

Inequalities in the Transition to University: A Qualitative Study on the Social Class Position *

Orhan Samet Pençe **

Meliha Demet Ulusoy ***

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Abstract: This study aims to understand the effect of inequality patterns on students' transition to university on the axis of social class positions and the role of universities in perpetuating these inequalities. The conceptual framework is discussed within the economic and cultural capital framework, which forms the center of Pierre Bourdieu's "reproduction theory". The single-case embedded design, which is a type of qualitative research method, was used in the study. The study consisted of 38 students studying engineering, social sciences, and language at Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt and Bilkent Universities during the 2020-2021 academic year. The research data were collected through in-depth interviews using a semi-structured interview form. Data were analyzed using MAXQDA 2018 Analytics Pro qualitative analysis program with descriptive structural analysis and visualized with two case models. The results obtained in the study are as follows: Parents' income level, education level, occupation and educational values affect students' transition to university. Students' cultural capital shapes their preparation process for university, their choice of department/university, and results in unequal positions in their placement at the university. While the majority of AYBU students see university education as an activity that will enable them to work in the public sector and earn a regular income, the majority of Bilkent students see university education as an investment that will enable them to work in the private sector and earn a high income and prestige in the future. As a result of the study, it was suggested that the dependence on the central exam be reviewed to lessen the effect of social and economic factors on the transition to higher education.

Keywords: Education, social class, inequality, economic capital, cultural capital.

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**  Corresponding Author: Hacettepe University, Faculty of Letters, Türkiye, orhanpence@gmail.com.

***  Hacettepe University, Faculty of Letters, Türkiye, demet.ulusoymail.com.

Introduction

In order for a student to enter higher education in Turkey, he/she must first receive a score that differs from his/her competitors as a result of the central exams conducted by the Student Selection and Placement Center (OSYM) in 1974 (Tekeli, 2010, p. 173). After the results of the central exam are announced, the preferences of the department (program) and the school (institution) must be met (Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu [YOK], 2021). Since the number of students applying to the university is much higher than the university quotas, the university entrance exam has a secret function in the reproduction or maintenance of social inequalities, contrary to the doctrine of equal opportunities itself.

More than 2.4 million people in Turkey applied for the 2020 transition to higher education exam, of which only 431,000 received a place. In this context, only 17.7% of candidates applying to higher education can settle in any undergraduate program (YOK, 2022). The fact that the number of candidates who take the exam but are unable to be placed in any program exceeds the higher education population exempted from open education demonstrates that the necessary need cannot be met and that the supply-demand relationship in the transition to higher education is quite unbalanced (Celik, 2020, pp. 529-530; Celik vd., 2020, pp. 69-74).

According to the data of 2019, Turkey differs considerably from other OECD countries in the process between the end of high school education and the beginning of higher education. Although the rate of those who enter higher education for the first time is considerably higher than the OECD average (17%) with 48% in associate degree programs, the rate of students who start their undergraduate level is considerably lower than the OECD average (76%) with 50% (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2021: p. 197). This imbalance between supply and demand in Turkey's transition to higher education causes aggressive competition among students. When prestigious universities and departments are taken into consideration, it is clear that opportunities for higher education are limited, and that one's socioeconomic status plays a significant role in the process of making the transition to higher education (Suna et al., 2020). Inequalities in access to higher education on this axis should be resolved in terms of inequalities between social classes and supply-demand practices, such as managing distribution or expanding the number of programs (Kilic, 2014).

Studies conducted in Turkey in recent years reveal that various elements of the class position related to the economic, cultural and social dimensions significantly affect the inequalities experienced in the transition to higher education. In these studies, the focus is on the effect of characteristics related to class position, such as *parents' income level* (Buyruk, 2008; Bulbul, 2021; Ekinci, 2011; Kilic, 2014; Suna et al., 2020; Tunc, 2011), *parents' education level* (Buyruk, 2008; Bulbul, 2021; Ekinci, 2011; Suna et al., 2020; Tunc, 2011), and *parents' occupation* (Buyruk, 2008; Bulbul, 2021; Tunc, 2011). However, there are few qualitative studies on how social status affects the transition to university based on students' experiences (Buyruk, 2008; Bulbul, 2021). Buyruk's (2008) study, for example, focused on the unequal situations of students in different departments

rather than the position of universities. The unequal positions of students in different departments of a university were examined from a similar perspective in Bulbul's study (2021). It can be seen that the studies are mainly consistent with the field of study and social class. However, it has not been examined to what extent the positions of universities coincide with the social class positions of students. However, this similarity is also the simplest indicator of the practical consequences of equal opportunity policies in education in terms of maintaining social mobility. This is because education is one of the key areas in which these practices are implemented. Universities are the last link to break the cycles of inequality transmitted within the family cycle.

The originality of this study is that it uses a single nested case study of the qualitative research method to evaluate the social class positions of students in similar or the same departments but at two different institutions. Thus, on the other hand, the objective is to highlight the relationship between universities, which are positioned in an unequal structure in terms of educational opportunities and prestige, and the social positions of students. Consequently, the increased participation and unequal representation of particular social strata in higher education opportunities is one of the most significant challenges to democratic higher education. This study is significant for investigating educational inequalities and drawing attention to social inequalities in terms of transforming universities into more egalitarian institutions because it examines educational inequalities and draws attention to social inequalities.

Conceptual Framework

According to Yin, the use of a theoretical background is not common in qualitative studies because it may distort the researcher's approach to the social phenomenon. In case studies, however, the aim is to examine the case in reality. Previous studies and theories play an important role in case study design because case studies can be misleading if there is no evidence to support them (Yin, 2003, p. 28). Accordingly, the mechanisms of inequality that lead to students being positioned in different institutions and programmes of study at the university are discussed within the framework of theories of social reproduction.

Social class position, educational inequality and transition to higher education

Over the last 50 years, global demand for and participation in higher education has increased substantially. The transformation of the policies implemented by the countries from elitist education to mass education has been effective in increasing the participation rates. In 1970, there were 32 million students in higher education worldwide, 159 million in 2008, (UNESCO, 2010, p. 12) and more than 222 million in 2020 (World Bank, 2020, p. 1). The demand for higher education in Turkey has also increased rapidly over the years. In 1985, the number of students in higher education was 449,414 (YOK, 1997, p. 18) and the population of Turkey was 50,664,458 (TUIK, 2015). This shows that the ratio between the number of university students and the total population was 0.88% in 1985. By the year 2020, the number of students enrolled in higher education (including those participating in open education programs) reached 8.240.997 (YOK,

2022), while the population had increased to 83.614.362. This resulted in a ratio of 9.8% between the number of students enrolled in higher education (TUIK, 2021) and the total population. However, despite the rapid spread and expansion of higher education around the world and in Turkey, studies show that different social groups are not able to benefit equally from higher education opportunities (Boliver, 2011; Bulbul, 2021; Ekinci, 2011; Konstantinovskiy, 2017). In this context, who has access to higher education is important and how students from different social strata benefit from the higher education level (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014, p. 16).

Bourdieu's studies, which focus on inequalities in the higher education system, show that students positioned in different departments and schools within higher education come from different social classes and are trapped in unequal professional opportunities. He examines educational inequalities in the context of social classes, but unlike other reproduction theorists such as Bowles and Gintis (2011) and Althusser (2006), he also focuses on cultural and economic elements (Giroux, 2014, pp. 117-119).

Bourdieu conceptualizes valuable resources as capital, unequally distributed among students, paving the way for the formation of their disposition (Bourdieu, 1986). According to him, the capital that students have inherited from their families is crucial for their academic success and professional opportunities. Given that Bourdieu defines social class in the context of capital type (Swartz, 2011, pp. 216-264), it is critical to examine the type and amount of capital that parents and students possess in order to understand the impact of student social class status on the transition to university.

The effect of parents' capital type and volumes on the transition to higher education

According to Bourdieu, there are three types of capital: economic, cultural and social (Bourdieu, 1986). Economic capital is the possession of products and services and has the power to manifest its effects more quickly than other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). Based on this definition, the **parents' economic capital** is discussed in the study in the context of income level. *Parents' income levels* are one of the valuable resources that enable students to purchase goods and services for better education and thus increase their chances of success (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014, p. 30; Swartz, 2011, pp. 252-253).

Another central concept in Bourdieu's theory of reproduction is the concept of cultural capital, which is the basis for social classes and shows the qualitative differences between them (Atli, 2022). In the study, the **parents' cultural capital** was first discussed within the framework of the *parents' education level and profession*. In reality, Bourdieu's empirical investigation revealed that parents' superior education level and occupation, which correspond to cultural capital, boosted children's chances of gaining entry to higher education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014, pp. 16-25). The value the family places on education in terms of their educational attainment and occupation also shapes the career expectations of their children (Bourdieu, 1974) and their participation in the university. From this point of view, the second element of the family's cultural capital in

the research is the parents' values regarding education, including beliefs, opinions and expectations about higher education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014, pp. 76-87).

Students inherit their parents' assets and dispositions and develop them into their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2017, p. 129). By transforming the capital that students have inherited from their families into cultural capital, they differentiate themselves from their competitors in the educational system, which positively affects their academic performance, and place themselves in unequal positions. In the research, the following title describes in full the features of the students' cultural capital.

The effect of students' cultural capital on the transition to university

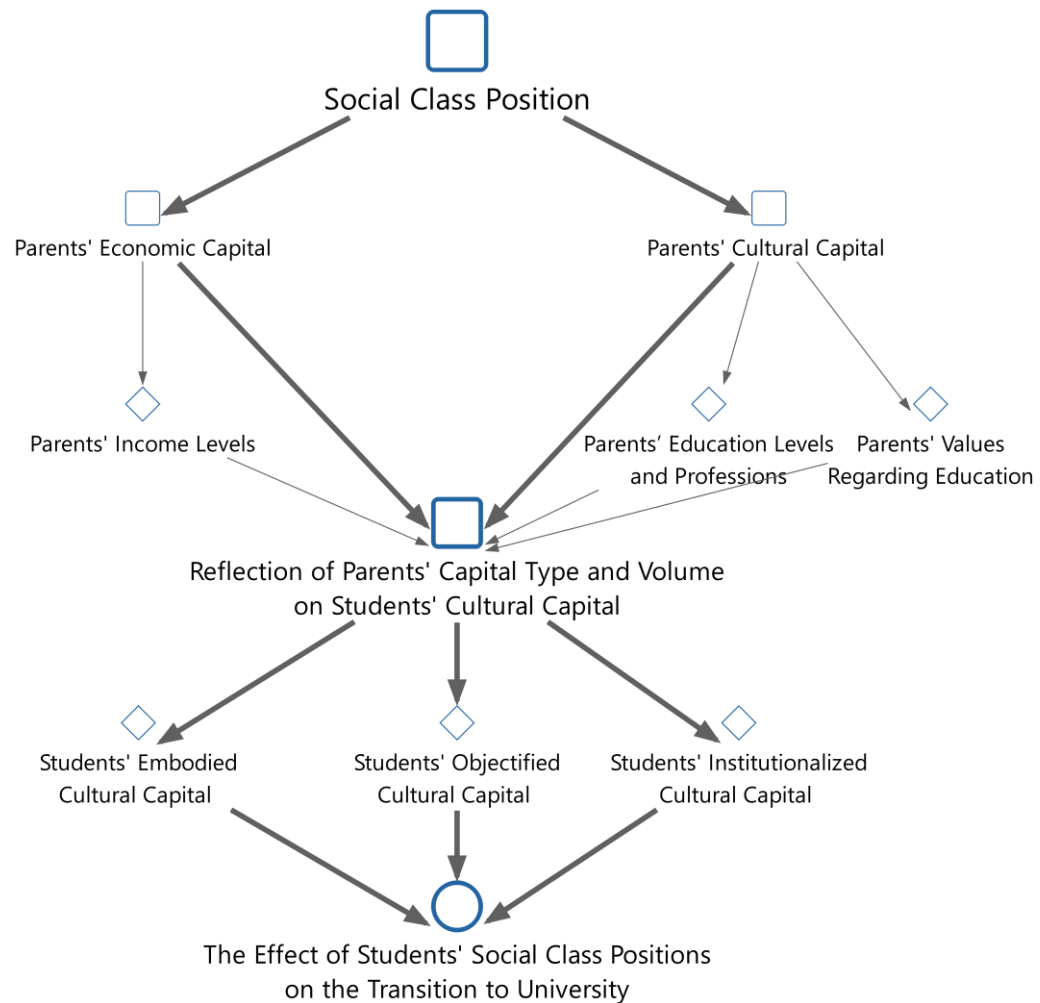
The cultural competencies that the school system requires of pupils and transmits to them are remarkably similar to the ruling social class's cultural capital. Therefore, children from the middle and upper classes outperform their peers academically by exerting less effort at school due to the cultural capital they have acquired (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014, p. 46). Thus, the education system eliminates pupils from the lowest classes from schooling by means of cultural capital (Harker, 1990, pp. 91-92).

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital emerges in three forms: embodied; objectified and finally institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986: p. 17). **Embodied cultural capital** is the disposition that develops when a culture is internalized for an extended period of time and settles in the body and mind. In the research, embodied cultural capital was considered a cultural competence corresponding to students' knowledge about higher education. In addition, according to Bourdieu, since ethos -that is, values, beliefs, and convictions pertaining to education- is related to the professions that students will perform in the future and their university preferences (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014, p. 98), the values pertaining to education are cultural values embodied in the research. It has been treated as a capital asset (Bourdieu, 1974, pp. 20-22; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014, pp. 76-87). Within the framework of educational values and ethical provisions and values that students inherit from their class position (Bourdieu, 2018, pp. 159-160), they identify with certain schools and departments, avoid others, eliminate themselves from the education system, and reproduce their class positions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015, p. 76). **Objectified cultural capital** is defined as the consumption of cultural assets (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 19). What is important for Bourdieu here is that goods and services provide a benefit to people with a specific purpose (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20). Therefore, it is possible for students to increase their academic achievement by utilizing a variety of goods and services linked to their education and to separate themselves from others on the academic journey through their objectified cultural capital related to education (Byun et al., 2012; Xu & Hampden-Thompson, 2012). **Institutionalized cultural capital** is the recognition of academic qualifications at the institutional level (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20). Students are awarded or punished with this type of capital based on their past academic qualifications and performances. The institutionalized cultural capital of students during the transition to university was investigated by taking the type of high school into account.

As shown in Figure 1, the effects of parental capital types and students' cultural capital on the transition to university are investigated in two dimensions.

Figure 1.

Research Model



The Purpose of the Research

The research aims to understand the effect of students' social class positions on the transition to university. The following questions were addressed in the study to achieve this goal:

1. How does parents' economic and cultural capital affect students' transition to university?
2. How does the embodied, objectified, and institutionalized cultural capital of students influence their transition to university?

3. What role do higher education institutions play in the transfer of class status from the family to the child along the axis of these capitals?

Method

Research Design

This study, which examines the effects of students' social class positions on their transition to university, was designed with a single-case embedded design, one of the qualitative research methods (Yin, 2003, p. 39). According to Yin (2003, p. 13), a case study is the evaluation of a phenomenon in the setting of real life in situations in which the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are unclear. The aim here is to understand how and why the current phenomenon takes place in this way. For this, it is important to determine the context and choose the people to be interviewed (Merriam, 2018, pp. 40-44). According to Yin, the only intertwined case study is that a common situation includes various analysis units and is examined within its own context (Yin, 2003, pp. 40-45). In this study, the fact that students are in uneven circumstances during the transition to college was viewed as a single, universal phenomenon. Since the two analysis units of this situation are Bilkent and Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Universities, the single-case embedded design was adopted in the research. In this context, the research focuses on the unequal access that students from different schools and departments have to university departments and programs. Instead of studying students in a single institution of higher education, this study studied the uneven status of students in two institutions that differ in terms of academic achievement score during the transition to university. Thus, it was examined in depth how the social class positions of the students in different higher education institutions and departments and actively experienced this shaped the transition process to university.

Participants of the Study

The theoretical sampling technique was used to select two universities in the study. According to Silverman, theoretical sampling in case studies is the creation of study groups in line with the criteria and antecedents that are suitable for the purpose and theory of the research (Silverman, 2018, pp. 88-89). The theoretical premise of this study is that social position has an impact on academic achievement. Based on this premise, the social class positions of the students in higher education institutions with academic achievement differences also differ from each other. Therefore, the aim of the research was selected in İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University (Bilkent) and Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University (AYBU), two higher education institutions with very different achievement scores at university entrance in relation to their theoretical framework and the single-case embedded design. Bilkent University was chosen because the departments' base achievement score was relatively high. As another higher education institution, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University was preferred because the score of most of the departments in it was lower than Bilkent University. On the other hand, the reason for choosing these

two universities in Ankara is that the researchers can easily reach the students in these universities. Therefore, the topic of the research was more essential than the province when selecting these two universities, and it was noted that their achievement score were different.

On the other hand, because Bilkent University is a foundation university, attention was paid to selecting scholarship and 50% scholarship students from the fields of social sciences, numerical and language to increase student diversity. In this context, a total of twelve students, three 100% and nine 50%, are studying in scholarship programs. In addition, the achievement score of the majority of the students studying in paid programs at Bilkent University is higher than the achievement score of the related programs in the AYBU (Annex, Table 2).

In order to make a comparison in the study, the same department portfolio was tried to be preferred in two universities. In this context, departments in numerical field (math and science), equal weight field (Turkish and Math) and language were determined. Engineering departments were preferred because of their higher scores in the numerical (math and science) field compared to other departments and because they were seen as a more reputable profession. In the field of numerical, interviews were conducted with a total of 10 students, 6 from Bilkent and 4 from AYBU. The departments of students in the field of numerical consist of industry, electrical-electronics, computer, machine, metallurgy and material engineering.

The departments selected within the field of equal weight (Turkish and Math) are law, political science and public administration, international relations, sociology, economics and interior architecture and environmental design. In this field, a total of 20 students were interviewed, 11 in Bilkent and 9 in the AYBU. Finally, in the language field, a total of 8 students were interviewed, including four students from the English Translation and Interpretation departments at the AYBU and four from the English Language and Literature departments at Bilkent.

Since the same department/program was not included in both universities in the language field, the departments in the portfolio close to each other were selected. In the verbal field, this field was not included in the study group because there were no identical or similar programs from both universities. After the departments were determined, the key participants were first interviewed in determining the students to be interviewed in the research. The snowball sampling method was used using their opinions. Accordingly, the study group formed within the scope of the research consists of a total of 38 students who are actively studying in the 2020-2021 academic year. The characteristics of the participants of the study group are presented in Table 2 of the annex.

Data Collection Tool and Process

In this study, data were obtained through in-depth interviews, and a semi-structured interview form was utilized to allow for flexibility in the questionnaire and to ask

participants probing questions. With the approval of the Ethics Committee of the Senate of Hacettepe University, data were collected in April and May 2021.

The interviews were conducted with students from Bilkent and AYBU who were actively studying. Due to the coronavirus outbreak, some interviews were conducted using the Zoom application, which permits video and audio interviews, and others were conducted in-person. Before starting the interviews, information was given about the research and prior permission was requested for the recording. Interviews were held with the participants who wanted to participate in the research voluntarily. Questions of any kind that could potentially identify the identities of the participants were avoided.

The semi-structured interview form consists of 3 sections based on the conceptual and theoretical framework in order to reveal the inequalities experienced by the students during the transition to the university. The first section included questions concerning the students' personal information. This section consists of four personal questions that include students' demographic information and information about the university exam result. The second part consists of five questions related to the evaluation of the effects of the type and volume of capital owned by the parents on the transition to university. The final section focuses on the relationship between students' cultural capital and their transition to university. In this section, four questions were asked to assess the impact of students' embodied, objectified, and institutionalised forms of cultural capital on the transition process to university, particularly on preferences for school and department.

Validity and Reliability

Validity in qualitative research is the representation of the accuracy of a social phenomenon using different strategies (Silverman, 2018: p. 126). Construct validity in a case study is the creation of accurate operational measurements for the concepts studied (Yin, 2003, p. 34). Reliability, on the other hand, is related to the reproducibility of the findings from the collected data, in other words, their repeatability (Merriam, 2018). Based on these definitions, a number of measures were taken in the research to increase (i) validity, (ii) construct validity and (iii) reliability.

(i) In order to strengthen the validity of the research, a comprehensive literature review was carried out prior to the design of the semi-structured interview form. As a result, questions regarding the mechanisms that cause inequity in the transition to university were revealed. In the literature review, questions were created by using the conceptual framework and Bourdieu's theoretical framework. The questions created as a draft were presented for the opinion of an expert who has studied the subject in the literature and has experience. After receiving the criticism and feedback of the expert, some questions were changed and some were completely removed from the questionnaire. Thus, the content validity of the questions was tried to be ensured. On the other hand, the interviews were conducted in an environment where students could comfortably express themselves. In the interviews, the purpose of the research was mentioned to ensure that participants were sincere and honest in their responses to the questions posed, and a

conversational and dialogic environment was created during the interview process. Thus, it is aimed to increase the internal validity.

(ii) In order to increase the construct validity in this case study, the mechanisms that cause education inequality were determined and then operational definitions were created. The operational definitions of the concepts are given in a theoretical framework and the relationship between the concepts is presented in Figure 1. Thus, what exactly the concepts try to measure (Yin, 2003, p. 34) has been associated with literature review.

(iii) A strategy was developed to increase reliability by keeping the number of students at both universities high and stopping interviews after reaching saturation point. In order to increase the coding reliability, two independent coding processes were carried out by the researchers. The two different codings obtained were compared with each other, and inter-coder reliability analysis was used (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Reliability= $[\text{Consensus} / (\text{Consensus} + \text{Disagreement})] \times 100$ formula was used for the process of this analysis. Based on this formula, the reliability between coders was initially 78%. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), the reliability analysis between coders should be at a minimum level of 80%. Therefore, the researchers repeated the coding process and the reliability was calculated as 89% after the necessary corrections were made.

Data Analysis

Within the scope of the research, the audio recordings obtained with the semi-structured interview form were transcribed, and the data obtained were analyzed using the MAXQDA 2018 Analytics Pro qualitative analysis program by explanatory structure analysis, which is one of the forms of analysis of the case study. According to Yin (2003), after a theoretical statement or proposition is created based on the explanatory structure analysis literature in case studies, the first findings are compared with this statement or proposition. Then, the theoretical statement or proposition is revised and the current situation is expressed again as a result of this revision (Yin, 2003, pp. 121-122). From this point of view, all dimensions of the phenomenon discussed in the research before starting the analysis process were formed within the conceptual and theoretical framework as a result of a comprehensive literature review. In light of this, the results of past research as well as the recommendations provided by the theoretical framework were considered before beginning the process of analyzing the themes and categories.









In the study, sociological factors that cause inequality during the transition to university were determined within the framework of previous studies on educational inequality and associated with Bourdieu's reproduction theory. As a result of this process, it was seen that the economic and cultural capital assets inherited from families played a critical role in the transformation of students into cultural capital. In the study, cultural capital was discussed in three categories as an inequality factor that students have in the transition to university. These are embodied, objectified and institutionalized forms of cultural capital. These categories were defined operationally and related questions were created. The data obtained from the students were examined in detail, and codes that were

similar and different from each other were associated with categories. Thus, a connection was established between the literature and the data obtained in the research. As a result of the new codes, the coding scheme created at the beginning was revised.

In the study, the transition processes to the university were analyzed by comparing them with each other based on the statements of Bilkent and AYBU students. In this direction, two-case models were used in the MAXQDA program to compare the findings of both university students. By comparing the two case models, it became clear which codes were used in common by the two university groups and which codes occurred in different ways. Thus, the similarities and differences in the coding between the two groups became evident. In order to understand the inequalities in the process of transition to university, the connections between codes, categories and themes are schematized. Thus, rather than a single element that causes inequality, the relationship of the elements with each other is visualized. Table 1 provides explanations concerning visual shapes and symbols.

Table 1.

Explanations of Shapes and Symbols Used for Data Visualization in the Research

	As a result of the coding and categorizing procedures, the visual represents the overall meaning.		The visual expresses the link (weak) between the code or categories.
Theme			
	It is a visual that expresses a meaningful structure by combining more than one code.		The analysis of the two case models shows that the visual points to different higher education institutions.
Category			
	It is a visual created from the expressions of the participants and expresses summarizing, striking, and meaningful data.		İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Code		Bilkent	
	The visual expresses the connection (strong) between code and categories.		Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University
		AYBU	

Note: The table was prepared using the work of Zayimoglu Ozturk et al. (2020).

Findings

In this section, the findings obtained from the study are presented under two headings according to the structure of the research model and the sub-objective questions of the study. The first title includes findings obtained from the cultural capital of the parents of the students, while the second title includes findings obtained from the students' cultural capital.

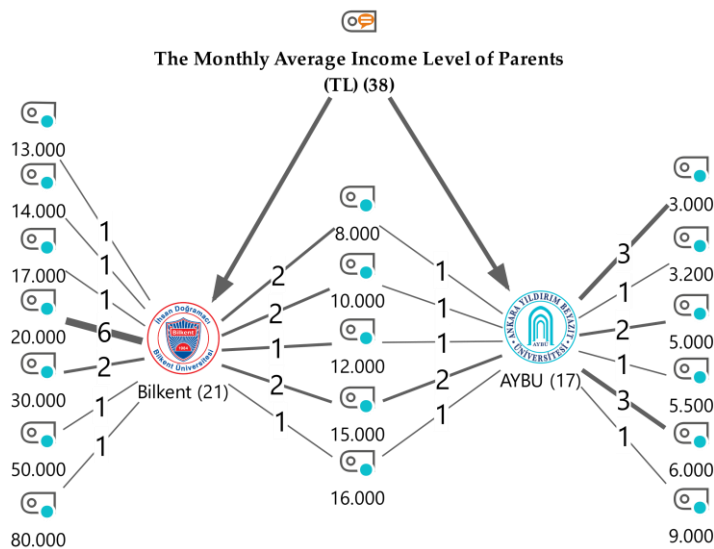
1. Findings Regarding the Capital of the Parents of the Students During the Transition to the University

1.1. Findings related to the economic capital of the parents of the students

Under this heading, students were asked the following questions. Firstly, students were asked, "What is your parents' average monthly income level in 2020?" and secondly, "What are your opinions on your parents' financial income during the university admission process?". These questions sought parents' opinions about the impact of their economic capital on students' educational lives and, in particular, on their transition to university.

Figure 2.

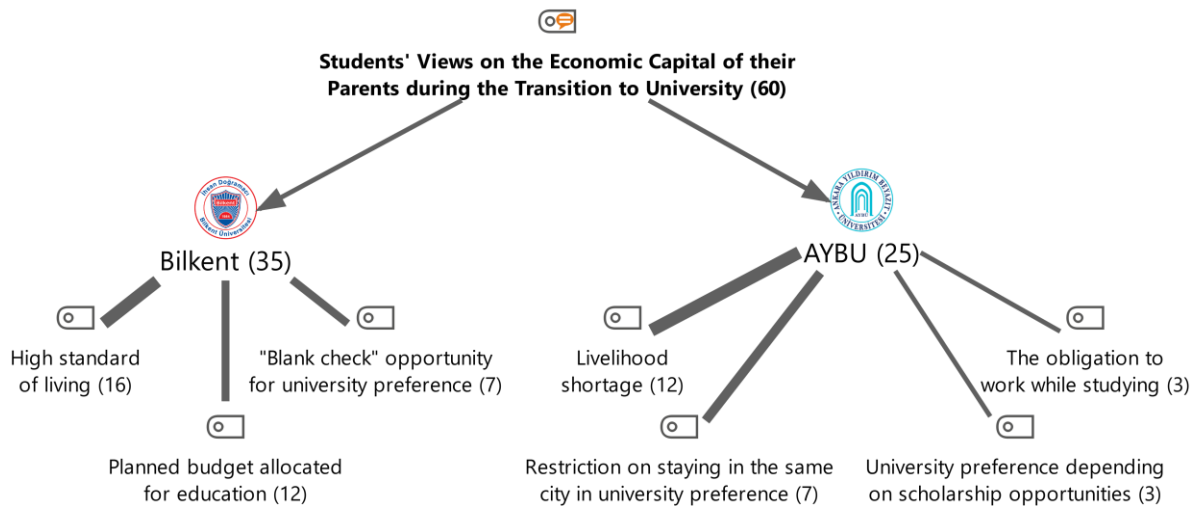
Students' Views on the Monthly Average Income of their Parents



In Figure 2, it is evident from the responses of the students that the parental income levels of Bilkent and AYBU students are significantly different. It is seen that parents with Bilkent have an average monthly income between 8,000 and 80,000 TL and parents with AYBU have an average monthly income between 3,000 and 16,000 TL.

Figure 3.

Students' Views on the Economic Capital of their Parents during the Transition to University



As can be seen in Figure 3, a significant number of Bilkent students reported that they had a high standard of living during the transition to university thanks to their parents' economic capital. The answer of S1, who is among the first 150 people in the university exam, is as follows:

"My father lives on his capital investment and real estate gains for about a year. In general, the work he did in the last 10-15 years was on dollars and rials. That's why the exchange rate was so different. But right now I can say about 15 liras. Before my father left, he could find 8-10 thousand dollars especially in Ramadan. [...] Therefore, I can say that we live a comfortable life " (S1, Law, Bilkent), [High standard of living].

The high income levels of the families of Bilkent students significantly affect their children's educational lives. It is seen that families allocate a planned budget for their children's education in line with their economic capital. S13 expresses the situation as follows:

"My family has always supported me so far. Psychologically and financially. Up until this point, they have sent me to a variety of different training classes, and each time they have told me, "This is your training." It's more important than anything, so even if you fail or you don't feel like it, we'll always give you that support '. As they say, there is always a money allocated for my education in the corner " (S13, Political Science and Public Administration, Bilkent), [Planned budget allocated for education].

It was observed that some of the bilkent parents used a high budget for education. S1 stated that their parents kept their economic resources available for university preferences and gave them "blank checks" for preferences. In this context, the term "blank check" refers to various facilities, such as the possibility for students to study abroad or to study abroad because they receive broad financial support from their parents for their education:

"He (my parents) gave me a blank check so that I could always get a quality education. They even thought of sending it to Germany " (S1, Law, Bilkent), ["blank check" opportunity for university preference].

Unlike Bilkent parents, it is understood from the answers of the students that the economic capital volumes of the parents with AYBU are more limited. It is understood that a certain part of the students have difficulty in earning a living. S31 expressed this situation as follows:

"I can say that we are poor in this period. [...] My father has a pension. My father also does extra work. Even though he's retired, he tries to make furniture and kitchens. This happens once or twice a year. This is about three to four thousand Turkish liras. There are such things. He doesn't have a permanent job. That's where it comes from. Therefore, there are periods when we have some difficulty in living " (S31, Sociology, AYBU), [Livelihood shortage].

This shortage of livelihood experienced by some AYBU students negatively affects their transition to university. S24 stated that his parents had a difficulty on staying in the city where they entered the university due to their low economic resources:

"My preferences were universities in Ankara or nearby Ankara. Actually, I wanted to study out of my home town. [...] You can't say that you will go (out of town). There is an economic return on this. Being a student is already very difficult economically. It would be an extra burden if you were out of town. When I got a place at the university here, I did not go" (S24, Law, AYBU), [Restriction on staying in the same city in university preference].

The limited economic resources caused some AYBU students to prefer the university depending on the scholarship opportunities provided by the state. S30 expresses this situation as follows:

"I'm getting a KYK (Accommodation) scholarship. There was a difficult process for my family in the 12th grade before I entered university. My father is unemployed, and my mother earns a little by tutoring. My admission to university was dependent on my financial situation at the time. I thought the KYK scholarship would be provided by the state, therefore I chose it. "If the scholarship hadn't come out, I might have dropped out." (S30, International Relations, AYBU), [University preference depending on scholarship opportunities].

Some AYBU students state that they have to work while studying due to lack of economic capital as follows:

It's hard. You are always in debt, but you always end up paying off the bill the next month. You work somewhere for 3-5 days. You earn 100-200 liras by working in different paces; and been getting by. Occasionally, there will be a job at labor market, potatoes will be transported, onions will be transported. You go to the market, because I'm from Kars, the marketers are familiar. I say brother, I've no money, they say come and work here. You're going to restaurants as an extra. But there is no such continuous work because there is a school and you cannot work" (S32, Sociology, AYBU), [The obligation to work while studying].

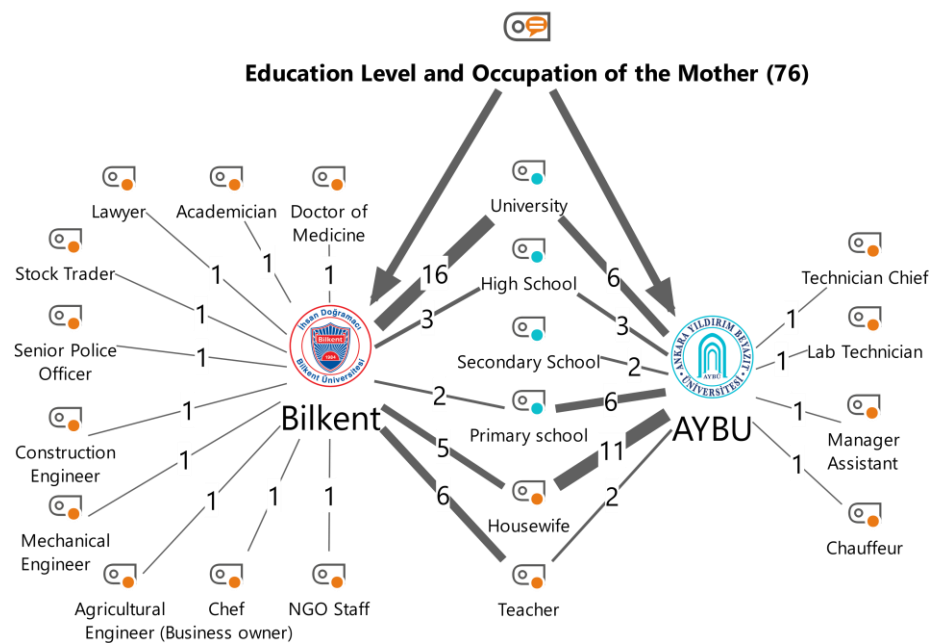
High and middle income parents strategically deploy and invest in their economic capital by providing planned resources for their children's education to accumulate cultural capital. While families with high income levels can effectively realize this investment, families at the lower socioeconomic level can postpone their education expenditures by considering their basic needs.

1.2. Findings related to the cultural capital of the parents of the students

The theme related to the cultural capital of the parents of the students consists of two categories. The first category includes "education level and profession of parents" and the second category includes "education-related values of parents". In this context, regarding the first category, students were asked "What is the education level and profession of your parents?". Bilkent and AYBU students' responses about their mothers are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 3.

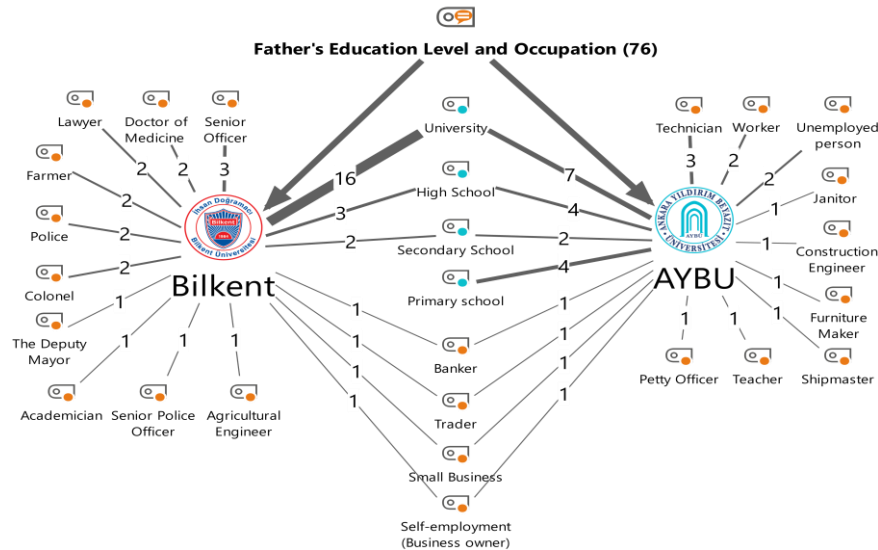
Education Level and Occupation of the Mother



As seen in Figure 4, the education level and professions of the mothers of the students differ significantly among the students in different higher education institutions. While it is seen that most of the Bilkent mothers are university graduates, the education level of AYBU mothers is more diverse and lower. When the occupations are compared, it is clear that the majority of Bilkent mothers perform reputable career professions. It is understood that the majority of mothers from AYBU are housewives.

Figure 4.

Father's Education Level and Occupation

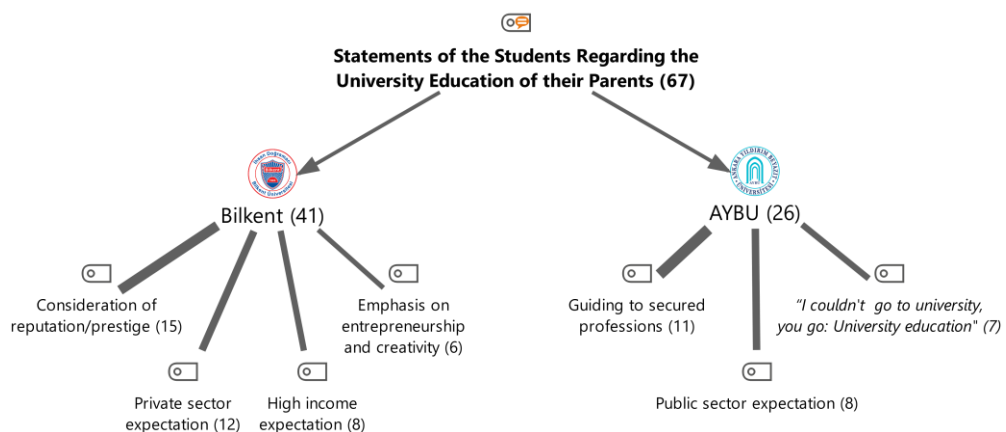


In Figure 5, the answers of the students regarding the education level and profession of their fathers are presented. While it is seen that the majority of Bilkent fathers are university graduates, and most of them have reputable professions. On the other hand, most AYBU fathers are university graduates but have less prestigious occupations.

Within the scope of the research, regarding the second category of parents' cultural capital, the question "What are your parents' thoughts and expectations about university education?" has been posed. Thus, the study examined how parents' value judgments about education affect students' transition process to university. Students' views on their parents are presented in Figure 6.

Figure 5.

Statements of the Students Regarding the University Education of their Parents



During the transition to university, the opinions of Bilkent and AYBU parents about education differ significantly from each other. The majority of parents of Bilkent students

believe that a respectable university education will give their children dignity/prestige. S4 expresses his/her parents' thoughts as follows:

"When I told them I wanted to be a lawyer, they responded, 'If you want to be a lawyer, you have to graduate from a well-known university.' In order for it to be a university that knows language and has an internationally valid diploma, you need to choose Bilkent University ' (S4, Law, Bilkent), [Consideration of reputation/prestige].

In addition, some Bilkent students' parents expect that their children will be employed in the private sector and earn high profits thanks to university education. The statement of S7 is as follows:

(My parents') expectations are to graduate with a good degree and start my own business or take a job with a good income in a high-level place" (S7, industrial engineering, Bilkent), [High income expectation].

On the other hand, some parents' emphasis on entrepreneurship and creativity draws attention with the private sector's expectation regarding university education. S17 expresses his/her parents' thoughts and expectations as follows:

"My mother was also involved to some extent. She continually reminds me that I should be open to new ideas and creative. I don't know how true this is, but according to my mother, if I study politics, my field of work will be limited only to the state, and if I study international relations, private companies and abroad will come into play more. International relations were more like having him elected because he had more foreign legs and more private company areas " (S17, International Relations, Bilkent), [Private sector expectation. Emphasis on entrepreneurship and creativity].

The thoughts and expectations of AYBU parents about their children's university education are quite different from those of Bilkent. Most of the students from AYBU stated that their parents turned to professions that assure them in the future. S28 expresses his/her parents' thoughts as follows.

"They (my parents) always wanted us to choose professions in which we would not have problems while advancing our lives. Although they did not specifically specify a profession, they would want me to continue in this way. [...] When we look at the profession, my father is an organized person in general, he would say that getting 8 liras every month will lead you to a more stable life instead of getting 10 liras every three months. They say that the profession you will have should be a profession that will sustain your life continuously " (S28, Industrial Engineering, AYBU), [Guiding to secured professions].

Contrary to the private sector emphasis of Bilkent parents, it is understood that AYBU parents expect to be employed in the public sector. Therefore, they want their children to work in the public sector by directing them to secured professions. S33 expresses the situation as follows:

"[My parents] always thought that it does not matter if you have a job, a regular life, a government or a fixed salary. Have job assurance than what I do, get on your own feet, they talk as if what you do is now up to you " (S33, International Relations, AYBU), [Public sector expectation].

Some AYBU students believe that because their parents did not obtain appropriate education in their previous life, they mobilized their resources for their university

education under the assumption that "I couldn't study, you study." S36's opinion on this issue is as follows:

"My father's cultural background stems from the fact that he always wanted to, but couldn't get to a point like university due to some circumstances and inadequacies. He always said he wanted to go to university. At that time, he could not go beyond high school because he lost his father and continued his education in the village. Due to the nature of the society at that time, he/she did not go to university due to concerns such as getting married and getting involved in life as soon as possible. My father kept telling, I couldn't attend university. "You go to university." He tries to offer us these opportunities when he can "(S36, English Translation and Interpreting, AYBU), ["I couldn't go to university, you go: University education"].

In summary, the values and expectations of the families of the students in different universities and departments in higher education differ significantly from each other based on their social class position.

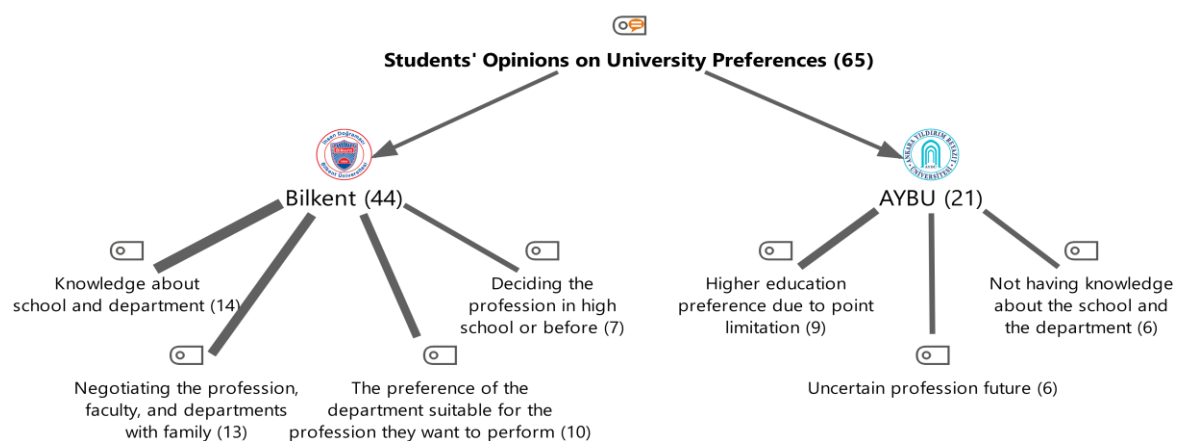
2. Findings Regarding the Cultural Capital of Students During the Transition to University

2.1. Findings related to the embodied cultural capital of the students

The theme related to the cultural capital of the parents of the students consists of two categories. As the first category of embodied cultural capital, the students were asked, "How did your process of choosing a university and a department change over time?" This question sought to elucidate students' familiarity with higher education by focusing on how they selected a higher education institution and how they were familiar with its knowledge. The analysis of the opinions of the students is presented in Figure 7.

Figure 7.

Students' Opinions on University Preferences



When the opinions of the students are examined, it is seen that there are significant differences between the participants from Bilkent and AYBU. It is assumed that Bilkent students have thorough knowledge of higher education before enrolling at the university. S1's statement about the situation of different universities is as follows:

"Students who rank in the top 600–700 students are eligible for admission to Ankara Faculty of Law. That's an extraordinary number. It's not possible. There is no obligation to attend such an education there, the finals are annual. At the end of the first semester, they take an exam, at the end of the second semester, they take an exam and they are evaluated according to these grades. It was not possible for me to prefer such a thing " (S1, Law, Bilkent), [Knowledge about school and department].

Some of the students from Bilkent stated that they negotiated universities, departments and professions with their families. The fact that families have professional occupations enables their children to direct their education routes. The following is the statement of S3:

"Before I entered the faculty for the first time, my father and I had already talked for a long time, about the quality of the department's education, about what to expect when I start my education. When I entered, we mostly exchanged ideas about what I should do, what I could do better, or how I could proceed here because my father is a lawyer, and what could be better for me" (S3, Hukuk, Bilkent), [Negotiating the profession, faculty, and departments with family].

It is understood from the statements of the participants that a significant number of Bilkent students made departmental preferences in accordance with the profession they want to perform in the future. Moreover, it is seen that this situation becomes evident in some students at the high school or pre-school education level. The statement of S7 is as follows:

"(This faculty and the department) I choose in order of scholarship, semi- scholarship, paid. I've had such an experience. [...] I only choose industrial engineering. I decided what I would be starting from high school, I was interested in the field of engineering in general and industry in particular " (S7, Industrial Engineering, Bilkent), [The preference of the department suitable for the profession they want to perform. Deciding the profession in high school or before].

Some students from AYBU emphasized that they preferred higher education due to the score limitation. In addition, students' lack of knowledge about the university and department they are in accompanies this situation. The statement of S28 is as follows:

"I didn't really want to be an industrial engineer. I'm more interested in computers and software. In fact, my last choice is this school and this department. And my score was enough for what I wanted. But since the ranking was very different from the score, industrial engineering came. But again, it's okay, I'm still working on the software. Industrial engineering covers a very wide area. I did not write this department very fondly, it was just a place where I wrote it so that it wouldn't come out anyway."" (S28, Industrial Engineering, AYBU), [Higher education preference due to point limitation, Not having knowledge about the school and the department].

Some AYBU students' lack of knowledge about the department is closely related to ambiguous professional ideals. S38 expresses the situation he/she has experienced as follows:

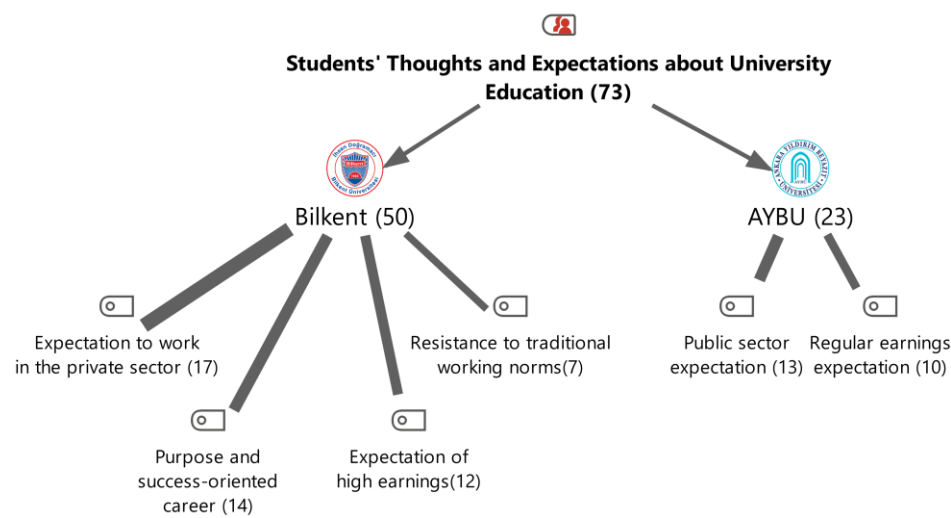
"At first, I thought of being a lawyer. Then I gave up on choosing the law. I had my mind set on interpreting, but I didn't even know what the interpreter was doing. I thought it was just the part for me because it pushed the boundaries of human English. I did not know exactly

what this profession was doing until I moved to university " (S38, English Translation and Interpreting, AYBU), [Uncertain profession future].

Within the scope of the research, values related to education are discussed as the second category of embodied cultural capital. In this direction, students were asked "What are your thoughts and expectations about university education?". The analysis of the opinions of the students is given in Figure 8.

Figure 8.

Students' Thoughts and Expectations about University Education



Bilkent students from the middle and upper social classes see university education as an investment that can help them to work in the private sector in the future and achieve high earnings.

"When I started law school, I was always going to be a lawyer. I don't like the civil service discipline in the judge and prosecutor's office that I saw from my father. I want to be a lawyer with the idea that my free earnings are a little more open-ended and I can increase my earnings when I graduate from a good university. [...] My expectation is to be able to work as a lawyer in an international company " (S4, Hukuk, Bilkent), [Expectation to work in the private sector. Expectation of high earnings].

In addition, some students stated that university education is a necessary investment both to create a career oriented towards purpose and achievement and to go beyond traditional working norms:

"After graduating from school, working in a world-renowned factory in China for 3-5 years, returning to a good place in Turkey and carrying it to my father's company" (S7, Industrial Engineering, Bilkent), [Purpose and success-oriented career].

" I am unable to bear up under difficulties." More comfort. Comfort is very important to me and I would like it to be a little more comfortable. I want what I do to be a good job. Let me choose my own working hours according to work intensity " (S15, Political Science and Public Administration, Bilkent), [Resistance to traditional working norms].

Students with ABU from the lower social class see university education as an activity that allows them to work in the public sector. The statement of S22 is as follows:

"I want to work in a position especially in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I would particularly like to be a legal advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [...] I'm in financial trouble. I don't know if I can do this comfortably in private. It seems to me that the state will provide that convenience better " (S22, Law, AYBU), [Public sector expectation].

The public sector expectation turns into regular earnings expectation for some AYBU students at a later stage. S36 states the importance of making regular earnings as follows:

"One of the special areas of interest to me is working under the title of translator and interpreter in Ministries. As I said, it would be good to have a stable salary with difficult job opportunities " (S36, English Translation and Interpreting, AYBU), [Regular earnings expectation].

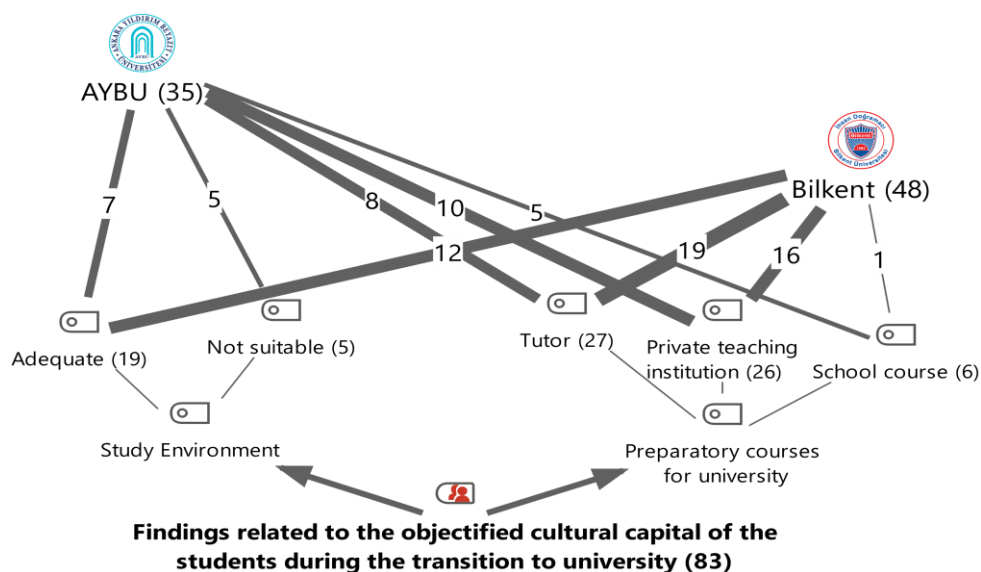
In summary, it is understood that social class position has a differentiating effect on how university preferences are realized and on the expectation of university education.

2.2. Findings related to the objectified cultural capital of the students

Within the scope of the research, students were asked "Can you give information about the home environment, the courses you have attended and the cultural/sports/musical activities you have participated in your university preparation process?". Thus, the research examined the working environment, cultural and educational resources that students benefit from during the transition to university. The analysis of the data obtained as a result of the opinions of the students is presented in Figure 9.

Figure 9.

Findings related to the objectified cultural capital of the students during the transition to university



In the transition to university, the majority of students in both groups indicate that their study environment is adequate. However, those who indicate that the work environment

is not appropriate are only AYBU students. Some of the opinions of these students are as follows:

"When I was getting ready for college, I was living with my grandparents. My brother and I share a room, my grandparents share a room, my parents share a room, and the living room is empty. There is constant noise in the house. There are old people, and my mother has to make her voice heard by those old people. There was no study environment at home" (S32, Sociology, AYBU), [Study environment is not suitable].

"My home environment was never good, it is not good at the moment. I don't have a table in my room. We have a situation where our house is crowded right now. My sister got married and divorced, and now they live with us, and we live in my room. Everything was put on the table except for courses-lessons. There are two young girls in the room. It's a makeup bag or something. I mean, I couldn't study. I do everything in bed, I sit in bed. The internet in the other rooms is not very good, and I don't want to sit there. My nephew makes a lot of noise. I'm locking this room, when I am studying. [...] I go to class, I say, I have a class. I take classes (online) up to 4 days a week. My nephew comes and takes a toy out of here, knocks on the door if I don't open it. My mother inviting me for the breakfast. So when I turn on the microphone, I check and turn it on 10 times. They argue, or the music, or anything, or my nephew's cartoon noises. Living in such a way that you can study it is impossible. [...] It was hard in high school, too. I had a nephew in high school when I was studying for the exam. At that time, we were having family problems, there was not a very healthy environment at home, but I could work at school " (S37, English Translation and Interpreting, AYBU), [Study environment is not suitable].

The students' answers to the category of university preparatory courses regarding this theme are quite different from each other. Almost all of the students from Bilkent stated that they went to the private courses not only during the university preparation process, but also throughout their education life:

"I went to primary school. 4. 5. I must have gone to class. I must have been to all 4-5-6-7-8. Then I didn't go to 9th grade in high school. I went to a boutique classroom in high school 10-11" (S16, International Relations, Bilkent), [Preparatory courses for university: Private teaching institution].

The majority of students with AYBU stated that they only benefited from the private courses during the transition to university. Some of the students emphasized that Bilkent students should convince their families to go to the preparatory courses, unlike their family supports:

"I went to the preparatory course. I only went for a year. 12. I started at the beginning of the class. Even 11th grade In the summer of the classroom, August, September and so on, the prep courses starts at that time. Honestly, it was kind of hard for me to go to the school, but I went anyway. I had to convince my parents that I had to go to the school. They know it, but they don't know it. I mean, they saw from the people around us, but they didn't realize that I had to go or prepare for a certain period of time. I struggled a lot " (S31, Sociology, AYBU), [Preparatory courses for university: Private teaching institution].

One of the most striking findings related to this theme is the students' taking private lessons. It is understood that a significant part of the students from Bilkent have taken private lessons from various courses for many years:

"At that time, I was taking a private lesson, but after a while, we were finishing a private lesson question-bank and then we were skimming the book and closing it. We weren't leaving

any unsolved questions in that book. After that, after a week or two, we were choosing a book and meeting in a cafe. We were just picking out a book and analyzing it. For a while, I was also taking literature in addition to Mathematics. Since it was a verbal lesson, a person with a certain reading culture, at least until Tanzimat, I had mastered the period. Apart from that, I had special teachers from physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics lessons just for problem solving " (S1, Law, Bilkent), [University preparation courses: Tutor].

Students from AYBU also stated that they took private lessons. It is thought, however, that the number and duration of private classes they take are more limited:

"I took math course , I took it at 12th Grade. I took a total of 3 months with 3-4 months left for the exam, it was a short time" (S30, International Relations, AYBU), [University preparation courses: Tutor].

"I have taken private math lessons twice. Because I still didn't know Cos 60 three months before the exam. I still don't know, actually, I learned for the exam " (S23, Law, AYBU), [University preparation courses: Tutor].

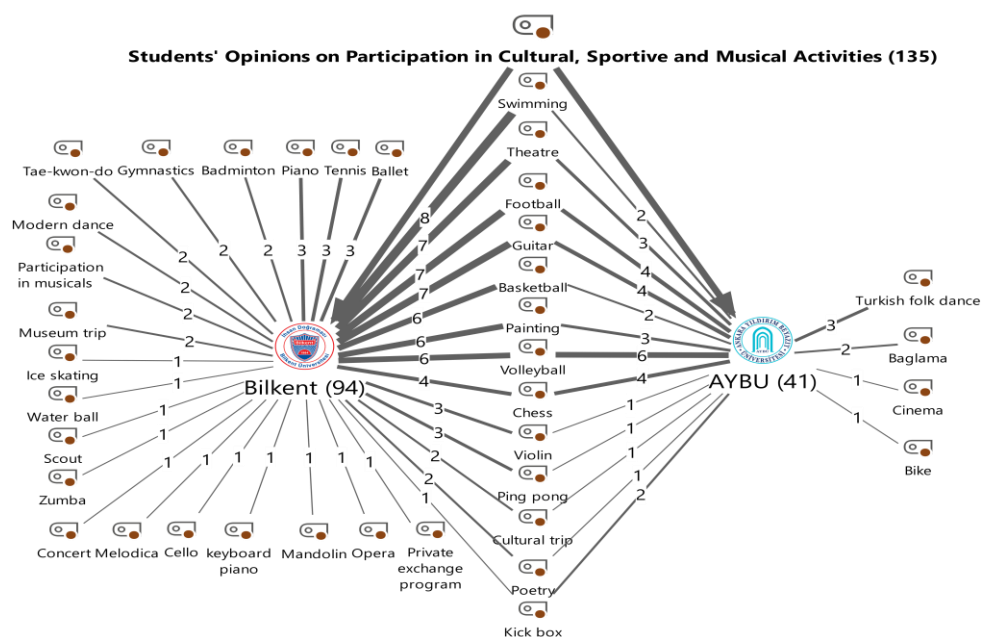
It is understood that some AYBU students who cannot attend private courses and dormitories benefit from the courses provided free of charge at school. The statement of S27 is as follows:

"I didn't go to any private courses. The state has courses, it is called support / supplementary courses. We prepared with them, we attended this course " (S27, Mechanical Engineering, AYBU), [University preparation courses: School course].

The last category related to this theme is the participation of students in cultural, sportive and musical activities. The students stated that they did these activities by taking private lessons, attending courses or in line with their interests. The analysis of the data obtained from the interviews with the students is presented in Figure 10.

Figure 10.

Students' Opinions on Participation in Cultural, Sportive and Musical Activities



As seen in Figure 10, it is seen that students' participation in cultural, sportive and musical activities is generally different. On the left side of the figure, various activities of Bilkent students are seen and it is understood that they have differentiated predispositions:

"I went to the ballet course. I went to a basketball course. I like to paint, I like to paint oil paintings, so I went to a special course, but I also painted paintings with my art teacher in secondary school. Then I played the violin with a special teacher. Then I played guitar and electric guitar for a very long time, I think from grade 2nd grade to 8th grade. I played chess for a while, went to swimming lessons in elementary school. My mother is good at it and tries to send me to everything. I played badminton in a club in high school and was licensed for a semester. I had the opportunity to improve myself on many subjects " (S19, English Language and Literature, Bilkent).

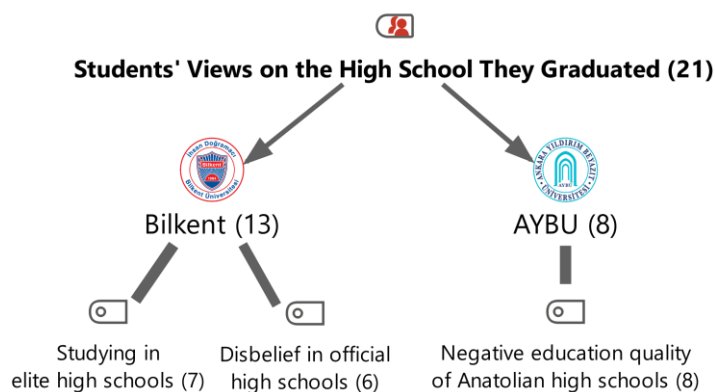
Activities that are common among students are shown in the middle of figure 11. On the right side of the figure are activities carried out by students from AYBU. It is understood that the activities of AYBU students are quite simple and "ordinary" compared to Bilkent students.

2.3. Findings on institutionalized cultural capital of students

Within the scope of the research, students were asked "What are your thoughts about your high school?". Thus, the quality of the students' high school education was discussed and its effect on university entrance was examined. The analysis of the data obtained from the opinions of the students is presented in Figure 11.

Figure 11.

Students' Views on the High School They Graduated



There are significant differences between the types of high schools where students graduated before higher education. It is seen that most students from Bilkent graduated from private high schools and the majority from AYBU graduated from Anatolian high schools (Annex, Table 2). In the study, some Bilkent students stated that they studied in very elite high schools by getting a high score from the transition exam to secondary education.

"Of course, I continued to read constantly. I got into Science High School. It was already one of the top 20 to 21 science high schools opened. In this exam, I was actually in the first 1 percentile. When you opened the list, whether private or public high schools in Turkey, the number of schools that I could not prefer was numbered with fingers " (S1, Law, Bilkent), [Studying in elite high schools].

Some of the students from Bilkent stated that they prefer private high schools although they have a very high score in the transition to high school. It is understood that the fact that the parents consider the quality of education of public high schools as low is effective in these preferences of the students and that they do not trust the education given in these public high schools:

"When I entered high school, I completed the TEOG process well. I got 488 points and now I was in the process of choosing. But at this point, my mother was the most influential. My mother influenced my opinion and decision. I wanted to go to Atatürk Anatolian High School (High school in Ankara). My mother said, "My trust in public schools was broken." [...] That's why she thought I should go to private school. And I thought what she said made sense. Because even though it was one of the best high schools in Turkey, it was like my mother said. That's why we started visiting private schools. There was an environment that I created in the classroom that I called A.... There were teachers I got along with very well. They called us and we talked there. I started my education there " (S8, Electrical Electronics Engineering, Bilkent), [Disbelief in official high schools].

Although the majority of students with AYBU study in Anatolian high schools, it is seen that some students consider the educational quality of this type of school as negative:

"I graduated from Anatolian high school. [...] It was close to home and there were no other high schools to go to. I didn't really want to go there because high school had a terrible reputation. Because its students were filthy. Some of the students were constantly trying to influence me and my friends. There were things going on at school that shouldn't have happened. For example, fighting becomes fighting, obscene situations... Fighting was a lot between male students because teachers were afraid of students. Also, the authority of the school was low, they could not manage the school well. The school was under the students' control, so I assume the principal wasn't doing a very good job. Very dirty things were heard" (S37, English Translation and Interpreting, AYBU), [Negative education quality of Anatolian high schools].

Conclusion and Discussion

In the study, the effect of students' social class positions on the transition to university was examined. The results obtained in the study were compared and evaluated under two headings with the results of previous national and international studies.

Conclusion and Discussion on the Capital of Students' Midwives

Under this heading, the economic capital of the parents was examined within the scope of the first theme. When the parents' income levels of the students participating in the study were compared, it was seen that the parents of the Bilkent students allocated their economic resources more to educational expenditures because the students with AYBU had much more income than their parents. The economic capital of parents is an

important source of inequality that separates Bilkent and AYBU students from each other and causes them to be pushed into unequal positions in higher education. This finding supports the findings of studies on economic capital differences in the transition to higher education (Buyruk, 2008; Bulbul, 2021; Ekinci, 2011; Suna et al., 2020; Tunc, 2011). In addition, the current findings obtained in this study support the researches emphasizing the findings that the need for daily "survival" for families with limited economic capital comes before the desire for higher education, children from these families spend less time in their education and academic work due to their part-time jobs, and compete with other students on unequal terms (Blanden & Machin, 2004; Lynch & O'Riordan, 1998), parents cannot meet their housing costs due to insufficient income levels, and students are limited to prefer universities in the city where their families live (Kara, 2009).

Under this heading, the parents' cultural capital was examined within the scope of the second theme. When the education level and professions of the parents of the students from Bilkent and AYBU were compared, it was revealed that the separation and inequality were experienced intensively. It is understood that most of the parents of the students from Bilkent are university graduates, while the parents from AYBU are in more diverse and lower level education stages. While this makes it easier for Bilkent students to become familiar with university education in the family, it causes AYBU students to get less knowledge and experience about university education from their parents. This finding is consistent with and supported by the results of other studies in which the education level of parents increased and students benefited more from higher education (Buyruk, 2008; Bulbul, 2021; Ekinci, 2011; Kilic, 2014; Suna et al., 2020; Tunc, 2011). In addition, in various reports examining educational inequality (Eğitim Reformu Girişimi [ERG], 2014; Ferreira ve Gignoux, 2010), at the secondary education level in Turkey, it is seen that there is a close relationship between the education level and profession of parents and the academic achievement of students. In the reports published by the Ministry of National Education regarding the secondary education transition exams in 2020 and 2021, there is a difference of 120 points or more between those whose parents' education level is primary school and those who have a postgraduate degree (MEB, 2020, pp. 27-28; MEB, 2021, pp. 25-26). The formation of such a high score difference separates students into different high schools and causes them to be in unequal positions in higher education in the future.

Another topic within this theme's scope is their parents' values regarding education. In the study, it was seen that the values and expectations of Bilkent and AYBU parents regarding education differed considerably from each other and affected the transition of their children to university. For some Bilkent parents, university education is an activity that provides dignity/prestige. Parents see the university as the key to working in the private sector and earning high earnings. University is an area for them to be entrepreneurial and creative. On the other hand, for some parents of AYBU, university education is a diploma that enables their children to reach secured professions. These secured professions are a job guarantee, hence work in the public sector. For this reason, it is understood that parents expect their children to work in the public sector for university

education. Therefore, while the parents of Bilkent students want new bourgeois to be raised, some parents of AYBU want their children to be civil servants who will raise and guarantee their social class positions.

Conclusion and Discussion on the Cultural Capital of Students

Under this heading, the cultural capital of the students participating in the research was evaluated under three themes. These are (1) embodied, (2) objectified, and (3) institutionalized cultural capital.

(1) Within the scope of embodied cultural capital, it is seen that some students from Bilkent have a qualified knowledge about universities, programs and professions and their familiarity with higher education not only during the transition process to higher education, but also during a period based on pre-secondary education, they gained by negotiating in detail with their families and made very determined program preferences for the professions they want to perform in the future. On the other hand, some AYBU students reported that they made higher education preferences in accordance with the score they got from the university exam, that they were in an uncertain career planning, and that they did not have clear information about the departments and programs. Therefore, while career and professional images for Bilkent people come before the score they get from the university exam, for AYBU people, the score they get from the university exam ensures the formation of career and professional images. There are studies in the literature revealing these differences between secondary school students. In the study conducted by Coskun (2019, p. 208) on private basic high schools and students studying in public high schools and their parents, inequalities in secondary education were examined. As a result of the research, it was determined that middle class parents established an effective and constructive communication with their children and negotiated their career planning over a long period of time. The results of the study conducted by Akcelik (2019) also support this situation. It has been determined that career planning of children from upper social class families who perform professional professions is quite prominent and parents play an important role in this situation. On the contrary, while lower class parents wanted their children to go to university, they were found to be less supportive in their school and department preferences.

Values play a central role in shaping individuals' and groups' actions, goals and expectations (Ulusoy, 2020, p. 17). On this axis, students' preferences as they move from high school to college are strongly linked to the cultural values they bring with them from their class positions. It was determined that the education-related values of the majority of the students participating in the study and the education-related values of their parents were compatible and related to each other. On the other hand, it was observed that the expectations from education differed significantly between Bilkent and AYBU students. A great majority of Bilkent students expect to work in the private sector. This is accompanied by goal- and achievement-oriented career expectations, high earnings expectations and resistance to traditional working norms. It is understood that some of the AYBU students expect to work in the public sector and earn regular earnings. In the study of Buyruk (2008, p. 104), it was revealed that students from middle-class families

who are similar to Bilkentian students have high ideals and "sense of self-confidence", while students from the lower class experience "fear of the future" and lack of self-confidence. Unlike the study of Buyruk, this study emphasizes that students with AYBU will gain regular earnings in the future rather than lack of self-confidence and are in the expectation of the public sector. As in Bulbul's (2021, p. 320) study, this result is closely related to the sub-social class position of the families of students' motivations to find work in the public sector. Similarly, in the study of Troiano and Elias (2014), it was determined that working class children kept risk to a minimum during university preference and chose the programs that they would secure themselves in the future. Therefore, with the emphasis of Bourdieu, it is seen that the subjective expectation of the students and their objective class positions are extremely in harmony in the transition to higher education (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2015, p. 200).

(2) Within the scope of objectified cultural capital, it was observed that the home environment in the transition to the university, the special education courses/courses taken and the cultural, sportive and musical activities attended by the students were differentiated. It is understood that some of the students with AYBU are preparing for the exams under inappropriate conditions due to the high number of people in the house and lack of their own rooms. Since the parents have more financial resources for education, most of the students from Bilkent benefit much more from the private courses and private teachers. Moreover, this situation is not only experienced in the transition to higher education, it is understood that students go to private lessons and classrooms for a long period of their education life. Fewer of the students from AYBU are preparing for university by taking private lessons and benefiting from private courses.

The fact that the number of students applying to higher education is well above the current quotas has given more qualification and selection to the central exams. This situation has led to an overflow of competition between students in the transition to higher education and an increase in the sector of preparing students for university entrance exams such as extra classes, private lessons, courses and additional education (TED, 2005, p. 6). Therefore, the importance of class position in students' competition is gradually increasing.

(3) Within the scope of institutionalized cultural capital, it has been observed that the disintegration and inequalities experienced by the students in the transition to university are closely related to the previous education level, secondary education. In the study, it was concluded that the majority of Bilkent students graduated from science or prestigious private high schools, and the majority of AYBU students graduated from Anatolian high schools. Therefore, it is understood that the students' dissociation into certain high schools during the transition to secondary education and the secondary education achievement scores they obtained during the high school process affect their transition to higher education by institutionalizing over time. The striking result of the research is that some Bilkentian students prefer paid private education institutions while they have the right to free education in public high schools with their high scores. Students and parents evaluate the educational quality of public high schools negatively and stay away

from public high schools consciously thanks to the opportunity provided by economic capital.

As a result, a student's position in higher education will provide important clues in terms of his position in the social hierarchy in the future. Although the departments in the university are the same or similar, it is a fundamental fact that graduation from Bilkent and AYBU is not equal. Therefore, there are various studies showing that the expansion of higher education and over-centralized transition systems to higher education lead to greater inequalities between universities (Carnoy, 2011; Liu et al., 2016; Lynch and O'Riordan, 1998). This shows that economic, cultural and social resources are a serious element of inequality even if individual rights and opportunities are provided in terms of social justice (Barry, 2017, p. 32).

Recommendations

In order to reduce the impact of factors such as courses, private lessons and classes that overflow outside the school during the transition to higher education, the economic and cultural capital of the families should be taken into consideration and policies should be developed on the basis of equity in this direction. For this purpose, rather than increasing the higher education quotas, it can be considered to reduce the centrality of the higher education transition exams, review and reconstruct the exams, and take into account the students' abilities. Otherwise, the higher education exams in which the right of entry is provided to all students will continue to maintain the elimination and selection mechanisms invisibly under the principle of "formal equality" and to realize social reproduction.

At the secondary education level, opportunities should be increased to ensure that students' abilities and potentials are objectively recognized.

It is among the researches that should be examined who benefits from higher education scholarships and whether the scholarship systems are inclusive in terms of social justice.

In the future, comparative studies of universities can be done to examine the inequalities experienced during the transition to higher education.

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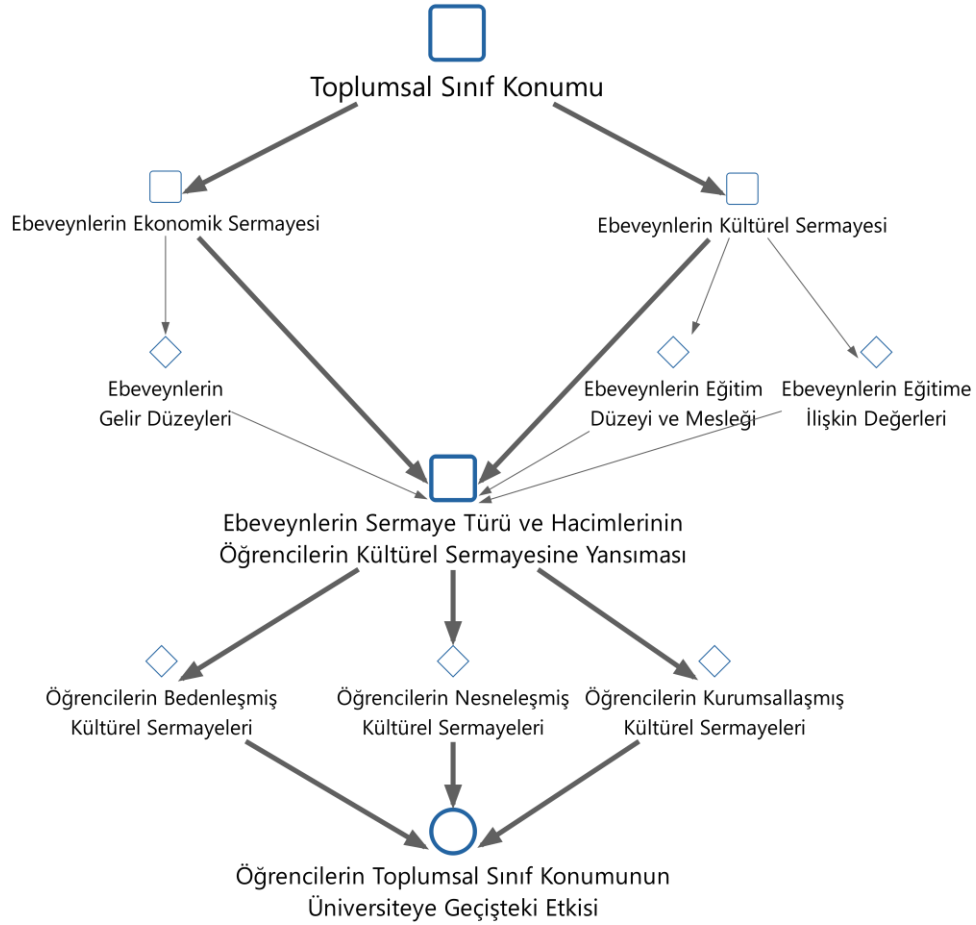
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Genişletilmiş Türkçe Özet

Türkiye’de 2020 yılında yükseköğretime geçiş için sınava başvuranların sayısı 2,4 milyonun üzerindedir ve bu sayı içinden lisansa yerleşenler sadece 431 bin civarındadır. Bu bağlamda yükseköğretime başvuran adayların ancak %17,7’si herhangi bir lisans programına yerleşebilmektedir (YÖK, 2022). Sınava giren fakat herhangi bir programa yerleşemeyen adayların sayısının açık öğretimden muaf tutulmuş yükseköğretim nüfusundan fazla olması, gerekli ihtiyacın karşılanamadığını ve yükseköğretime geçişte arz-talep arasındaki ilişkinin oldukça dengesiz olduğunu göstermektedir (Çelik, 2020, ss. 529-530; Çelik vd., 2020, ss. 69-74).

Prestijli üniversite ve bölümler göz önüne alındığında ise yükseköğretim fırsatlarının giderek daraldığı ve yükseköğretime geçiş üzerinde toplumsal sınıf konumunun önemli bir rol oynadığı görülmektedir (Suna vd., 2020). Bu eksende yükseköğretime erişimdeki eşitsizlikler, dağıtımın yönetilmesi ya da program sayılarının genişletilmesi gibi arz ve talep arasındaki ilişkiye yönelik uygulamaların yanı sıra toplumsal sınıf eşitsizlikleri açısından çözümlenmelidir (Kılıç, 2014).

Bu araştırmanın özgün yanı, nitel araştırma yönteminden iç içe geçmiş tek durum çalışması benimsenerek üniversiteye geçişte benzer ya da aynı bölümlerde bulunan ancak farklı iki kurumda yer alan öğrencilerin, toplumsal sınıf konumlarının karşılaştırılarak incelenmesidir. Böylelikle öğrencilerin toplumsal sınıf konumları ekseninde eşitsizlik örüntülerinin üniversiteye geçişteki etkisini ve üniversitelerin bu eşitsizlikleri sürdürmedeki rolünü anlamak amaçlanmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, yükseköğretim fırsatlarından toplumun belirli katmanlarının daha fazla yararlanması ve eşitsiz biçimde temsil edilmeleri, demokratik yükseköğretimin önündeki ciddi engellerden birini oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışma, üniversitelerin daha eşitlikçi kurumlara dönüştürülmesi konusunda eğitim eşitsizliklerini incelemesi ve toplumsal eşitsizliklere dikkat çekmesi bakımından önem arz etmektedir. Kavramsal çerçeve, Pierre Bourdieu’nün “yeniden üretim kuramı”nın merkezini oluşturan ekonomik ve kültürel sermaye çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır.



Öğrencilerin toplumsal sınıf konumlarının üniversiteye geçişteki etkilerini inceleyen bu araştırma, nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden iç içe geçmiş tek durum deseni ile desenlenmiştir (Yin, 2003, s. 39). Bu durumun iki analiz birimi ise Bilkent ve Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversiteleridir. Araştırmanın katılımcılarını 2020-2021 eğitim-öğretim yılında Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt ve Bilkent Üniversitelerinde mühendislik, sosyal bilimler ve dil alanında öğrenim gören toplamda 38 öğrenci oluşturmaktadır. Araştırma verileri yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formu kullanılarak derinlemesine görüşmeler ile toplanmıştır. Veriler açıklayıcı yapı analizi ile çözümlenmiş, MAXQDA 2018 Analytics Pro nitel analiz programı kullanılarak iki vaka modeli ile görselleştirilmiştir.

Araştırmaya katılan öğrencilerin ebeveynlerinin gelir düzeyleri karşılaştırıldığında Bilkentli öğrencilerin ebeveynlerinin, AYBÜ'lülere göre çok daha fazla gelire sahip olmaları dolayısıyla ekonomik kaynaklarını eğitim harcamalarına daha fazla ayırdıkları görülmüştür. Ebeveynlerin ekonomik sermayeleri Bilkentli ve AYBÜ'lü öğrencilerin birbirinden ayırıştırıcı ve yükseköğretimde eşitsiz konumlara itilmelerine neden olan önemli bir eşitsizlik kaynağıdır. Bu bulgu yükseköğretime geçişte ekonomik sermaye farklılıklarını konu alan çalışmalarda bulguları desteklemektedir (Buyruk, 2008; Bülbül, 2021; Ekinci, 2011; Suna vd., 2020; Tunç, 2011). Ayrıca bu çalışmada elde edilen mevcut bulgular; kısıtlı ekonomik sermayeye sahip aileler için gündelik "hayatta kalma" ihtiyacının yükseköğretim isteğinden önce geldiği, bu ailelerden gelen çocukların

yarı zamanlı işlerde çalışmalarından dolayı eğitimlerine ve akademik çalışmalarına daha az vakit ayırdığı ve diğer öğrencilerle eşit olmayan şartlarda rekabet ettiği (Blanden & Machin, 2004; Lynch & O'riordan, 1998), ebeveynlerin gelir düzeylerinin yetersiz olmasından dolayı barınma maliyetlerini karşılayamadığı ve öğrencilerin ailelerinin yaşadığı şehirdeki üniversiteleri tercih etme kısıtlılığı içinde bulunduğu (Kara, 2009), bulgularını vurgulayan araştırmaları desteklemektedir.

Araştırmada Bilkentli ve AYBÜ'lü ebeveynlerinin eğitime ilişkin değer ve beklentilerinin de birbirinden oldukça farklılık gösterdiği ve çocuklarının üniversiteye geçişini etkilediği görülmüştür. Bilkentli bazı ebeveynler için üniversite eğitimi saygınlık/prestij sağlayan bir faaliyettir. Ebeveynler üniversiteyi özel sektörde çalışmanın ve yüksek kazanç elde etmenin anahtarı olarak görmektedir. Üniversite onlar için girişimci ve yaratıcılıklarını gerçekleştirebilecekleri bir alandır. Öte yandan AYBÜ'lü bazı ebeveynler için üniversite eğitimi, çocuklarının güvenceli mesleklere ulaşmasını sağlayan bir diplomadır. Bu güvenceli meslekler iş garantisi, dolayısıyla kamuda çalışma anlamına gelmektedir. Bu nedenle ebeveynlerin üniversite eğitimi için çocuklarından kamuda çalışma beklentisi içinde oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Bilkentli öğrencilerin ebeveynleri yeni burjuvaların yetişmesini istemekteyken, AYBÜ'lü bazı ebeveynler ise çocuklarından kendi toplumsal sınıf konumlarını yükseltecek ve garantiye alacak devlet memuru olmalarını istemektedir.

Bu doğrultuda araştırmaya katılan öğrencilerin çoğunluğunun eğitime ilişkin değerleri ile ebeveynlerinin eğitime ilişkin değerlerinin birbiriyle uyumlu ve ilişkili olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Diğer yandan Bilkentli ve AYBÜ'lü öğrenciler arasında eğitimden beklentiler ise birbirinden oldukça farklılaştığı görülmüştür. Bilkentli öğrencilerin çok büyük bir bölümü özel sektörde çalışma beklentisi içindedir. Bu duruma amaç ve başarı yönelimli kariyer beklentileri, yüksek kazanç beklentileri ve geleneksel çalışma normlarına direnç eşlik etmektedir. AYBÜ'lü öğrencilerin bir bölümünün ise kamu sektöründe çalışma ve düzenli kazanç elde etme beklentisi içinde oldukları anlaşılmaktadır.

Öğrencilerin üniversiteye geçişteki ev ortamının, almış olduğu özel eğitim kursları/derslerinin ve katıldığı kültürel, sportif, müzikal faaliyetlerinin ayrıştığı görülmüştür. AYBÜ'lü öğrencilerin bir bölümü, evdeki kişi sayısının fazla olmasından ve kendilerine ait odaları bulunmadığından dolayı uygun olmayan koşullarda sınavlara hazırlandıkları anlaşılmaktadır. Ebeveynlerinin eğitim için daha fazla maddi kaynağa sahip olmasından dolayı Bilkentli öğrencilerin büyük bir bölümü dersane ve özel öğretmenlerden çok daha fazla faydalanmaktadır. Üstelik bu durum sadece yükseköğretime geçişte yaşanmamakta, eğitim hayatlarının uzun bir dönemi boyunca öğrencilerin özel ders ve dersanelere gittikleri anlaşılmaktadır. AYBÜ'lü öğrencilerin ise daha azı özel ders olarak ve dersanelerden faydalanarak üniversiteye hazırlanmaktadır.

Öğrencilerin üniversiteye geçişte yaşadığı ayrışma ve eşitsizliklerin bir önceki eğitim kademesi olan ortaöğretim ile yakından ilişkili olduğu görülmüştür. Araştırmada Bilkentli öğrencilerin çoğunluğunun fen ya da itibarlı özel liselerden, AYBÜ'lü öğrencilerin büyük bir bölümünün ise Anadolu liselerinden mezun olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Dolayısıyla öğrencilerin ortaöğretime geçişte belirli liselere ayrışması ve lise sürecinde elde ettikleri

ortaöğretim başarı puanları zamanla kurumsallaşarak yükseköğretime geçişlerini etkilediği anlaşılmaktadır. Araştırmada çarpıcı olan sonuç, Bilkentli bazı öğrencinin sahip oldukları yüksek puanlar ile devlet liselerinde ücretsiz öğrenim görme hakları bulunmaktayken ücretli özel eğitim kurumlarını tercih etmeleridir. Öğrenci ve ebeveynler itibarlı devlet liselerinin eğitim niteliğini olumsuz olarak değerlendirmekte ve ekonomik sermayelerin sağlamış olduğu imkân sayesinde kendilerini bilinçli olarak devlet liselerinden uzak tutmaktadırlar.

Sonuç olarak, bir öğrencinin yükseköğretimdeki konumu gelecekte sosyal hiyerarşideki konumu açısından önemli ipuçları verecektir. Her ne kadar üniversitedeki bölümler aynı ya da benzer olsa bile Bilkent ve AYBÜ'den mezun olma durumunun eşit olmadığı temel bir gerçektir. Yükseköğretimin genişlemesinin ve aşırı merkezîleşen yükseköğretime geçiş sistemlerinin üniversiteler arasında daha büyük eşitsizliklere yol açtığına dair çeşitli araştırmalar bulunmaktadır (Carnoy, 2011; Liu vd., 2016; Lynch ve O'riordan, 1998). Bu durum sosyal adalet açısından (Barry, 2017, s. 32), üniversiteye geçişte bireysel hak ve fırsatların sağlanmış olsa bile ekonomik, kültürel ve sosyal kaynakların ciddi bir eşitsizlik unsuru olduğunu göstermektedir. Çalışma sonucunda yükseköğretime geçişte sosyoekonomik koşulların etkisinin azaltılması için merkezi sınava olan bağımlılığın gözden geçirilmesi önerilmektedir.

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Informed Consent: Informed consent form was obtained from the participants before the study.

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Authors	Contact
Orhan Samet PENÇE	Hacettepe University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Sociology, 06800, Beytepe, Ankara E-mail: orhanpence@gmail.com
Meliha Demet ULUSOY	Hacettepe University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Sociology, 06800, Beytepe, Ankara E-mail: demet.ulusoy@gmail.com

Annex. Information about the participants interviewed

Table 2.

Information of the Interviewees

Code	Gender	University	Department:	Success Ranking	Scholarship Status	Type of High School	Monthly Average Family Income
S1	Male	Bilkent	Law	150	Scholarship	Science High School	15.000
S2	Male	Bilkent	Law	2.000	Fee-paying	Private High School	20.000
S3	Male	Bilkent	Law	5.000	Fee-paying	Private High School	30.000
S4	Male	Bilkent	Law	12.000	Fee-paying	Private High School	20.000
S5	Female	Bilkent	Industrial Eng.	6.000	50%	Private High School	13.000
S6	Female	Bilkent	Industrial Eng.	9,000	50%	Science High School	14.000
S7	Male	Bilkent	Industrial Eng.	19.000	Fee-paying	Science High School	20.000
S8	Male	Bilkent	Electrical and Electronics Eng.	3.000	50%	Private High School	8.000
S9	Female	Bilkent	Electrical and Electronics Eng.	20.000	Fee-paying	Anatolian High School	20.000
S10	Female	Bilkent	Computer Eng.	29.000	Fee-paying	Private Anatolian High S.	30.000
S11	Male	Bilkent	Economics	300	Scholarship	Private Anatolian High S.	10.000
S12	Female	Bilkent	Interior Architecture and Environmental Design	50.000	50%	Private Anatolian High S.	12.000
S13	Female	Bilkent	Political Science and Public Administration	140.000	50%	Private High School	80.000
S14	Female	Bilkent	Political Science and Public Administration	290.000	Fee-paying	Private High School	20.000
S15	Male	Bilkent	Political Science and Public Administration	500.000	Fee-paying	Private Anatolian High S.	50.000
S16	Male	Bilkent	International Relations	70,000	50%	Anatolian High School	10.000

S17	Female	Bilkent	International Relations	110.000	Fee-paying	Private Anatolian High S.	17.000
S18	Female	Bilkent	English Language and Literature	2.200	Scholarship	Science High School	8.000
S19	Female	Bilkent	English Language and Literature	8.000	50%	Private Anatolian High S.	15.000
S20	Female	Bilkent	English Language and Literature	9,000	50%	Anatolian High School	16,000
S21	Female	Bilkent	English Language and Literature	10.000	50%	Anatolian High School	20.000
S22	Female	AYBU	Law	DGS 400	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	3.000
S23	Male	AYBU	Law	12.000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	15.000
S24	Female	AYBU	Law	14.000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	16,000
S25	Male	AYBU	Law	11,000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	12.000
S26	Female	AYBU	Computer Eng.	35,000	Free of charge	Science High School	8.000
S27	Male	AYBU	Mechanical Eng.	56.000	Free of charge	Science High School	9,000
S28	Female	AYBU	Industrial Eng.	59.000	Free of charge	Private High School	6.000
S29	Male	AYBU	Metallurgy and Materials Eng.	165,000	Free of charge	Private High School	3,200
S30	Male	AYBU	International Relations	70,000	Free of charge	Anatolian Teacher High S.	3.000
S31	Female	AYBU	Sociology	100,000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	3.000
S32	Male	AYBU	Sociology	210.000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	6.000
S33	Female	AYBU	International Relations	104.000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	5.000
S34	Male	AYBU	Economics	127,000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	5.500
S35	Male	AYBU	English Translation and Interpreting	6.000	Free of charge	Science High School	15.000

S36	Male	AYBU	English Translation and Interpreting	10.000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	6.000
S37	Female	AYBU	English Translation and Interpreting	11,000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	5.000
S38	Female	AYBU	English Translation and Interpreting	12.000	Free of charge	Anatolian High School	10.000
