

A Qualitative Study of the Elements of Symbolic Violence in Official Education Documents

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Abstract: The main purpose of this study is to highlight the elements of symbolic violence and cultural capital in the regulations, strategies and development plans regarding the educational institutions affiliated to the Ministry of National Education. In the study, the forms of inequality created by the symbolic violence elements in the regulations, strategic plans and development plans are discussed in terms of students, based on the symbolic violence and cultural capital approaches developed by Bourdieu. In the research, case study design was used in compliance with the qualitative methodology. The data were analyzed by using the MAXQDA software in the context of content analysis. The research has shown that the principal, vice principals, and teachers are the representatives of the pedagogical authority and carry out their responsibilities in accordance with the pedagogical action. In addition, it has been found that the articles in the regulation divide students into two categories as acceptable and unacceptable students. It has been concluded that the condition of being an acceptable student depends on the elements of cultural capital acquired from the family, as well as having behavioral patterns related to universal and national values. At the conclusion of the study, it is recommended that the regulations should be reviewed by taking social class differences into consideration.

Keywords: Cultural capital, Ministry of National Education regulations, Maxqda

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Introduction

The educational system serves a variety of purposes, including promoting equal opportunities for everyone, fostering the upward social mobility of people from lower socioeconomic classes, and helping people to internalize the values existing in the society. It is significant to note that in addition to these obligations, which are referred to as the explicit functions of the educational institution, it also has latent roles like maintaining the domination of the power that rules the society and contributing to the reproduction of inequalities. In Bourdieu's sociology, the educational institution performs its latent functions through symbolic violence.

Symbolic violence is a form in which both the offender and the victim act as accomplice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2016:166). Those who are exposed to this type of violence are hindered by the power of misunderstanding (Calhoun, 2016:119) Applying symbolic violence primarily serves to conceal the arbitrary nature of the social order (Wacquant, 2016:56). The most important difference that distinguishes symbolic violence from other types of violence is that the person who is exposed to this type of violence accepts it. The offenders desire to be included in the collective belief is the primary motivation behind this consent (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016:63).

According to Bourdieu, "symbolic violence is an invisible and gentle form of violence" (Eagleton, as cited in Turk, 2016:613). Bourdieu states in his work "Practical Reasons" that symbolic systems are involved in the process even while determining people's tastes (Bourdieu, 2015a:24). The individual's preference for a particular sport or musical instrument—Bourdieu uses the accordion and piano as examples—is determined by symbolic violence. According to this viewpoint, this kind of violence makes people categorize different social values and products into high and low standards (Calhoun, 2016:119). To illustrate, in social life, the notion that classical music or tennis belong to a higher culture than football or rap music is constantly produced. As a result, types of hierarchies in society and "people's misrecognition of the true nature of what they think, do and value are systematically reinforced" (Calhoun, 2016:119-120). This form of violence is called misrecognition by Bourdieu because it is not perceived as violence. Symbolic violence is a type of violence that is difficult to perceive because it is produced by the government based on misrepresentation. The person who is subjected to symbolic violence, eventually, sees the oppression as natural due to his misunderstanding.

Education and Symbolic Violence

Bourdieu mentions four different dimensions as determining factors of power and social inequality in the social structure: Social, economic, symbolic and cultural capital. Social capital includes the acquaintances, friendships, connections and relationships that an individual has with other people, and relationships that give them social depth and power of action (Chauviré & Fontaine, 2003:13). Social capital refers to all of an individual's connections, acquaintances, friendships, and relationships that give social depth and power to action (Chauviré & Fontaine, 2003:13). Economic capital corresponds to the ownership of goods and property. Symbolic capital, on the other hand, is a type of capital that includes all types of capital and has an indicator value (Ozsoz, 2013: 12). While Bourdieu mentions the significance of these three types of capital, he focuses mostly on cultural capital. This type of capital, which we can also call knowledge capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2016: 108), is cultural codes "instilled in individuals through education" (Ozsoz, 2013: 12). Individuals acquire this type of capital through socialization agents. Cultural capital in society is limited in quantity and is very valuable as it is found in certain segments as a class elimination mechanism (Aktay, 2016: 477).

Cultural capital is effective in every institution in the social structure, as well as being a determinant on education. When illustrating the inequalities that exist in school, Bourdieu gives the physicist Maxwell's second law of thermodynamics as an example. Maxwell makes the assumption that there is a genie among the hotter or cooler particles, and that the genie separates the hottest particles into one container and the cooler ones into a different container (Bourdieu, 2015a: 37). In this sense, it is acknowledged that there is a genie in the school, as Maxwell stated, and that he divides the students into classes based on cultural capital differences. In summary, Bourdieu bases the inequalities existing in the education system on "cultural differences rather than wealth differences" (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016: 52-53). He asserts that, social origin has a more prominent impact than factors such as gender, age and religious affiliation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015a: 26).

According to Bourdieu, the elimination system in education heavily relies on language, and spoken language is the main cause of academic inequality. What he wants to mention here is that the language used by students from the "upper socioeconomic classes" progresses in parallel with the linguistic rules of the school. Students from the dominant class have already internalized the meanings and passwords necessary to be successful at school (Aktay, 2016: 482). On the other hand, the language used by students from lower classes has a limited vocabulary (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016: 53-54). As a result, disadvantaged students are unable to grasp the meanings of teachers' grammar, accent, tone and speaking style. This inequality, which results from the difference of social origin, eventually makes the students from the lower socioeconomic classes feel that they are in a place where they do not belong (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015a: 30). Therefore, according to Bourdieu, the real

purpose of education is to eliminate those who do not have dominant capital. Thus, the system will be able to easily reproduce itself repeatedly.

Bourdieu and Passeron seek to develop a theory of symbolic violence in "Reproduction". According to the authors, "every pedagogical activity is symbolic violence because it is imposed by a cultural power" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015b: 35). The government carries out this type of violence by hiding the power dynamics between classes and groups (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015b: 35). Symbolic acts that involve violence are not only carried out by institutions, but also by family members and the system of officers (institutional education) equipped with an educational function (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015b: 35). Therefore, according to Bourdieu teachers are crucial to the indoctrination process. He contends that teachers cannot grade students objectively and assign grades according to the values of the dominant class. The education system also exposes teachers to a homogeneous education and directs teachers to provide education in a similar way. In this way, the educational institution, thanks to the textbooks, programs and pedagogical instructions it offers to the executors, both imprints cultural arbitrariness in their minds and seeks to control the students who do not follow the linear line (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015b).

In line with Bourdieu's theoretical contribution, the main purpose of this study is to highlight the symbolic violence and cultural capital elements in the regulations, strategy plans and development plans prepared by the State Planning Organization for educational institutions affiliated to the Ministry of National Education in Turkey. In the study, based on the symbolic violence and cultural capital approaches developed by Bourdieu, the elements of symbolic violence in the regulations, strategic plans and development plans and the forms of inequality that these elements have caused in terms of students are discussed. Inequality and cultural capital reserve, which came to the fore especially for students with diverse socio-economic cultures, are positioned as the main determining factor in terms of study. The main purpose of the study is to reveal what advantages and disadvantages the determinations in the regulations have in terms of students' current cultural capital accumulation.

The research questions addressed in line with the purpose of the study are as follows:

1. Are there elements of symbolic violence in the regulations, strategic plans and development plans implemented by the MONE and considered on the basis of research?
2. If there are elements of symbolic violence in the examined official documents, what are the positions that play a role in the implementation of this violence?

3. Is there an acceptable student profile to be created within the framework of the examined official documents? If yes, what are the characteristics of an acceptable student profile?

The main problematic of the study was formulated as “to highlight the understanding of symbolic violence brought to the agenda from the perspective of the students in the regulations, strategic plans and development plans of the Ministry of National Education (MONE)”. This study, which examines the regulations and strategic plans prepared by the Ministry of National Education, contains a number of innovative contributions due to its dynamics. In the literature, there are numerous studies on MONE regulations and strategic plans both in the field of social sciences and in the field of educational sciences. However, these studies were generally carried out either through a specific regulation or a special student unit (Aslanargun, 2011; Kulahoglu & Kucuksuleymanoglu, 2021; Seyhan & Akduman, 2015). It is not possible to discuss the existence of a study that facilitates the analysis of all the regulations of the Ministry of National Education in Turkey and the situation it created in the context of all students. In this regard, the first of the unique aspects of the study is that it analyzes seventeen regulations, three strategic plans and three development plans concerning the school institution. Another crucial factor that highlights the differences of this study from the ones mentioned before is the examination of the studies without considering the elements of symbolic violence in official documents. It is seen that the only study examining symbolic violence elements in the context of regulations was carried out by Ozsoz (2009), and this study only takes into account the regulations concerning primary education institutions. Therefore, the strength of the study comes from the fact that it includes the regulations concerning both pre-school, primary and secondary education institutions in the research process. As a result, it is thought that the study is important in terms of highlighting the cultural capital and symbolic violence elements that the regulations brought to the agenda in the context of students.

Methodology

Research Design

In the study, which was structured on the analysis of the regulations, strategic plans arranged by the Ministry of National Education and development plans prepared by the State Planning Organization, qualitative method was used. The design of the study was a case study. Because the case study design includes a complete and integrated set of processes needed for an event or a situation (Yin, 2017). Reviewing the regulations of the Ministry of National Education is positioned as a situation. Along with the definition of the situation and the adequacy of the theoretical data explaining the situation, the emergence of

a methodology that is far from generalizing despite the diversity of data sources (Yin, 2017; Creswell, 2017) has been decisive for this study.

Based on qualitative research, the analysis technique of this study, which is structured with a case study pattern, is document analysis. Accordingly, the documents including the regulations, strategic plans prepared by the Ministry of National Education and the development plans prepared by the State Planning Organization -then the Ministry of Development and the Presidency Strategy and Budget Department- were analyzed.

Data Collection Techniques

The population of the study consists of a total of 122 regulations prepared by the Ministry of National Education on different themes and units. All of the existing regulations were not included in the study due to the various limitations of in part of the researchers and considering the main problems of the research. In the context of the questions formulated within the scope of the research, a total of seventeen regulations, three MEB Strategic Plans (2010-2014, 2014-2019, 2019-2023) and three development plans (2007-2013, 2014-2018, 2019-2023) were analyzed within the scope of this study. The regulations, strategic plans and development plans included in the scope of the research, on the other hand, found their counterparts as critical case and typical case sampling in accordance with the sample selection procedure of the qualitative methodology and depending on the purposive sampling method. Regulations, strategic plans and development plans, which were included in by using critical case and typical case sampling methods, were compiled from the website of the ministry dated 20.07.2021.

Scope and Limitations

The qualitative field work and the analysis of the study started on 27.07.2021 and ended in November 2021. Researchers conducted document analysis of the texts they included in the sample in a period of about four months.

The research has several limitations due to its intense content. In particular, the review of all regulations, the inclusion of the relevant regulations within the scope of the study and conducting the analysis was a labor-intensive process. Another limitation of the research is that the study was carried out only on documents. Within the framework of all these limitations, the list of the regulations, strategic plans and development plans examined within the scope of the study is given in Table 1.

Table 1.

Official Documents Used in the Study

Regulations
Regulation on Ceremonies to be held on March 18 Martyrs' Day and September 19 Veterans Day
Regulation on Galatasaray High School, Galatasaray Secondary School and Galatasaray Primary School affiliated to Galatasaray University
Regulation on the Day of Adoption of the National Anthem and the Day of Commemoration of Mehmet Akif Ersoy
Ministry of National Education Open Education Secondary School Regulation
Regulation on the Attire of School Students Affiliated to the Ministry of National Education
Ministry of National Education Regulation on Textbooks and Educational Tools
Ministry of National Education Educational Institutions Social Activities Regulation
Ministry of National Education Regulation on Education and Culture Publications
Ministry of National Education Regulation on Lifelong Learning Institutions
Ministry of National Education Teachers' Day Celebration Regulation
Ministry of National Education Regulation on School-Parent Association
Ministry of National Education Regulation on Pre-School Education and Primary Education Institutions
Ministry of National Education Regulation on Secondary Education Institutions
Ministry of National Education Regulation on Private Education Institutions
Regulation of the Ministry of National Education Board of Education and Discipline
Secondary and Secondary Education Institutions Private Housing Services Regulation
Regulation on Ceremonies and Celebrations to be held on National and Official Holidays, Local Liberation Days, Ataturk Days and Historical Days
Development Plans
Ninth Development Plan (2007-2013)
Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018)
Eleventh Development Plan (2019-2023)
Strategic Plans of the Ministry of National Education
Ministry of National Education Strategic Plan 2010-2014
Ministry of National Education Strategic Plan 2014-2019
Ministry of National Education Strategic Plan 2019-2023

The Role of the researcher

The role of researchers is of great importance in qualitative research that is based on interpretation and does not aim to make generalization. Although direct interviews with people were not included in this study, the researchers paid special attention to work by considering ethical rules in the context of the qualitative construction of the study. Particular attention was paid to the sampling method used by the researchers, especially when determining the sample within the existing regulations, and to include all regulations in the widest scope and objectively. On the other hand, the ethical issues that may arise during the data entry process were treated carefully. The regulations included in the sample were coded through the information gathered from the theoretical framework.

Since the regulations and plans discussed in the study are shared on the website of the MONE, it can be stated that the legal procedures that may arise have been sorted out. For this reason, sharing the names of the institution and related

regulations directly in the study does not pose a problem in the context of the study.

In the study, all regulations concerning the MONE were examined on the basis of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, and codes and themes were created in line with the literature he developed about symbolic violence. At this stage, it has been determined that there are only seventeen regulations in accordance with the literature. In other words, it has been observed that there are seventeen regulations that are suitable for analysis and coding among all regulations within the MONE. While selecting the Development Plans and the Strategic Plans of the Ministry of National Education, attention was paid to take only the last three plans due to the difficulty of dealing with all plans. Document analysis was conducted with the obtained sample.

Data Analysis

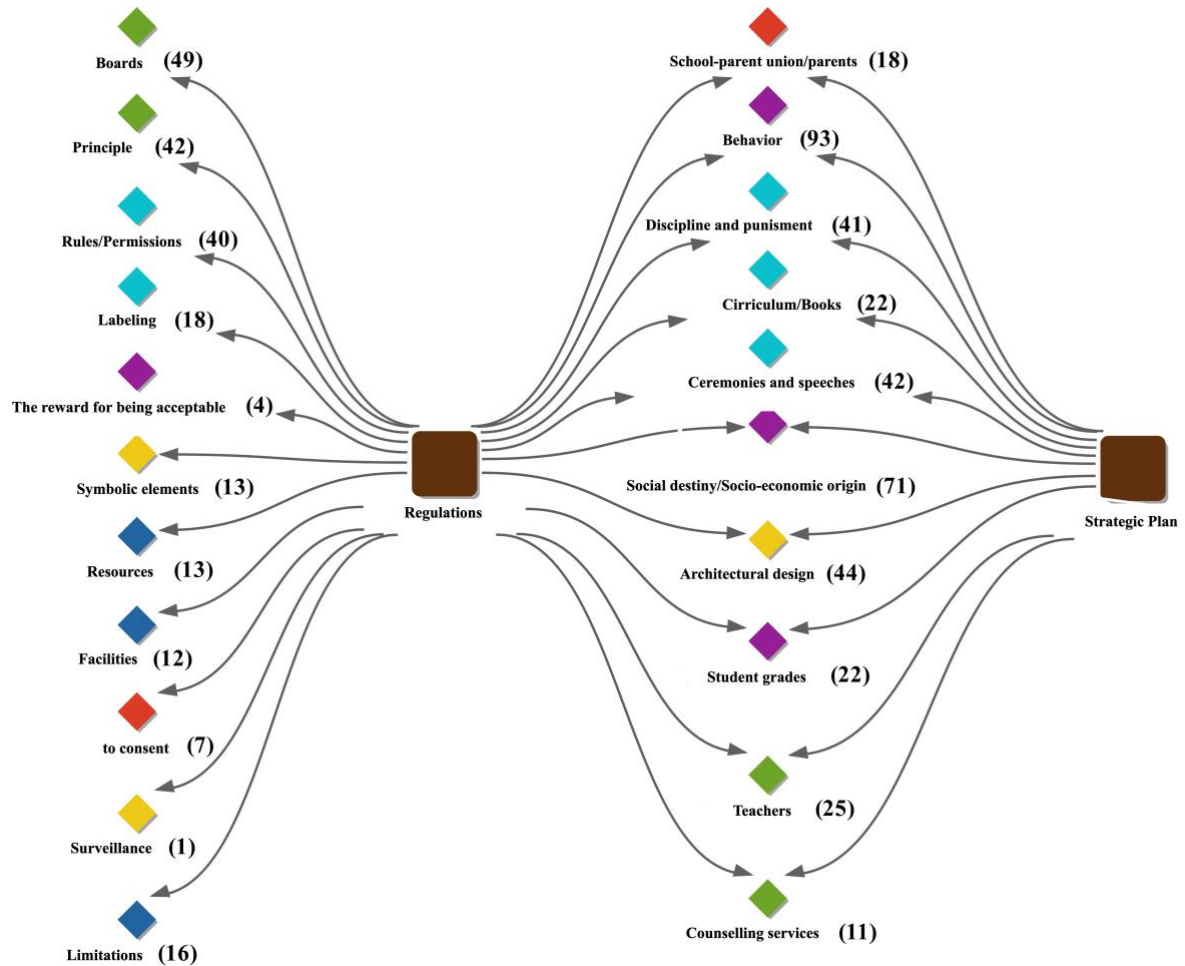
At the beginning of the study, all the regulations on the ministry page were read by the researchers and the relevant regulations were included in the research. Afterwards, all researchers formed a common working principle, created the codes and themes of the study, made the necessary coding, and created a code map. The study was finalized by reaching a consensus between researchers on creating codes. In this sense, "concept coding" and "field and classifier coding" techniques, also known as analytical coding in many sources, were used while creating the code system (Saldana, 2019).

Concepts that can attribute a much more inclusive meaning than an object or observable behavior in the literature or in our daily life are positioned as deep symbolic elements of our lives. With such a justification, the concept map developed by Bourdieu has been very instructive in this study. Within the scope of the study, together with the codes and themes of "social origin", "acceptable student", "accomplice", "pedagogical action" and "pedagogical authority", which have an important place in Bourdieu's capital and education terminology, through the field and classifier coding technique various codes such as "panoptic architecture" and "inequality" have been formulated.

Data analysis, which was based on document analysis was conducted with the MAXQDA 2022 software. In the context of the study, the documents obtained from the regulations and strategic plans of the Ministry of National Education were first divided into codes, themes and categories by using the MAXQDA 2022 software. The codes and themes implemented for the research were formed in line with the literature developed by Bourdieu about symbolic violence and cultural capital. The themes and codes of the documents included in the research were summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1.

Two Case Studies of Regulation and Strategic Plan



As can be seen in Figure 1, in the context of the study, the codes and sub-codes of the research, which were created by both conceptual coding developed by the literature and field and classification coding, and frequently encountered in data analysis, are presented.

Findings

Symbolic Violence Elements in MONE Legislation in Turkey

Pedagogical Authority and Pedagogical Action

The MONE regulations that were reviewed clearly state the responsibilities of the staff at the school. When the documents are analyzed in this regard, it is seen that the principal, vice principals and teachers represent the pedagogical authority in schools. In line with this representation, the authority of

administrators and teachers in the school is unquestionable and absolute. Principals as the person in charge of schools, and teachers as representatives responsible for implementing the duties assigned by the administration, mediate the establishment of pedagogical authority.

The analysis reveals that the top authority in the school is the principal. The most significant evidence of this is that the principal is defined as the education and training leader primarily responsible for administration and representation in the regulations covering almost all institutions.

The school principal is the education leader responsible for the management of the institution in order to realize the aims of the school in line with the general purposes of national education, depending on the basic principles of national education (Open Education Secondary School Regulation, article 11).

The principal is responsible for the school, and all forms of education and training, movable property, correspondence, social activities, nutrition, security, care, protection, cleaning, order, watch, public relations to be carried out within the framework of his authority. (Pre- and Primary Education Institutions Regulation, article 39/1). In addition to all these duties of the school principal, he is also in charge of maintaining the order and discipline of the school, as an indicator that he is the top pedagogical authority. In other words, both the reward and punishment mechanisms are the principal's responsibility.

The principal takes all kinds of measures regarding the order and discipline of the school (MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, article 78/4-f).

Office of the directorate represents the highest decision mechanism in the issuance of disciplinary punishments such as warning, reprimand and short-term suspension from school. In line with this duty, it has the authority to temporarily suspend the student who behaves in a way that necessitates a penal situation without referral to the board when necessary (Regulation on Secondary Education Institutions, article 198/1). The powers of the principal in disciplinary proceedings are not limited to this. In addition to the aforementioned authorities, when the School Student Behavior Evaluation Board does not find the results appropriate, it also has the authority to send the file containing its opinions and suggestions to the board and allow it to be discussed a second time (Regulation on Pre-School Education and Primary Education Institutions, article 60/4). As can be seen, the office of the directorate plays an important role in the establishment of the pedagogical authority in the school. In particular, its authority of the discipline on the functioning of the discipline is decisive for the pedagogical action and the formation of the acceptable student, which will be mentioned in the following pages.

In the documents, it can be seen that vice principals as well as the principal represent the pedagogical authority in maintaining the order of the school. When the duties of school administrators are examined, the fact that administrators lead teachers, students, parents and the environment in

education and training, carry out studies for the creation of team spirit, their work for the integration of the school with the environment and the development of the corporate culture (MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, article 77/1) are important evidences of this.

Another important figure representing the pedagogical authority in the educational institution is the teachers. When the documents are examined, they are constantly reminded that there are rules that teachers have to fulfill, especially within the framework of their job descriptions.

Teachers actively participate in the educational work of the school. In these matters they are obliged to fulfill the responsibilities specified in laws, regulations, directives and orders and other responsibilities assigned by the school administration (MONE Open Education Secondary School Regulation, article 14).

When the responsibilities expected from the teachers are examined, it can be seen that they are divided into two tasks as for the development of students in the classroom and tasks involving protective behaviors for the students outside the classroom. Both categories include behaviors towards students. In addition, the duties of teachers are generally formed within the framework of raising students who are suitable for the socialization process and compatible with the society. As it is seen, teachers, besides having duties related to how students should grow up in their educational life, gain functionality in the educational institution as actors who take decisive roles in the lives of students outside of school. In other words, teachers are not only equipped with academic duties but also with authorities for social values.

In the classroom, teachers are responsible for “playing a decisive and leading role in social development by working towards educating and developing the individual in line with the needs of the society and bringing them into society as a qualified person who is committed to their values; planning and implementing activities that enable students learn by targeting, examining, researching, doing and experiencing their learning outcomes and skills in line with the curricula; and preparing the necessary environment for them so that they can think independently and creatively, draw conclusions from the information obtained, express their opinions freely in discussions and be tolerant (MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, Article 86).

In addition, teachers also have a responsibility to promote cultural capital among their students in the classroom. Accordingly, teachers especially help in terms of “using Turkish correctly, beautifully, effectively and in accordance with the rules in school and in the environment” (MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, Article 109/7-u). At this point, teachers step in to provide the learning outcome that the family is unable to provide, which is crucial in the acquisition of cultural capital.

Teachers also have responsibilities to protect students outside the school. For example, they are responsible for “taking the necessary measures regarding

students who are exposed to domestic and non-domestic violence, who are likely to do acts against the law and society's ethical rules due to neglect or bullying; protecting the students against gossip, bullying, threats, teasing and all kinds of insulting nicknames so that they are not physically and mentally damaged by the environment, school staff and other students (MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, article 158). The teacher, who plays an important role not only in the classroom but also outside the classroom, proves that he is one of the important actors of the pedagogical authority with the responsibilities he needs to fulfill.

Along with the administrators and teachers, other actors in the school contribute to the legitimacy of the pedagogical authority by implementing the methods of reward and punishment. One of the most important of these actors is the school-parent union. The parents in this group contribute to the development and strengthening of the corporate culture by working in cooperation with the school administrators. When the documents are examined, it is observed that the family factor is constantly included in the education life. For example, teachers involve families in the education process by "cooperating with parents on student behavior and success" (MONE Regulation on Secondary Education Institutions, article 86/4-n). It is clear that not only the personnel in the school but also other socialization agents play important roles for the habitus that is desired to be achieved. Accordingly, it can be seen that, "cooperating with the school administration, teachers, parents and families in order to educate the students in line with the general and special purposes, basic principles and national moral values of the Turkish national education system" is among the duties and authorities of the school-parent union (MONE School- Family Association Regulation, article 6/1-a).

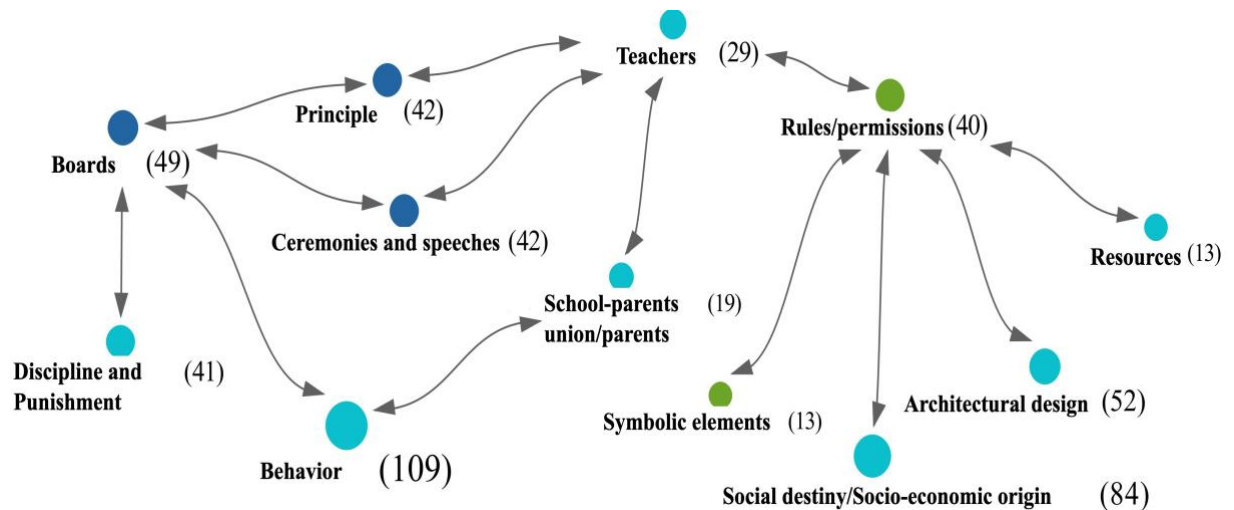
Principal, vice principals and teachers, who appear as figures of pedagogical authority, implement pedagogical action with the rights, opportunities and job descriptions offered to them within the framework of regulations. Accordingly, when students enter the education system, they directly agree to accept the regulations. Those who do not comply face punishment with various disciplinary offenses. According to Bourdieu's approach, this situation means a kind of consent. In fact, the most important difference that distinguishes symbolic violence from other types of violence is this accomplice, which is brought to life by both the offender and the victim. The most concrete indicator of partnership is the contract signed by the student at the beginning of secondary education:

School administration signs a contract among the school, the student and their parents at the beginning of the academic year with students who have just started school, and within the week of their transfer with those who have received a transfer. In the contract signed between the school and the student and their parents, the rules to be followed by the students and the behaviors expected from the students and the sanctions that the students may face in case of not complying with them are included. The school administration also informs themselves and their parents about the rules to be followed by the students, the behaviors expected from the students, and the sanctions that the

students may face in case of non-compliance (MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, article 157/4).

Figure 2.

Code Map



As can be seen by the code map in Figure 2, school administrators, teachers and the school-parent union have almost developed a partnership for the establishment of pedagogical authority and pedagogical action in schools. The principal, who is the school administrator, operates the discipline and punishment mechanism, especially through teachers and boards. On the other hand, the pedagogical authority is presented to the students as a symbolic violence tool with the duties of the administrators and teachers against the students in the regulations and the ceremonial speeches delivered at the school.

Students are encouraged to adopt behaviors expected of them in classes, ceremonies, meetings, guidance studies, parent meetings and meetings and other social activities and the rules to be followed are reminded (MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, article 157/3).

Teachers and the school-parent union act as a buffer between the panoptic architecture, symbols and the cultural capital of the students. In this sense, it is possible to say that the teacher and the school-parent union play an important role in the process of transferring the pedagogical authority from the management mechanisms to the students. Teachers, principals and school administrators, whom we define as pedagogical authorities, stand out as elements that ensure that the education system is in a certain order. Thanks to them, school order is maintained, students who follow the rules are rewarded and those who do not follow the same rules are punished. Thus, if the family has not succeeded in creating the desired habitus, the educational institution can fill this gap through pedagogical authority and actions.

Student Profile Desired to Be Created: An Acceptable Student

When the regulations and strategic plans are examined, it is seen that two types of students are emphasized: Students who comply with the rules and those who do not. This approach finds a response in the terminology of the study as a student who is/is not acceptable. Codes created in this context are divided into two as items for successful students and items for unsuccessful students. How an acceptable student should be is constantly repeated both in the items that include institutions and in items that include student behavior. In this regard, the general aims and basic principles of Turkish national education are clearly stated in the strategic plans and development plans of the Ministry of National Education:

Working with the determination and resolution to make the Turkish nation happy and to raise it above the level of contemporary civilization; commitment to the republic and democratic values; respect for human rights; being conscious of social responsibility; being participatory, tolerant, constructive, being at peace with oneself and one's environment, adopting national and universal values and making them a behavior; perceiving and interpreting the change and development in the world well and having the spirit of competence, productivity and entrepreneurship; being able to think freely and equipped with high communication skills (MONE Strategic Plan 2010-2014).

In order to ensure social development; having developed thinking, perceiving and problem-solving skills, loyal to Atatürk's principles, democratic, liberal, internalized national and spiritual values, open to new ideas, having a sense of personal responsibility, contributing to contemporary civilization, prone to the use and production of science and technology, valuing art, high level, productive and creative, information age people will be raised (Ninth Development Plan 2007-2013).

As can be seen, the student type targeted in both plans is the student who attaches importance to both national and international values. In addition to these characteristics, it is seen that moral values are among the characteristics that an acceptable student should have. It is possible to follow the traces of the creation of the acceptable student in the context of the books prepared by the ministry as well as the strategic and development plans.

Educational contents and curricula suitable for global developments and needs will be prepared on the basis of national, spiritual and universal values (Eleventh Development Plan 2019-2023).

In addition to all these, how the behavior of the students should be in the regulations of different educational institutions, and therefore what the responsibilities of the acceptable student are, listed in items. If the primary education institution is considered; the students attending this educational institution are expected to behave respectfully and tolerantly towards the school staff, their friends and the people around them; be truthful and honest, be a good person and polite; use their physical, mental and emotional powers in a beneficial way for the nation, homeland and humanity; and they are expected to comply with the laws, regulations and ethical rules of the society,

national, spiritual and cultural values (MONE Pre-School and Primary Education Institutions Regulation, article 52/1). As can be seen, the school, which is one of the secondary socialization agents, expects the student who comes to school with the habitus acquired from the family to have certain characteristics. On that note, the educational system demands of students' appropriate school behavior, such as respect for faculty and staff, as well as appropriate moral behavior, such as being truthful and honest, kind and courteous in society. In other words, it is aimed to raise students as individuals who are compatible with the values in both the school and the society. In line with these goals, the student who graduates will eventually be able to adapt to the society with the habitus he has acquired at school.

Another issue that should be addressed in the context described above is the student behaviors that are given in each academic year in primary education institutions and evaluated by classroom teachers using "behavior score criteria" (MONE Pre-School and Primary Education Institutions Regulation, article 29/1). The mentioned behavior score criteria are; "adapting to school culture", "self-care, self-knowledge", "communication and social interaction", "compliance with common values", "being solution-oriented", "participation in social activities", "team work and responsibility", "productive work" and "environmental sensitivity". The item "Adaptation to school culture" is addressed within the scope of expressions such as "contributing to decision-making processes and complying with the decisions", "contributing to the decisions taken by the group", "behaving responsibly towards school staff" and "complying with the determined school rules". As can be seen, these behavioral criteria focus on students' compliance with school rules and the degree of compliance with these rules. As for the item "communication and social interaction", it includes expressions that are mostly related to cultural and social capital, such as "to comply with the rules of courtesy in communication", "to show positive behaviors that will be accepted in the society", "to take a role in the group in social relationships". Considering that these behaviors are generally acquired within the family, it can easily be said that students who lack these capitals may have difficulty in getting high scores. Lastly, it would be meaningful to evaluate the criteria of "complying with common values" and "respecting the common values of the society" in terms of including behaviors that enable students to adapt to society. To sum up, the school, which plays a role in conveying the habitus to be created, grades the behavior of the students along with the behavioral criteria. The score criteria are important in that they show that the school does not only aim at academic success, but also that it is a mechanism that controls how students should behave within the framework of certain rules.

When the regulations about secondary education institutions are compared to the regulations about primary education institutions, it can be noted that the required student behaviors do not differ. In the regulation covering these institutions, it is necessary for students to comply with the law, social values and school rules, to be truthful, honest, helpful, virtuous, respectful and hardworking;

show nice and kind behavior; not to use rude words and behaviors; to act in favor of peace, value, tolerance, patience, freedom, equality and solidarity; use social media for personal, social and educational benefits and they are expected to behave in accordance with public morals and good manners and to obey the school rules (MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, article 157/2). In both the "b" clause and the "s" clause of the same article, it was repeated that the students had to obey the school rules. This repetition is important as it reminds the students of the superiority of the rules. However, students are not only expected to obey the rules, but are also asked to be careful even when using social media. In addition, it is also important for students to exhibit honest, respectful, hardworking, courteous, public morals and good manners within the scope of ethical values. Students who do not have these behavioral styles, which correspond to cultural capital and are acquired from the family, will not be able to have the opportunity to become an acceptable student.

It is inevitable that students will be rewarded if they comply with the long list of behaviors. In this direction, the concept of award is included in the "n" clause of the 1st paragraph of the 4th article of the MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, and for this award, it is stated that "students must show the behaviors expected from them, obey the rules, actively participate in social, cultural and sportive activities and should be encouraged depending on their success at school. At this point, the educational institution reminds the students of the superiority of the rules and states the outcomes that the students will achieve if they follow these rules. Students are academically rewarded through the use of certificates of achievement, appreciation, and outstanding achievement. Apart from academic achievement, honor certificates are given in secondary education institutions. Article 161 of the regulation about these institutions clearly states which students can receive an honorary certificate:

- 'a) To set an example by using Turkish correctly, beautifully and effectively,
- b) Participating in social activities with scientific projects, leading these studies, contributing to education and showing outstanding success in these activities,
- c) To set an example with their behavior in protecting and looking out for the environment and the school equipment,
- ç) To be an example in complying with the rules of etiquette and in human relations,
- d) Exhibiting exemplary behavior in obeying traffic rules,
- e) To exhibit behaviors that will set a good example in using information tools,
- f) To come to school and classes regularly, to set a good example for his friends in this regard,
- g) To take part in community services for victims of forced migration, refugees and asylum seekers, relatives of veterans and martyrs, those affected by natural disasters, the elderly, orphans, the weak, the disabled and those in need of other assistance,

ğ) Students whose behavior score has not been reduced, showing one or more of the behaviors that will set an example, such as exhibiting exemplary behaviors related to the subject by complying with the health and safety measures taken; regardless of whether he received any award during the academic year, the student, teacher or school administration's proposal rewards him with an honorary certificate in line with the appropriate opinion of the honor committee. Students who receive two or more honorary certificates in an academic year are given a place in the school's honor list'.

It is seen that being able to have a certificate of honor depends on behaviors such as "using Turkish correctly and effectively", " displaying behavior that will set a good example in using information tools" and "following the rules of etiquette", which corresponds to the capital that Bourdieu calls cultural capital. It is indisputable that using Turkish correctly and following the rules of etiquette will vary according to the social origin of the student. Therefore, the closer the cultural capital acquired by the student from the family is to the dominant cultural capital, the more honors the student will have the chance to win. Likewise, since the capacity to use information tools will differ according to the social origin of the family, it may also create an inequality in terms of reaching the certificate of honor.

While awarding the certificate, there is a practice of giving the certificate to the students or their parents in a setting where students, parents, teachers and administrators participate, and hanging the lists of honors with a photograph in a place where everyone can see them in the school (MONE Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, article 162/3). It will be inevitable for this practice to create a classification among students: on one hand, those who behave in accordance with the habitus desired by the school and have an honorary certificate, on the other hand, those who cannot reach the desired habitus and are deprived of the document. Students who receive awards in primary education institutions are announced to other students in a ceremony to be held in front of their friends, and the names and photographs of these students are hung in a suitable place of the school. At the end of the practice, the students can easily see who the "acceptable students" they should take as an example are.

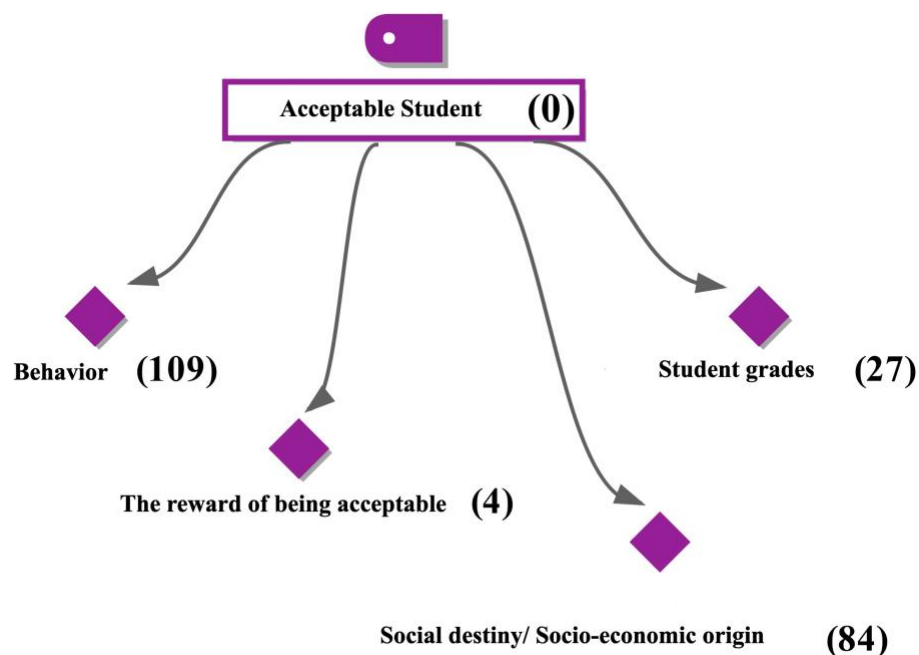
Another regulation that is considered necessary to be mentioned is the Regulation on the Dress codes of the Students for the Schools affiliated to the Ministry of National Education. When the third paragraph of the third article of this regulation is taken into consideration, the statement "preschool, primary school, secondary school and high school students wear clean and tidy clothes suitable for their age group characteristics" calls for attention. The expression "suitability for age group characteristics" used here can be interpreted in different ways when considered in terms of cultural context. In addition, the explanation of clean and tidy clothes has the possibility to be interpreted according to the socio-economic situation among the students. In addition, in clause "c" of paragraph 1 of article 4 of the regulation, there is the statement that students cannot wear torn or perforated clothes and transparent clothes.

Here, it is important how students who wear torn or holed clothes will be evaluated (whether they will be penalized or not) for economic reasons. The fact that the legislator does not make an annotation about the article in all the statements mentioned, causes confusion. In short, there is no doubt that the dress code contains expressions that are open to interpretation and will bring different interpretations among students belonging to different socioeconomic classes.

In the regulations and plans, the description of an acceptable student and the expected behaviors from the students are in this direction is given in a long list of items. It is noteworthy that the items in this article deal with student behavior both on the basis of social values and on the basis of success. It is possible to say that the behavior of the students, their grades and the socio-economic background of the student, which we can accept as a social destiny in a sense, affect the situation that occurs when students are evaluated as acceptable or unacceptable. At this point, what is remarkable and also mentioned in the pages above, is that the school administration and teachers work in cooperation with other stakeholders in order to regulate the behavior of students. Here, it can be seen that primary and secondary socialization agents work together to create behavior patterns in order for students' behaviors to be at the desired level.

Figure 3.

Acceptable Student Hierarchical Code-Sub Code Model



Unacceptable/(not be able to be acceptable) Students

It is inevitable for the acceptable student who has been thoroughly informed in the regulations at length how his behavior should be, to face sanctions if he does not comply with the rules. In primary education institutions, one of the punishments of warning, reprimanding and changing school is applied to students depending on the nature of their negative behaviors. While explaining the purpose of giving sanctions in the regulation, it is stated that it is aimed at protecting the social order and deterring the action (MONE Regulation on Pre-School and Primary Education Institutions, article 54/1). Here, the social order was reminded to the student again and created an important reason for correcting the student's behavior. When some of the behaviors requiring warning penalty (MONE Pre-School and Primary Education Institutions Regulation, article 55-a) are examined; It is seen that there are behaviors such as not coming to the classes on time and repeating this behavior, lying, making the walls and desks dirty, and not following the rules of etiquette. Given his socioeconomic class, it is natural for a primary school student to perform some of the behaviors on the list. Among the behaviors, the punishment of those who do not comply with the rules of etiquette is the most notable part. Considering that these rules, which are valid in areas such as speaking, greeting, dressing, eating and drinking, change depending on the social origin of the student, it is clear that the student whose cultural capital is close to the dominant capital will not have any problems in conforming with the rules of etiquette. Because the student has already internalized these rules, which will require him to be successful at school, by his family before coming to school. However, the main problem is the probable problems faced by students belonging to social classes whose cultural capital does not match the habitus that the school wants to provide. Students from this class will be more likely to face disciplinary punishment -compared to other social classes- because they are not able to internalize the rules required to be successful in school. Moreover, the criterion by which lying, which is among the behaviors that may lead to a warning penalty, will be evaluated is another situation that needs to be discussed.

It is seen that some of the behaviors that require reprimand are behaviors such as being rude and disrespectful to administrators, teachers, staff and friends, misinforming the school administration, making a habit of lying, not participating in ceremonies without giving an excuse, recording images and sounds without permission in the school (Pre-School and Primary Education Institutions Regulation, article 55-b). In this type of punishment, it is observed that the word "etiquette" turns into "rude and disrespectful behavior". What is remarkable here is that it is not stated exactly what rude and disrespectful behaviors are and it is not explained within which limits such behaviors will be evaluated. When considered from Bourdieu's point of view, the social origin of the teacher will be decisive in the determining the disrespectful behaviors. In other words, there will be a possibility that the behaviors of students who do not exhibit behaviors close to the habitus of the teacher may be evaluated as disrespectful and rude. Finally, as a result of behaviors such as making a habit

of using school-related space and materials without permission and for non-educational purposes, and insisting on not obeying the dress codes, students are punished with changing schools (Pre-School and Primary Education Institutions Regulation, article 55-c). It is seen that primary school students may have difficulties in complying with the behaviors in these items, depending on the habitus of the family. It has been stated by the authors in the previous pages that the penalty that can be taken from the Dress Code regulation can create differences according to the social origin.

In secondary education institutions, the number of sanctions increases as the age of the student increases. In this context, students face four different sanctions: reprimand, short-term suspension from school, school change and exclusion from formal education. Among the behaviors that require reprimand; there are behaviors such as making the school and its belongings dirty, not complying with the provisions of the legislation on dress code, lying, not participating in education and training activities, ceremonies, social activities without an excuse even though they are present at school, behaving rudely and disrespectfully, using information tools out of purpose (Regulation on Secondary Education Institutions, article 164/1). It is evident that most of the behaviors described here contain expressions that are open to interpretation. Therefore, the student can easily be reprimanded as a result of the teacher's misunderstanding. In the simplest example, it has not been determined within the framework of which criteria the act of lying, which is among the behaviors to be reprimanded, will be evaluated. In addition, as stated in the previous pages, it is seen that a student who wears torn or holed clothes can also be reprimanded. The most noticeable item among the behaviors that require a short-term suspension of one to five days is that students who do not exhibit attitudes and behaviors that do not comply with public morals and good manners are faced with this type of punishment (Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, article 164/2). At this point, more than one question comes to mind: Who decides where the behavior crosses the line that is not suitable for public morals and good manners and how? Are the distinctions between the students who belong to the teacher's or the principle's socioeconomic class and those who do not taken into account when imposing a penalty? Here, the student once more encounters behaviors that are inappropriate for public morals and good manners, which can vary depending on social origin. When we look at the behaviors that call for sanctions in general, it is seen that there are items that can be interpreted and whose boundaries are not clearly defined. In addition, it is noted that the social origin of the student may also play an important factor in their punishment.

When the student does not have the desired habitus, the boards come into play to make up for this "deficiency" of the student. In this regard, the 'student behavior evaluation board, fulfills the responsibility to prevent the negative behaviors of primary school students. This board consists of the vice principal, three teachers, and a parent to be chosen by the school-parent union among

its members (Regulation on Pre-School and Primary Education Institutions, article 57/2). The point that draws attention here is that the family institution has been added to the disciplinary process and has become a structure whose opinion is consulted.

It is seen that the board have duties such as "informing the school principals about the suggestions and decisions taken in order to maintain the school order", "deciding on the rewarding of the students with outstanding achievement" and "investigating the reasons for the behaviors of the students who have difficulty in adapting" (Pre-School and Primary Education Institutions Regulation, article 58/ one). The student behavior evaluation board, which helps the implementation of the school's order and rules and becomes an agent of symbolic violence, carries out the punishment and rewarding of the students. In the meeting hold at the end of the term, this board has the authority to lift the sanction for students who exhibit exemplary behavior in the event that they do not repeat the behavior that resulted in the sanction. (Pre-School and Primary Education Institutions Regulation, article 62/3). To put it another way, the student who 'creates a problem' can be made acceptable by stating that if he/she behaves compliantly at the end of the term, his/her punishment will be removed. Therefore, the student behavior evaluation board plays an important role in creating an acceptable student profile.

In secondary education institutions, the school student award and discipline board consist of a vice-principal or a vice-principal to be assigned by the principal, two teachers, the vice president of the honorary board, and a parent to be chosen by the school parent-union among its members (Regulation on Secondary Education Institutions, article 185/1). In this board, both students and families are included in the rewarding and punishment process. The Board has responsibilities such as "negotiating and taking decisions regarding the maintenance of order and discipline in the school"; "examining the causes of disciplinary behavior and seeking ways to eliminate them"; "deciding on the rewarding of students who behave well inside and outside the school, which are accepted as national and humanitarian virtues, and who excel with their efforts and success in the lessons" (Secondary Education Institutions Regulation, article 189/1). Considering the context of their responsibilities, it can be said that the school student award and disciplinary board mediate in rewarding the acceptable student and punishing the unacceptable students.

Figure 4.

Pedagogical Action Code Matrix



One of the most important elements that ensure the establishment and strengthening of pedagogical authority in the school is the method of discipline and punishment. In the context of students' accomplishing pedagogical action through boards, as can be seen from the visual above, it is seen that the discipline and punishment mechanism is as effective as official ceremonies and boards. In this sense, discipline and punishment can be understood as a reflection of pedagogical action.

Students are subject to pedagogical authority based on a system of rewards and punishments for the behaviors they do or do not exhibit. In this context, when students commit an undesirable behavior, they may be subject to a wide range of sanctions ranging from reprimand to suspension from school. However, it is important to point out that there are some differences in the implementation of sanctions. For example, in determining the sanction, "nature of the behavior, its importance and the conditions under which it took place, the student's psychological state and personal characteristics at that time, the general situation inside and outside the school, age and gender, interest and success in the lessons, participation and success in social and cultural activities at school, the same education and training year and whether sanctions have been applied before or not all considered. (Regulation on Pre-School Education and Primary Education Institutions, article 56/1). As can be seen, it is quite possible to state that the pedagogical action repertoires that students encounter when they violate the rules also differ depending on whether the student is accepted as "acceptable" or not. Therefore, it can be said that what is really meant to be created is the "acceptable student" through both pedagogical authority and pedagogical action.

Panoptic Architecture

In the study, it is seen that the architectural formation of the schools has symbolic elements. In this context, the boundaries of this architectural formation, which is defined as the panoptic heritage in the study, were determined within the framework of the regulations. This order has been established within certain limits, from how the staff's rooms should be to where school supplies should be located. In this order, it is seen that symbolic elements such as Turkish history and culture, the Turkish Flag, Ataturk and the National Anthem are important and contribute to the formation of the panoptic architectural order.

Figure 5.*Code Matrix/Panoptic Architecture*

Coding System	Regulations	Strategic Plan	Development Plans
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Panoptic architecture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Symbolic elements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Architectural design <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Surveillance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●

As can be seen in Figure 5, panoptic architecture is built on three basic elements in educational institutions. These are symbolic elements, design and surveillance. Due to the fact that school buildings are constructed through control and surveillance mechanisms and that all schools have a standard size in every geographical region, students learn the superiority of the education system by encountering these symbolic elements before entering the education system. Accordingly, educational institutions are separated from each other with clear boundaries, and buildings, corridors and classrooms consist of colors such as blue, gray or dull yellow in order to highlight the cold face of the school (Zencirkiran, 2017: 198). In addition, "the floor of the school gardens is usually concrete and there is very little greening. Student and teacher entrances are separate and building entrance doors are made of heavy metal. The windows of the first floor are painted so that no one can see through them from the outside or the inside. These regulations create an inevitable sense of closure" (Konuk, 2016: 324-325). According to Zencirkiran, this size of magnitude in the architecture of schools aims to show the superior attitude of the state towards the individual (Zencirkiran, 2017:192).

In panoptic architecture, the architectural order is shaped within the framework of regulations. There are articles both about how the institutions should be and about the rooms of the staff in the school.

Appropriate rooms are reserved for the principal, vice principal, assistant principals, teachers, counselling services, officers and other personnel in the school. These rooms are arranged in accordance with the standard as required by the service and simple (Pre-School Education and Primary Education Institutions, article 81/4).

Another important feature in panoptic architecture is the symbolic elements located in the school. In this context, it can be seen that various arrangements have been made in schools regarding Turkish history and culture, the Turkish Flag, Atatürk and the National Anthem. These regulations include articles on where and how flags, statues, paintings and plates should stand. For example, in school corridors or in appropriate places, there are words, writings and pictures explaining Atatürk's thoughts on education and other issues, and pictures of Turkish leaders suggested by the Board of Education and Discipline, plates and maps of Turkish history and culture, pictures, clocks calendar with

educational and artistic value and school newspaper" (Pre-School Education and Primary Education Institutions, article 88/1). In addition, it can be seen that the Atatürk corner, which will be evaluated within the framework of symbolic elements, has been created.

The size of the school that students attend varies depending on the socioeconomic class they belong to and the facilities differ accordingly, which is another significant aspect of panoptic architecture that needs to be noted. In this context, the differences between private and public schools come to mind as an example. It is seen that the architectural structure of private schools and the areas within this structure are wider than the facilities of public schools. In such schools, there are structures such as sports fields, swimming pools and laboratories that will contribute to the scientific, social and sportive development of students. These differences reinforce the inequalities among students.

As a result, it is observed that besides pedagogical authority and action, the panoptic architecture in schools also conveys symbolic elements. In the documents examined, it is seen that the panoptic architecture was created within the framework of a canonical order. This order is created in line with certain principles, for both institutions and the layout of the rooms of personnel working in the institution. In addition, it is observed that the national symbolic elements are significant in this order and, the symbols of these elements are located in the school accordingly.

Results and Discussion

The most important argument of the education system in Turkey is that it offers equal opportunities to every student who has reached the school age. What is meant by equal opportunity is that "everyone in the society has an equal right to develop their capacity and have a better life, regardless of socioeconomic class, gender, ethnic group or religion" (Gonc-Savran, 2009: 83). Equal education means giving individuals the opportunity to access and benefit from resources equally (Ozturk & Akdoganoglu, 2016:80). When we look at the outputs of the educational institution, it can be seen that the education system in Turkey cannot train equally successful students. Evaluating this phenomenon on the basis of academic achievement causes us to completely ignore the reasons behind the problem, such as economic, social and geographical. Bourdieu states that the main factor that provides this difference between students is social origin (Fournier, 2008: 20). Because social class directly contributes to the cultural capital of the student, which will help him succeed in school. Therefore, according to Bourdieu, the social class to which the student belongs is the most important determinant of whether or not they will succeed academically. According to him, the reproduction of inequalities

between social origins is realized through symbolic violence. In this direction, the dominant culture ensures the creation of a habitus that everyone will obey through invisible violence. This created common habitus eventually contributes to the reproduction of inequalities existing in society.

Undoubtedly, symbolic violence and cultural capital elements have been analyzed by taking into account the written regulations/strategic plans and development plans of the Ministry of National Education, where symbolic violence can be most evident. As a result of the research, it has been determined that the principal, vice principals and teachers are the representatives of the pedagogical authority. The most important basis for this is that the personnel representing the pedagogical authority are absolute and unquestionable in terms of their responsibilities and authorities. In this context, the principal is responsible for all school-related matters as he is in charge of the school. Teachers, on the other hand, are the personnel who mediate the growth of students as individuals who are compatible with the society both inside and outside the school. In other words, the principal contributes to the pedagogical action as the top authority of the school he works for and teachers do the same with the duties that are expected of them by the administration. Pedagogical authority holders also operate the discipline and punishment system through boards. In this context, the pedagogical actions implemented by the authority are carried out to reconcile the students who do not comply with the expected behaviors.

Principal, vice principals and teachers, who are the representatives of the pedagogical authority, take joint responsibilities with external actors and act towards the implementation of pedagogical action. The most important of these stakeholders is the school-parent union. As the basic element of the union, parents are also involved in the education process. From disciplinary penalties to rewarding student behavior, the responsibilities of the cooperating stakeholders are constantly repeated in the regulations. The most important feature of symbolic violence lies in the consent of the victim. In this context, parents sign the behavior contract that students must comply with when they step into the educational institution. With this signature, the parents declare that they are in partnership with the holders of pedagogical authority and that they agree to the limits drawn for the acceptable student.

Another important result of the research is the fact that the regulations divide students into two as acceptable and unacceptable. It is aimed that students become citizens who are committed to national and international values. However, there are certain expectations of them when being rewarded as an acceptable student. In order to have a certificate of honor, cultural capital which were acquired from the family such as "using Turkish correctly and effectively", "behaving as a good example in using information tools" and "following the rules of etiquette" are important. If the student has internalized this cultural capital before, it will not be difficult to have a certificate of honor.

The conflict arises in the harmony that students who lack sufficient cultural capital will experience.

On the other hand, students who are unacceptable generally have the possibility of being punished with items that are open to interpretation and may differ according to their social background. As can be seen behaviors such as disobeying the rules of etiquette, behaving rudely and disrespectfully, and engaging in attitudes and behaviors that do not comply with public morals and good manners of which there is no clear-cut line drawn, are penalized. When these behaviors are considered within the scope of Bourdieu literature, it means that the pedagogical authority will make an evaluation on the basis of the class to which it belongs. Therefore, it leads to the conclusion that students from the lower class may experience difficulties. In addition, statements in the Regulation on the Dress Codes of Students at Schools affiliated to the Ministry of National Education, such as, "preschool, primary, secondary and high school students wear clean and tidy clothes suitable for their age group" and "cannot wear torn or holed clothes", raises the question of what will be the fate of the students who dress in this way due to the economic class they belong to. As can be seen, students may be exposed to symbolic violence as a result of subjective evaluations of pedagogical authority agents. In this respect, the cultural capital acquired from the family determines what the future of the individual will be (whether it is acceptable or not). Thus, the arbitrariness of the social order can easily be disguised, and students who want to be included in the existing belief system contribute to the internalization of power relations between social classes and forms of social inequality are reproduced through education. At this point, it is important to state that the regulations change depending on the political understanding of the period. The fact that the governments shape and change the regulations according to their ideological understanding results in periodic differences.

As mentioned in the previous pages, the studies on the regulation are generally conducted either through a specific regulation or a special student unit. At this point, it is important to note that Ozsoz (2009) found in his study - which has common features with our study- on the regulations applied at the primary education level that contain expressions conveying symbolic violence. It is indisputable that future studies with a similar aim will contribute to the preparation of regulations and plans in a more equitable manner.

Recommendations

By using the data obtained from the study, the relevant official regulations that have been implemented in the field of education in Turkey should be revised in a way that does not contribute to the reproduction of the inequality forms among students. By strengthening social policies based on positive discrimination, it may be possible to compensate for the disadvantaged social

origin conditions of students from the lower class. By accepting students from different social backgrounds and cultural capital areas as if they live in equal conditions, the implementation of binding official regulations for them contributes to the restructuring of essentially existing forms of inequality. In order to prevent such unfair structuring, the regulations, which are produced through official institutions and which are very binding for all students, should be created by taking into account the cultural capital and social origin differences. Otherwise, reproducing inequality through symbolic violence through educational institutions will have no other function than causing a major crisis in the social structure.

At the final phase of the study, it is essential to mention the limitations of the research. Since this study is primarily structured on official regulations, it is far from the perception of how procedures are carried out in practice. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct this study again with the participation of educational institutions and students in order to carry out the research more effectively and to demonstrate how closely the data collected corresponds to real-world experiences. Thus, the researchers of the study are also aware of the necessity of conducting a research on how these findings obtained through official documents relate to practical educational life. It is also important to highlight how students who are actively engaged in the academic lives respond to the formal procedures that are being followed. Since the lower-class group is assumed to have comparatively less cultural capital, it is believed that it would be more beneficial to carry out a separate study on the elements of symbolic violence that are perceived by this group.

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