical research and theory as following: when theory is far from empirical research, it is empty; in contrast, empirical research without theory is blind (Jenkins, 1992). In other words, Bourdieu indicates a social science which rejects “theoreticism” and “methodologism” (Murphy, 2013). In this thesis, the theory is tested with practice. On the other hand, practice is explained with the theory. For this reason, it is thought that using Bourdieu’s framework will be helpful. In this section, they will be referred to his methodology and his theoretical stance in addition to his key concepts which are habitus, field, and forms of capitals. Habitus can be perceived as structured and structuring structure (Bourdieu, 2021). In addition, habitus is observable when culture is putting on the practice.

Bourdieu’s epistemology could be found into his photography works. The importance of social conditions can be seen into these photographs. His photography seeks an answer to the question of “what social conditions created them?” (Grenfell, 2006). When doing a field study as an academic candidate, I perceived people who are the target of this thesis into a photograph framework like Bourdieu. I questioned what and which social conditions created them, additionally which social conditions cause they reproduce their poverty. In addition to Bourdieu’s epistemological framework, Bourdieu makes successfully sense of the relationship between objective social structure and everyday practices with his concepts of habitus, field, and capital (Schirato, 2002). Using Bourdieu’s concepts, namely habitus and cultural capital, help to bring into connection with education as objective social structure and why lower-class

students do not choose to attend university education which is everyday practice in this thesis. When considered from this point of view, motivation of reproduction of poverty could be tested more accurately. Using with Bourdieu's framework and epistemology, objective, and subjective reasons of reproduction of poverty are questioned. In other words, it is examined that why someone from lower class reproduce poverty even they educated and have opportunities.

2.1. Habitus

The concept of habitus is designed with the dialectic of objectivity and subjectivity (Bourdieu, 1988). In other words, Bourdieu argues that habitus is located into the heart of his methodology that structuralist constructivism which is an attempt to go beyond dualism of objective and subjective (Reay, 2004). Habitus is described as a system of dispositions, or permanent ways of being, seeing, acting, and thinking, or a system of long-term (rather than permanent) schemes, schemata, or structures of perception, conception, and action (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005). According to Bourdieu, a habitus of group of persons who have the similar position in their social space has the systematic common behaviours in their life. These could be their style, for instance, handwriting of a person whose style instantly remind her, even if she writes with different instruments on the different pieces (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005). Therefore, it can be thought that habitus is observed into practice. According to Reay, Bourdieu advanced the habitus concept because his aim is to show not only body, which is in the social world, but also, he wants to show the social world in the body. In brief, habitus is shaped; it is not only composed mental attitudes and perceptions, but also represented with long lasting ways of standing, speaking, walking and thereby of feeling and thinking (Reay, 2004).

The question is what motives their common action is worth to examine. Bourdieu indicates that conscious reasons and brute causes shape the human behaviours. In the same way, conscious reasons and brute causes motivate the human action. Alain Accardo interviewed with Sebastien K. who is the eldest

son of a family from the lowest rung of the petty-bourgeois class (Bourdieu, 2015). His family inclined to social mobility; however, they were not able to alter their position completely. Therefore, they extremely invested in the school system to transfer their hopes of success to their children. It should be noted that his father and mother dropped out to school because of economic reasons. Habitus is disposed to shape individual action and, in this way, existing opportunity structures are maintained. Therefore, his family tried to perpetuate opportunity structure and social mobility with education. However, Sebastien had been a successful student until he was gone to the biggest high school in city centre. He started suffering from institutional disharmony among people who were worlds apart. He spent three years at this school with increasing failures. Therefore, it can be observed that habitus tends to form individuals' actions contrasting with the opportunity structures.

2.2. Capitals and Their Relations

Capitals represent themselves in three fundamental forms, which are economic, social, and cultural capitals, according to Bourdieu. All forms of capital could be transformed into each other. For instance, having a diploma can be provided by economic capital; economic capital helps to produce cultural or social capital as vice versa. On the other hand, the capital is not substituted from another capital; however, when they come together, those capitals can generate a new capital (Field, 2008).

In the context of janitors, social and cultural capitals may not be enough to produce economic capital. They migrated from Zonguldak to Istanbul in the middle of the 1980s. Because of improving their economic conditions, their children have access higher education and try to find new networks. However, their cultural and social capitals do not help them to improve their economic capital. So, their economic capital and social class are the same as they ever were.

According to some theorists, acquisition of education is perceived as meritocratic, which causes decreasing relationship origins of class and academic performance (Brown, 2013). On the other hand, even if students from low social-economic background (SEB) have access to higher education, social inequalities continue (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2008). Hence, the family's SEB causes the student to be excluded; in addition, this social and economic exclusion would cause to decrease their academic performance. It is mentioned in Sianou-Kyrgiou's study, according to Bourdieu, uneven distribution of cultural capital affects student's performance. In other words, students belong different classes may have different academic success because their social class offers them different cultural capital. As seen, cultural capital could be transformed into economic capital. However, in terms of janitors, cultural capital does not give expected consequences, meaning that economic capital is not increased only by cultural capital. For instance, janitors' children have three forms of cultural capital. However, most of them are working in low-skilled jobs such as cashier and sales consulting. Even if students who belong to different classes graduate from the same higher education institution, their salaries are likely to be different from each other. For example, although they graduated from the same university and department, X is working as a sales consulting while Y is working as a banker.

According to Bourdieu, a family's cultural capital plays a crucial role in the productivity of educational activities. That productivity relates to the family's cultural and economic capital, and it improves with investments. Therefore, people from different classes must work for various reasons; for example, they may work for their expenses, while others may work as an intern to improve networks. To be hired, people must need appropriate social capital with their cultural capital. In other words, those who want to be a banker need networks in addition to a diploma. The productivity of educational activities directly relates to the productivity of cultural capital. Hence, improving cultural capital without any free time hesitation improves their economic capital.

2.2.1. Cultural Capital

Cultural capital consists of three forms: namely, embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalized state. Embodied state refers to that long-lasting inclination of body and mind; the objectified state is a form of cultural goods, and the institutionalized one consists of educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu adopted the concept of cultural capital to explain the uneven academic success of children from different social classes and groups in those classes (Field, 2008). According to embodied states, differences begin with the disposition and perception of education. In another saying, family members may not have any relation with higher education before their children can access it. Thus, this accessing process shows that something is in a period of change. The objectified state is explained as the bodied of culture. It could be a selection of words, clothes, or even hair or moustache shapes. For instance, a café preferred by the middle and upper-class members may not address the lower-class members. It affects the members of lower-class behaviours such as cuisine selection, eating ways, etc. Even though these behaviours are not seen as essential in improving networks, they help contact new networks with symbolic capital.

In summary, the more network improvement, the more social capital improvement. However, janitors are likely to keep in touch with other janitors. Their relations with other people, such as residents of apartment buildings, are very few. It prevents the improvement of janitors' cultural capital and objectifies their capital like other classes. Therefore, cultural capital is not enough for the improvement of social mobility. An institutionalized state is a certificate or a diploma. It is equalled with any document which shows one's cultural capital. Institutionalized cultural capital may be seen as the most suitable way to improve economic capital because a diploma or any certificate proves someone's cultural capital. However, it may not give the intended consequences. Even though they have the same certificates, X and Y are working in different occupations. The members of different classes may work for different wages even though they

have the same diplomas. This difference is because one may spend their free time learning a language while another must work for their expenses. The importance of free time shows the other capitals' importance for improving economic capital. If there is a gap between their economic capitals when all the qualifications are the same, one's SEB might be different from the other. When their cultural capitals are the same, there could be a considerable gap between their economic capitals. This gap derives from their different social capitals.

2.2.2. Social Capital

The concept of social capital has been used and defined by many scholars. According to Lin, simple and straightforward definition is the investment in social relations with anticipated returns in the marketplace (Lin, 2004). The concept of social capital ranges from Durkheim to Marx (Portes, 1998). According to Portes, Durkheim indicates that group involvement and participation could have constructive effects on the individual and community; in other words, Durkheim defines group life as an antidote for anomie and self-destruction. Marx's definition is identical to the distinction between classes which are an atomized class-in-itself and a mobilized and effective class-for-itself. Bourdieu advanced the first systematic contemporary analysis of social capital. According to Bourdieu's definition, social capital is perceived as a credential that provides them to credit. Bourdieu defines social capital as the aggregate of actual or potential resources related to having a constant network of more or less institutionalized mutual recognition; in other words, being a member of a group provides support to all its members with the help of collectively owned capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

2.2.3. Economic Capital

Economic capital, which may be institutionalized as property rights, can be directly and instantly converted into money (Bourdieu, 1986). According to Bourdieu, other capitals can be obtained from economic capital; but only at the

expense of a more or less significant transformation effort, which is required to develop the sort of power that is successful in the field at hand (Bourdieu, 1986).

Economic capital is mentioned with cultural capital in the literature. Speller emphasizes Bourdieu's description, which took its present shape over the second half of the nineteenth century, that cultural capital was seen as almost completely disassociated from economic capital (Speller, 2013). According to Speller, Bourdieu locates at one pole wealthy bankers who have significantly high levels of economic capital but those who have relatively little cultural capital. On the other hand, Bourdieu locates at the other pole artists and intellectuals who have very high levels of cultural capital but they have relatively little economic capital. Bourdieu positions lawyers, doctors, and upper-level state bureaucrats, whose economic and cultural capital levels are approximately equal, in the central location.

Bourdieu indicates that the educational system demands what it does not provide such as linguistic and cultural competence. This brings an advantage to children from the family with cultural capital. Thus, many pieces of research indicate that open and meritocratic systems tend to favour those who come from families with cultural capital (Brown, 1973). Therefore, being possessed of cultural capital is closely related to economic capital. According to Brown, Bourdieu's examination of the French upper classes shows that the most productive form of cultural capital emerges when economic capital and political power are combined. In any case, those who have economic capital are more likely to change by having more cultural capital; they are more able to do without it.

2.2.4. Symbolic Capital

Bourdieu describes symbolic capital as prestige, distinction, or consecration (Schirato, 2002). In other words, while economic and cultural capital has their special mod of existence, others' eyes are important for symbolic capital (Siisiäinen, 2000). Therefore, symbolic capital cannot define with, for example,

money or a diploma. On the other hand, money, diploma, or social networks are legitimized people's social status in society. It can be exemplified with the janitors' conditions. Even though janitors' children attended university, they cannot change their social class or position since they have not relevant social capital to be hired. On the other hand, they have intense interaction with middle and upper classes. Despite intensive communication and their diplomas, they could not develop their social and economic capital because of their symbolic capital. For example, the way people call them (*kapıcı*) does not change. If they increase their economic capital, society could target them (even the janitor has a car!) due to their low symbolic capital.

2.3. Field Theory

Bourdieu uses field and the associated concepts of habitus and capital to understand the social practice and uncover the workings of power and inequality in specific social spaces (Bathmaker, 2015). According to Bathmaker, the field is defined as a particular social space that includes a network or arrangement of relations between positions for Bourdieu. Furthermore, Wacquant states people in advanced society do not face differentiated social spaces (Stones, 1998). According to Wacquant, art, science, religion, economics, politics, and other areas of life tend to establish unique microcosms with their norms, regularities, and forms of authority, and Bourdieu refers to them as fields. The field is a structured space of position. Therefore, the field forces people who enter it to harmonize with its specific determinations. For this reason, those, who want to be a scientist, need to acquire minimal scientific capital, in addition to adapting the mores and regulations enforced by the scientific milieu of that time and place.

2.4. Literature Review

2.4.1. Janitors' Occupation

The janitor profession serves the middle and upper class in cities; it can be defined as a service branch that primarily resides in the apartment and works for low wages. Their need and employability in the cities they are in are also related to the economic conditions of other people living in that region. For this reason, capital conflicts between the janitors and the people of the region are inevitable. The capital conflict situation will be discussed in the following.

Many studies have been carried out on janitors. Therefore, there are not only academic studies but also examples in the media where the janitor profession's place in society's eyes can be observed. In academic studies, the janitor profession has been examined within the framework of poverty, inequality, and exclusion. It has been stated that people who work as caretakers, janitors, and cleaners are mostly unskilled and uneducated. These occupations are found in large numbers in cities so that they can be employed by the upper and middle class at low wages (Suğur, Suğur, & Gönç-Şavran, 2007). As Suğur's study involving the janitors in Eskişehir, the janitor is predominantly performed by people of rural origin and low level of education. The most striking point in this study is that the janitor profession does not offer social mobility to people who do this profession. This result is derived from the average age of the janitors in Suğur's study. In addition to the fact that the janitors, whose average age is in their 40s, could not show any social mobility until then, it shows the difficulty of realizing this social mobility after that age. This is a situation that I have observed in this thesis. The participants stated that they had to continue the janitorial profession despite their dissatisfaction. According to their statements, the biggest reason for this is their age. In other words, they believed they could not be hired because of their ages.

On the other hand, one of the advantages of the janitor profession is that it has lodging. However, this situation brings a different perception of inequality and exclusion. A study conducted in Isparta observed that the janitors lived in the basement (Taşkesen, 2012). I also observed this situation during the field study conducted in Büyükçekmece. This may lead to the perception of poverty by comparing their position with others living in the same apartment. In this case, it can be said that the janitors are in conditions of relative poverty even if they do not live below the poverty line.

2.4.2. Positioning in the City

In a study examining the janitors, it is imperative to examine their positioning in the cities. This positioning explains the fact that the janitors are in a different position from any subclass. The janitor is not someone who has settled in a different ghetto in terms of professional necessity. Nevertheless, on the contrary, it is a class with intense social interaction as it is in constant communication with the middle-middle-upper class. In other words, the janitor is part of a class with exceptionally high contact with the upper-income groups but is simultaneously isolated by other classes within the apartment buildings. In this respect, I imply the low-income groups belong to an occupational group that is interactive and conflicting in terms of capital in the city when I indicate janitors' occupation.

Even janitors are not isolated in the context of their location; they are part of great polarization. Although they are economically low-income, it is seen as an interactive segment when considered from the perspective of social capital. Nevertheless, these interactive positions are also contradictory. Because I observed that while the place where they live is populated with the middle and upper classes, which provides janitors with high contact with social capital, they cannot take their social capital accumulation out of their class. For this reason, they can be considered part of a large polarization, even if they are not spatially isolated. The perceptions of these people, who are part of a different reality from

the moment they enter their home, are opened to different worlds where they come into contact with the middle and upper class.

2.4.3. Capital Conflicts between Apartment Dwellers and Janitors

When analyzed from the perspective of relative poverty, it is possible to observe the polarization between classes. According to Alcock, judgement is essential for the relative definition of poverty because its definition is based on a comparison between the standard of living of the poor and other members of society who are not defined as poor; it usually involves some measure of the average standard of the entire society in which poverty is being studied (Alcock, 1997). Townsend indicates that groups, families, and individuals in the population could be told that they live in poverty conditions when they lack the resources to get the types of diet, get involved in the activities, and have the living standards and amenities which are customary or are at least widely persuaded or accepted in the societies they belong (Townsend, 1979). According to another definition, relative conceptions describe poverty as people who fall behind some average wealth level of the society to a certain extent are considered to be poor (Nándori, 2011).

In other words, it seems possible to evaluate the economic capital conflict between janitors and apartment dwellers within the framework of relative poverty. In addition to the economic capital conflict between these two classes, cultural and social capital conflicts also occur. In Taşkesen's study, the educational status of apartment workers in Isparta is shown in the table 2;

Table 2. Distribution of Educational Status of the Interviewees in Isparta

	Number	Percentage
Literate	3	2,2
Primary School	92	68,7
Secondary School	27	20,1
High School	12	9,0
Total	134	100,0

Retrieved From Taşkesen (2012)

In addition to the economic capital conflict, one of the first indicators of a cultural capital conflict between the other people living in the apartment and the janitor is the education level of the janitors. An example of this is shown in the Isparta study. The education level of janitors living in Sinanoba/Mimaroba and Muratçeşme neighbourhoods in Büyükçekmece is not at a very different level despite the fact that the years have passed since the study conducted in Isparta. Despite this, the education level of the people living in Sinanoba/Büyükçekmece is shown in the table 3 to show the conflict between these two different classes;

Table 3. Education Level of People Living in Sinanoba/Büyükçekmece

	Percentage
Under High School	37
High School	28
University	35

Source: (İstanbul İstatistik Ofisi, 2022)

Table 3 shows the capital conflict between the apartment dwellers and the janitors and signals the generational conflict that has started within the janitor's families. This situation also explains why it is essential to examine these people

and why the profession of janitor has unique content when viewed from the capital perspective.

In order to understand the capital accumulation of the janitors' families, it was thought that it would be appropriate to look at their migration experiences, as stated at the beginning. This is because the motivation underlying the migration reasons of families is thought to be related to their capital accumulation motivations. In this section, I will briefly discuss the concept of migration, as the process of capital accumulation through migration stories will be discussed, not migration.

2.4.4. Migration Stories of Janitor's Families

People's upward social mobility expectations lead them to migrate to big cities. The economic indicator helps to explain migration. Because even if people migrate for the improvement of social and cultural capital, the main reason for this improvement may likely increase their economic capital in the long term. Therefore, it can be indicated that people migrate for economic concerns. These concerns make them sacrifice their social and economic capital for their children's future in the short term. Because they expect to improve their economic capital in the long term, most believe these sacrifices will return as economic capital in the future.

Improving cultural capital, especially institutionalised cultural capital, is a valuable way to improve economic capital. Accessing higher education, which is seen as the essential way to get rid of poverty, is one of the reasons for internal migration. Migrants might believe higher education helps to change their status or class position. Family or their children could migrate internally because of many reasons. This migration might be related to the higher education process or occupational opportunities. However, each case has various causes and consequences. Higher education determines the students' future status in the modern world. This determination encourages students to migrate to urban for

their higher education process. Some of the students live in rural areas. The rural areas could not have any higher education institutions; as they might, these institutions may not be enough for successful students. Therefore, students prefer to migrate to change their status or class position. China and its Hukou system are an excellent example of this type of migration. Students who live in significant urban areas have more likely to go to prestigious universities when they are compared with their urban peers (Li, 2013). According to Li, accessing problems such as high-quality education institutions, health care systems, or housing compel rural residents. So, students from rural areas prefer to migrate to urban for their social mobility. Students can migrate in the higher education process; it is also widespread that families migrate for better living conditions. Even if a family does not freely decide to migrate for educational purposes, their children are encouraged to have an education.

For this reason, the reasons for the migration of the participants and their migration stories can be an excellent way to understand the importance they give to education. Participants migrated from Zonguldak/Bartın due to unemployment. In other words, families migrated due to a lack of economic capital. Even if the reasons for migration cannot be attributed entirely to educational awareness, the importance they attach to education was seen in participants' statements. This shows that the families who migrated due to the lack of economic capital tolerated the challenging conditions for accumulating cultural capital.

It is possible to observe a conflict within the same family in the perception of capital accumulation, in which migration could be a determinant. Parents who develop their economic capital by migrating through their social capital want to provide their children's economic capital accumulation through cultural capital. However, even if their children attend university, they cannot develop their economic capital through their cultural capital. So, janitors' families could not develop their economic capital at the expected level in the long term by migration.

2.5. Social Exclusion

The concept of social exclusion relates to the concept of social capital in this thesis. Social exclusion can be defined as the inequality of social capital. In other words, while poverty and inequality are closely related, inequality is not the same as poverty (Alcock, 1997). According to Bourdieu, inequality must be explained by the production of capitals and reproduction of them (Field, 2008). Whereas social capital demonstrates the importance of social networks that help individuals getting into relevant fields, social exclusion indicates that individuals are excluded from these fields. Social exclusion usage is examined regarding social relationships, participation, and customary way of life (Daly & Silver, 2008). In other words, social exclusion is the process by which individuals or groups are completely or partially excluded from the society they live (Hulme & Shepherd, 2003).

Some researchers indicate that social exclusion includes distributional and relational aspects (Reimer, 2004). While the distributional aspect indicates the exclusion from access to resources and services that are obtainable for others, relational aspect shows that some people or groups could not be integrated into social networks or institutions available to others. Therefore, it should be noted that social exclusion derived from social capital is also had a relation to distributional problems in society. People, who are excluded from relevant fields, can likely to have insufficient economic capital. The exclusion of lower class and their family could be an example of social exclusion of economic capital and its spatial level. For example, it reported in the newspaper that Ebru, whose family is working as a janitor, was fell into stairs by a girl living in the same apartment building; she did this because Ebru cut her hair in the same shape as this girl who is 12 years old, in Mersin (Demirci, 2010).

Social exclusion and relatedly inequality bring about the reproduction of class position. In other words, social exclusion is likely to cause the reproduction of poverty with education. Bourdieu's significant contributions to this approach are

the role that schools and school systems play in reproducing social and cultural inequalities (Mills, 2008). This indicates that even though education is perceived as a social mobility tool, it reproduces the inequality belong working classes with education. For instance, the highest number of professionals of any constituency live in Sheffield Hallam, England (Bowers-Brown, 2006). It is one of the wealthiest constituencies out of London and the southeast; on the other hand, 45.7% of people in Sheffield Brightside do not have qualifications. 61% of students from Sheffield Hallam attended higher education in 2000, whereas this percentage is only 6% of those from Sheffield Brightside (Bowers-Brown, 2006). According to this example, it can be seen that economic capital plays a vital role in educational attainment, especially higher education attainment.

Therefore, while migration is seen as a straightening for these rough conditions, it carries them higher. In addition to these inequalities, institutions may also cause the reproduction of inequalities. High school is the place where students prepare for higher education exams. So its quality is essential for students' success. The ERG report shows that 51% of Science High School students and 42% of Anatolian High School students belong to the middle and upper classes; on the other hand, only 8% of students from Vocational High School have a good income level (Atmaca, 2021). Vocational High Schools help to indicate an institutional level of inequalities. Families whose children attended Vocational High School in Sultanbeyli have a common point: lack of cultural capital (Atmaca, 2019). Lacking of cultural capital plays a crucial role in reproducing economic capital, which is supported by cultural and social capitals. Thus, the educational decision may depend on economic conditions. Family can support their children in accessing higher education; their cultural capital plays a vital role in giving their children back. In other words, exclusion from capitals, whether social, cultural, or economic, indicates a significant role in educating students from the working class. For instance, if they have an educational history, they can lead their children the same way. However, economic sufficiency determines the final decision. Because of accessing higher education, students should meet their expenses if the family does not have enough

economic capital. As mentioned above, capitals produce each other; however, the continuity and durability of production of the capitals depend on the sufficiency of economic capital. In other words, if economic capital is not as substantial as other capitals, they cannot be transformed each other.

2.6. Expectations From Education

Education is an investment invested by and affect to students and families. Therefore, expectations from education are shaped by the habitus of students and their families. Education has been seen as an instrument of social mobility (Iannelli & Paterson, 2007); higher education might support changing class and status. While status could be seen as regarding what profession you do, class is handed over generations. In other words, while social status may change with higher education, for example, social class is related to the family background. Although higher education is seen as the instrument of social mobility, if the family background does not provide accessing higher education, it does not ensure social mobility. In other words, the income-related gap is a determinant for the success of social mobility. Even students who attend the same class with a similar test score, those among working-class families are less likely to participate in college, especially four years (Haveman & Smeeding, 2006). However, while achieving an education is how the middle and upper classes protect their position, education is necessary for the lower class to change their situation. Therefore, it is easy to think that class position can be altered by education attainment, especially with higher education. But the expectations do not agree with that education provides social mobility for the lower class.

2.6.1. The Concept of Expectation

On the other hand, the meaning of “the concept of expectation” stated above should be explained. It is important to emphasize “what expectation is,” “where these expectations are,” and “what should be meant by expectations.” According to experiences in the field study, it can be defined as the situation where “the

benefit of what they will get in the expected time is greater than the size of the problems they experience.” However, expectations may not always be benefit-based, although people can be endured the problems they experience.

The term ‘expectation’ has come to be used with many different concepts in literature. This concept is also used in education. Expectations could be divided into parental and student expectations. Both parents and students want to know whether the education they attend is worth to money they spend or not (Fulford, 2016); accordingly, it could be evaluated as benefit based. Therefore, expectations from education could be being hired in a relevant occupation they are educated or upward social mobility. In other words, it could be understood as breaking the social status circle for the lower class. However, even though higher education is perceived as a social mobility tool, it cannot be worked for this aim according to the janitor’s conditions.

2.6.2. Their Expectations

2.6.2.1. Family’s Expectations from Education

Understanding families’ expectations from higher education, the economic capital they have, and how much they reserve for their children’s education are essential. In other words, how much of a family’s income is used for a student’s education demonstrates the expectations from education. In addition to economic capital, social and cultural capitals also illustrate the family’s expectations. It could be thought that a family whose educational history does not include a higher education experience is not likely to lead their children to have an education as a graduate. In other words, previous analysis had mostly described first-generation higher education students as succeeding despite their family backgrounds (Gofen, 2009). However, Gofen’s research indicates that even though these students face many challenges, their families are often facilitators of their success. It might be true what a long tradition of mobility research demonstrates that there is a strong link between the educational level of both

parents and their offspring; consequently, it can be evident from these studies that children inherit their parents' educational level. However, as it is examined in Gofen's research, students as first-generation break this pattern of inter-generational boundaries of educational level.

On the other hand, it is reported from existing studies of Chinese parenting that Chinese parents have higher expectations for their children's academic achievement, as well as they are placed a high premium on their children's education and academic success (Zou, Anderson, & Tsey, 2013). Zou et al. conducted research with Chinese parents who live in Changsha, which has a higher rate of graduations enrolled in universities as well as the city has a high prestige for its successful basic education. According to Zou et al., most middle-class Chinese parents evaluate education as vital for their children's entire life. More than two-thirds of Chinese parents in Zou's study expect that their children complete at least university-level education and a huge part of them wish that their children work as professionals, civil servants, or business managers; while two of all participants did not mind if their children work as manual labour. As seen from this study, education is perceived as a tool for social and economic mobility for educated parents. Additionally, it can be concluded that parents' educational background plays an important role in their perception of their child's education.

Similarly, family habitus plays a significant role in expectations from education, and their habitus may shape their children's perception of education. Bourdieu's concept of habitus indicates that fundamental knowledge is shaped in their mind by a particular culture or subculture (Palabıyık, 2011). Therefore, the majority of expectations of students will not be on the opposite point from their habitus. In other words, the concept of cognitive habitus is located at the center of Bourdieu's approach, and habitus can be thought of as habits emerge from customs, traditions, or rules of a society (Bowden & Doughney, 2012). According to Bowden, these habitus are affected by the social class structure. Thus, it might be argued that students with high socio-economic status are better

able to comply with social norms anticipated within higher education, which in turn lowers the opportunity costs of education.

Class position may cause some difficulties for families. It is possible to understand how much importance the family gives to education by how to respond to the challenges they face. For example, if there is a great expectation from education, the family may sacrifice their social and economic capitals in the short term to achieve upward social mobility. In other words, the family can sacrifice some of their savings to develop their future economic capital. This strategic choice causes losing their current welfare. Put it another way, families with high expectations from education endure the loss of their social, cultural, and economic capitals for their children's future social mobility.

2.6.2.2. Student's Expectations from Education

Expectations of students are not on the opposite side of their class position. Fractures are crucial for the understanding of student's expectations. Fractures between the different classes may cause working-class students to struggle with their class identification. In other words, being exposed to social exclusion or working for expenses from an early age help to become aware of the differentiation between classes. It can be understood that the formation process of expectations is not independent of class relations and differentiation.

The structure of class fractures between and in working and middle classes are regarded as vertically and horizontally (Evans, 2020). According to Evans, the vertical fraction is seen as occupational groupings or volume of capital, while the horizontal fraction is encountered comprehension of forms of capital, and both vertical and horizontal fractures are confined sectors of employment or occupational groups. It could be an answer to why children of janitors in Mimaroba try accessing higher education because most of them are conscious of fractures between the middle and lower classes. Because of upward social mobility, they must struggle with horizontal and vertical fractures. However, these fractures could cause students to choose between accessing higher

education or working right after high school. At this point, which will be selected is determined by their habitus.

Decision making process of students, whether attending higher education or not, might not be consistent with their expectations. Working class education is made to serve middle-class interests (Reay, 2001). For example, most of the young people who go to vocational high schools come from the lower class. This is also in line with the expectations of lower-class families. In the observations made during the fieldwork, while the janitors want their children to get a university education, they expect them to prefer "jobs that no one without a diploma can do." Suppose the university cannot meet this expectation. In that case, the participants want to direct their children to professions where they will have good economic capital and grow up from childhood, such as electricians. Thus, suppose it is taken into account that their families' habitus shapes children's expectations. In that case, it can be said that vertical fractures are experienced at the material level, and horizontal fractures are experienced at the level of perception and awareness.

2.6.2.3. Results of Expectations

As seen above, students and their family's expectations from education lead students to choose the way of higher education (Lehmann, 2009). However, the consequences of graduating from higher education may not be the same for students from the working class and middle class. For instance, the volume of capital as vertical fracture affects a student's language ability which could be enhanced by the family's economic capital, such as going to a foreign country to learn English. Overall, academic performance relates to students' capacity and family's SEB. Therefore, although education is seen as a tool that straightens these fractures between the classes, it may not work as expected. Additionally, families, who did not access higher education, do not have clear expectations from university (Bowers-Brown, 2006). According to Brown, if having a history of higher education in their family, students from lower socio-economic

backgrounds are likely attending to university. However, the same cannot be said for their peers whose families did not have access to the university before. On the other hand, Brown states that a family's history cannot be changed; however, supporting their children to access higher education can.



CHAPTER 3

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

People's upward social mobility expectations lead people to migrate. In the case of janitors, in addition to their social exclusion, they accept downward social mobility in the short term. However, their acceptance does not bring about upward social mobility even in the long term. This condition brings to mind the question of why they migrate with unconsciousness and what are the factors behind that failure, such as unmet expectations. The explanation in this thesis is based upon Bourdieu's capitals.

The economic indicator helps to explain migration. Because even if people migrate for the improvement of social and cultural capital, the significant reason for this improvement is to increase their economic capital in the long term. Therefore, it can be concluded that people migrate for economic mobility concerns. These concerns make them sacrifice their social and economic capital for their children's future in the short term. Because they expect to improve their economic capital in the long term, and most of them believe that these sacrifices will return as economic capital in the future. However, it should be noted that internal migration does not mean that dwellers' income per capita is lower than in other provinces. For example, between 1985-1990, income per capita was higher than the national average in 10 of the 49 provinces that gave net immigration (Yamak & Yamak, n.d.). Yamak and Yamak state that the income disparity of the regional basis plays a crucial role in terms of internal migration. In other words, the province receives net immigration because of its high-income levels.

On the other hand, in the case of janitors, accessing better public services instead of earning high-income is one of the reasons for their migration decision. These

better public services include education when their condition is examined regarding capital accumulation. Even though they did not seem aware of the emphasis on education when they migrated, they have been conscious of not being able to have high-income levels in Istanbul since they migrated. Therefore, most participants indicated that they lived despite the unexpected conditions because of their children's educational attainment. In other words, it is concluded that while they did not deliberately migrate for education, they kept working as a janitor for their children's education.

3.1. The Family Story of Migration

In this section, there were mainly three questions to answer in accordance with migration. It was aimed to find where and when they migrated in addition to why they migrated with the first question. The second question examined whether they have coal mining workers in their families. Then, as the third question, they needed to respond if they had an opportunity to have worked in coal mining. The importance of migration and mining experiences was explained in the theoretical part. To recall briefly, the families' inclination towards the mining profession and the lack of capital savings required for a different profession caused them to migrate to different regions and continue the mining profession. On the other hand, the fact that the mining profession in different regions did not have the facilities of the TTK (Turkish Hard Coal Enterprise Institution) in Zonguldak led the participants to develop new strategies to gain economic capital accumulation. Thanks to their migration stories, I realized that the participants received help from their social capital to develop their economic capital. In other words, families migrate due to a lack of economic capital. Their migration to the region where they would develop their economic capital was thanks to their social capital. I have observed the trust of the first generation (Groups A, B and E - parent groups) in social capital and their effective use of social capital, thanks to their migration and mining stories.

It should be noted that I used the mining story as a tool to understand the family's emphasis on education rather than mining literature. The importance of the migration and mining story is essential in understanding the participants' habitus. The inclination of people with a mining background, but the fact that there is a radical difference in the place where they work in the mine as underground and above ground, shows how far they can migrate from their disposition. The radical difference that their work above or below ground will make helps us understand their motivation to maintain their conditions. Thus, their professional inclination can be sustained.

According to their answers, 8 participants out of 45 migrated from Zonguldak, and 35 participants out of 45 migrated from Bartın. On the other hand, only 2 participants migrated from other regions. Zonguldak and Bartın had offered an employment opportunity within the regional advantages. As a result of the job opportunities offered by the Western Black Sea to the local people, it is possible to see a history of working in the mining industry in the family of most of the participants. In other words, it could be observed that the mining sector provided people with tremendous occupational opportunities in the Western Black Sea. Therefore, it could be comprehensible that local people and their families worked in the coal mining industry. Consistently, 41 participants stated that they have coal mining workers in their families or relatives.

While migrant workers were working aboveground and fully employed, most local workers were working underground for two weeks or monthly periods. On the other hand, working as coal miners offered them side income opportunities and opportunities for socializing with other workers. Other attractive features of working as a coal miner were to be retired earlier and insurance. Participants indicated that these qualifications were important for their occupation selection. These opportunities were attractive to the local workers. On the other hand, New Right Policies were implemented as economic stability measures on 24 January 1980 in Turkey, and these policies had the characteristics of preparing and regulating the technical infrastructure of deregulation, privatization, and

commercial and financial liberalization (Aytekin, 2001). In the 5th FYDP (Five-Year Development Plan), it was stated that SOEs (State-Owned Enterprise) would concentrate on mining, energy, etc., and would avoid new investments in areas where the private sector was competent (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1985). In the 6th FYDP, it was stated that the work on the privatization of the SOE would be accelerated. Additionally, it was stated in its mining section that, as far as possible, the public sector did not engage in production-oriented investments, and the private sector was encouraged to undertake these investments (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1990). In other words, the 5th FYDP indicates the importance to be given to increasing the share of private sector investments, and this aim would expedite with the 6th FYDP. However, on behalf of the mining sector, the role of the public sector continued because the domestic and foreign capital's interest level was not developed as expected in the 6th plan period (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1996). However, a large number of migration waves started from the region. Consistently with the FYDPs, the majority of 16 participants who stated that they worked in coal mining worked in the private sector.

41 participants, whose families worked as coal mining workers, have migrated from Zonguldak since 1990s and they have been working as a janitor in Mimaroba/Sinanoba/Muratçesme. This situation demonstrated that they would not work with desirable working conditions for them whether they work in the coal mining industry without insurance. Additionally, limited upward social mobility between generations could be one of their reasons for migration.

3.1.1. During Migration

On the other hand, people have been migrating from Zonguldak since 1985. Thus, they did not want to work as coal mining workers, or they could not find these occupational opportunities with state guarantees like their family. Whereas the coal mining sector's improvement appeared to offer employment opportunities for the local community; those obligated to work in the coal basin

may work in extraordinarily unhealthy and hazardous conditions. However, working in TTK where offered a tremendous working opportunity as the state has offered limited job opportunities. Therefore, most male participants who applied to enter Zonguldak coal mines were rejected, and they migrated to work in private mines in other regions. Therefore, I observed that one of the main reasons for migration decisions was that the participants wanted to continue their mining tendencies. One reason for this is the lack of cultural capital of the participants, who are aware of this situation.

It is vital to understand what is behind their migration decision and the date they migrated. Because the common side of the dates these people migrated is parallel to the intensification of unemployment problems experienced in their region. Whereas 30 participants out of 45 migrated after 2000, 15 participants migrated before 2000. 2/3 of the participants are in the group of “immigrants after 2000” and constitute the majority.

Table 4. Unemployment Rates in Turkey

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Turkey	7.6	6.6	6.8	6.9	7.7	6.5	8.4	10.4	10.5	10.8	10.6

Source: (The World Bank, 2022)

The table 4 shows that the unemployment rate tends to increase after 2000. This situation is consistent with their answer to why they migrated. It was observed in most participants’ answers that unemployment was the main reason for their migration decision. 39 participants out of 45 stated that unemployment was the direct or indirect reason for migration. The minority of participants implied their migration was caused by familial reasons, such as spouse or parents’ migration. However, it was clear that their family’s migration was highly related to unemployment in their region. Because most of them asserted that their migration was the conclusion of their family’s unemployment status.

These data explain that people with unemployment and mining backgrounds must migrate to prefer the mining sector. In addition, it was observed that people who could not continue working in the mining sector, a significant occupational area in their hometown, continued searching for other occupations in different regions through mining, the main occupational line of their territories.

3.1.2. After Migration

Many participants have not only coal mining worker members in their families but also worked themselves as coal mining workers in different regions. According to their responses, 16 out of 29, who are eligible (man) to work in coal minings, participants indicated that they worked in coal minings in different regions such as Edirne, Eskişehir, Ankara, Çerkezköy, etc. In other words, their migration wave started with working as coal mining workers in different regions. The majority of participants worked in coal mining in Edirne. The number of those who considered this working process as “seasonal” or "expatriate" rather than as migration was quite crucial. For this reason, the unemployment experience underlying this “migration” experience is considered separately from unemployment, which is the reason for starting to work as a janitor.

On the other hand, they left their job working as coal mining workers, because most of them asserted that this job was quite dangerous, and they had not had any insurance. After leaving coal mines, they worked in low-skilled jobs. These people, who do not have cultural capital, should not migrate in order to continue their family occupations other than mining. Because the majority of them had a family history of working as a worker in gardening, forest management, and animal husbandry. 19 of the participants stated that there was at least one mine worker in their family. Moreover, the majority of the answers indicated that the father worked as a coal mining worker. Therefore, it could be understood why most participants choose working as coal mining workers even though they migrated to find a job. The reason for their migration is to maintain their professional predispositions coming from the family and the region.

3.2. Social Exclusion and Inclusion

The following question is enquired about their social capital. In other words, it is significant to know whether they had supportive social networks from where they migrated. Their migration to Istanbul, where their social networks from the past are located, shows their belief and trust in these social networks. 27 participants out of 45 asserted that supportive networks had already been living where they plan to migrate. On the other hand, 18 participants asserted that they had no supportive networks, likely because they were the first generation of their region's migration wave. Most of the answers to the question of how your social networks have helped you were "help us collect our household items" and "help us find a job." These help of networks demonstrated that social capital assists where economic capital does not enough.

42 out of 45 stated that they found their job with the help of their acquaintances. It was observed that participants' social capital provided them with the same job they were working. In other words, based on the participants' experiences in finding the janitorial profession, the necessary social capital is needed to be employed in this profession. This situation causes the profession of janitor to be perceived as a desired job. However, when it was asked whether they were satisfied with their occupation or not, 27 participants stated that they were satisfied with working as janitors, while 23 participants indicated that they were not. It should be noted that some of the participants implied they were both satisfied and not satisfied; it depended on the current conditions. Even though participants stated that they were satisfied with their occupation, I observed that they responded to the questions under pressure from the current economic situation. Because when they were asked other questions, such as why they continued their occupation, they asserted that they must do this job. For instance, for the consequences of their attitudes above, a participant stated as follows:

RESEARCHER: Are you happy to be a janitor in the apartment building?

-Yes.

RESEARCHER: What do you think about its advantages?

-The only advantage is that we do not pay rent, electricity, or water; there is no other advantage.

RESEARCHER: What are the disadvantages?

-The opposing sides are, as I said before, you are at the lowest level; people constantly despise you... So, in their eyes, you are always in a lower class, you have no value in any way... you consistently lower level (class) for them.

RESEARCHER: If you are unsatisfied with this job, why do you continue?

-It is obligatory because the house rent, electricity, and water will bend your back when you leave... You cannot live on that salary.

Therefore, based on the statement that the similar to others, it was concluded that more than half of the participants were not satisfied with their occupations. The majority implied that they must continue in their occupations. Motivations for continuing this work, whether they are satisfied or not, could be listed as follows: "we are waiting for the children to graduate from their education"; "we have to do this work (financial necessity)"; "it is complicated to find a different job after this age"; "waiting for retirement"; "we do not pay rent, bills, etc."; "if we get a different job, these expenses will force us."

As seen in their responses, one of the participants' most significant advantages of being a janitor is that they do not pay rent and, most of the time, bills. However, the same advantage is also evaluated as a disadvantage for participants. 18 participants apparently stated their house's conditions were extremely terrible. In other words, they do not pay for rent; yet the place is not eligible for living for them. They expressed their house conditions as follows:

It was one floor down. It was very moist, and there was sewer water. Sewage overflowed into the house. I would be sick because of the smell. I could not get into that house because of that smell. The walls were constantly peeling and falling out. The house was extremely damp.

Participants stated that living in a bad house affected their and their children's health badly. But their conditions did not only affect their health; they and their children also felt humiliated by society. I observed that one of the issues that affected the participants was the issues related to their children. According to the participants, one of the disadvantages of working as a janitor is that their children were negatively affected. Additionally, 31 participants claimed that working as a janitor caused them and their children to be humiliated. Some families noted that their children were ashamed of being janitors; it is stated as follows:

We do not pay rent, but we are offended. My daughter was studying here at the medical-vocational high school. She used to pass the house without showing herself to me. I worked in the garden here and was working in the site's garden in the back. When she passed me off to his friends, she would not reveal herself to me or turn to look at me around them. Because before, they offended a friend by saying, "You are the janitor's daughter; speak accordingly." She used to go to school from distant places like this, not to show that she was my daughter. This situation also affects the success of the student. I carried this situation to her school ... Ultimately, she left this school and enrolled in Büyükçekmece Anatolian High School. So, it's gone from here and away from us. Her friends there don't know about this place. In other words, she joined a group of friends who did not see or know about this place.

...

For example, let me tell you about my children. For example, when I go out to the garden, I can feel uncomfortable. You know, the children are playing. However, when my child hasn't done anything there, it's as if I need to admonish them constantly, that is, don't do this, don't do that. However, it's perfectly normal. They run and play like every other child, but people label them directly. If something happens, it's like the janitor's child did it. In other words, for children, for example, even playing in the garden can cause discomfort to the environment.

I observed that society excluded the participants, and they also excluded themselves. In this case, it is predictable that the participants will establish neighbourly relations with only people from their profession, family, and relatives. 38 participants stated that the people they talked to regularly were usually other janitors' families. 36 participants remarked that the people around them were mainly from Zonguldak and Bartın. The close relationship between the participants and their tendency not to meet with people from different classes

can be evaluated as a result of their statements that they were humiliated by others. The vast majority (almost all) of the participants stated that their close relations generally worked in low-skilled jobs. On the other hand, 25 participants indicated that they had neighbourly relations with the apartment residents. Yet 19 participants stated they did not have neighbourly relations with the apartment residents. It was also related to being humiliated by others according to their statements. It can be exemplified by participants' statements as follows:

RESEARCHER: How are your relations with the neighbours in the apartment building?

-There are no relations.

RESEARCHER: So, your neighbourly relationship with anyone living in an apartment building...

-I never did.

RESEARCHER: Why do you not do it?

-Apartment residents see themselves as high level. They perceive us as the lowest level, so we cannot agree with them in the neighbourhood.

...

-Once a woman said to me: "Are you the janitor's wife?" I said, "yes," then she said, "if the janitor's wife does not go to the cleaning, we will not be hiring as a janitor anymore in this building," then "our janitor's wife were always cleaning, but you don't." Therefore, I've put a significant distance between us. Because according to some people, all the janitors' wives must clean others' houses, but I don't. I worked as a cleaner but came here; I have a job right now, and I continue my job. It evokes things in people as if I am obliged to the people here as if I must go to the cleaning their houses. I did not go to anyone to arrange this distance, I do not go, and they do not come. Some want to come. They come, drink coffee, and go.

The social exclusion they were exposed to could be observed throughout their statements above. As the participant stated that apartment residents assumed the janitor's wife had to work as a cleaner. This perception is derived from the fact that many janitors' wives worked as a cleaner in Büyükçekmece. This fact could be supported by the data. 16 of the 45 participants are women. 15 women out of 16 are working or have worked as cleaners. Therefore, apartment dwellers have

labeled the janitor's family as low-skilled workers. Not only janitors but also their wives must work for low-skilled jobs, according to apartment dwellers. Thus, assuming that they are humiliated and must work in low-skilled jobs may be the motivation that causes children to perceive this situation and want a job that increases their social status.

In other words, participants and their families were labeled as people required to do low-skilled work. In this case, besides the economic capital expectation, I observed that the symbolic capital expectation of the participants started to decrease. I observed that the participants preferred being isolated from their social environment rather than developing their cultural capital to "save" their symbolic capital because they believed that cultural capital would improve their economic capital, not symbolic capital.

3.3. Migration and Education

Migrants may believe higher education helps to change their social status or class position. Family or their children could migrate internally because of many reasons. This migration is because higher education process or entering different occupational areas in the case of janitors. However, each case has different reasons and consequences. For this reason, the field study will be examined to understand the reasons and consequences of internal migration within the three sub-categories, namely A, whose children attend higher education, B, whose children did not attend higher education, and E, whose children are non-higher education ages. However, it should be emphasized that migration will only be used as a tool to understand the educational motivations of the participants. For this reason, migration will not be explained in detail and will only be questioned through questions created within the framework of capital perception.

Higher education determines the students' future status in the modern world. This determination encourages students to migrate to big cities for their higher education process. Some of the students live in rural areas. The rural areas could

not have any higher education institutions; as they might, these institutions may not be enough for successful students. Therefore, students prefer to migrate to change their status or class position. China and its Hukou system is an excellent example of this type of migration. Students who live in big cities have more likely to go to prestigious universities when they are compared with their urban peers (Li, 2013). According to Li, accessing problems such as high-quality education institutions, health care systems, or housing compel rural residents. So, students from rural areas prefer to migrate to big cities for their social mobility. Students can migrate in the higher education process; it is also widespread that families migrate for better living conditions. Accordingly, these better living conditions could be obtained by attaining a university for the lower class. Even if a family does not freely decide to migrate for educational purposes, their children are encouraged to education.

In this thesis, losing current class position and status is very common. Because somehow, families believe that upward social mobility is accessible if their children have access to higher education. Most janitors working in Mimaroba/Sinanoba/Muratçeşme migrated from Zonguldak or Bartın after 1990, and they expect to improve their children's capital in the long term. Even though their children have access to higher education, they are still living under poverty conditions. Most children cannot change their class position; improvement is possible for only their wages and status. Even if these children's occupations are not janitors, most children work for the same income level as their janitor families. Thus, the motivations behind accessing higher education become a question. The meaning of higher education is to spend extra money and time on improving their capitals. However, if accessing higher education does not help to improve their capitals, the question of what their motivation behind accessing university has emerged.

3.4. Importance Given To Education

Children whose families have a high SEB are more likely to access university. On the other hand, while socio-economic status tends to decrease, children are inclined to find a job end of secondary school or go to schools at a lower level (Bowden & Doughney, 2012). For instance, students who have low SEB can access higher education in France. However, these universities are mostly less prestigious university faculties which are non-selective ones (Deer, 2005). As seen above, despite their low SEB, accessing higher education shows the importance given to education. However, they cannot achieve what they expect from higher education. Accordingly, with these unintended consequences, the question of “what do students and their families expect from education” arises. Because it might not be rejected that higher education is essential to develop economic capital. However, a successful career does not only depend on attending higher education. Additionally, economic capital can increase the help of a successful career. A successful career depends on one's social and economic capital. Because as it mentioned before, having networks or improving language skills helps to be successful in the professional area. Therefore, most of these qualifications are developed in high-quality universities and departments. However, most janitors' children are going to universities that are non-selective even though their department could be successful. For example, one graduated from the fashion design department, working as a cashier, or one graduated from the cinema tv department, working as a sales assistant in a store. Because graduating from low-quality universities or departments, they cannot improve their economic and social conditions. However, they can improve their status. Most of them do not want to be a janitor in the future. Because they do not be happy with other people's attitudes. Additionally, they stated they were exposed to social exclusion by apartment residents. Therefore, they accept working for the same wage level; however, they want to work in different jobs even if they could be more challenging than being janitors.

The literature demonstrates the interrelation between higher education institutions and the labour market's success. Students who take education from highly rated institutions mostly have a higher wage than average (Walker & Zhu, 2018). Just as mentioned by Bowden, Doughney from Australia and, Deer from France, Walker and Zhu from the UK stated that students whose families have high-income level backgrounds are likely to access selective and high-rated colleges. However, according to Walker and Zhu's study, students can have similar earning levels depending on the university where they graduated. In other words, the similar earning levels could be the same regardless of the student's family income level. Therefore, the correlation between the university rate and the wage level can be seen clearly. Despite this correlation, students from low SEB still attend higher education, whether institutions are high-rated or not. Higher education expectations must be different from upward social mobility because they did not realise this aim even in the long term, and they were aware of it.

3.4.1. Perception of Education Up To Higher Education

I observed that families who migrate to Istanbul to provide a more profitable future for their children often work as a family because they constitute the lowest class in their region and cannot afford the general expenses. The fact that the other people living in the apartment building where the janitors work are in a better position regarding social and economic status raises the question of whether apartment dwellers help janitors and their children socially and economically. Because I thought that people with desired social status and financial income would help the participants to hold on to the place they are in by helping them economically and socially. Therefore, other class members may influence the motivation behind accessing higher education. It was questioned whether apartment dwellers take care of their children's education. 37 participants stated that apartment dwellers did not help their children's education process, while 14 participants indicated some of them may help. It should be noted that some participants asserted their children were getting help from

dwellers sometimes but not consistently. For this reason, the answers of some participants were counted in both ways. Furthermore, a participant whose child had to drop out of the university because of economic deficiency complained as follows:

-In other words, since they are all cultured and university graduates, they had to say, get your children educated, and we will help you. But none of them expressed, none of them helped. However, they should be helpful. So, we are members of the lowest class. As a family working for minimum wage, our children cannot have an education in private establishments. We cannot afford to educate our children. But someone could have stated that "you have to educate your children," but it didn't happen.

According to the participant's statement, his son, who was studying at university, dropped out of school and came to work in his father's place because his father was injured. Because participant could not work for a while in the apartment building where he was the janitor. According to the participant, they would have been unemployed if his child had not made this sacrifice. This is an example of the inadequacy of economic capital as an obstacle to accumulating cultural capital. The participant's waiting to be guided by the residents of the apartment is an example of the owner of cultural capital having a symbolic capital. In other words, people with cultural capital and sufficient economic capital in the eyes of the participants also have good symbolic capital, and participants were expecting to be enlightened by people with this symbolic capital. While the janitor spatially infiltrates into the middle and upper classes, they are also isolated within these classes. On the other hand, some participants could get support from the apartment residents, albeit in small numbers. In other words, some participants could get support from them without closing themselves, but few.

Understanding expectations from education should be examined to what extent participants take care of their children's education until higher education. 2/3 of the participants stated that they cared for their children's education, followed their children's grades, and attended parent meetings. Some of the remaining participants stated that their spouses are taking care of their children's education.

Therefore, it can be concluded that janitors' parents are taking care of their children's education. In other words, education is perceived as a necessity. However, despite this perception of necessity, as seen in the above statement, the inadequacy of the economic capital of families is an obstacle to cultural capital accumulation. Since cultural capital accumulation is one of the essential factors in economic capital transformation, it is possible to observe the reproduction of poverty.

Accordingly, it was asked whether participants think their children are left behind in their education life up to university and experience inequalities. The number of participants who believed their children were left behind in education was almost half the number of participants who answered this question. However, 26 participants stated that their children were exposed to inequality in their education, while 14 participants indicated they did not think. Furthermore, 10 participants asserted that their children were excluded because of their occupation. Families have different methods of protecting their children from social exclusion during their education. Differences can be demonstrated as follows:

I consciously told my child, don't sit (at school) with people who are high level for you. Because I knew she would be offended. Because my child definitely could be offended.

RESEARCHER: Why?

Because others had money, and we wouldn't have money. Therefore, she would not be able to eat what others ate and not be able to wear what others were wearing. Meanwhile, our child would be offended. That's why I said, be friends with whoever is at your level, and don't humiliate yourself. I made that rule so my children would not be offended because if their friends were rich, my child would be upset. My child can say, "She is eating it. She's going to the movies. She would be wearing it, wearing this, I can't wear it." Therefore, I said, "child, be friends with whoever is at your level." So, we didn't have much trouble.

Just as it could be seen statement above, children from janitors' families were exposed to being differentiated from the society they lived in. This protection method can also be observed in their neighbourly relations. It was stated above

that janitors had close relations with the same class members. Therefore, I observed that the participants continued their communication with different classes in a controlled manner in order to protect themselves.

3.4.2. Expectations From Higher Education

Higher education plays a crucial role in income level regardless of the family's background. This result has further strengthened the question about motivation. What is students' motivation for accessing higher education? In this part, the importance of attending higher education will be examined regarding family background. Because just as poverty is inherited from family, the educational tendency is transferred from family. The question of “why do janitor’s children decide to access higher education even though nobody in their family experienced it before” helps me find their motivation. According to Bowden and Doughney, cultural factors are substantial for understanding social and economic inequalities. Thus, our research subjects are janitors who migrated from Zonguldak and Bartın, and social or economic inequality due to their occupation relates to their cultural background; for example, most janitors have mineworker parents. Their cultural background pushed them to migrate to Istanbul, and they worked as janitors. So, these inequalities might help to find their motivation behind accessing higher education.

The higher education perception of participants was inquired about. The question was whether studying at university is necessary for a more satisfactory future. 36 participants considered a university education as a necessity for a better future. The expectations of the participants, who see university education as a necessity for a promising future, from higher education can also be examined in two groups. The first group expects desirable occupations from higher education. According to their statements, their children can be hired for good jobs with their university degrees. They stated that their children could feel guaranteed with their diplomas; for example, they can work in government institutions, and they do not face the threat of losing their jobs.

So, of course, I think a university education is essential. If I had graduated from university, I might not have chosen the profession of janitor. I thought I would prefer a different job and be in a better position. Moreover, I thought my children would also be in a better position like I would be.

...

Studying at university... that is, studying at university is, of course, essential for a better future. I want my son to be a lawyer, a judge, and a doctor. Of course, in order to achieve these, one must have a university education. He has to attain a 4-year university degree. I would like to see my son as a civil servant. I would like to see him as a civil servant for a better future.

RESEARCHER: Why is it because the civil servant has a job guarantee?

So, after all, he could be a civil servant. I would like him to be an engineer, but of course, he can also work at least in a government sector or have a high income.

As seen above, participants perceived higher education as a way to guarantee their children's life. In other words, cultural capital is a proper way to improve and guarantee economic capital. Their children's future will be protected thanks to the university diploma, especially while working in government institutions. According to participants' statements, it does not depend only on financial determinants, but also universities make an impact on their children as well as socially. Cultural capital makes an impact on their children's social and symbolic capitals, which are more important than accumulating economic capital for the second group. Participants in the second group asserted that higher education could improve one's social status. Their statements are mentioned as follows:

RESEARCHER: Do you think a university education is necessary for a better future?

-Absolutely necessary.

RESEARCHER: Why?

- So even though I don't have any profession... I am a high school dropout... even though I knew I would not have any profession, I would still want to study... Because the education reflected in your speech reflects on your thoughts and intelligent decision-making. You can add something every day... If you can get an education... So, we didn't study. You know, it didn't happen because of financial and moral reasons... In any way.... I think it will prevent disagreements in every way... So, education is a necessity.

...

-Is it actually necessary for their future to go to university. The man has gone to university for four years and works as a cashier at BİM. So, a high school graduate does the same job. He is a university graduate, but of course, it is essential for the future... For example, let's say you apply for a job somewhere, and they ask you which school or university you graduated from. I think it's necessary, of course.

...

-It is absolutely necessary. So, it is necessary for everyone, everyone who has the opportunity. Oh, the university brings benefits to me or not; it doesn't matter. In fact, it brings benefits, and it brings awareness. It doesn't leave you ignorant; you become conscious; that's why it's necessary.

Therefore, it can be concluded from their statements that while the accumulation of cultural capital was seen as a tool for the middle class to reproduce the existing class, as Bourdieu indicated, the lower class may also have aimed to change their social position thanks to the accumulation of cultural capital.

One of the most critical factors determining the ultimate purpose of cultural capital accumulation is the participants' experiences that form their perceptions of higher education. Therefore, the participants were asked whether there were people who had studied at university in their environment. It was observed that almost all participants were surrounded by university-educated people. It aimed to examine how the cultural capital perceptions of the participants were shaped by asking how the university-educated people around them affected them. As a result, 21 participants stated that their perceptions of higher education changed positively, while 10 participants indicated that their opinions changed negatively. In addition, 19 participants stated that their opinion did not change. It should be noted that while some participants expressed two different views, some participants did not express any opinion. All things considered, some participants whose opinions altered negatively demonstrated that it is not worth attending university if cultural capital accumulation is not transformed into economic capital in the end. In other words, participants expected that one should work in which department they graduated, and cultural capital was turned into economic

capital effectively. Similarly, 8 participants had replied to the question of whether attending university need for a better future as "it is necessary, but..." Their statements illustrated that cultural capital should contribute to economic capital; attending university is worth only if providing economic capital.

The participants were asked how their children's graduation from university would affect their children's and their own futures. Almost none of the participants considered that their future would not be affected, but their children's future would be affected in terms of economically and socially. In other words, 37 participants stated that their children's university degrees would not make any financial contribution to them in the future. According to these participants, they will be proud of their children thanks to their university diplomas. They stated that their children would "save themselves" in the future, thanks to the fact that the children of the participants have a university degree.

CHAPTER 4

FAMILY HISTORIES AND THEIR INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION WITH ITS RESULTS

There are four headlines to clarify the process of accessing higher education process, its reasons, and its consequences. The process started with migration for a family's social mobility. Even if the family does not consciously decide to migrate because of education, the family's steps indicate how much importance they attribute to education. These people, who have migrated from rural to urban areas, cannot be classified as either rural or full-urban based on where or where they migrated. It is possible to define these people as "underground people" who migrated from rural to metropolitan areas as coal miners and janitors. In this direction, in order to understand the habitus of these underground people and thus the motivations underlying their decisions, it was questioned how the children of immigrant parents were affected by migration.

The first is to explore migration from Zonguldak to Istanbul. Migration is questioned in the family's perception. Zonguldak structure in the late 20th century is indicated, and migration's framework is drawn in general. The second is about how children were affected by this process. In other words, children's university preparation process after the migration was examined. While the janitor's family tries to live in Istanbul and overcome the problems stemming from their SEB, their children have to compete with students from other classes. Additionally, these students from other classes might have enough opportunities to access university and build better future conditions. The third is about what students experience during the higher education process. Social and economic exclusions due to their SEB, their deficiency in academic success, and how they cope with these inequalities were demonstrated. The fourth is about do investments answer the purpose. In other words, after graduation, "do they

achieve what they want since the beginning” is the question of that part. How to shape their life when they graduate from higher education, does their motivation continue for their future, and so on. “Do they find a job after graduation?”, “to what extent the job they found is related with the university they graduated from?” constitute the gist of this part.

First of all, it was asked whether all groups' participants worried about their children's future. 32 participants stated that they were worried about their children's future. It was observed that the concerns of the participants were mostly due to financial reasons. In the manner of their statements, in addition to the participants who were worried that their children did not attend university, some participants were concerned because they thought their children would not be able to do their job despite their university degrees. Particularly, the main reason for their concern derived from occupational status. Participants' statements who believed if their children attended university, their concerns would be ended can be observed as follows;

E15: In other words, if he studies it, if he finishes school, our worries will be over. If they did not study, I would be very worried.

RESEARCHER: Do you have any concerns if s/he study?

E15: If s/he attends, s/he will, of course, can hold her/his occupation anyway.

...

RESEARCHER: Are you worried about your children's future?

BE02: I am concerned about my children's future as they did not attend university.

RESEARCHER: Why?

BE02: Well, because one of them is currently in high school, but instead of studying for the university exam, he went a bit astray because of his friend's environment. The older boy already had a weak infrastructure. My children had to change their school. I'm sorry they didn't study. So I'm worried, especially about the older one.

RESEARCHER: Wouldn't you be worried if he graduated from university?

BE02: I think I wouldn't be too worried. Because then we would say that he had attended university. You know this in every field, everywhere, more or less, the person who studies, so they say, there is no job for the person who studies so it's not just a profession. So they say this man, for example, has a university degree, has completed 4 years, or has studied for 2 years, then there is a high school graduate, and then there is hiring a university graduate. I often hear that many factories are considering employing quality workers. In other words, because of customer satisfaction is reflected accordingly.

As observed above, even for working in a low-skilled job, participants believed that a university diploma was necessary. It could find out from their statements that cultural capital accumulation is not only needed for high-skill jobs, but also, they need to have a diploma to be hired by low-skilled jobs such as factories. In other words, even though their children can be hired for low-skilled jobs, they want their children to attend higher education. On the other hand, some participants stated that they worried about their children's future although their children had a diploma. According to them, whether their children had graduated from university, they could not find a proper job that matched their education. Their opinions can be observed below;

E03: I am worried. Because there is someone in our building who graduated from two universities we talked about yesterday, and there is a woman who can't find a job. She has completed her occupational safety specialization, and she has completed a business administration. She received the Occupational Safety Specialist Certificate. Currently at home, not working. She has been at home for 9 months. They are trying to live on their mother's pension. She also has a disabled uncle. She has an elderly mother. Additionally, there is also my husband's cousin's son, a university graduate. He went to Ukraine to study the language. His family was able to meet his expenses for a year. They couldn't meet expenses in the second year. He is now working in ŞOK. He graduated from a department like construction.

The number of participants who supposed their children cannot find a suitable job even if they have a university degree was not underestimated. The striking point is that these families still want their children to attend university. Families will also have hopes for a promising career when their children graduate.

Accordingly, participants were asked whether they wanted their children to be janitors. Whereas 41 participants clearly stated that they did not want their

children to work as a janitor, 2 participants indicated that their children could work as a janitor. Even though participants were satisfied with their occupation, they could not have wanted their children to work as a janitor. Because they believed that janitors were exposed to being humiliated. Additionally, they did not perceive being a janitor as an occupation. They wanted their children to have a profession. It can be exemplified as follows;

E08: Basically, why don't I like it? So how should I say? Let me explain by giving an example because I cannot explain it any other way. So, I would like a more respectable profession. I mean, even talking like that, apartman görevlisi, kapıcı... You know, sometimes I hear people talk like that, even when they are being mentioned, talking with contempt as if they are doing something bad... So, I think it's a somewhat despised profession. You know, it's actually made with sweat. Am I shy? No, I'm not shy at all. After all, we work there with our sweat and earn our right with our halal; in this regard, I don't want it. So maybe that's the main reason. I mean, it's despised, it can be looked down upon, it's a profession.

...

RESEARCHER: Would you like your children to be janitors?

BE04: No, I certainly wouldn't.

RESEARCHER: Why?

BE04: I don't want to..... I am very... I mean, my biggest reason for experiencing these situations is people's contempt... For example, I bought a vehicle... I purchased a vehicle... The vehicle still has debts... Second hand, we purchase it with my wife... Think of a third-hand vehicle... the issue of need is to send the children to the school bus... So we acquired a vehicle. We got into debt on a whim. Indeed it is... They even present it to you.

RESEARCHER: What do they say?

BE04: What do they say? I mean, even the apartment attendant has a car. So the janitor doesn't steal and hit... The man gets it by working with his wife, scraping it with his nails. Why do people say this with regret? I don't understand that; this is the part that wears me out. I mean, can't it be my car... we can't have a normal life? Does people's duty and class matter? Isn't it important to get along well with people and behave as human beings? I don't think it matters whether he studies it or something... In that part of the person, why down there, you despise it? Like I said, maybe it could be you here, you could be in my place...or I could be at your level. Will I see you insulting? So, does life require it?

RESEARCHER: So you actually work at the same salary as the factory worker.... But do they despise you in status?

BE04: They have a small demeanour... So...

RESEARCHER: So why do you think this is due?

BE04: Well, we've always lived in basements... that's where I still live... I mean, janitors need help... They always need whatever you give... They have the idea that if they give janitors the used item, they will get the job done tomorrow... There are also those who make their expectations...

4.1. Migration From Zonguldak/Bartın To Istanbul

Most janitors who migrated in this period believed that they could not improve their conditions unless they migrated. They might have the same conditions if they worked in the mining sector, just like their family. However, the expectation of improving their conditions led them to migrate to big cities. So, while they migrated for their long-term upward mobility, they took the risk of downward social mobility. Another point we can see their upward social mobility expectation is participation in higher education. Some janitors stated that education was a tool for changing their conditions. However, accessing higher education is something they can do while working in coal mining. Whether working as janitors or coal miners, accessing higher education does not certainly impact their social mobility. Some janitors said that working in an insured job and having job security were a couple of reasons for their migration. In other words, they did not state they migrated because of educational purposes; but they expected a qualified job one could be hired only attending higher education. However, while working as janitors, they could not achieve their upward social mobility expectations, even though they had the same qualifications as other class children. Even if migration was made due to upward social mobility, janitors' children's position and class did not change. However, they want their children to take their janitor's position after they retire. In the case of migration, which does not provide social mobility, it might be made with other expectations. If they want their children to be janitors after graduating from higher education, what are janitor parents' expectations from higher education?

It should be noted at the beginning of the paragraph that Group C consisted of children who attended university; on the other hand, Group D consisted of children who did not attend university. Group C, who attended higher education, was asked that do you think that you would be more successful/unsuccessful if your family did not migrate to Istanbul. 11 participants out of 15 responded as, “no, I would be unsuccessful.”. Most thoughts of the possibility of failure include the lack of opportunities in Bartın, the effect of the environment, and their living in the village. On the other hand, 2 participants asserted that if their family would not migrate to Istanbul, they would be more successful. One of the participants stated that s/he thought that if her/his family had not migrated, s/he would not have had to work because they did not have financial problems. 2 participants indicated whether their family would not migrate to Istanbul, their success would not be changed. 2 participants believe that they will succeed in some way.

In order to understand how the interviewees of Group D were impacted by migration and adaptation to the urban life process, 10 participants, who did not choose to attend higher education or leave university, were interviewed. They were asked a question about their perception of migration. They were asked as specific to their group was, do you think you would be more successful in your educational life and would you attend higher education if your family did not migrate to Istanbul. Only 2 out of 10 answered with “yes, I could be more successful.” The reason for these thoughts was that there would be no distractions if they were in the village. In addition, 1 of 2 thinks education could be a tool for living outside of the village and seeing different things and places. The other asserted that who would devote herself/himself to the lesson with the emptiness of living in the village. On the other hand, 8 out of 10 responded as, “no, I could not be more successful.” One of the main reasons for the idea of educational failure was that they would live in the village. Some of them indicated if they would live in city centre, they could be more successful in their educational path. However, 2 of them point out that if they would live in rural area, they could not have an opportunity to go to city centre to continue their

education because of educational fees, such as carfares. Additionally, the majority of them assumed that education in the village did not qualify.

With their families' migration, the participants were exposed to an urban poverty struggle instead of the deprivation that might be caused by living in rural. The common belief that they could not have a good education in rural areas leads to the expectation that the Group C and D participants would have successful education lives after their families migrated to big cities. Nevertheless, the obstacle to the cultural capital accumulation of the participants was not their lack of educational opportunities, and I observed this situation thanks to their success and failure in their education life. For this reason, I believe that questioning the participants' experiences in the higher education preparation period would be a helpful way to understand why the participants could not benefit from the educational opportunities offered by the big city.

4.2. Higher Education Preparation Process

The family's socio-economic background affects students accessing higher education critically. Students' higher education decision relates to what family offers them. Social and economic opportunities provided by families play an essential role in students' decisions. Preparation for the higher education process has started since students started primary school. Family can decide to migrate for their children to have better conditions in the future. For example, janitors migrated to access better public services; however, they are exposed to social and economic inequalities as long as they accept downward social mobility. Therefore, they cannot obtain what they expect. Even if their children access education, it cannot provide them to enter high-rated universities. In the case of janitors' children, preparation for the higher education process is not equal to others. Because while they migrated for their social mobility expectations, they lost their current social and economic positions. After losing their position and status, they cannot access preparation tools for higher education. Therefore, these

inequalities, which they accept, cause to prevent accessing high-rated universities.

There are lots of examples of inequalities they undergo in their education process. Transportation can be given as an example of disparities in the education process. For instance, the distance between Mimaroba and Hüseyin Yıldız Anatolian High School is 13.148 km. So that going to school every day with school services, bus payment will be 569 TL per month in 2021. In addition, transportation prices with school services are not the same for kindergarten, primary, and secondary school students. 35% guide staff fee will be added to these students' payment. If those have three children, only the approximate transportation price is half the wage of janitors. In addition to school expenses, the region plays a significant role in the students' success level. In the case of janitors, they live in a district where most people are members of the middle and upper class. Regarding janitors' condition, they do not have sufficient economic capital to improve children's cultural capital.

Therefore, this section will focus on the janitors' families and their experiences. Firstly, Group C participants, those who attended university, and Group D participants, those who did not attend university or those who dropped out of university, were interviewed. Their experiences in preparing for higher education were questioned.

4.2.1. Children Experiences

4.2.1.1. Early Process of Preparing For Higher Education

Examining perception of relation between economic capital and cultural capital, janitor's children with cultural capital and without cultural capital were interviewed. A few questions were asked about the participants' experiences up to higher education. Janitor's children might expect that cultural capital provides their upward social mobility, so they access higher education. However,

institution, expenses, and regional inequalities indicate that cultural capital cannot improve without sufficient economic capital. Even though janitors migrated for better conditions, their children cannot benefit from these educational opportunities and better conditions like other class members because of insufficient economic capital accumulation.

4.2.1.1.1. Institutional Effects

To examine the effect of the educational institution on participation in higher education, it was asked which type of high school they attended. It should be recalled at the beginning of the paragraph that Group C consisted of children who attended university; on the other hand, Group D consisted of children who did not attend university. 4 participants out of 25 attended Anatolian High Schools. It should be pointed out that 3 out of 4 did not attend higher education. They were in Group D. The success of educational institutions could not affect the decision to participate in education when there is not enough economic capital of family if their institution would not have an effect such as additional points in university exam. Thus, it is an inevitable fact that educational institutions' success depends on the students' family's economic capital in janitor's case. While Anatolian High Schools have more successful students than Vocational High Schools, it is seen that vocational high schools are more successful in university entrance rates of the lower class. The effect of the educational institution is seen among those who graduated from vocational high schools and attended higher education. 19 participants out of 25 attended Vocational High School. Distribution was for the first group; 12 participants out of 15 who were in Group C, and for the second group; 7 participants out of 10 who are in Group D.

Table 5. Relations with High School and University Attainment

	GROUP C WHO ATTENDS UNIVERSITY	GROUP D WHO DID NOT ATTEND UNIVERSITY
Attended Vocational High School	12	7
Attended Other Types of Schools	3	3

As seen in the table 5, 80% of those who attend university are vocational high school graduates. Among the 25 participants, the rate of those who attended a vocational high school and continued or graduated from university is 48%. Among the total participants who attended vocational high school, the rate of those who continue or graduate from university is 63%.

11 participants out of 25 asserted their institutions had and would have a positive effect on attending higher education. 8 participants out of 15 in Group C indicated that their institution had a positive effect on attending higher education, 3 participants out of 8, who were affected positively by their institution in Group C, stated that they passed to university exam and attended to the university with the right of vocational high school or additional points. Moreover, 3 participants in Group D asserted that their institutions would have a positive effect on attending university. Furthermore, 2 participants out of 3, who dropped out of university, stated they attended university with the right of Vocational High School. Only one participant attended the normal high school in Group C, and one had not attended high school. The effect of vocational high schools on university entrance can be seen in the data above. Based on these data, it can be assumed that vocational high school is a proper way for the lower class to participate in university education.

In other words, the advantages of vocational high school for the children of lower-class families who cannot prepare for the competition required for the university exam like their peers in other classes due to the lack of economic capital affect them positively in entering the university. In other words, the lower class can compensate for the lack of economic capital required for the university through institutions.

4.2.1.1.2. Studying Space Effects

It is an inevitable fact that students' study spaces are closely related to their families' economic capital. Hence, their ability to attend university is associated with this economic capital. However, I observed that families did not have sufficient economic capital to create study spaces for their children. Therefore, even though the vast majority of janitors live in a house consisting of a bedroom and a living room, they could create studying space for their children. According to data, 9 out of 15 participants in Group C who attended university and 4 out of 10 participants in Group D who did not attend university have their own study space. On the other hand, 6 participants in Group C and 6 participants in Group D asserted that they do not have any study environment. 2 participants, who did not have any study environment in Group C, stated that they were not affected by the absence of the study environment. On the other hand, 12 participants in both groups stated that they did not have any private study environment. 3 participants out of those 12, who did not have a study environment, indicated that they were positively affected by the absence of a study environment. Because they improved themselves working in crowded spaces and getting help from their family members who were educated and older than the participants. Additionally, 2 participants in Group C stated that their families respected them and showed sensitivity about creating a space of their own while studying in bedroom or living room.

4.2.1.2. During The Higher Education Preparation Process

4.2.1.2.1. Relations Within The Apartment Building

In this section, there were 2 questions responded to by participants regarding their relationship with apartment dwellers. In addition to the effect of other people living in the apartment building on the education life of the participants, it was questioned whether they had any financial and moral support during their education life. 11 participants out of 25 stated that the residents of the apartment did not have any financial and moral support in their education life. However, 6 out of 11 participants stated that apartment residents had an expectation that participants could attend university.

On the other hand, 14 participants out of 25 indicated that the apartment residents have financial and/or moral support in their education life; for instance, in addition to giving old test books, they also helped with scholarships, pocket money or lessons as financial support. While 9 participants with financial and moral support attended university, 5 participants with the same support did not attend university. While the ratio of those who received support and attended university to the total participants was 36%, this rate was 20% for those who received support and did not attend university.

Table 6. Financial and Moral Supports Percentage

	GROUP C	GROUP D
Received financial and moral support	9	5
Did not receive financial and moral support	6	5
Percentages of Who Received Support in Total Participants	36	20

It is seen that those who received financial support were more likely to go to university. In addition, it could be assumed that more investments were made in students who are likely to go to university. However, 3 of the participants stated that there was no expectation of the apartment residents that participants would attend university; surprisingly, these 3 participants were in Group C. Moreover, 16 of 25 participants stated that apartment residents have expectations that participants would attend university, and 12 participants out of 16 attended university. However, just 7 of them received financial or moral support from apartment residents despite their expectations.

5 participants in Group D who did not attend university stated that the apartment residents did not help them. Additionally, 4 participants out of 5 stated that they were despised by apartment residents. One stated that;

We were always lower than others. The janitor's son, here is the janitor's boy. We are perceived lower level. It always like that, it still is.

On the other hand, another participant pointed out similar issues;

You do not enter into such a dialogue with the residents of the apartment...That is because they are perceived themselves superior...the residents of the apartments do not prefer to interact with you, because they see themselves superior.

Researcher: Why? Why do you think?

As I said, people have contempt. This is the janitor's boy, the (kapıcının oğlu, görevlinin oğlu) boy... I have not been exposed, but my friends. It doesn't make me feel anything bad. Why? I have no relationship with the residents, they have no relationship with me.

Researcher: Don't you feel left out?

No.

Researcher: by them?

You feel excluded by them, but I never thought so for myself. Of course they exclude you.

In addition to 2 participants above, there is a similar issue pointed out by another participant: “There is no conversation. They don't care, it's the janitors.” Therefore, I observed, especially in the discourses of the participants who did not attend university, that their families' occupation caused their families and themselves to be excluded. As I kept in group D participants, while living in an apartment where the middle and upper class live was a social capital opportunity, the participants did not use this opportunity. In other words, just as the families of the janitors were spatially infiltrated into the middle and upper classes were isolated within those classes they infiltrated, the children of the families of the janitors were exposed to segregation within the middle and upper classes. The most significant difference between Groups C and D from Groups A, B, and E is that while the participants' families have high interaction with the upper class, many do not have contact with the residents. In other words, parents have a high level of interaction, even if not close, with the middle and upper class, but this interaction decreases in children.

4.2.1.2.2. Relation With Friends and In Classroom and Working Experiences

Table 7 demonstrates the number of friends who attended university. It could be concluded that social capital also affects cultural capital.

Table 7. Number of Friends who Attended University

FRIENDS	GROUP C	GROUP D
All	2	2
More than half	10	3
Half	2	2
Few	-	2
I have no friends	-	1

It has been stated in the previous sections that those who were janitors should be evaluated in a different category than the lower class. Another reason for this difference can be observed in the table 7. Janitors cannot be considered any lower class living in any ghetto. On the contrary, they had social connections with the middle and upper class even if they avoided close relations. However, I observed that the participants connected with the other janitors' families and lower classes. 8 participants from Group C and 8 from Group D stated that their friends' families belong to the lower income group.

On the other hand, 9 people from Group C stated that their friends' families belonged to the middle-income group. Only 2 people from Group D stated that their friends' families belonged to the middle-income group. It should be noted that while some participants defined the income group of their friends' families, some defined it as the lower middle-income group simultaneously. It is concluded that the participant's interactions with the middle and upper classes may have led them to accumulate cultural capital. Only one participant stated that s/he has no friends. S/he explains her/his situation as follows;

I don't know, maybe if they got close to me, I couldn't get close to them. They wanted to do something. I can't keep up with them. So they wanted to go somewhere, I couldn't go, or they wanted to do an activity, I couldn't. Maybe that's why I think so.

Researcher: Is it derived from your economic conditions?

Yes, of course it derived from the economic situation. I do not want to put pressure on my family.

The participants were asked to respond to whether they experienced in-equal conditions with their classmates. 5 participants in Group C and 5 participants in Group D answered this question as “yes, we are equal.” On the other hand, 10 participants in Group C and 5 participants in Group D responded as, “no, we are not equal.”. Furthermore, they were asked whether they had been exposed to social exclusion. 3 participants out of 25 responded as “yes, I was exposed to social exclusion,” while 22 participants out of 25 asserted, “no, I was not

exposed to social exclusion.” However, 5 different participants, who gave different answers to the question of whether they were exposed to social exclusion or not, stated that they were exposed to or likely to be exposed as a “janitor's child.” 2 participants explained her/his condition as follows;

There was only once a conversation about work, without knowing what my father was doing. I heard that "Are you the same as the child of the janitor?" It was bad.

...

The situation of the others is different since they are not children of the janitor. Even our teacher excluded us. For instance, they took us to different schools when we had high school exams. At that time, one of our teachers said that you couldn't pass the exam anyway. We were two girls, two girls of janitors in the same class. S/he had excluded us in this way, and we were pretty depressed.

The following question participants needed to answer is about their working experiences. It was questioned whether they worked during their education life up to university. 4 participants out of 25 stated that they had to work up to university, while 9 participants out of 25 expressed that they did not work. On the other hand, 12 participants out of 25 did not have to work and stated that they worked because they wanted. The question of whether your working situation affected your education was asked to the participants who were willingly working and had to work. 7 of the participants said that working affects their educational life, while the other 7 stated that working did not make an impact on their education.

Table 8. Working Situation of Participants

	GROUP C	GROUP D
Had to Work	2	1
Did not Work	7	2
Willingly Work	6	7

While 20% of Group D participants had not worked during their education until university, this rate was 46% for Group C participants. This situation showed

that those who did not have to work during the university preparation process achieved more successful results in university entrance.

4.2.1.2.3. Expectations From Higher Education In The Preparation Process

It was quite important to understand the perception of higher education of children. Because perception from higher education impacted decisions on attending higher education. It was questioned what do they expect from higher education during the preparation process. In this way, the motivation for attending or not attending higher education of children could be examined. In order to understand their expectations from higher education and their perceptions of higher education, 3 questions were asked to both groups. These were also the last common questions asked of the children of the janitors.

It should be remembered at the beginning of the paragraph that Group C consisted of children who attended university; on the other hand, Group D consisted of children who did not attend university. They needed to respond to whether higher education could shape their future or not. While the number of participants who think that higher education will shape their future financially was 10, the number of those who believed it would shape their future morals was 4. The number of those who supposed higher education would shape their future financially and morals were 5. The exciting part was that, within its financial and moral code framework, Group D had the largest share among those who think higher education will contribute to the future. On the other hand, 6 participants indicated that they did not believe that attending university would shape their future. The attractive point was that 5 participants out of 6 belong to Group C. In other words, most of their responses were “I was thinking, but now I do not think so.”

It was concluded from their responses that their expectations are mostly related to having an occupation. However, if they started working right after graduating from high school, most of them could be easily hired in their current jobs. In

addition to graduating from Vocational High School, they had job experiences related to their current occupations. Because as will be demonstrated in the following sections, a huge part of Group C was working in low-status jobs.

Through another question, it was questioned whether the investment made for university education was necessary. Participants included those who asserted that higher education did not impact on their future, stated investment on higher education was necessary. 3 participants who believed university did not shape their future asserted that investment in university was required if one would continue what they studied. In other words, they argued that it was wrong to perceive the university only as a means of obtaining a diploma and that the investment made in the university was necessary, provided that the chosen profession was continued. Overall, while 15 participants responded with “it is necessary,” 10 participants stated, “it is not necessary.” To give an example, most of the participants stated that they think about the necessity of investing in education by concentrating on the future financial contribution of university education due to reasons such as the signing authority acquired upon graduation from university and the diploma required to open a business, for example. Others stated about the necessity of university as an experience rather than theoretical knowledge. The participants were asked how they think that university education will contribute to the future of the participants. While some participants stated attending university provided them with an occupation, others indicated that it could be a waste of their time and money. Because it was observed that some of them were working for minimum wage although they graduated from university.

RESEARCHER: What advantages or disadvantages do you think a university education will bring to your future? This is like having a job opportunity because you got your education or a waste of time and money.

A12: Well, I was thinking about job opportunities before I went to university. But after I attended, I don't believe it has anything to do with the job. We can work anywhere for minimum wage anyway. It's the same thing.

Additionally, some participants believed that to improve their social status, they should study in a selected department; otherwise, they could be disappointed. Her/his statement was indicated as follows;

A10: I think a university education will make society stand out in terms of status since I have a bachelor's degree, and even my second bachelor's degree continues. But of course, if you are not doing certain respectable professions, you should not expect too much. To avoid disappointment.

It was asked whether they had any concerns for themselves or their family. While 7 participants from Group C and 1 participant from Group D stated that they were worried for their families, 6 from Group C and 8 from Group D stated that they did not have any concerns for their families. On the other hand, whether the participants were worried about their own future was questioned. 3 participants from Group C and 6 participants from Group D stated that they were not worried about their future. From a general perspective, it was observed that participants who have not graduated from university have more confidence in their future and thus in their capital accumulation.

4.2.1.3. Group C Who Attended University

One of the questions asked to the participants who have attended and continued their university education was about their working environment. It was questioned whether they had a comfortable working environment, including at the university. In addition, it was queried where they studied and whether this field of study affected their success. It should be noted that most janitors live in a house located on the basement floor without sunshine. Therefore, 11 participants stated that they did not have a private room but a common used bedroom. In other words, they asserted that they did not have a private room until university. Then they moved to an apartment in the university process or stayed at the dorm. On the other hand, 4 participants indicated they studied in the living room. When it implied that most of them studied in a room that was not a living room, it should not be understood that they have a comfortable study environment.

Besides the common room, it was observed that the location and structure of the house were not suitable for studying during field study even though they had private rooms. In fact, a participant put their condition in the picture as follows;

The house we lived in was in the basement, which was very moist. Half of the tiles were peeled off. The bricks under the walls were visible. No matter how much you cleaned, the house did not look clean. At that time, my hair was long, but it was falling out from the stress of preparing for university. In this process, I became someone who could not sit in the lesson without cleaning...a spacious environment is not provided at home anyway. Half the windows prevent sunlight from entering. In such a situation, I started to think that the only problem was my hair falling on the floor...and I shaved my hair because I couldn't study because of my hair falling out and the house not looking clean.

Relatedly question, it was questioned whether the condition that they had study space affected their success or not. The number of participants who were affected by having or not studying space was 10, while those who were not affected by having or not studying space was 5. Among the 4 participants who did not have a comfortable study environment, the number of those whose success was affected was 3.

With the second question in this section, it was aimed to understand the correlation between their higher education attainment decision and their family's occupation. Additionally, it is significant to find if their family's occupation has an impact on their educational motivation. Therefore, besides these two questions, finally, what is their motivation when they were preparing for the university exam was asked. 12 participants implied their father's occupation was not impacted their decision to attend higher education. Even if their family worked other jobs, they would attend higher education; in other words, their decision depended on different conditions. The feeling of "obligation" was noticed in most of those whose father's profession influenced their educational motivation. They asserted, for example, that they could not "be" like others. They felt they had to study. Put it differently, they cannot receive financial security from their family in the future. Therefore, they believed they must be different from their family's condition in order to living well and comfortably.

Therefore, they must find a job to support their family financially. It can be understood from their statements that having a “profession” may be likely possible by attending higher education for most of them. However, besides the contribution of their father’s occupation to their educational motivation, it was essential to examine the other motivation sources they have. According to their statement, the dominant motivation behind attending university was occupational expectations. These occupational expectations can be detailed as monetary relief, working under better conditions, having an occupation, and making their family proud. However, it must be considered that most of those were preparing for the university exam without the same opportunities as the middle classes who mostly settled in Mimaroba/Sinanoba. This issue was deduced from their statements. For example, the number of those who went to private teaching institutions was 6. On the other hand, 9 participants did not go to any private institution for university exams. According to their implications, a huge part of them was devoid of going to private institutions. While 4 of them especially stated their destitution, others implied, such as refraining from spending unnecessary expenses. Unsurprisingly, most of them did not have the same opportunities as students from the middle class, 11 participants stated that they did not believe in having even conditions with their peers.

4.2.1.4. Group D Who Did Not Attend University

In order to understand how the interviewees of Group D made sense of their higher education preparation perceptions, they were asked some questions. They were expected to answer that “did your father's occupation influence your decision not to attend education?”. 7 out of 10 responded that their father’s occupation did not make any impact on their higher education attainment decision. 3 out of 10 answered as, “yes, it has impacted.” One, who dropped out of the university of 3 asserted that if his father had any higher education experiences, he would not let him drop out of university.

It should be noted that approximately half of the participants did attend higher education; however, they had to drop out of university. 2 of them, who answered the first question as their father's occupation impacted their higher education attainment decision, stated that they had to leave the university due to financial inadequacies. One would appear to indicate that s/he had to have dropped out of university because her/his father would not defray educational expenses on the condition that s/he and her/his sibling go to university at the same time. Therefore, since her/his family lived on a salary, s/he left school by telling her/his family that he did not want to study, although s/he wanted to study. S/he indicated her/his decision about attending higher education as follows;

So, at that time, I was already going to university, and my sibling was also studying. So my only father was working. My grades were a bit bad at first. Since my father's salary was not enough and my brother was studying. Frankly, I did not want to push them too much. Maybe I could continue to the university. But honestly, I had to quit because they had a hard time living on a single salary. I wanted to drop out of university, and I didn't tell them that either. I said I don't want to study.

According to the statement above, it was observed that the family has a problem with their economic capital. Therefore, the participant above was affected by a deficiency of economic capital. S/he stated that s/he must drop out of university to meet their expenses. Therefore, it can be implied that economic capital deficiency is a barrier to cultural capital accumulation.

Another participant addressed the same problem for another reason. S/he commented that s/he had to work due to her/his family's economic status. In detail, while s/he had in the second period in the first year of university, her/his father had an accident. Therefore, s/he dropped out of university and substituted for her/his father as a janitor. S/he stated that;

So, I actually wanted to study. I studied for one year and quit in the second semester. I was studying accounting. It was a two-year school. I wish I had studied. However, my father had an accident. Therefore, I dropped out of university because I had to substitute for him. Then I had to work because of our

financial situation. Actually, I would continue university. However, I went to a market to apply for a job. At that time, they told me that the letter from the school would not be valid and that the diploma would be necessary. I got my diploma from the university. I had to work because we needed money. I had to cancel my registration; the diploma was stamped, so I said, alas! It's over because my registration was deleted. My school life was over there. Due to the conditions, we could not study again. So now, thank God, the conditions are good, but the child is sick. I still want to study, but let's see..

As seen in two interviewees' reports, insufficient economic capital prevents the accumulation of cultural capital.

The second question was asked to understand their expectation until the higher education period. The question was, “what was your expectation until university age?”. There were two common answers as well as one answer that was stated by 2 participants. A minority of respondents expressed that they would not like to be seen as “janitor’s children” as their expectation in the future, especially expectations from education. On the other hand, the expectation of 3 out of 10 was to attend university, while the expectation of 7 out of 10 was to not.

4.2.2. Family’s Experiences

In the higher education preparation process, Group A and Group E were asked their children’s preparation process. It should be noted at the beginning of the paragraph that Group A consisted of parents whose children attended university; on the other hand, Group B consisted of parents whose children did not attend university. Additionally, Group E consisted of parents whose children were not the university ages.

Participants were asked 2 questions about their children's university preparation process, and these questions were asked to 3 groups. The first question was about the participants' support for their children attending university. According to the first question, participants were asked whether they supported their children in attending university and why they supported them. 43 of 45 participants answered this question, and 43 participants stated that they supported their

children attending university. Participants' general point of view is the belief that they will have a good job for their children thanks to their university education.

The second question examined their investments in the higher education preparation process. The participants were asked whether they received private lessons for their children during the university preparation process and whether they sent them to private teaching institutions. 20 participants sent their children to private teaching institutions. In detail, 10 participants of Group A, 4 participants of Group B, and 6 participants of Group E sent their children to private teaching institutions. On the other hand, 16 participants did not send their children there, and some participants stated that they could not meet the private teaching institutions' expenses. In the same way, 5 participants stated they received private lessons for their children, while 23 participants did not receive them due to financial reasons or their children's educational failure.

Table 9. Percentages of Private Teaching Institutions Attainment

	GROUP A	GROUP B
Sent their children to Private Teaching Institutions	10	4
Percentages of Group A and B Participants	40	0,16

The table 9 shows the success of the participants' children who sent their children to private teaching institutions during the university preparation process. The percentage in this table 9 was found by dividing the number of parents from Groups A and B who sent their children to the university by the total number of participants in Groups A and B. I observed that participants' children who use their economic capital for cultural capital accumulation have a higher university entrance rate. This situation can be an example of the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital.

4.2.2.1. Group A Whose Children Attended University

Participants of Group A were needed to indicate their previous experiences in higher education. It was questioned whether they have university graduates or students in your family or close circle and, if so, what their effect has on them. It should be noted that the number of participants whose at least 1 child attended the university was 19. Therefore, 14 participants out of 19 indicated that they have been surrounded by university graduates, whether in their family or close circle. Even though there could be unemployed university graduates in their close circle, almost all participants were affected positively by their experiences. If there were people around the participants who were university graduates who were unemployed or unable to change their social status, some of the participants described this situation as a failure of them. They stated that they have expectations from higher education under all circumstances. On the other hand, some participants indicated that they tried to keep their expectations positive, not wanting to be pessimistic about seeing those unemployed after studying at university. In contrast, if the university graduates around them work in a job related to the department from which they graduated, the participants' expectations are satisfied.

On the other hand, it was worth questioning whether their children were exposed to social exclusion until the higher education process. Because it was observed in most interviews that attending university was perceived as an important way to change their social class and status. Therefore, it was believed that previous social exclusion and inequality experiences could push janitors to attend their children's higher education. 10 participants stated their children were exposed to financial inequalities while 2 participants believed their children were exposed to moral inequality. In contrast, 7 participants believed their children were not exposed to any inequalities. As an example of financial inequalities, it was stated they could not send their children to private teaching institutions and their children cannot prepare the university exam like their peers.

Even though participants' children were exposed to inequalities, they can attend the university. In other words, they overcame these inequalities somehow. Therefore, it was asked how they overcame these inequalities. A participant statement is below;

AB02: we supported...as parents...we supported.

RESEARCHER: What did you give up for this?

AB02: We restricted some of our expenses at home, as long as our children could study... We made sacrifices for their future. Let me add that...even though I have cancer, I went to clean homes to pay for my daughter's dormitory expenses... I sent the money I got from cleaning to my daughter... She could continue her school, and apartment residents, who were in our apartment building during this process, knew that my child was studying. They did not help financially, even though they had financial possibilities. And I attribute this to this: they don't want the janitor's child to study... because the janitor's child doesn't attend university...They expect them to continue their father's profession as well. But... my God is great... they studied, at least saved their future.

As illustrated above, almost all participants stated they overcame these inequalities by working in extra jobs.

It was asked how participants affect their children's decisions about attending university. Their answers consisted of 2 groups: according to the first group's statements, most children wanted to attend university themselves. On the other hand, the second group indicated they benefitted from their class position for influencing their children's decisions. They gave advice mostly using their own social positions. It is demonstrated as follows;

Researcher: How did you affect your child?

AE06: I presented some things as an example. I said don't be like your father, don't be a janitor. His father usually takes out the garbage. Since he can see difficulties, he can study. So he says I will not interfere with his work. But he says come here, and you will do it, his father says, you will see this job. See this job's difficulties and study.

...

AE05: I said you must study, so if you don't study, you will struggle (sürünmek) like us.

RESEARCHER: How, what did you tell your child to study?

AE05: For the worst example, since our house is our workplace, the child can see the work we do. So if you don't study, you'll struggle. I advised him that you could see how we work.

As seen above, participants took advantage of their social and economic status. In other words, they demonstrated their capital's deficiencies to their children to improve their future capital accumulation strategies. Therefore, participants influence their children about going to university because they have high expectations of university education. The conclusion is predictable that all participants who answered whether university education is essential for them stated it is necessary.

In relation to their expectations from higher education, it was asked how university education affects them. Through this question, it can be understood which type of capital provides the educational motivation of the participants. In other words, which capital do they want to develop through cultural capital is important. Because, as seen in other questions' responses, social capital accumulation has a more critical position than economic capital in some participants. It has been observed that the ultimate purpose of the participants wanting to have their children educated is to have a profession that is not despised by society. However, what is aimed at finding their motivation cannot be obtained with this question. Participants' answers were mostly consisted of "proud of their children's success."

As a result of the interviews with the participants, the perception that they can be proud of their children has emerged through a change in their social position through their children. For this reason, participants were asked in the continuation of this question what occupations they would like their children to do in the future and why participants wanted their children to do these occupations. Thanks to this question, it is desired to understand whether the main

expectation of the participant is improving economic capital or social status. Almost half of the participants stated that they want their children to study medicine and related works. It has been understood that there is a general expectation of economic capital for professions that the rest of the participants stated, such as police, teacher, engineer, electrical and electronic, either for a job as a civil servant and for a guaranteed job, or for having a high-income level. But the point that draws attention here is the statements of families who want their children to study health. As an example, the statement of a participant is given below;

A12: I always wanted her to be a nurse for my daughter. Be a nurse, you know, be helpful to people. I don't know that I always seek to serve someone because I am always in poverty and desperation. Let me take good care of them, and treat them well.

It is possible to see this approach in the discourses of almost all participants who want their children to study health. Another answer from their own experiences can be seen in the explanation of a participant who wants his child to work in the health sector. From the answer of this participant, it can be concluded that if her/his child becomes a doctor, her/his symbolic capital will be high. The participant's statement is as follows;

BAE09: ... I wanted my child to be a nurse, but s/he did not want to be a nurse.

RESEARCHER: Would you like her/him to be a nurse?

BAE09: I would love to

RESEARCHER: Why?

BAE09: It's the simplest; maybe I couldn't (meet expenses for her/his) do studying medicine, it was a lot, but I would like to her/him be a nurse. In other words, thinking that it will be more beneficial to the environment let's assume that s/he is a doctor, most concisely, our Anatolian people are something more, I don't know ... I mean, I would like her/him to be a doctor in such a place. Let her/him be helpful to those around him, and do not devastate these people, so s/he should not look down when s/he comes to the hospital. I wish s/he could be such a person.

It can be observed that their expectation from attending higher education is mostly consisted of improving the symbolic capital of their children. Participants were asked what effects they think their child's university education will have on their child. According to most participants, with a university education, children save themselves. I observed that the aim of families to accumulate cultural capital is not only for economic capital transformation but also for the hope of improving their symbolic capital. The most important reason why I say "improvement" is that the participants stated that other people humiliated and despised them while explaining the reasons for their dissatisfaction with their profession. I observed that the participants believed their children could get rid of this labeling thanks to their university degrees. In other words, the belief that children will save themselves not only economically but also socially constitutes an example of the transformation of cultural capital into both economic capital and symbolic capital.

4.2.2.2. Group E Whose Children Were Not The University Ages

7 questions that were asked for Group E are located in this part, namely expectations from higher education. It is important to note that questions were asked to 35 participants. There were only 20 participants, and all of their children were under higher education ages.

Participants were asked how important it was for their children to attend university. 33 participants stated that their children's attainment at university was essential for them. On the other hand, 7 participants in Group A had children who attended university and were under 18. And those 7 participants indicated that it was important for their children under 18 to attend university. Therefore, I observed that participants who had higher education experiences in their families tended to guide their children to have a university education. However, it should be noted that all participants except one stated their children's attainment at university were important to them.

It emerged related to the question above that what makes university education important and what they attribute to the university education. To understand their motivation, participants were asked what the contribution of university education to obtaining a good profession is. It was observed that 19 participants considered university education had a role in obtaining a good job, while 11 participants stated that the effect of university education on acquiring a good profession might vary from profession to profession. According to the statements of some participants who evaluated the effect of university education on obtaining a good profession as "it can vary from profession to profession," university education should provide a "vocation." On the other hand, in the opinion of some other participants, doing well in one's profession does not depend on a university education. It can be observed as follows;

RESEARCHER: Do you think attending university will provide a better future for your child?

E10: I think. In other words, it's about the profession he chose. Independent from saying I attended university.

RESEARCHER: So the profession he chooses is essential. It's not the university but the occupation he chooses that matters.

E10: The profession he chooses is essential. Or he will finish high school. Then I say what you want to study, like electronics or electricity. Then I would say you don't need to go to university for that. I'll give it to the electronics department as soon as high school is over. I start her/him to work there. This contributes to her/his future, making a high contribution because the electronics department is a profession that never gets old. It is a profession that never gets old, like being a doctor or a teacher.

RESEARCHER: What if he had gone to university and received his diploma in electrical electronics?

E10: I don't send her/him to the university to study electrical and electronics.

As it can be observed from the participants' statements, attribution to university education is depended on the occupation it provides. However, the same participant stated that it should be a job that an ordinary person cannot do. It was indicated as follows;

RESEARCHER: I understand. For example, you are a janitor right now. Do you think this is a profession?

E10: No.

RESEARCHER: The profession is actually.

E10: This is how any ordinary citizen can do it.

RESEARCHER: You want your children to do a job no one can.

E10: Yes, yes, of course. Because in my profession, for example, I don't get an increase. You cannot reach higher positions. You are fixed, janitor. There is no forward, and there is no back. There is no chance of promotion.

Therefore, it can be observed from 30 participants' interviews that university education makes attribution to obtaining occupation. On the one hand, some of them believed that a university education is necessary because it positively affects finding a good job. On the other hand, some of them stated university education is necessary if it provides a good job. Additionally, it was observed in the interviews that 4 participants wanted their children to attend university separately from their occupation. According to the participants, having a good job without attending university is possible, but they still want their children to attend university.

The answers to the above questions lead this discussion to the question of whether the 12-year period of compulsory education is sufficient for a good future or it is necessary to attend university. 3 participants indicated that 12-year period is sufficient for a good future. 31 participants stated that university education is necessary for a good future. It is easy to consider university is necessary because it provides a good job. Therefore, it could be understandable that a huge part of the participants asserted this opinion. However, the remarkable point is that it was observed the participants thought that they could equate themselves with other classes thanks to their university education. It is indicated as follows;

AE08: University required.

Researcher: Why? What contribution does the university have to a good future?

AE08: If you marry someone hereafter, for example, you are a university graduate, the other person will say that you are a university graduate, I am a primary school graduate. I think there may be inequality. There will be inequality.

Researcher: For himself or a better future?

AE08: It could have been in the past, but today's young people are not working. I don't see it in today's youth. They can't do heavy work. Unfortunately, the university has become something of a necessity. I am 41 years old now. I can work anywhere, but my boy is 23 years old; he cannot work for even an hour. Have to study.

Researcher: Because he can't do other work?

AE08: I mean, he won't be able to do other work, he knows.

As a result of interviews with participants, expectations of a good profession and relatedly economic capital accumulation was observed. However, participants are also aware that university education may not provide it. In other words, as seen in the interviews with groups C and D, the lack of social capital of the participants prevents the transformation of cultural capital into economic capital. Thus, this assumption was observed not only in Groups C and D but also in Groups A, B, and E. For this reason, the participants were asked why they wanted to have their children educated by accepting the education costs if there were no people in their family or close circles with university experience or if the social and economic status of those who did were not different from participants. Because even though their children would attend university, they may not improve their capitals. Observations demonstrated participants have “hope” which is enough to invest in the future with education. In spite of the fact that their children cannot be hired for proper jobs with their education, but they focus on “they could be hired 50%.”

RESEARCHER: I understand. Well, there is something like that, when you graduate from university, there is no job guarantee at the end, and you said there is a 50% 50% chance.

E15: I think 50%.

RESEARCHER: There is significant uncertainty, but you can earn minimum wage despite this uncertainty. Despite this situation, you have accepted all these education expenses. So why do you want to send your child to university?

E15: It is enough for me to get into that 50%.

RESEARCHER: It is not clear that s/he can enter.

E15: But I believe s/he will enter when s/he finishes. If s/he does not finish, s/he is not in that line anyway.

RESEARCHER: at least let her/him enter the race.

E15: If s/he enters the race, s/he will eventually finish, that is, 50% finish, 100% finish, 90% finish, I think.

RESEARCHER: I understand.

E15: So s/he has to participate in that race, s/he has to step on that race line; if s/he presses that line, s/he will definitely reach the finish point. If you can't reach that line, you don't have a beginning anyway.

...

E11: As if there is this perception that those who attended university are always in a better place, as far as I can see, those who study get more salaries, and their future seems good. So hope.

RESEARCHER: I understand. So the reason you accept these education costs, the reason you invest in education is hope.

E11: Yes

Additionally, it was observed another reason for accepting the education costs, even though there could be unexpected consequences, was to be influenced by others. When we look at the region where the participants live, it is possible to see that the majority of young people go to university. While the education level of 29% of the population in Mimaroba is the university, this rate is 35% in Sinanoba (İstanbul İstatistik Ofisi, 2022).

BE06: Now, you don't even think about the financial situation. I don't think everything is financial. For instance, one feels obligated to attend, just as primary school was obligatory.

RESEARCHER: Why must?

BE06: Well, the environment you live in.

RESEARCHER: The environment you live in.

BE06: Now you say, for example, you know that one's child has attended education, why doesn't my child attend? At least some things will be different, his speech will be different, or it will be different for him to sit or stand. So I think like that.

The participants' answers can be summarized as follows: While some hope their children will have a better future if they have a university education, some participants are guided by society to inspire their children to attend university.

Participants were asked how they think their children's university education will contribute to their children's social and economic future. According to the participants' statements, university education's contribution to their children's social future can be grouped as follows. Firstly, participants think that when their children graduate from university, they will have "prestige." Relatedly, some participants believe their children will no longer be humiliated if they attend university. Secondly, the participants implied that the social capital qualifications of their children would increase since the environment of university-educated people would be composed of university-educated people.

The first group's statements not only emphasizes the importance of symbolic capital, but also, that they could improve their economic capital by their symbolic capital. On the other hand, it can be observed the second group's statements that if their children's environment consists of university-educated people, their social life will be affected entirely; for example, they can marry someone who graduated from the university if their children would be university-graduated.

E01: Her/his class can change, at least when s/he gets married in future, there is no law that the worker marries the worker, of course, but you know, s/he will marry with a friend at a university, (Tabaka tabaka)

...

AE03: Y did not go to university but married a girl..... a banker, X is a banker. Think so, for example, if my daughter got married in the future... wouldn't she be devastated (ezilmek) if her husband had studied, if she hadn't attended university?

RESEARCHER: Do you think it will be devastated?

AE03: I think it's devastated... it's like being devastated. Even if it's not completely devastating...

RESEARCHER: Why do you think it is devastated?

AE03: What would happen if s/he had studied? Self-confidence comes; it gets better that way.

It can be observed from the statements above participants believe that getting out of their class can only be possible with education. According to the participants' statements, children will face the consequences of not being a university graduate, not only from society but also in their married life. According to participants, university education provides not only economic capital, but also social and symbolic capital. 28 participants stated that attending university could provide a better future for their children, while 6 participants stated attending university did not provide.

I observed that the participants' social capital causes different perceptions between generations. In other words, a conflict occurs between parents and children in their perceptions of capital. For example, the A, B, and E group participants, the parents' group, stated that the higher education experiences of the other classes in the same space resulted in or hoped to result in a good job. In other words, participants were encouraged to accumulate cultural capital through their social capital. On the contrary, children realized that their cultural capital would not turn into economic capital without related social capital due to their interaction with other classes in the same urban space. In this case, C and D group participants, children's groups, stated that cultural capital accumulation is insufficient for economic capital accumulation. For this reason, the perception of capital accumulation between generations and the motivation for capital accumulation vary.

4.3. During Higher Education Periods and Its Impact

The education process is as important as education itself. This process starts with the family's decisions and improves with their investments. Migration is mentioned as a critical investment in education. Regarding migration, investments for education may not have a significant return if losing status is accepted. Because, just as unequal situations due to losing status affect the preparation process, janitors' children may be obligated to endure the same inequalities during higher education. It observes that their children have to work to cover their educational expenses. While a janitor family was earning 773 TL for a month in 2013, they transferred 500 TL to their daughter. Because their daughter's educational cost was approximately 500 TL for a month in the same year, they will fail to cover the expenses if they have more than one kid who would go to university. Therefore, students must work for their fundamental needs, such as dormitories or nourishment expenses.

There is a relation between accessing higher education and a family's SEB as in the whole world. Even in the same country, the rates of accessing higher education between regions are quite different. For instance, there is a strict difference between rural and urban residential identity in China. Just as students who are not equal to their urban peers enter higher education, they do not have the same opportunities to improve themselves during the higher education process. According to the research by Zheng, first-year students about their self-assessment of individual abilities in 175 higher education institutions indicates that the discrepancy between rural and urban students in higher education emerges in numerous items such as information technology, language competence, or communication skills (Li, 2013). According to Li, generally, first-year students from rural regions indicate a deficiency of psychological well-being and lower-level adaptation compared with their peers from urban areas.

Observed data shows that a similar problem is widespread in Mimaroba. Competition is very hard between the middle class and the lower class. Most janitors accept belonging to the lower class, and they give the competition up. It

is essential because when janitors accept the stigmatization, their children might not try to improve their class position again. For instance, a janitor, who called themselves *kapıcı*, wants their children to access higher education. Even though their children access higher education, they cannot change their position; they still call themselves *kapıcı*. They live in precisely the same conditions, such as an underground house or the same wage level as the janitors. On the one hand, one of their children helps their father clean up the apartment buildings, although s/he graduated from the public finance department. On the other hand, one of their children works as a cashier even though s/he graduated from the fashion design department. Conversely, the family can try to overcome their class position when they accept they belong to the lower class. Yet, academic success relates to a family's SEB most of the time. Students from families whose income levels are different from each other have been the same success level; those from high SEB are likely to have a long educational career and gain a high level of qualification than their peers (Iannelli et al., 2005).

4.3.1. Groups Questions

4.3.1.1. Children Experiences

In this part of the thesis, it was aimed at understanding their situation during the higher education process. Because while 15 participants attended higher education, 10 participants did not have any higher education experiences or dropped out of university. In other words, they did not have a university experience that they believed would result, and they dropped out of school. Therefore, they do not have common questions that they were analysed by their statements.

4.3.1.1.1. Group C Who Attended University

It was questioned why they preferred the university and department they attended. The most common answers about why they preferred the department

they studied can be grouped in 3 different categories. These are continuing the department they studied at the Vocational High School, making a choice according to the score they got in the university exam, and thinking that the professional trend is in this direction by being influenced by someone, or heading to this department as a result of the influence of the family.

According to participants' statements, it can be summarized they attended the department they had already experienced in Vocational High School. While the reason related to Vocational High School (VHS) was clearly stated by some participants, others also implied that they selected those universities and departments according to university exam points. It was stated in the preparation section that most participants used their Vocational High School's opportunity when they transited to university. It could be concluded that participants got their exam points with the additional points from Vocational High School; therefore, they attended university with the help of VHS.

The following question regarding their higher education process aims to find their motivation to attend higher education in Group C. 9 participants indicated they attended university with economic concerns. They noted the need to have a good job, even based on being able to support their families or socialize. In contrast, 6 participants attended university because of social concerns such as society's perceptions. Including those 15 answers, A participant responded with both social and economic concerns. Put it differently, the importance of other people's expressions impacts their decisions to attend higher education. The opinions of the people around them are essential to them. For example, it has been observed that the answers of other people to questions such as "couldn't do," "couldn't study," or "what do you do," and "did you study" are vital for them. Some participants attribute even the smoothness of their diction to university education. Hence, it can be concluded that university education is not only perceived as a tool for economic mobility for children, it is also an important tool to find a place for themselves in society. In addition, the importance given to the values accepted by the community can be deduced from

the discourses of some participants because these people reported that they decided to attend university education based on the opinions of their families and the people around them.

The majority of those expressed that their friendship was not dependent on the other's education. It was asked how is your relationship with your friends who did not go to university. Whereas 11 participants stated, their relationship did not change. On the other hand, 3 participants indicated that their relationships did not continue. According to their statements, everything begins to change from their environment and what they enjoy. Expectations are changing. That is why they start not seeing their friends who didn't attend university.

They needed to respond about how attending university has contributed to their future life in terms of social and economic. The number of participants who believe attending university has made economic contributions to their future is 12; on the other hand, 7 participants indicated that attending university socially impacts their future life. 5 participants responded both socially and economically according to 19 answers. In contrast, a participant who believes that attending university will not impact their future socially or economically stated, "it is the same whether you attend university or not." According to participants who expressed their economic expectations, some thought they could be hired for a good job with a university diploma, and some believed that they could work in the same position without a diploma but would receive a different salary.

The belief that having a university education can contribute to their future socially for the participants for status and class can be questioned to understand their expectations from education. 10 participants believe that they can improve their social class and status, while 5 participants do not believe that. It is observed that there is professional competence under their social status and class expectations in the views of some who assume that attending higher education could impact their class position and status. However, it should be noted that although social class and status are likely to be close to economic capital, this

section examined participants' opinions regarding in which class position they perceived themselves. For example, a participant indicated that even though s/he can change their status as economically, their social position remained the same. The participant expressed this situation in her/his own words as follows;

RESEARCHER: Do you believe that you can change status and class?

No. I think this is something related to the economy. I think we belong to this class.

RESEARCHER: Even though you attended university? For example, your department is very much related to the Economic and Administration Department. If we assumed you entered a bank after graduating, would you still feel like you belong to this class?

As a class, you can improve financially at least, you can improve your status. Therefore, I thought ... in terms of family, or environment.

RESEARCHER: It is related to class position actually.

Yes, I think we can't break away from our class as well.

As seen in the participant's statement above, some of the participants think that earning more or less will not affect their social position. Another participant who supports this view stated her/his expectation of change in her/his class position: "I think you cannot be X who is working somewhere important; one continues to be known the way one is known."

Two-thirds of the participants stated that they believed they could change their social class and position. Accordingly, whether they could realize this change if they graduated from university or will graduate from university in the foreseeable future was questioned. 6 participants stated that they managed to change their class and position. However, it should be noted that the participant used the expression "status is changing, but you remain the same in essence." I observed that even those who believed they have realized the social mobility, realized this mobility not objectively but within the framework of the expectation of their social structure. Because they internalize the class to which they belong. In contrast, 5 participants believed they could not move up the social ladder. The point that attracted the attention of this statement is that half of them believe that

they cannot change their class and position because of not doing the job they graduated.

Another question to understand their motivation behind university attainment is that “is your reason for getting a university education a concern for the near future or the distant future?” It can be explained these "concerns" with examples as follows: supporting the family financially by finding a job quickly and saving for the future. 10 participants stated as near future, while 9 participants stated as distant future. It should be noted that 4 of those 19 answers were responded by the same participants. In other words, they answered as both near and distant future.

Until this part, questions were asked about the expectations of the participants while studying at the university. From this part, questions were asked about whether they had financial difficulties during their university education. In addition, it was questioned how they dealt with these problems and what ways they sought and found. In this direction, the first question is whether they had any financial difficulties while studying at university. 7 participants indicated that they had financial difficulties. According to their statements, it is difficult for them to even demand financial support from their families when having a hard time making ends meet. However, they stated that they had to ask the family for money to cope with these economic problems, and they also had to use their social life and food economically. For example, a participant stated that s/he stated that she ate only tomatoes, cucumbers, and cheese for a week and that s/he washed her/his clothes by hand since the laundry in the dormitory must be paid for, and s/he spent less money in this way.

On the other hand, 7 participants asserted that they did not have financial difficulties at university. The most striking point here is that while some of those who answered "I had financial difficulties" stated that they had to work because of these economic problems, some of the others who answered "I did not experience financial difficulties" stated that they did not have any financial

difficulties because they were working. On the other hand, 5 of the 7 participants who stated that they had financial difficulties received scholarships or credits from KYK (Credit and Dormitories Institution). Among the total participants, only the number of scholarship recipients is 3, while the number of only KYK recipients is 7. 2 participants received both KYK's credits and scholarships. However, 3 participants received neither scholarships nor credits from KYK, even though 2 of them indicated they had financial difficulties.

Relatedly to their financial difficulties experiences, they were asked if they had to work. 5 participants stated they did not work during their university education. 6 participants indicated they were willing to work during their university education; on the contrary, 4 participants stated they had to work. However, it should be noted that it was observed that in the statements of 3 participants who stated that they were willing to work, they had to work. Because one participant expressed that if s/he did not work, her/his family would have difficulties in meeting her/his university expenses. According to the other participant, who stated that s/he did not have any financial problems during the university period, expressed s/he wanted to attend university to support her/his family financially. In this case, it is necessary to consider it as a necessity for the participant, who stated that he/she wants to find a job as soon as possible, to try to meet this demand during the university education period. On the other hand, another participant asserted that s/he worked to overcome financial difficulties. However, in line with their own discourse, all participants were included in the "willingly work" group.

In the context of participants' working situation, it is important to investigate how working while studying affects their life patterns, educational success, and expectations. Because although the participants of Group C experienced poverty conditions as well as their peers in Group D, they were willing to attend higher education instead of working a stable job. Among the participants who were working during their education, 4 of them stated their expectations and educational success of life patterns were not affected because of working. On the

other hand, 5 participants implied the positive effects of working because they gained experiences whether this job was related to their educational background. These experiences could be exemplified as follows;

RESEARCHER: Are these working conditions affected your academic process?

-My drawing class were mostly successful. (Who were working in her/his education-related job)

- Studying allowed me to be planned because I could say that I would work and study at this time. I created a lifestyle for myself.

-I live more comfortably. I think I am less of a burden to my family. I am also very comfortable financially. I also work in a place that shapes my future with working here.

- ...I am so exhausted... Working makes people feel there is nothing like studying. ... I have gained more experience. I started life too early.

-I gained experience. I think positive, it changes positively.

As seen in their statements, they emphasized the importance of gaining experience and feeling stronger financially. The experience they gain and their effect on their life order is also related to their jobs. Therefore, they were asked what type of jobs they worked during their education. According to their answers, they could be categorized as low-skilled jobs. It could be evaluated that a student who was working to meet her/his expenses during their education could work these types of low-skilled jobs. However, it was emphasized by Bourdieu that free time was an important determinant of future economic capital accumulation. Therefore, working low-skilled jobs own to economic deficiencies inhibits improving their capital accumulation.

Free time is significant for improving people's social and cultural capitals; however, some students must use it to enhance their economic capital instead of social and cultural capitals. In other words, according to Bourdieu, free time independent from economic necessity is essential for accumulation in the first step. On the one hand, lower class students may be obliged to work to meet educational expenses. Future economic capital does not improve while students

must work because the economic necessity for today prevents students from developing their cultural and social capitals. It is easy to think that free time is significant for economic accumulation. One of the best ways to use this “free time” is to gain experience in the profession they want to work in the future. The other is to improve their cultural capital for that profession, such as learning a language. However, it was observed that participants who worked during their university education mostly worked low-skilled jobs that probably did not contribute to their future jobs. For instance, waitress, delivery person, cashier, and sales consultant are the jobs the participants primarily work.

Relatedly stated below, 2 participants out of 10 were observed as working in their education-related jobs during their university process. On the other hand, the rest of the participants worked low-skilled jobs that were not contributed by their education. Accordingly, 8 participants stated that their working experiences, whether related to their education or not, contributed to their current occupations. They expressed that their unrelated working experiences make them contribute as a reference, general job experience, etc. It attracted the attention that a participant stated that “it was experienced the worse and being grateful when experienced the better one.”

It could be observed that they could not benefit from their free time just like their middle-class peers. However, free time importance was emphasized by many scholars to reproduce capital in the future. For instance, Bayırbağ implies that today's free time plays a vital role in the future reproduction of capital. Students' career decision evolves during the higher education process. In other words, students' career paths tend to shape during the higher education process (Bayırbağ, 2013). For students far from the sector and sector-oriented courses, free time plays an essential role in opinions about the sector. According to Bayırbağ, it could be overcome with coherent curricula. However, free time is significant for students accessing higher education that does not implement coherent curricula. Most janitors' children access low higher education institutions and departments where the curriculum is failed fulfilment. As an

example of coherent curricula, the university's contribution to future career acquisition can be observed through students' internship experiences.

4.3.1.1.2. Group D Who Did Not Attend University

The reason that they did not attend higher education is examined. 5 participants stated that they had dropped out of university, and 3 of them dropped out of school due to financial inadequacies. It is apparently observed in their statement that the majority think they would be a burden to their families with their education expenses. Therefore, 9 out of 10 expressed they did not want to go to university. In other words, some of them expressed they do not like school, while some of them stated that they thought they wouldn't be able to live up to their expectations anyway if they had attended university. It is concluded that their expectations from education in terms of economic capital are not as high as those of social capital expectations. Another finding that supports this view is that 2 participants, who high school drop out, pointed out that they could not increase their economic capital if they attended higher education. The conclusion may be more interesting with the statement of who did not want to go to university although s/he got into the computer engineering department at a state university. He stated that;

For example, it has removed the minimum score level required to enter university. There were direct transitions from our vocational high school. Now, at that time, the man who studied for 2 years, in the same way, could upgrade himself to 4 years of computer engineering. Now let me give an example from now. If I had gone and studied, I would have given my 4 years. Couldn't someone have studied computer engineering in a private school?...

You have to study for 4 years. You must go to courses for 4 or 5 years to improve yourself. And you have to be very successful. I would be at the age of 25 to 30. When would I live my life after studying until I was 30? I was saying, when will I get married and have children? At 30, you cannot say you can get married when you are just starting to prepare for your future ... You'll be 40 years old. It wouldn't make any sense.

For 12 years, I have thought I was a burden to my family. You know, it's like this every year: the money for school and courses. Whether it's money for school, test books, pocket money for school, I don't know, when you calculate

everything, you already spend a lot of money on education. I used to say, because I was looking at what was visible from the outside, I was saying there was no need to go to university. In my opinion, I did not go to university to as not to be more of a burden to my family. I chose to work.

In contrast to their statements that they did not want to attend higher education, all participants expressed what they wanted to study in university without hesitation. In other words, no one stated that they did not wish to attend higher education when asked if they had an opportunity to attend higher education and what they should want to be.

4.3.1.2. Family's Experiences

It should be noted at the beginning of the paragraph that Group A consisted of parents whose children attended university; on the other hand, Group B consisted of parents whose children did not attend university. Additionally, Group E consisted of parents whose children were not the university ages.

4.3.1.2.1. Group A Whose Children Attended University

The concerns and expectations of the participants whose children have a university education show the families' educational motivation and why other families whose children did not participate in higher education do not have this motivation. According to most participants, it was expected their children finding a related job to their education. Considering the general idea of participants, even though it was seen in their statements that they had given importance to symbolic capital, most of them stated finding a good job. Therefore, it can be concluded they associate with a good job and social status. It may be true that a good job is an indicator of social status; however, a good job does not be the same with sufficient economic capital in all cases.

It was questioned whether participants affected their children while they chose their department. 4 participants stated they affected their children's department decision while 15 participants stated they did not affect them.

The participants were asked whether they had financial difficulties during the university education process for their children. Related to this, they were asked whether they received any support during this process and how much of their income they allocated to their children during their university education. 3 participants indicated they had no difficulties during their children's higher education period. On the other hand, 16 participants stated they had financial difficulties in the higher education period. Among the participants, the number of those who allocate most of their income to their children during the university process is 3, the number of those who keep half of their income is 6, the number of those who keep a little of their income is 6, and the number of those who do not spare their income at all is 1.

Finally, the participants were asked the reasons why they wanted to have their children educated by accepting the education costs, if there were no people in their families or circles with university experience, or if the social and economic situation of those with university experience who did was not different from that of the participants. It can be observed in general, they had hope for the future. In other words, if their children had not attended university, they would have less hope of finding a job in the future than they are now. On the other hand, among the participants were those who would not want their children to study if they could predict the current economic situation of their children.

RESEARCHER: Well, if there are no people around you who have university experience, or if there is someone, let's say they went to university, and they get minimum wage... which is a big uncertainty after all. Your children will study for 4 years, and maybe they will be unemployed. Maybe they will get minimum wage. Then why did you want to accept these education costs and have your children educated?

BA10: We don't know what will happen in life.

RESEARCHER: If you knew, wouldn't you let them study at university?

BA10: I would not send them to university. My child studied, but s/he gets minimum wage.

RESEARCHER: Is there any hope for the future? Maybe a job that can do its job...

BA10: I am uncertain.

4.3.1.2.2. Group B Whose Children Did Not Attend University

It was asked 4 questions to understand Group B's perception of higher education. These questions consisted of 2 groups. In the first group, it was examined the reasons lay behind their educational motivations. In the second group, it was questioned their assumptions in terms of higher education. There are 10 participants in Group B and 2 in Group A whose 1 child has not attended university. 12 participants will be evaluated as Group B.

Participants were asked what they thought was why their children did not attend university. 3 participants indicated their children did not attend university because of financial deficiencies, while 9 participants stated the decision not to attend university was by their children. It can be easy to estimate that participants¹ whose children did not attend university because of financial deficiency can be understandable. Among the participants who said that the reasons for their children not going to university were their preferences, the striking point is that these participants stated that their children were affected by their social environment. It was stated that the children of the participants made an educational decision according to their friends. However, as seen in the discourses of children (in other parts), "decisions not to participate in higher education" is mostly the belief that higher education does not contribute as much as expected to economic capital accumulation. Another reason is the belief that they cannot find a job even if they are educated because there is not sufficient

¹ It should be noted that these participants' none of children attend university; in other words, 1 participant from only Group B, and 2 participants from Group B and E.

social capital accumulation inherited from the family. In this case, if the words of both groups are connected: Children who did not attend higher education, influenced by the unemployment experiences of university graduates around them, and also taking into account the inability of their class to find a good job (lack of social capital), made more economic expectation-based decisions. The Group B participants also attributed their children's decision not to attend education to their social environment rather than seeing the economic reasons behind these decisions of their children.

In similar, 4 participants in Group D explained their reason for not attending university as a financial deficiency. In other words, while almost half of the Group D participants explained the reasons for not going to university, demonstrating the financial inadequacy of their families, it was noteworthy that the families attributed their children's decision not to attend university to their preferences. Group D participants stated that they could not prepare enough for the university exam due to the financial inadequacy of their families, and/or they did not want to be a burden to their families because they believed that their family could not afford the expenses during the university process. In accordance with the statements of Group D, Group B participants were asked whether they would have financial difficulties if their children had gone to university. 11 participants stated that they considered that they would have financial difficulties if their children attended university. However, even if the participants thought they would have difficulties, they stated that if their children wanted to attend university, they would somehow get them to study. In other words, 8 of the 11 participants apparently indicated that they would have their children educated under any circumstance and could afford to pay for their education by: for example, working additional jobs or borrowing if necessary.

In order to understand why the participants wanted to have their children educated by bearing the cost of education, it was asked whether they believed their current social and economic situation would be different if their children had attended university. Whereas 8 participants demonstrated their children's

social and economic situation would be better, 2 participants stated they could be worse. On the other hand, 2 participants stated that the contribution of a university degree to the social and economic future depends on the department and the person who graduated from the university.

As the last question of this section, participants were asked whether, in retrospect, they would like their children to attend university. 11 participants responded to this question, and all of these participants indicated they wanted their children to attend university. While their children would be hired for a good job by their degree, they could improve their symbolic capital by attending university. There may be two ways to improve symbolic capital by attending university. The first is if the children of the participants attend university and get a good job, they can develop their symbolic capital through their economic capital. As a second way, as many participants stated, they can develop their symbolic capital by studying in respectable departments at the university.

4.4. After Graduating From Higher Education

Accessing higher education does not necessarily make an impact on janitors' social class and position. According to my observations, most of them work there where they do not need any certificate to work. In addition, for having those certificates, they take the risk of losing their capitals. This fundamental discrepancy causes them to question what is their motivation to continue education. In other words, what is their motivation for the reproduction of poverty? Just as educational tendency relates to family's SEB, educational outcomes depend on students' cultural and social capitals. In this situation, a student's career plan is shaped by their habitus. While it may be true that children whose parents work low-paid jobs want to have a desirable and well-rewarded job. Moreover, they may improve their cultural capital for this purpose, but the availableness of cultural capital accumulation depends on the family's SEB. The example given in the cultural capital section helps to understand this situation. X works as a cashier, and Y works as a banker even though they graduated from

the same departments, which indicates that the family's SEB restricts the productivity of cultural capital. In other words, economic capital helps the reproduction of cultural capital transfer from generation to generation. Therefore, economic capital increases by the reproduction of cultural capital over generations. Otherwise, it would be the reproduction of the current class and position. Bowles and Gintis conclude that even though America might be seen as the land of opportunity, the economic status of the next generation will be strongly determined by parental income and wealth (Rumberger, 2010). Overall, graduating from higher education does not certainly give the intended consequences. After graduating, most students from the lower class cannot change their class or position since their economic capital does not help them use their free time to improve themselves during the higher education process. Lacking free time due to a deficiency of economic capital prevents social and cultural capital, such as increasing networks or learning a language.

4.4.1. Children Experiences

4.4.1.1. Group C Who Attended University

It was asked as the first question regarding their current status and class if they had any expectations from hiring a job that related to their education. 9 participants indicated that they had an expectation of finding a job related to their education. On the other hand, 4 participants stated that they did not have any expectations of finding a job related to their education. Since their education have been had many graduates, some of them believed that there was high competition in their job sector. Additionally, a participant stated that s/he had no expectations because of conditions of the state, even though s/he had expectations before. Apart from those answers, 2 participants replied with they had no idea. Especially one of their answers should be pointed out as "My expectations of finding a job in the department I studied at the university... I can find a job with links to the references. Otherwise, I don't have much expectation due to today's conditions." Thus, it was observed the importance of social capital

to expand economic capital instead of cultural capital in accordance with the participant's statement.

Alternatively, to understand their expectations from cultural capital to find a job, they were asked if they could work in their current jobs if they did not graduate from their department. The majority of participants responded as they could work their current job if they would not graduate from their department. In other words, 11 participants stated they could work their current job. Some noted they did not need any diploma; on the other hand, others indicated that they needed a diploma, but it did not matter which department they had. As seen in their statements, social capital is perceived as more important than cultural capital. They asserted that having a related environment and references are more suitable for hiring a job related to their education. In other words, they claimed that having cultural capital did not enough to be hired.

This situation can be examined in two ways. First, they do not need a diploma due to working in a low-skill job. The second is that they do not have enough social capital to be hired for a job related to their education. In other words, using cultural capital to accumulate economic capital, this cultural capital is expected to be supported by social capital. For understanding their social capital effectiveness, it was questioned whether the apartment residents supported the education and employment process of the participants. 9 participants asserted that the apartment residents did not support the participants in the education or employment process. On the other hand, 6 participants stated that the apartment residents offered to help with the education and employment process, but half of them did not think these offers were made for real. Additionally, 3 of the 6 participants stated that they benefit from the support of the apartment residents. It was observed from one's statements that an apartment resident not related to this job has more social capital in his/her profession.

As seen in the statement above, while the participant is expected to have more social capital accumulation in the area where he/she received his/her education, it

has been stated that the social capital of a different person living in an apartment building and being a member of any profession is higher. In this case, I expected to discover what supported participants with limited social capital during their job search process. They stated that their experiences, certificates, learning programming, language, and internships helped them in the job search process. Yet the most striking and frequently given answer is “social networks.” The remarkable point is that the jobs they find through their social capital are generally independent of their profession. 12 participants stated that they found their current job through social networks; however, it was observed that 7 participants out of 12 worked in a job independent of their cultural capital. In other words, even though some of them indicated that their social capital did not help to find their current occupation or internship program, it was observed that 12 participants were hired thanks to their social capital. Only 3 out of 15 did not have the sufficient social capital to be hired, or they did not need social capital to be hired. These social networks may be obtained from their former workplaces or through family or friendship ties.

The participants were asked whether the expectations underlying their attainment of university education had changed during the job searching process. 7 participants out of 14 indicated that their expectations evolved for the worst. In contrast, 5 participants asserted that their expectations were changed for the better. Additionally, 2 participants stated they did not expect so much from a university education.

The question was asked, would you think your social and economic situation would have been better or worse if you had worked instead of attending university? According to their answers, 8 participants stated their economic and social conditions could be better if they had worked instead of attending higher education. On the other hand, 3 participants believed that their social and economic situation would have been worse if they had not attended university. Apart from those 11 participants, 2 participants implied that their economic conditions would be better if they had not attended university while their social

situation would be worse. It can be concluded from their general statements that they expected economic mobility from cultural capital. In other words, aim of expanding their cultural capital is to improve their economic capital. However, since participants could not meet their economic capital expectations through attending higher education, the expectations of the participants from higher education evolved into symbolic capital instead of economic capital.

Another important factor that negatively impacts economic capital expectations throughout higher education is whether the participants feel equal regarding capital accumulation opportunities in their social environment. In this regard, they were asked whether they thought they were equivalent to their peers at the university in terms of finding a job. 8 participants believed they had not equalled with their peers regarding being hired, while 7 participants implied that they had equalled. Even though they asserted that they had believed in being equal with their peers, 4 out of 7 stated that their peers were more advantageous than them in terms of the social environment. Overall, 7 out of 15 implied that their peers were more beneficial to them regarding the social environment. Therefore, it demonstrates that participants believed that getting benefits from social capital in terms of being hired is more valuable than cultural capital.

On the other hand, it can be stated that the participants have an advantage because of their spatial and their families' occupations. The participants' families have a more intense interaction with the middle and upper classes, perhaps more than the interaction between those classes. In other words, even if not everyone knows each other in the same apartment, everyone knows the janitors. Therefore, even living in the same apartment with other classes means a social capital opportunity, while janitors and their families cannot have this social capital opportunity. The janitors' families living in the same apartment are very close to the middle and upper classes, while on the other hand, they are far away. While the participants' observation of different living standards, which are spatially closest, motivates them to accumulate cultural capital, the same living standards cause them to despair from lacking social capital.

While social capital accumulation is inherited from family, other significant qualifications for being hired for a relevant occupation with their education depend on the individual's capabilities for the job. In this direction, the participants were asked about the missing features that eliminated them from the job advertisements. While deficiency of foreign language is an element that eliminates them according to 13 participants, lack of experience for 7 participants caused them to be eliminated from job postings. Hence, participants were asked why they did not have these qualifications. Most participants indicated that the main reason for not having these qualifications was financial. Another common reason is the lack of free time. Yet it is possible to consider the means of insufficient free time in terms of lacking financial sources. In other words, the participants do not have adequately free time because they must “work.”

The participants were asked whether their university degrees and qualifications acquired while studying at university affected their employment, regardless of their profession. 6 participants stated that they had an effect, and 9 indicated no effect. In this regard, it was questioned whether participants were hired for a job more quickly than someone who did not have a university degree. Before analysing their answers, it should be noted that 14 participants were working in a job, whether it was related to their education or not. According to this note, 11 participants indicated they were hired assisted by their university diplomas. Moreover, some participants working low-skilled jobs unrelated to their education implied that being employed in low-skilled jobs such as cashier or delivery boy could be easier with a university diploma. In other words, their diploma supported being hired in low-skilled jobs. On the other hand, 4 participants indicated that their hiring capability did not depend on their university diploma. Additionally, it was asked whether one without a diploma could work in the participant's current job. 9 participants stated one without a university diploma could work their current occupation, while 3 participants implied a university diploma was essential to work their current job.

4.4.1.2. Group D Who Did Not Attend University

In order to understand the expectations of the contribution of a university degree to economic capital, the participants were asked whether they considered that their current social and economic situation would be different if they had attended university. 3 participants believed that their economic and social conditions could be better if they attended university, whereas only 1 participant would consider their economic and social status to remain the same. On the other hand, 5 participants expressed that their social and economic conditions could be worse. Approximately half of them were satisfied with their current economic capital. Furthermore, they believed if they attended university, their level of economic capital would be worse.

Respondents were asked where they worked, and it was observed that most of them worked in low-status jobs. These are janitors, store workers (cashier, assistant manager), construction machine operators, butchers, couriers, and videographers in matches. 7 participants indicated that they were satisfied with their occupation, while 2 participants stated that they were satisfied only as financially. On the other hand, 1 participant who was working as a janitor expressed s/he was not satisfied because of others' behaviours. It is assumed that participants' perspectives on their profession and cultural capital accumulation may likely depend on whether there are university graduates who do the same job. Therefore, the participants were asked if there were other people with diplomas working in the same job as them. 9 out of 10 participants showed that both university graduates and high school-secondary school graduates could work in the same job. However, I observed that the perceptions of cultural capital accumulation were divided into two according to participants' responses. The first group consisted of participants who did not regret attending to university. According to their statements, social capital accumulation was more significant than cultural capital accumulation. Their statements will be mentioned as follows;

- This situation makes me feel that; university graduates work in the same place. When seeing them, I suppose there is no meaning in attending university ... I have a friend who is a history graduate. S/he studied for 4 years and 1 year of preparation, in total 5 years of study, and is not be appointed. S/he was 28 years old. Some things depend on torpil [influential contact].

...

- We do not do the same job as university graduates. While a law graduate earned 5000 TL by working in a company in Istanbul, I earned 8000 TL by working as an operator even though I did attend university.

...

-I'm glad I didn't attend university because I have a friend who is a university graduate and works as a security guard. There should be someone you know if you want to be hired.

In contrast, the second group consisted of participants who believed that university graduates were more advantageous in terms of social life and future.

-One of my friends who graduated from university (who works at the same place as the participant) is waiting for his appointment. S/he is a teacher... I am waiting for her/him to be appointed... when seeing her/him, I despair for myself.

...

-There is one teacher (who works in the same job as the participant). He has been doing this job for 1 year in different places. He is now working with us. I do not think my job will be wide open, because even a teaching graduate cannot be appointed.

To sum up, participants were divided into two groups. The first group members were satisfied with their social and economic conditions. In contrast, second group members agreed that university graduates would be more advantageous socially. However, in both groups, I observed that the participants were more satisfied with their job financially than their peers who were university graduates.

It should be noted that university graduates were also working in a low-skilled job that Group D employed. It was observed from some members of Group C

that their university diploma was useful even when employed in low-skilled jobs. In other words, some participants stated that if employers had two candidates for the job, s/he would select one with a university degree. It can be seen following expression of Group C;

RESEARCHER: Do you think you can find a job more easily than someone who has not attended university?

C14: Yes

RESEARCHER: For your current job. What is it?

C14: Delivery boy

RESEARCHER: You are a delivery boy. Two people applied; you have a university degree. Do you think you are a little more advantageous?

C14: Yes, I see myself as more advantageous

RESEARCHER: Why? Because this job has nothing to do with your current diploma or professional qualifications. Why do you think university is a priority?

C14: So let me put it this way: I already work in the Yemeksepeti warehouse, but we can have an advantage there. We have group chefs. When hiring, they were asked, "Are you a college graduate? Are you a high school graduate?". When you say I am a university graduate, you can be hired for the job more easily.

Another participants statement could be found as follows;

RESEARCHER: Do you think you can find a job more easily than someone who has not graduated from university?

C07: ...When looking at university or high school graduates, they prefer university graduates.

RESEARCHER: But even though there is no requirement for a university degree, what you do? Are you more advantageous?

C07: Yes.

RESEARCHER: Why?

C07: So, as I said, it may be because they think someone studying at university has higher knowledge.

RESEARCHER: But, for example, you studied Political Science... how do employers benefit from Kant, Marx, Weber?

C07: I guess the department is not essential for employers now.

RESEARCHER: Is it enough to be a university graduate?

C07: Yes.

RESEARCHER: What do you think about it being enough for someone to have a university degree to get that job?

C07: Actually, it is not enough. It is a little strange to employ someone who studied at university just because s/he graduated from university. The efficiency s/he received from the university is essential.

RESEARCHER: So, you don't understand the attitude of your employers in the market sector.

C07: Because they hired everybody, after all. So now it doesn't matter if someone graduated from high school or university.

RESEARCHER: So, having a diploma did not make an impact?

C07: Hmm. They hired everyone. When there is a preference between 2 people, it did not impact me so much, but maybe it did for the employer.

In order to identify the perception of being hired for a low-skilled job, the questions were asked about the job searching process. It was observed that university graduates believed that they would be more easily hired. On the other hand, it was asked Group D how did the lack of a university degree affect the job search process. 8 participants stated they were not affected by lacking a university diploma when they were looking for a job. However, 6 participants, 4 of them also stated they were not affected, and implied that they could not work in high-skilled jobs. According to their statements, everyone could work in their jobs. For example, a participant, who worked as a courier, stated anyone with a license could be a courier.

The emphasis of the participants on the effect of social capital on finding a job should be recalled. Because considering the predisposition of the participants to the professions of their class and social environment through their social capital, they may work or plan to work as a janitor. Because, as the C group participants

implied, social capital is needed to work in the departments where they have their education and diploma at the university. In this direction, it can be said that while the middle class uses diplomas as a tool to reproduce their class, the lower class's effort to advance through diplomas will be fruitless due to the lack of social capital. For this reason, it is understandable that s/he tends to professions where her/his social environment is intense. Therefore, the views of the family and social circles towards their job, which is their occupation, were questioned. In other words, the social capital of janitors is mainly made up of other janitors, and this occupational group is, therefore, a way they can continue to at least not lose their class position. However, 8 participants stated that they did not want to work as a janitor. Additionally, 2 participants asserted that “they were working as janitors because of necessity.” One of the participants, who stated that s/he worked as a janitor out of necessity, emphasized that working in this job was related to her/his social capital;

RESEARCHER: Do you intend to continue your father's profession in the future? What are the advantages and disadvantages of working as a janitor?

D01: The disadvantages are many. The opinions of the people in the apartment dwellers. The janitor's son, here's the janitor's son. There is a lower-level thought, a view a little lower. I don't know, and it is not my choice to work as a janitor. But we have to do it because of my father. I do not think it is a job to do.

RESEARCHER: Do you think you are working as a janitor right now because of your father?

D01: I think so, yes.

RESEARCHER: So why do you think? What is the result of this? Why did this happen?

D01: Our elders worked as a janitor first, and we continued by seeing them from our elders.

As mentioned before, it has been noticed that the participants have a job expectation that they will be financially satisfied. For this reason, when asked about the advantages of being janitors, their answers about the bill, the absence of rent, and the possibility of investing by making savings contradict their financial expectations. In other words, it was expected that janitor's children

would willingly work as janitors since they could be satisfied financially. Most of them demonstrated that working as a janitor had financial advantages. Even though working as a janitor had more opportunities financially, the reasons why they do not choose this profession supported by their social capital should be questioned. To this extent, it has been observed that people who do not want to work as janitors work in jobs with fewer opportunities for the same wage, such as couriers and cashiers. For this reason, it is thought that social reasons, not financial reasons, lie based on the professions they choose or do not choose.

According to participants' statements, working as a janitor could be disadvantaging because of people's behaviours, lacking social life, living in an unacceptable house, etc. On the other hand, most participants emphasized the opportunities of working as a janitor, such as not paying bills or rent. Despite the economic opportunities of working as a janitor, none wanted to work as a janitor. However, they asserted that they were satisfied with their current occupation for financial reasons even though those jobs did not present working janitor's opportunities. In other words, their occupations are also classified as low-skilled jobs but without side opportunities. Besides the financial advantages of working as janitors, they preferred other low-skilled jobs. Hence, it appears whether the participants choose their chosen professions with economic or social expectations appears. In the manner of their economic capital accumulation preferences, it was questioned the perception of the participants on the effect of cultural capital on economic capital accumulation. The question was asked would you desire to attend university. 4 participants implied they wanted to have a university degree, while 4 participants hinted they did not have any regrets about attending university. A participant explained her/his logic as follows;

The barriers required to enter the university have been repealed. I guess anyone can attend university. I do not think the attending university will support anything, and I am glad I did not participate in university. For example, one is studying in a university with only write her/his name and surname in the exam. S/he needs to do only 2-3 questions. Especially if her/his father has money, s/he can study at the department s/he wants in a private university. So I think one will be needed to do nothing except type his name and surname. I would have

done it by giving 12 years of effort. But s/he was going to enter a factory, a holding, a company again with his father's favor. I would not be able to enter there already. So I do not regret not attending university.

In addition, the importance given by the participants to acquiring a profession is also observed. Despite this, some think that people who attend university and obtain a profession cannot be successful if they do not have social capital. It has been observed that they think that economic capital will develop if the acquired professions are jobs supported by their social capital. In other words, the participants may tend to believe that the primary capital accumulation required for economic capital accumulation is social capital, not cultural capital. Therefore, they acquired the occupation that was supported by their social capital.

It was questioned to what extent did not attend university impacted on participant's life. The number of those who supposed that not going to university affected her/his life unsatisfactorily is 4. 3 out of these 4 participants considered that it only contributed to her/him social status, not working life. One of the participants, who stated that he was financially satisfied with his job and not going to university affected her/his life unsatisfactorily, expressed her/his university perception as follows: "If I had graduated from university, I would not have delivered orders in this cold weather. I could at least work at a desk, in a hospital, or another company."

4.4.2. Family Experiences

In this section, there were only two groups examined. Because the occupational process of Group A's children was not examined in the field study in terms of occupational experiences, on the other hand, the relationship between occupation and higher education, Group B participants were asked 3 questions. While the higher education experiences were questioned with the questions asked to the Group A participants, the difficulties in the work life of the participants' children were determined with the questions asked to the Group B participants. There are

only 2 questions that examined the assumptions of Group E participants in this section because the children of the participants are not in the higher education period.

4.4.2.1. Group B Whose Children Did Not Attend University

Participants were asked how their child's job-finding process was. For this reason, the participants were asked whether they helped their children find a job and what they did if they helped. 5 participants stated they assisted their children in finding their jobs. In comparison, 5 participants indicated their children were hired without help from their parents. According to the statements of the participants who helped their children get a job, they found a job for their children through acquaintances. It is necessary to look at how the children of the participants, who find their jobs themselves, find a job. It has been observed that children who find jobs here find these jobs in two ways. First of all, these children acquired cultural capital accumulation through non-university ways; for example, s/he got a journeyman certificate by working with a hairdresser. Another way is for children to use their acquaintances. In other words, they benefited from their social capital to improve their economic capital. On the other hand, I noticed that low-skilled jobs could be found without extra effort. Put it differently, participants indicated that their children without university degrees could be easily hired for low-skilled jobs. It can be observed as follows;

BE02: As you know, unskilled workers are recruited everywhere; they do not have a job, they are taken to factories, and being young and having done their military service is an advantage in this respect. For example, if I talk about myself, I'm a 43-year-old man, right now I'm afraid..., I mean, if I leave here now, for example, where will I be taken, who will accept me, I have that thought. Even if my child is a high school graduate, there is a job in the factories now. When he applied, he went alone to many places. He can also apply for a position by filling out a form but, of course, the minimum wage. This minimum wage may not be enough from time to time.

...

Well, now you know that they are hiring unskilled workers everywhere. He doesn't have a profession in his hand; factories employ them. Also, being young

and having done military service is an advantage. For example, if you talk about myself, I'm a 43-year-old man, right now I'm afraid, for instance, I'm afraid. If I leave here now, for example, where will I be hired, where will I be accepted, I have that thought. Even though my child is a high school graduate now, there is a job in the factories. When he applied, he went alone to many places. You can also apply for a job by filling out a form, but of course, minimum wage. Sometimes this minimum wage may not be enough.

Participants were asked how their children's lack of a university degree affected their job-finding process. This question was responded by 11 participants. According to 6 participants, their children did not have a university degree negatively affected the employment process. On the other hand, 2 participants stated that the lack of a university degree in their children did not affect the job-finding process. 2 participants responded as both “negatively affected” and “not affected.” 1 participant stated that the absence of a diploma slightly affects the job-finding process.

RESEARCHER: How do you think the absence of a university degree affected your child? Or not going to university?

BAE09: It did not affect the child at this time. But it will affect her in the future.

RESEARCHER: I mean, how did she find a job right away? For example, although your daughter graduated from high school, I'm talking about her job in the market.

BAE09: found immediately. She found it, but I don't think that's the future of it.

RESEARCHER: What's in your future?

BAE09: So I can't imagine that she will do that job all the time. For example, I can't imagine a 40-50 year old person standing at the cash register. I don't think so. I think the diploma will be needed for my daughter in the future

4.4.2.2. Group E Whose Children Were Not the University Ages

In this section, since participants' children were not yet at the university graduation age, they were asked about their expectations. The first question was about what they thought their children would do if they would not attend university. Many participants stated that if their children do not attend university, they can work in low-level jobs, such as factory work and cashiering in markets.

The number of those who think their children can get a good job without going to university was relatively less. According to the participants, their children will have a promising future if these jobs can only be done by people who are masters of the job. For example, if their children become electricians, they may have a promising future, but they do not want their children to be factory workers. I observed that the reason for this is if their children become factory workers and lose their jobs after age, they have no way to accumulate economic capital again. But if they get cultural capital without going to university, they are not likely to endanger their economic capital by losing their jobs in the future. This expectation shows the “guaranteed” job perception of participants. Therefore, the question arises whether education or experience is required to find a good job. It can be thought that participants’ perceptions supported the importance of education from the questions asked so far. However, 6 participants stated that experience was more important than education, while 14 participants indicated education was more important. On the other hand, it was observed that education and experience were equivalent for 15 participants. This result is significant because Group E is still in a position to observe the environment because of their children's age group. In this way, for example, a participant who wants to improve their economic capital will see the people around them who are in the same position as themselves and make a capital investment thanks to their experiences. For example, they can already save money for their child's tuition fees or they have their children start working as an apprentice. Considering the emphasis of most families on the necessity of obtaining a good profession for the construction of a promising future, I have observed that families think that their children can have a good profession with the investment of cultural capital. However, I observed that since families are aware of the difficulties in transforming their cultural capital into economic capital without their social capital, their expectation of cultural capital is not only economic capital but also that children develop their symbolic capital. For this reason, I think that the expectations of Group E participants for a promising future are to develop their cultural capital accumulation to increase their symbolic capital.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to examine the educational motivation of the janitors living in Büyükçekmece. The main research question was, "what constitutes a janitor's family's motivation to attend higher education even though their economic capital has remained the same?" In-depth interviews were conducted with 70 people living in Büyükçekmece/Istanbul and members of the janitor's family. While forming the questions, Bourdieu's forms of capital were taken as the basis. In this direction, the main aim was to build the thesis on the expectations of capital accumulation. Therefore, they discussed that cultural, economic, and social capital. However, as the fieldwork progressed, it was decided that symbolic capital, another important concept of Bourdieu, should also be examined. While answering the research question, it was unexpectedly noted that the central concept that constitutes the expectation of economic capital was not the quality of cultural capital but the lack of social capital. In other words, in Group C, who attended university and Group D, who did not attend university, participants supposed that cultural capital accumulations could not be transformed into economic capital if they did not have social capital. Therefore, I observed that the participants might increase their cultural capital accumulation to develop their symbolic capital.

This thesis consisted of 5 chapters. These were the introductory part of the thesis, the theoretical part, 2 parts containing the field study, and the conclusion. In the first part of the thesis, the aim of the study was stated. Then the research methodology was examined. In this direction, how the field study was carried out was explained. The most significant difficulty experienced during the fieldwork was that the participants did not want to meet with someone "out of

their class." This situation turned into an understandable situation after convincing the participants. This situation was investigated in Chapters 3 and 4.

Bourdieu's theoretical framework was explained in the second part of the thesis. The concepts were explained in detail, and their relationship with the field study was established, followed by a literature review. During the field study, I realized the importance of the concept of symbolic capital, which was added after the field study to this section. I have observed that three of Bourdieu's forms of capital, frequently used, are inadequate in explaining the participants' expectations from education. For this reason, the importance of symbolic capital, in addition to other forms of capital, is examined.

In the third part, the field study was discussed with the concepts of internal migration and social exclusion. The first, the families' experiences before the migration were questioned. Then they were asked about their experiences during and right after the migration. The remaining questions were about the experiences of the participants after they migrated. One of the most striking points was that male participants inherited the mining profession from their families. Nevertheless, their families worked at the mine in two ways; The first was because there was no other job opportunity in the region, and the second was to take advantage of the advantages of the TTK. Although participants did not have these advantages, they continued this profession in different regions. In the continuation of this section, participants' migration experiences and their educational expectations were examined. The main reason for their migration was unemployment. However, the number of those satisfied with their current work was also minimal. Therefore, why the participants continued this job was also questioned in this section. Most of the answers pointed to their children's future. Thus, I observed that even if the participants did not migrate for cultural capital, they tolerated the problematic conditions because of their children's cultural capital accumulation. In the continuation of this section, the importance given to education was examined. It should be noted that this section consisted of questions about the educational process up to university education. Hence, the

difficulties experienced by the participants were examined. I noticed that the lack of economic capital constituted an essential obstacle to accumulating cultural capital. Additionally, one of the surprising results of this section was that the motivation underlying the cultural capital accumulation of some participants was symbolic capital rather than economic capital. I noticed that symbolic capital motivation was between cultural and economic capital. In other words, the participants wanted their children to do respectable professions. These occupations often consisted of high status, not very high salaries. For example, most respondents wanted their children to work in the health sector or government. When the underlying reason was questioned, I realized that participants wanted their children to have a profession respected by society.

In the fourth chapter, besides the perspectives of the janitors' families towards education, their investments in education were questioned. Firstly, the migrations from Zonguldak and Bartın were re-evaluated within the education framework. Then, the preparation process for higher education was emphasized. Under this headline, the preparation process was examined in detail and followed by the higher education process. Group D, who did not attend university, participants did not have university experience, and the academic life of those did not result in success. The questions for Group D were about their experiences at the age of the higher education period, whereas the questions for Group C were about their experiences during the university period. The notable point here was Group C, who attended university, and Group D, who did not attend university participants emphasized the difficulty of converting cultural capital into economic capital if they do not have social capital. Moreover, most did not believe they could achieve this transformation. I observed that the function of cultural capital was to increase symbolic capital instead of economic capital for most participants.

Bourdieu's forms of capital could be evaluated within the framework of the general conclusions drawn from the chapters mentioned above.

- The first concept used in this thesis was cultural capital. While using the concept of cultural capital, Bourdieu considered the differences in the academic achievement of different classes. For this reason, it was decided that the concept of cultural capital would best describe the difficulties experienced by children from the lower class who serve these classes in a residential area where the middle and upper classes constitute the majority. It was stated that the Group D participants who did not attend university or dropped out of university developed their economic capital without cultural capital. Based on that, I observed that cultural capital development was desired due to the development of symbolic capital rather than economic capital for Group D participants. In other words, the participants believed they could compensate for their social position and low-level professional predisposition inherited from their families via cultural capital. The difference between Group D and Group C participants was that Group D participants tended to evaluate cultural capital as a symbolic capital accumulation tool.
- The second concept was social capital. Many scholars had used the concept of social capital; however, Bourdieu's definition was preferred to explain field study. Bourdieu emphasized the importance of potential resources generated by mutual acquaintance or recognition relationships. The concept of social capital was necessary for this thesis because of 2 reasons. The first was that social capital was how participants insulate themselves from society while simultaneously enduring the society they isolated. In other words, the participants, who constitute the lowest class in the region, had established a network among themselves. These networks were generally based on kinship and professional solidarity relations. The second was that while social capital helped the participants in Group A, whose children attended university, Group B, whose children did not attend university, and Group E, whose children were under 18, acquire their economic capital. However, it is the biggest obstacle to the

economic capital accumulation for Groups C and D. According to Groups C and D participants, no matter how much the participants developed their cultural capital, their economic capital returns would be limited by social capital deficiencies.

- The third concept was economic capital. Bourdieu stated that all capital could be converted into each other. However, I observed that participants could not convert their capital into economic capital. This situation might vary in terms of causality between generations. Social capital was the most fundamental asset in accumulating economic capital for the first generation, consisting of parents. In other words, the participants found the janitorial profession through their social capital. On the other hand, this situation changed for the next generation, consisting of children. Group C participants could not find jobs related to their education without their social capital. On the other hand, I observed that economic capital's expectations have changed between Groups C and D. Participants in Group C, those who attended or graduated from university, supposed before they graduated from or attended a university that cultural capital was an excellent way to accumulate economic capital. In contrast, I observed that cultural capital was a way to develop symbolic capital for participants in Group D who had not attended university or dropped out of university. The importance of social capital was emphasized for the development of economic capital by Groups C and D participants. In addition, most Group D participants stated they were satisfied with the economic capital they accumulated without cultural capital.

The new knowledge may this thesis contributed to the literature was that while the purpose of cultural capital accumulation for the middle class was to reproduce their economic capital, one of the purposes of cultural capital accumulation for the lower class serving these classes in regions where this middle and upper class was concentrated might be symbolic capital

accumulation before economic capital. In this case, the answer to the research question emerged. The reason for the accumulation of cultural capital seemed economical for some participants in Groups A, B, and E. However, this was not entirely correct. I noticed that participants preferred respected professions rather than professions that would earn a lot for their children. On the other hand, some participants in Group C were disappointed with the university education. One reason for this disappointment was the hope for accumulating economic capital that underlies the participants' expectations for accumulating cultural capital. Therefore, I observed that expectations for cultural capital varied between generations. In other words, the meaning attributed to intergenerational cultural capital accumulation varies. There were two main groups among the participants to examine this variety. These groups consisted of parent groups and children's groups. When the higher education motivations of both groups were evaluated, the number of participants who wanted their children to have respected professionals was relatively higher.

Another consequence that could be different from the general literature was about Vocational High Schools. It was a known fact that Anatolian High Schools were relatively more successful than Vocational High Schools in terms of university entrance rates. During the interviews, I observed that Vocational High School graduates were more successful in university entrance. Therefore, when the high schools from which the students who pass the university exam were taken into account, it was noticed that the success rate of Vocational High Schools was descending. This fact was valid within a middle-class interpretation. However, looking at this evaluation from the perspective of the lower class, it could be observed that Vocational High Schools were more successful in university entrance rates. It could be observed in this study that confirms this fact.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: IN DEPTH INTERVIEW'S QUESTIONS

Aileye sorulacak olan soruların cevapları anne ve babadan ayrı ayrı alınacaktır.

A ve B ve E Grubu Ortak Soruları

1. Nereden, kaç yılında göç ettiniz? Göç etme sebebiniz neydi?
2. Ailenizde maden ocaklarında çalışan/ lar oldu mu? Evet ise göç kararınızı etkiledi mi?
3. Madende çalışma şansınız var mıydı? Varsa neden tercih etmediniz veya çalışıp bıraktınız mı?
4. Göç ettiğiniz zaman, İstanbul'da size destek olan bir çevreniz var mıydı? Size ne derece yardımcı oldular?
5. Eskiden ne iş yapıyordunuz ve apartman görevliliği işini nasıl buldunuz? Evin hanımı çalışıyor mu? Ne iş yapıyor?
6. Düzenli görüştüğünüz insanlar kimler? Onlar ne iş yapıyorlar? Onlar nereli?
7. Apartman görevlisi olmaktan memnun musunuz? Sizce avantajları ve dezavantajları nelerdir? Eğer bu işten memnun değilseniz bu işe devam etme sebebiniz nedir?
8. Apartman sakinleri ile ilişkileriniz nasıl? Sizi mutlu ve mutsuz eden tavırları neler, sizi nasıl etkiliyor? Düzenli olarak görüştüğünüz apartman sakinleri var mı?
9. Apartman sakinleri çocuklarınızın eğitimi ile ilgilendiler mi? Herhangi bir etkileri olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
10. Çocuğunuzun eğitim hayatıyla ne kadar ilgilisiniz, veli toplantılarına katılır mısınız? Notlarını takip ettiniz mi?
11. Çocuğunuzun üniversiteye kadar olan eğitim hayatında geride kaldığını, eşitsizlikler yaşadığını düşündünüz mü?
12. Sizce üniversite okumak daha iyi bir gelecek için gerekli midir?

13. Çevrenizde üniversite okumuş insanlar sizin eğitime bakışınızı nasıl etkiledi? Çocuğunuzun eğitim hayatına bunu nasıl yansıttınız?
14. Çocuğunuzun eğitime katılmasının sizin ve çocuğunuzun geleceğini nasıl etkileyeceğini düşünüyordunuz?
15. Çocuğunuzun üniversiteye gitmesini desteklediniz mi? Neden?
16. Çocuğunuzun üniversiteye hazırlık sürecinde ek kaynak aldınız mı, dershaneye gönderdiniz mi veya özel ders aldırınız mı? Aldırmak ister miydiniz?
17. Çocuklarınızın geleceğinden endişeli misiniz?
18. Çocuğunuzun apartman görevlisi olmasını ister miydiniz? Ne iş yapmasını isterdiniz?

A Grubu Soruları (Çocukları Üniversiteye Gitmiş Olanlar)

1. Siz, ailenizde veya yakın çevrenizde üniversite eğitimi almış insanlar var mı? Varsa sizde ne gibi etkiler bıraktı?
2. Çocuğunuzun üniversiteye kadar olan eğitim hayatında ne gibi eşitsizliklere maruz kaldığını düşünüyorsunuz? Bu eşitsizliklerin nasıl üstesinden geldiniz?
3. Üniversiteye gitme konusunda çocuğunuzun nasıl etkilediniz? Üniversite eğitimi sizin için önemli miydi?
4. Gelirinizin ne kadarını çocuğunuzun üniversiteye kadar olan eğitimi için kullandınız? Çocuğunuzun eğitim maliyetleri sizde nasıl bir etki bıraktı?
5. Üniversitede okumasının çocuğunuza ne gibi etkileri olacağını düşünüydünüz?
6. Çocuğunuzun üniversitede okumasının size ne gibi etkileri olacağını düşünüydünüz?
7. Çocuğunuzun ne okumasını isterdiniz (hangi bölümü)? Neden?
8. Çocuğunuz üniversiteyi kazandığı zaman neler hissettiniz/düşündünüz? Korkularınız ve beklentileriniz nelerdi?
9. Çocuğunuzun okuduğu okul ve bölümü seçmesine etkiniz oldu mu?

10. Çocuğunuz üniversitede okurken maddi olarak zorlandınız mı? Bu süreçte herhangi bir maddi destek aldınız mı? Gelirinizin ne kadarını üniversite eğitimi sürecinde çocuğunuza ayırdınız?
11. Eğer ailenizde veya çevrenizde üniversite deneyimi olan insanlar yoksa veya onların sosyal ve ekonomik konumu sizinkinden çok farklı değilse, sizin eğitim maliyetlerini kabul ederek çocuğunuzu okutmanızın nedeni nedir?

B Grubu Soruları (Çocukları Üniversiteye Gitmemiş Olanlar)

1. Çocuğunuzun neden üniversiteye gitmediğini düşünüyorsunuz?
2. Çocuğunuz üniversiteye gitmiş olsaydı, ekonomik olarak zorlanacağınıza düşünüyor muydunuz?
3. Eğer çocuğunuz üniversiteye gitmiş olsaydı şu anki sosyal ve ekonomik durumunun farklı olacağına inanıyor musunuz?
4. Geri dönüp baktığınızda çocuğunuzun üniversite eğitimi almasını ister miydiniz? Neden?
5. Çocuğunuzun iş bulma süreci nasıldı? İş bulmasında yardımcı oldunuz mu? Neler yaptınız?
6. Sizce çocuğunuzun üniversite diplomasının olmaması iş bulma sürecini nasıl etkiledi?
7. Sizce çocuğunuzun iş hayatına erken atılması çocuğunuz için avantaj mıdır yoksa dezavantaj mıdır?

E Grubu Soruları (Çocukları Üniversite Çağında Olmayanlar)

1. Çocuğunuzun üniversiteye gitmesi sizin için ne kadar önemli? Üniversite eğitiminin iyi bir meslek edinimine etkisi nedir?
2. Çocuğunuzun eğitimi sizin için ne kadar önemli? Sizce iyi bir gelecek için zorunlu eğitim süresi (12 yıl) yeterli mi, yoksa üniversite okumak gerekli midir?
3. Çocuklarınızın üniversiteye gitmesini istiyorsanız, bunun için neler yapıyorsunuz?

4. Eğer ailenizde veya çevrenizde üniversite deneyimi olan insanlar yoksa veya onların sosyal ve ekonomik konumu sizinkinden çok farklı değilse, sizin eğitim maliyetlerini kabul ederek çocuğunuzu okutmak istemenizin nedeni nedir?
5. Üniversite okumanın çocuklarınızın sosyal ve ekonomik geleceğine ne gibi katkılar yapacağını düşünüyorsunuz?
6. Üniversite okumanın çocuğunuza daha iyi bir gelecek sağlayacağını düşünüyor musunuz?
7. Çocuğunuzun üniversitede hangi bölümde okumasını istersiniz? Neden?
8. Çocuğunuz üniversiteye gitmezse ne yapacağını düşünüyorsunuz?
9. Sizce iyi bir iş bulmak için deneyim mi yoksa eğitim mi gereklidir?

C ve D Grubu Ortak Soruları

1. Hangi tür liseye gittiniz? (Meslek-Anadolu-Fen Liseleri) Gittiğiniz lisenin üniversiteye gitmenize/gitmemenize nasıl bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
2. Kendinize ait çalışma alanınız var mıydı? Bu ders çalışmanızı nasıl etkiledi?
3. Eğitim hayatınızda kendinizden beklentiniz neydi?
4. Ailenizin sizden eğitim konusundaki beklentisi neydi?
5. Eğitim hayatınızda kendi beklentilerinizi ve ailenizin beklentilerini karşıladınız mı? Bu beklentiler nasıl sonuç verdi?
6. Apartmanda yaşayan diğer insanların, üniversiteye kadar olan eğitim hayatınıza etkisi neydi? Eğitim hayatınızda size yardımcı oldular mı? Sizden beklentileri neydi?
7. Arkadaş çevrenizin ne kadarı üniversiteye gitti? Arkadaşlarınızın aileleri ne iş yapıyor?
8. Üniversiteye kadar olan eğitim hayatınızda sınıf arkadaşlarınızla eşit olduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz? (Dershane, ek kaynak, özel ders...)
9. Üniversiteye kadar olan eğitim hayatınızda çalışmak zorunda kaldınız mı? Veya isteyerek çalıştınız mı? Eğer çalıştıysanız bu durum eğitiminizi nasıl etkiledi?

10. Üniversiteye kadar olan eğitim sürecinizde sosyal dışlanma davranışlarına maruz kaldınız mı? Eğer kaldıysanız, bu sizi nasıl etkiledi? (Sınıf arkadaşları, öğretmenler...)
11. Üniversite eğitiminin sizin ve ailenizin geleceğini şekillendireceğini düşünüyor musunuz? Üniversite eğitiminin size neler katıp sizden neler götüreceğini düşünüyorsunuz? Üniversite eğitimi için yapılan yatırım sizce gerekli mi? Neden?
12. Üniversite eğitiminin geleceğinize nasıl bir artışı veya eksisi olacağını düşünüyorsunuz? (Eğitim aldığı için iş imkanı olması/vakit ve nakit kaybı...)
13. Sizin ve ailenizin geleceği için ne gibi endişeleriniz var? Bu endişelerin ne kadarı sosyal konumunuz ve ekonomik durumunuzla ilgili?

C Grubu Soruları (Eğitime Katılmış Çocuklar)

1. Aileniz Zonguldak'tan göç etmeseydi, eğitim hayatınızda daha başarılı veya başarısız olacağınıza inanıyor muydunuz?
2. Üniversitede dahil olmak üzere, eğitim hayatınız boyunca rahat bir çalışma ortamınız oldu mu? Nerede ders çalışıyordunuz? Sizce başarınızı etkiledi mi?
3. Üniversiteye gitme kararınıza babanızın mesleği etkili oldu mu? Babanızın mesleğinin eğitim motivasyonunuza etkisi nedir? Üniversite sınavına çalışırken nasıl bir motivasyonunuz vardı?
4. Eğitim hayatınızın tamamında eşit fırsatlara sahip olduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz?
5. Neden okuduğunuz üniversite ve bölümü tercih ettiniz? Bu okul ve bölümden ne gibi beklentileriniz vardı?
6. Üniversite okumanızın baskın nedeni ekonomik kaygılar mı yoksa sosyal kaygılar mı?
7. Üniversiteye gitmemiş arkadaşlarınızla ilişkileriniz nasıl?
8. Üniversite eğitiminin gelecekteki sosyal ve ekonomik hayatınıza nasıl bir katkısı olacağına inanıyordunuz? Statü ve sınıfınızı değiştirebileceğine

inanyor muydunuz? Eđer okulu bitirdiyseniz, bu deęiřimi gerekleřtirdiniz mi?

9. Üniversite eęitimini alma nedeniniz yakın gelecek kaygısı mı yoksa uzak gelecek kaygısı mıydı? (Hızlıca iş bulup aileye destek olmak/ emeklilik ve sonrası için birikim yapmak...)
10. Üniversitede okurken herhangi bir geim sıkıntısı yařadınız mı, burs veya kredi aldınız mı?
11. Üniversitede okurken ekonomik durumunuz akademik bařarınızı etkiledi mi? (Kalabalık yurt odası, bilgisayar, ders materyalleri...)
12. Üniversitede okurken alıřtınız mı veya alıřmak zorunda kaldınız mı?
13. Eđer alıřtıysanız, bu zorunluluk beklentilerinizi ve hayat düzeninizi nasıl deęiřtirdi? Okurken bir işte alıřmadan önce ve sonra bařarınızı nasıl deęerlendiriyorsunuz?
14. Eđer alıřtıysanız, ne gibi işlerde alıřtınız? Okurken alıřmak akademik bařarınızı etkiledi mi? alıřtığınız bu işlerin gelecekte iş bulmanıza etkisi olduęunu düşünüyor musunuz?
15. Üniversite okurken staj yaptınız mı?
16. Üniversitede okuduęunuz bölümde iş bulma beklentiniz nedir?
17. řu an alıřıyorsanız, bu işe girmenizde diplomanızın ne kadar etkisi olduęunu düşünöyorsunuz? Eđer bu okul ve bölümden mezun olmasaydınız yine de aynı işi yapabileceęinizi düşünöyor musunuz?
18. Apartmanda yařayan diđer insanlar üniversite eęitiminiz ve iş bulma sürecinizle ilgilendi mi? Size yardımcı oldular mı?
19. Üniversitede okurken kendinize meslek adına neler kattınız? İş arama sürecinde neler size yardımcı oldu?
20. Üniversitede okurken yaptığınız veya katıldığınız sosyal aktiviteler var mıydı?
21. Üniversiteye gitmeden önceki beklentileriniz okurken/mezun olduktan sonra nasıl deęiřti?
22. Üniversite okumak yerine iş hayatına atılmış olsaydınız, sosyal ve ekonomik durumunuzun farklı olacaęına inanyor musunuz?
23. Sosyal evrenizin iş bulmanız üzerindeki etkisi nedir?

24. İş bulma konusunda üniversitedeki çevrenizle eşit olduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz? Eğer sizden daha avantajlı olduklarını düşünüyorsanız, hangi konularda sizden neden avantajlı olduklarını düşünüyorsunuz? Bu durumun sizin motivasyonunuza nasıl bir etkisi oldu?
25. Size göre, iş ilanlarında sizi eleyici olan maddeler nelerdir? (Dil, tecrübe, staj...) Bu yetkinliklere sahip olamamanızın nedeni size göre nedir?
26. İş bulmanızda diplomanızın ve üniversite okurken edindiğiniz yeterliliklerin ne gibi etkileri oldu? Üniversite okumamış birine göre daha rahat iş bulduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz?

D Grubu Soruları (Üniversiteye Gitmemiş Olanlar)

1. Aileniz göç etmeseydi, Zonguldak/Bartın/Karabük'te daha iyi bir eğitim hayatınızın olacağını, üniversiteye gitme ihtimalinizin daha fazla olacağını düşünüyor musunuz?
2. Babanızın mesleğinin eğitime katılmama kararınıza nasıl bir etkisi oldu?
3. Üniversite çağına kadar olan beklentileriniz nelerdi, ne oldu?
4. Neden üniversiteye gitmediniz? Üniversiteye gitmeme nedeninizin ne kadarı sizin kendi tercihiniz, ne kadarı sosyal ve ekonomik durumunuzla ilgili?
5. Eğer üniversite okumuş olsaydınız şu anki ekonomik ve sosyal durumunuzun farklı olacağına inanıyor musunuz?
6. İmkânınız olsaydı nerde, ne okumak isterdiniz? Eğer okumak istediyseniz, bu motivasyonun kaynağı neydi? (Sosyal ve ekonomik konumunuzu değiştirmek için mi?)
7. Üniversiteye gitmiş olan arkadaşlarımızla sosyal ilişkileriniz nasıl?
8. Ne iş yapıyorsunuz? Yaptığınız işten memnun musunuz? Sizinle aynı işte çalışan diploma sahibi başka insanlar var mı? Bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
9. Üniversite diplomanızın olmaması iş bulma sürecinizi nasıl etkiledi?
10. İleride babanızın mesleğini devam ettirmeyi düşünüyor musunuz? Sizce apartmanda görevli olarak çalışmanın ne gibi artı ve eksileri var?

- 11.** İş hayatına genç yaşta atıldıysanız, bunun avantaj ve dezavantajları nelerdir?
- 12.** Geri dönüp baktığınızda, üniversite okumuş olmayı ister miydiniz?
Üniversite okumamış olmak sizce hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi? Neden?



APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Apartman görevlileri özellikle orta ve üst sınıfın sıklıkla bulunduğu yerlerde istihdam edilen, çoğunlukla aynı bina içinde lojmanları olan, apartmanın temizlik ve günlük servis işlerinden sorumlu olan insanlardır. Buldukları şehirde istihdam edilebilirlikleri o bölgede yaşayan diğer insanların ekonomik durumları ile de ilgilidir. Bu nedenle kapıcılar ile bölge halkı arasında sermaye çatışmaları kaçınılmazdır. Mekânsal olarak orta ve üst sınıfın çoğunlukta olduğu bölgelerde istihdam edildiklerinden ötürü, sosyal ve ekonomik eşitsizliklerle baş etmek zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Bu tezde, apartman görevlileri ve ailelerinin yaşadıkları eşitsiz koşulların sermaye birikim motivasyonlarına olan etkisi tartışılmıştır. Çalışmaya 70 katılımcı katılmıştır. Tezin amacı, katılımcıların çocuklarının maaşlarının veya sosyal statülerinin değişmemesine rağmen yüksek eğitime katılmalarının altında yatan motivasyonları araştırmaktır. Katılımcılara sorulan sorular Bourdieu'nün sermaye çeşitleri çerçevesinde oluşturulmuştur.

Öncelikli olarak tezin ilk bölümünde içeriğe dair temel bilgiler verilmiştir. Çalışma İstanbul'un Büyükçekmece ilçesinde bulunan Mimaroba, Sinanoba ve Muratçeşme mahallelerinde bulunan 70 apartman görevlisi ve ailesi ile yapılmıştır. Bu bölgenin saha olarak seçilmesinin altında yatan nedenlerden birisi benim yaşadığım bölgede bulunan apartman görevlilerinin maruz kaldığı eşitsiz koşulları 24 senedir gözleme fırsatı bulmamdır. Bir diğeri ise bölgede istihdam edilen apartman görevlilerinin büyük bir kısmının Bartın veya Zonguldak'tan göç etmiş insanlardan oluşmalarıdır. Aynı bölgeden (Bartın ve Zonguldak), aynı yıllarda (1990'lar), aynı mesleği yapmak için (apartman görevliliği) göç eden insanların hemen hemen aynı olan deneyimlerinin sermaye birikim stratejileri olarak farklı sonuçları vardır. Diğer bir deyişle, bazı aileler çocuklarını yüksek eğitime yönlendirerek onların daha iyi bir geleceği olacağını düşünürken, bazı aileler çocuklarının deneyim kazanarak iyi bir iş sahibi ve daha iyi bir geleceği olacağını düşünmektedir. Burada ilgi çekici olan nokta şudur ki ailelerin büyük bir çoğunluğu çocuklarının ileride sosyal sınıf veya gelir

düzeylelerini deęiřtirmeyeceęi ihtimalini deęerlendirse bile, çocuklarının yüksek öğretime katılmalarını istemeleridir. Bu durum, aileler bazında düşünöldüğünde ortaya řu soruyu çıkartmaktadır: apartman görevlisi ailelerin, gelecekte sosyal sınıf veya maařlarının aynı kalma ihtimalinin yüksek olmasına rağmen, çocuklarını yüksek öğretime katılmaya yönlendirme motivasyonları ne oluşturmaktadır?

Ekonomik sermaye dönüşümünün sadece ekonomik belirleyicilerle açıklanamayacağı bilindiğinden, Bourdieu'nün sermaye biçimleri bu tezin teorik çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır. Yukarıda anlatılan eşitsizlik durumunun yanı sıra bu kişilerin hikayelerinde iki kavram esastır. Ancak bu kavramlar teorik tartışmada ele alınan tezin temelini oluşturmamaktadır. Bunlar, ailelerin göç geçmiři ve madencilik geçmişlerinden oluşur. Tezin içeriğinde ailelerin göç hikayelerine deęil, madenci olmalarına deęinilmektedir, ayrıca göç hikayeleri eğitim beklentilerini tetikledikçe bu kavramlara da deęinilmektedir. Ancak, bu tezin göç veya madencilik konularını incelemedięi belirtilmelidir. Bu tezin temel teorik çerçevesi Bourdieu ve sermaye kavramlarıdır. Kültürel sermaye ile sosyal ve ekonomik sermaye kavramlarının yanı sıra bu üç kavramın bireyler tarafından yorumlanması olarak deęerlendirilebilecek sembolik sermaye kavramı kullanılacaktır. Tezin teorik çerçevesinde Bourdieu'nün sermaye kavramlarının yanı sıra habitus ve alan kavramları da tartışılmıştır.

Bu çalışma kapsamında 70 apartman görevlisi ve aileleri ile derinlemesine mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Bu mülakatların süresi 30 dakika ile 1 saat 30 dakika arasında deęişmektedir. Katılımcılar 5 gruba ayrılmışlardır. Bu gruplar A, B, C, D ve E gruplarıdır. Grupların tanımı ve kişi sayısı aşağıdaki tabloda gösterilmektedir;

Table 10. Katılımcı Sayısı ve Tanımı

	Grup Tanımı	Katılımcı Sayısı	Toplam Katılımcı Sayısı
A GRUBU	Çocuklarından en az bir tanesi yüksek öğretime katılmış ve yüksek öğretime katılmamış hiç çocuğu olmayan ebeveynler	15	19
B GRUBU	Çocuklarından en az bir tanesi veya hiçbirisi yüksek öğretime katılmamış olan ebeveynler	10	12
C GRUBU	Üniversiteye giden veya mezun olmuş çocuklar	15	-
D GRUBU	Üniversiteye gitmeyen veya terk etmiş çocuklar	10	-
E GRUBU	Çocukları üniversite eğitim çağında olmayan ebeveynler	20	35

Katılımcıların birden fazla çocuğunun olması ve her çocuğun farklı kültürel sermaye birikimine sahip olması, ebeveyn grubu içinde birçok katılımcıya en az 2 en fazla 3 gruptan soruların sorulmasına neden olmuştur.

Saha çalışması Aralık 2021'den Mart 2022'ye kadar devam etmiştir. Ebeveyn ve çocuk gruplarına kendi grup özelinin yanı sıra ebeveyn ve çocukların oluşturduğu 5 grup olarak sorular sorulmuştur. A, B ve E gruplarına 18 ortak soru sorulmuştur. Bu sorulardan 4'ü ailenin göç etmeden önceki dönemini anlamaya yöneliktir. Devamındaki 4 soru ailenin meslekleri ile ilgili sorulardan oluşmaktadır. Bu sorular apartman görevliliği işini nasıl bulduklarını sorgulamakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda apartman içindeki ilişkileri de sorgular. Ardından 8 soru sorularak katılımcıların eğitimle ilgili beklentileri ve deneyimleri sorgulanmıştır. A Grubu katılımcıları için sorulan 11 soru vardır. Bu soruların çoğu katılımcıların üniversite eğitiminden beklentilerini sorgularken, bir kısmı da çocuklarının maruz kaldığı eşitsizlikleri sorgulamaktadır. Daha sonra ailelerin çocuklarının hangi meslekleri yapmak istediklerine odaklanılmış ve ailelerin çocuklarının sosyal sermayelerini iş bulmak için kullanıp kullanamadıkları gözlemlenmiştir. Diğer yandan, B Grubu katılımcılarına 7 soru

sorulmuştur. Katılımcılara ilk olarak çocuklarının neden üniversiteye gitmediğini düşündükleri sorulmuştur. Bu soru genel çerçeveden bakıldığında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Çünkü apartman görevlilerinin üniversiteye gitmeyen çocuklarına sorulan sorular ile ailenin verdiği cevaplar tutarsızlık göstermektedir. Bu durum ailelerin ve çocukların farklı sermaye birikim beklentilerine sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. Öte yandan katılımcılara “ya olsaydı...” temelli 3 soru sorulmuştur. Bu sorular sayesinde, ailelerin geçmişteki beklentilerinin bugün değişip değişmediği gözlemlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Son 3 soru ise ailelerin çocuklarının ekonomik sermaye birikim süreçlerini ve bu süreçte katılımcıların yardım ve desteklerini sorgulamaktan oluşmaktadır. Son ebeveyn grubu olan E Grubu katılımcılarına toplam 9 soru sorulmuştur. E Grubu çocukları henüz üniversite çağında olmadıkları için sorulan soruların tamamı deneyimleri, gözlemleri ve üniversite algılarıyla ilgilidir. Başka bir deyişle, katılımcılara çocukları üniversiteye gitse veya gitmese ne olacağı sorularak katılımcıların sermaye birikim stratejilerinin yanı sıra sermaye birikim motivasyonları da sorgulanmıştır. Bu sorular, üniversite eğitiminin sosyal sermayeye, ekonomik sermayeye ve sembolik sermayeye katkılarına dayanmaktadır.

Ebeveyn katılımcıların yanı sıra kapıcı ailelerinin çocukları ile de görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Katılımcılar 2 grupta incelendi. İlk grup C Grubu'dur. Bu grup üniversite eğitimi almış ve almakta olan katılımcılardan oluşmaktadır. İkinci grup D Grubu'dur. Bu grup üniversiteye gitmemiş veya üniversiteyi bırakmış katılımcılardan oluşmaktadır. C ve D gruplarına 13 ortak soru sorulmuştur. Bu sorular üniversiteye kadar eğitim hayatlarındaki deneyimlerle ilgilidir. Bu süreçte herhangi bir eşitsizliğe ve dışlanmaya maruz kalıp kalmadıklarının yanı sıra iş tecrübesine sahip olup olmadıkları sorgulanmıştır. Bu soruların bir kısmı katılımcının apartman sakinleri ile ilişkisini incelerken, bir kısmı da üniversite eğitiminden geleceğe yönelik beklentilerini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. C Grubu katılımcılarına gruplarına özel 26 soru sorulmuştur. Bu sorular 4 ana başlık altında incelenebilir. Bu konular, ailelerin göç kararlarıyla ilgili varsayımsal bir durumu inceleyen bir soru ile başlar ve üniversiteye hazırlık süreci, üniversite eğitim süreci ve üniversite mezuniyetinden sonraki süreç hakkında 25 soru ile

devam eder. Son katılımcı grubu D Grubu, üniversiteye gitmemiş veya üniversiteden ayrılmış katılımcılardan oluşmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda katılımcılara 12 soru sorulmuştur. Bu sorular 4 grup altında değerlendirilebilir. Bu gruplar, ailelerin göç kararlarıyla ilgili varsayımsal bir durumu sorgulayan bir soruyla başlar. Aşağıdaki 2 soru, ailelerinin meslekleri ve üniversiteye gitmeme kararlarının altında yatan nedenleri sorgulamaktadır. Daha sonra üniversite yıllarını oluşturan döneme ilişkin deneyimleri sorgulanmıştır. Son olarak, katılımcıların iş bulma süreçleri hakkında bazı sorular sorulmuştur.

Yukarıda sözü edilen deneyimlerin incelenmesi adına Bourdieu'nün sermaye kavramlarının uygun olduğu düşünülmüştür. Bourdieu'ye göre sermayeler kendilerini ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel sermaye olmak üzere üç temel biçimde temsil ederler. Tüm sermaye biçimleri birbirine dönüşebilir. Örneğin diploma sahibi olmak ekonomik sermaye ile sağlanabilir; ekonomik sermaye ise kültürel veya sosyal sermayenin üretilmesine yardımcı olur. Öte yandan, Field'a göre, sermaye başka bir sermayeden ikame edilmez; ancak bu sermayeler bir araya geldiklerinde yeni bir sermaye üretebilirler. Apartman görevlileri bağlamında, sosyal ve kültürel sermayeler ekonomik sermaye üretmek için yeterli olmayabilir. 1990 yıllarından itibaren Zonguldak ve Bartın'dan İstanbul'a göç eden apartman görevlileri ekonomik koşullarının iyileşmesi ile çocuklarını yüksek öğrenime yönlendirmeye başlamışlardır. Ancak katılımcıların kültürel ve sosyal sermayeleri, ekonomik sermayelerini geliştirmelerine yardımcı olmamaktadır. Yani ekonomik sermayeleri ve sosyal sınıfları sabit kalmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, kültürel sermaye birikimi beklenen sonuçları vermemektedir, yani ekonomik sermaye yalnızca kültürel sermaye birikimleri sayesinde artırılamamaktadır. Yani, kültürel sermaye ekonomik sermayeye dönüşmemektedir. Örneğin, apartman görevlilerinin çocukları üç tür kültürel sermayeye de sahiptir. Ancak çoğunun kasiyerlik ve satış danışmanlığı gibi düşük vasıflı işlerde çalışmakta olduğunu gözlemledim. Farklı sınıflara mensup öğrenciler aynı yükseköğretim kurumundan mezun olsalar bile maaşları birbirinden farklı olabilir. Bu durumu, aynı üniversite ve bölümden mezun

olmalarına rağmen X satış danışmanlığı, Y ise bankacı olarak çalışmakta olmasıyla fark ettim.

Bourdieu'nün sermaye kavramları kültürel, sosyal ve ekonomik sermaye olarak üç ana başlık altında değerlendirilir. Bourdieu'ye göre kültürel sermaye üç durumdan oluşur: bedenlenmiş durum, nesnelleşmiş durum ve kurumsallaşmış durum. Bedenlenmiş durum, beden ve zihnin uzun süreli eğilimini ifade eder; nesnelleşmiş durum, kültürel malların bir biçimidir ve kurumsallaşmış durum ise eğitimsel niteliklerden oluşur. Bedenlenmiş duruma göre farklılıklar, eğitim eğilimi ve algısı ile başlar. Başka bir deyişle, aile üyelerinin çocukları yükseköğretime erişmeden önce yükseköğretimle herhangi bir ilişkisi olmayabilir. Dolayısıyla bu erişim süreci bir şeylerin değişim sürecinde olduğunu gösterir. Nesnelleştirilmiş durum, kültürün gövdesi olarak açıklanır. Sözcükler, giysiler, hatta saç veya bıyık şekillerinden oluşan bir seçki olabilir. Örneğin orta ve üst sınıfların tercih ettiği bir kafe, alt sınıfa hitap etmeyebilir. Alt sınıf üyelerini mutfak seçimi, yemek yeme biçimleri vb. etkiler. Bu davranışlar ağları geliştirmek için gerekli görülmesi de sembolik sermaye ile yeni ağlarla bağlantı kurmaya yardımcı olurlar.

Diğer yandan sosyal sermaye kavramı birçok bilim insanı tarafından kullanılmış ve tanımlanmıştır. Lin'e göre, basit ve anlaşılır tanım, piyasada beklenen getirilerle sosyal ilişkilere yapılan yatırımdır. Portes'e göre Durkheim, gruplara dahil olmanın ve katılımın birey ve toplum için yapıcı etkileri olabileceğini belirtir; başka bir deyişle, Durkheim grup yaşamını anomi ve kendi kendini yok etmenin panzehri olarak tanımlar. Bourdieu, sosyal sermayeyi, az ya da çok kurumsallaşmış karşılıklı tanımanın sürekli bir ağına sahip olmakla ilgili gerçek veya potansiyel kaynakların toplamı olarak tanımlar; başka bir deyişle, bir grubun üyesi olmak, topluca sahip olunan sermayenin yardımıyla tüm üyelerine destek sağlar.

Ekonomik sermaye literatürde kültürel sermaye ile beraber de anılmaktadır. Speller, Bourdieu'nün 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında bugünkü şeklini alan, kültürel

sermayenin ekonomik sermayeden neredeyse tamamen kopuk görüldüğünü tanımlamasına vurgu yapar (Speller, 2013). Speller'e göre, Bourdieu, önemli ölçüde yüksek ekonomik sermaye düzeylerine sahip zengin bankacıları, ancak nispeten az kültürel sermayeye sahip olanları bir kutupta konumlandırmaktadır. Öte yandan, Bourdieu, kültürel sermaye düzeyi çok yüksek, ancak ekonomik sermayesi nispeten az olan sanatçı ve entelektüelleri diğer kutba yerleştirir. Bourdieu, ekonomik ve kültürel sermayeleri yaklaşık olarak eşit olan avukatları, doktorları ve üst düzey devlet bürokratlarını merkezi konuma yerleştirir. Bourdieu, eğitim sisteminin kendisinin sağlamadığını, yani dilsel ve kültürel yeterliliği talep ettiğini belirtir. Bu da kültürel sermayesi olan aileden gelen çocuklara avantaj sağlamaktadır. Bu nedenle, Brown'a göre, birçok araştırma, açık ve meritokratik sistemlerin kültürel sermayeye sahip ailelerden gelenleri tercih etme eğiliminde olduğunu göstermektedir. Dolayısıyla kültürel sermayeye sahip olmak ekonomik sermaye ile yakından ilişkilidir. Brown'a göre, Bourdieu'nün Fransız üst sınıfları üzerine yaptığı inceleme, kültürel sermayenin en üretken biçiminin ekonomik sermaye ile siyasi iktidarın bir araya gelmesiyle ortaya çıktığını göstermektedir.

Schirato'nun belirttiği şekilde, Bourdieu, sembolik sermayeyi prestij veya ayırım olarak tanımlar. Başka bir deyişle, Siisiäinen ekonomik ve kültürel sermayenin kendine özgü bir varoluş biçimi varken, sembolik sermaye için başkalarının algılarının önemli olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Bu nedenle sembolik sermaye, örneğin para veya diploma ile tanımlanamaz. Öte yandan, para, diploma veya sosyal ağlar, kişilerin toplumdaki sosyal statüsünü meşrulaştırmaktadır. Bu durum apartman görevlilerinin durumu ile örneklendirilebilir. Apartman görevlilerinin çocukları üniversiteye gitmelerine rağmen, işe girebilmeleri için gerekli sosyal sermayeden yoksun olmalarından dolayı sosyal sınıflarını veya konumlarını değiştiremezler. Öte yandan, apartman görevlileri ve aileleri mekânsal olarak orta ve üst sınıflarla yoğun bir etkileşim içindedirler. Yoğun iletişime ve diplomalarına rağmen sembolik sermayeleri nedeniyle sosyal ve ekonomik sermayelerini geliştiremedikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Apartman görevlileri bodrumda yaşıyorlarsa, kapıcı olarak adlandırılıyorsa veya

sermayelerini bile artırıyorsa, düşük sembolik sermayeleri nedeniyle toplum tarafından sembolik sermayeleri ile yargılanmaktadır (kapıcının bile arabası var!).

Diğer bir önemli kavram ise sosyal dışlanmadır. Sosyal dışlanma kavramı, bu tezdeki sosyal sermaye kavramıyla ilgilidir. Sosyal dışlanma, sosyal sermayenin eşitsizliği olarak tanımlanabilir. Başka bir deyişle, Alcock'a göre yoksulluk ve eşitsizlik yakından ilişkiliyken, eşitsizlik yoksullukla aynı şey değildir. Field Bourdieu'ye göre eşitsizliğin, sermayelerin üretilmesi ve yeniden üretilmesiyle açıklanabileceğini belirtmiştir. Sosyal sermaye, bireylerin ilgili alanlara girebilmesine yardımcı olan sosyal ağların önemini gösterirken, sosyal dışlanma bireylerin bu alanlardan dışlandığını göstermektedir. Daly ve Silver göstermektedir ki sosyal dışlanma kullanımı sosyal ilişkiler, katılım ve alışılmış yaşam biçimi açısından incelenmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, Hulme ve Shepherd'e göre sosyal dışlanma, bireylerin veya grupların yaşadıkları toplumdan tamamen veya kısmen dışlanma süreci olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu durum göstermektedir ki katılımcılar sermaye eksikliği ile yalnızca sermaye dönüşümü sürecinde sorunlarla karşılaşmamakta, aynı zamanda sosyal dışlanmaya da maruz kalmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde iç göç ve sosyal dışlanma kavramlarının kullanıldığı alan araştırması anlatılmıştır. Öncelikle ailelerin göç öncesi deneyimleri sorgulanmıştır. Daha sonra göç sırasında ve hemen sonrasında yaşadıkları deneyimler sorulmuştur. Kalan sorular, katılımcıların göç ettikten sonra yaşadıkları deneyimlerle ilgilidir. En dikkat çekici noktalardan biri de erkek katılımcıların madencilik mesleğini ailelerinden devralmış olmalarıdır. Katılımcıların aileleri maden ocaklarında 2 farklı nedenle çalışmışlardır: Birincisi bölgede başka bir iş imkanının olmaması, ikincisi ise TTK'nın avantajlarından yararlanmaktır. Ancak katılımcıların bu avantajlardan hiçbirine sahip olmamasına rağmen, çalışmak için buldukları bölgeden ayrılmak zorunda kalsalar da farklı şehirlerde de bu mesleği sürdürme eğiliminde oldukları gözlemlenmiştir. Bu bölümün devamında ise katılımcıların göç

deneyimleri ve eğitim beklentileri birlikte incelenmiştir. Göçlerinin temel nedeninin işsizlik olduğu sonucuna varılmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, mevcut işlerinden memnun olanların sayısı da azdır. Bu nedenle katılımcıların bu işe neden devam ettikleri de bu bölümde sorgulanmıştır. Sonuçların çoğu, çocuklarının eğitime ve geleceğine işaret etmektedir. Bu nedenle bu bölümde katılımcıların kültürel sermaye için göç etmemiş olsalar bile kültürel sermaye birikimi için çocuklarının geleceği için yaşadıkları kötü koşullara dayandıkları gözlemlenmiştir. Bu bölümün devamında ise katılımcıların eğitime verdikleri önem incelenmiştir. Bu bölümün üniversite eğitimine kadar olan eğitim süreci ile ilgili sorulardan oluşturulduğunu belirtmek gerekir. Bu doğrultuda katılımcıların yaşadıkları zorluklar incelenmiştir. Ekonomik sermaye eksikliğinin kültürel sermaye birikiminin önünde önemli bir engel oluşturduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu bölümün şaşırtıcı sonuçlarından biri, bazı katılımcıların kültürel sermaye birikiminin altında yatan motivasyonun ekonomik sermayeden çok sembolik sermaye temelli olmasıdır. Diğer katılımcılarda ise sembolik sermaye motivasyonunun kültürel sermaye ile ekonomik sermaye edinme süreci arasında kaldığı fark edilmiştir. Başka bir deyişle, katılımcılar çocuklarının saygın meslekler yapmasını istemektedirler. Bu meslekler genellikle çok yüksek maaşlardan değil, yüksek statülü mesleklerden oluşmaktadır. Örneğin, katılımcıların büyük bir çoğunluğu çocuklarının sağlık sektöründe veya devlette çalışmasını istemektedir. Altta yatan neden sorgulandığında, katılımcılar çocuklarının toplum tarafından saygı duyulan bir mesleğe sahip olmasını istedikleri gözlemlendi.

Tezin dördüncü bölümünde, apartman görevlisi ailelerin eğitime bakış açılarının yanı sıra eğitime yaptıkları yatırımlar sorgulanmıştır. Öncelikle Zonguldak ve Bartın'dan yapılan göçler eğitim çerçevesinde yeniden değerlendirilmiştir. Ardından yükseköğretime hazırlık süreci üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu bölüm altında hazırlık süreci detaylı olarak incelenmiş ve ardından yükseköğretim süreci takip edilmiştir. Üniversiteye devam etmeyen D Grubu katılımcılarının üniversite deneyimi olmadığı için bu bölümde yükseköğretim dönemine denk gelen yaştaki deneyimlerine ilişkin sorular sorulmuştur. Burada dikkat çeken

nokta, üniversiteye devam eden C Grubu ve üniversiteye devam etmeyen D Grubu katılımcıları, sosyal sermayeleri yoksa kültürel sermayeyi ekonomik sermayeye dönüştürmenin zorluğunu vurgulamışlardır. Üstelik çoğu, bu dönüşümü gerçekleştirebileceklerine inanmamaktadır. Diğer bir ifade ile, ekonomik sermayesini geliştiremeyeceğinin farkında olan katılımcılara göre kültürel sermayenin işlevinin sembolik sermayeyi artırmak olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Sonuç bölümünde ise sermaye kavramlarının saha çalışması ile harmanlanarak yorumlanması bulunmaktadır. Bu tezde kullanılan ilk kavram kültürel sermayedir. Bourdieu kültürel sermaye kavramını kullanırken, farklı sınıfların akademik başarılarındaki farklılıkları göz önünde bulundurmıştır. Bu nedenle kültürel sermaye kavramının, orta ve üst sınıfın çoğunlukta olduğu bir yerleşim bölgesinde bu sınıflara hizmet eden alt sınıf ailelerin çocuklarının yaşadıkları zorlukları en iyi şekilde tanımlayacağı düşünülmüştür. Üniversiteye devam etmeyen veya üniversiteyi bırakan D Grubu katılımcılarının ekonomik sermayelerini kültürel sermaye olmadan geliştirdiklerini gözlemledim. Bu gözlemlerden yola çıkarak D Grubu katılımcıları için kültürel sermayenin ekonomik sermayeden ziyade sembolik sermayenin gelişimi amacıyla geliştirilmek istendiğini fark ettim. Diğer bir deyişle, katılımcılar ailelerinden miras kalan sosyal konumlarını kültürel sermaye yoluyla telafi edebileceklerine inanmaktadırlar. D Grubu katılımcılarının C Grubu katılımcılarından farkı, D Grubu katılımcılarının kültürel sermayeyi sembolik bir sermaye birikim aracı olarak değerlendirme eğiliminde olmalarıdır.

İkinci önemli kavram ise sosyal sermayedir. Sosyal sermaye kavramı birçok bilim insanı tarafından kullanılmıştır; ancak alan çalışmasını açıklamak için Bourdieu'nün tanımı tercih edilmiştir. Çünkü Bourdieu, karşılıklı tanıma ilişkilerinden kaynaklanan potansiyel kaynakların önemini vurgulamaktadır. Sosyal sermaye kavramı bu tez için 2 nedenden dolayı önemlidir. Birincisi, sosyal sermaye, katılımcıların kendilerini toplumdan izole ederken aynı zamanda kendilerini izole ettikleri topluma da katılma yollarını göstermektedir. Yani

bölgedeki alt sınıfı oluşturan katılımcılar bu bölgede kendi aralarında bir ağ kurmuşlardır. Bu ağlar genellikle akrabalık ve mesleki dayanışma ilişkileri üzerine kuruludur. İkincisi, sosyal sermaye, çocukları üniversiteye giden A Grubu, çocukları üniversiteye gitmeyen B Grubu ve çocukları üniversite çağında olmayan E Grubu katılımcılarına ekonomik sermaye edinmelerine yardımcı olurken, C ve D gruplarının ekonomik sermaye birikimi önündeki en büyük engeldir. C ve D grubu katılımcılarına göre, katılımcılar kültürel sermayelerini ne kadar geliştirmiş olurlarsa olsunlar, ekonomik sermaye getirileri sosyal sermaye eksiklikleri sebebi ile sınırlı olacaktır.

Üçüncü kavram ekonomik sermayedir. Bourdieu, tüm sermayelerin birbirine dönüşebileceğini belirtmiştir. Ancak bu tezde, katılımcıların sermayelerini ekonomik sermayeye dönüştüremedikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bu durum kuşaklar arasında nedensellik açısından farklılık gösterebilmektedir. Sosyal sermaye, ebeveynlerden oluşan ilk nesil için ekonomik sermaye birikiminde temeldir. Başka bir deyişle, katılımcılar sosyal sermayeleri aracılığıyla apartman görevliliği mesleğini bulmuşlardır. Öte yandan, çocuklardan oluşan bir sonraki nesil için bu durum değişmektedir. C Grubu katılımcıları sosyal sermayeleri olmadan eğitimleriyle ilgili mesleklerde iş bulamamaktadırlar. Öte yandan, C ve D Grupları arasında ekonomik sermaye beklentilerinin değiştiğini gözlemledim. Üniversiteye devam eden veya mezun olan C Grubu'ndaki katılımcılar, kültürel sermayenin üniversiteden mezun olmadan önce ekonomik sermaye biriktirmek için iyi bir yol olduğunu düşündüklerini belirtmişlerdir. Buna karşılık, kültürel sermayenin, D Grubu'nda üniversiteye gitmeyen veya üniversiteyi bırakan katılımcılar için sembolik sermaye geliştirmenin bir yolu olduğunu gözlemledim. Fakat C Grubunda görüldüğü gibi, D Grubu katılımcıları tarafından ekonomik sermayeyi geliştirmek için sosyal sermayeye vurgu yapılmıştır. Ayrıca D Grubu katılımcılarının çoğu, kültürel sermayeye sahip olmamalarına rağmen çalıştıkları işlerden elde ettikleri ekonomik sermayeden memnun olduklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Bu tezin literatüre kattığı yeni bilgi, orta sınıf için kültürel sermaye birikiminin amacı ekonomik sermayelerini yeniden üretmek iken, bu orta ve üst sınıfın

yoğunlaştığı ekonomik sermayeden önce sembolik sermaye birikimi olabilir. Bu durumda araştırma sorusunun cevabını da ortaya çıkartmış olur. A, B ve E grubu katılımcılarının bir kısmı için kültürel sermaye birikiminin nedeni ekonomik sermaye olarak gözükmekteydi. Ancak, bu tamamen doğru değildir. Bunun nedenlerinden biri, katılımcıların çocuklarının ileride çok kazandıracak meslekler yerine saygın meslekleri tercih etmeleridir. Ancak sorulara verilen cevaplar ışığında bu konunun devam ettirilmesi gerektiği ortaya çıkmaktadır. Öte yandan, üniversite eğitimi, C Grubu'nda üniversite deneyimi olan bazı katılımcılar için hayal kırıklığı yaratmıştır. Bunun bir nedeni, katılımcıların kültürel sermaye beklentilerinin altında yatan ekonomik sermaye umutlarıdır. Dolayısıyla kültürel sermayeye yönelik beklentilerin kuşaklar arasında farklılık gösterdiğini gözlemledim. Başka bir deyişle, nesiller arası kültürel sermaye birikimine yüklenen anlam farklılık göstermektedir. Katılımcılar arasında iki ana grup vardır. Bu gruplar ebeveyn grupları ve çocuk gruplarından oluşmaktadır. Her iki grubun yükseköğrenime katılma motivasyonları değerlendirildiğinde, çocuklarının saygın birer iş sahibi olmasını isteyen katılımcı sayısı görece daha fazladır. Öte yandan, katılımcıların çocuklarının cevaplarının büyük çoğunluğunda iyi bir meslek edinme beklentisi öne çıkmaktadır.

Genel literatürden farklı olabilecek bir diğer sonuç da Meslek Liseleri ile ilgilidir. Anadolu Liselerinin üniversiteye giriş oranlarında Meslek Liselerine göre nispeten daha başarılı olduğu bilinen bir gerçektir. Görüşmeler sırasında Meslek Lisesi mezunlarının üniversiteye girişte daha başarılı olduklarını gözlemledim. Üniversite sınavında başarılı olan öğrencilerin mezun olduğu liseler dikkate alındığında Meslek Liselerinin başarı oranlarının düşük olduğu görülmektedir. Fakat bu durum, orta sınıf için geçerlidir. Öte yandan, bu değerlendirmeye alt sınıf açısından bakıldığında Meslek Liselerinin üniversiteye giriş oranlarında daha başarılı oldukları görülmektedir.

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Sayın Doç. Dr. Mustafa Kemal BAYIRBAĞ

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Cennet Funda Çoğal'ın "Mimaroba ve Sinanoba'da Yaşayan Apartman Görevlilerinin Çocuklarının Yaşadığı Sosyal ve Ekonomik Eşitsizliklerin ve Ailenin Sosyoekonomik Geçmişinin Eğitime Devam Kararlarına ve İş Hayatına Katılımına Etkisi" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **466-ODTU-2021** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkanı

APPENDIX D: THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans / Master** **Doktora / PhD**

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