

Examining the Effect of Parents on Children's Career Choices in the Context of Class Positions

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Ebeveynlerin Sınıfsal Konumlarının Çocukların Kariyer Seçimleri Üzerindeki Etkisinin İncelenmesi

Abstract

This article delves into the social mobility strategies employed by parents and their descendants from diverse social classes in structuring educational pathways and vocational choices across successive generations. The study relies on qualitative data from in-depth interviews conducted in Ankara with 24 parents and 18 offspring. Data analysis reveals that the strategies parents and their offspring embrace are intricately shaped by their social class positions and the cultural, social, and economic capital available to the latter. Labourer families grappling with cultural capital limitations exhibit constrained guidance to their offspring. In contrast, self-employed professional families actively deploy their comprehensive cultural capital to perpetuate privileged class positions across generations. Business owners or commercial entrepreneurs, characterised by a distinctive outlook, view education as a pathway to attain heightened social status rather than as a means of upward mobility. To address the inequalities uncovered in this research, establishing counselling centres for families to guide how to mentor their children and for the children themselves to facilitate the discovery of their abilities and interests could offer a solution toward mitigating these inequalities.

Keywords : Social Class, Social Mobility, Status, Stratification.

JEL Classification Codes : I24, Z13.

Öz

Bu çalışma, toplumsal sınıf konumlarını sürdürme ve yükseltme stratejisi olarak farklı sınıf konumlarındaki ebeveynler ve evlatlarının eğitim sürecini ve meslek seçimini nesiller boyunca nasıl örgütlediklerini incelemektedir. Araştırma, Ankara'da ikamet eden 24 ebeveyn ve 18 evlatla yürütülen derinlemesine görüşmeler yoluyla derlenen nitel verilere dayanmaktadır. Verilerin analiz sonucuna göre; ebeveynler ve evlatları tarafından benimsenen stratejiler, toplumsal sınıf konumları ve evlatlar için sunulmuş olan kültürel, sosyal ve ekonomik kaynaklar tarafından şekillenmektedir. İşçi sınıfına mensup aileler kültürel kaynak yetersizliğinden dolayı evlatlarına neredeyse hiç rehberlik sağlayamazken, profesyonel mesleklere sahip aileler tüm kültürel kaynaklarını, ayrıcalıklı sınıf konumlarının nesiller boyunca yeniden üretilmesi için seferber etmektedirler. Ticaret erbabı ailelerde ise eğitim, bir hareketlilik merdiveni olarak değil, bir statü kazanma aracı olarak talep edilmektedir. Çalışmada ortaya koyulan sosyal eşitsizlikleri azaltmaya katkı sunmak amacıyla, hem çocuklarına nasıl rehberlik edebilecekleri konusunda ailelere yardımcı olabilecek hem de çocukların kendi yetenek ve ilgi alanlarını keşfetmelerini kolaylaştıracak danışma merkezlerinin oluşturulması, bir politika önerisi olarak sunulabilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler : Toplumsal Sınıf, Toplumsal Hareketlilik, Statü, Tabakalaşma.

1. Introduction

This research examines the reasons and directions in which parents and children in families with different social class positions manage the process of education and career acquisition within societal mobility expectations. The study aims to answer this question by analysing interview data with individuals who, considering the primary occupation and profession of the head of the household, correspond to three distinct class positions: commercial-industrial entrepreneurs, self-employed professionals, and workers, each representing a different class position from the others. These individuals either prepare for university entrance exams or have recently started university education.

The goal of the research is not merely to describe the situation based on the content of the actors' statements but rather to explain how the reasons and conditions they have stated contribute to the formation of a pattern and ultimately lead to a result over a specific period. Therefore, the research data primarily focus on how these patterns are oriented toward producing a specific outcome.

In the context of the research design and the nature of the collected data, the factors identified as reasons in the study are not variables in the sense understood in the naturalist-positivist research tradition. Instead, referring to a relational methodology, these factors possess characteristics that can generate a specific outcome. They describe individuals' and families' economic, social, and cultural situations and their qualifications of thought, ideas, experiences, and motivations. The societal outcomes, in turn, emerge from the unique interaction formed by these qualifications coming together in a specific context, resulting in patterns. Children's access to education and career choices vary across different family types due to existing patterns of inequality in society. The influence of families on their children's career progression can be seen as a reflection of the manifestation of inequality in Türkiye.

Analysing and evaluating such a situation involves expressing how these qualifications work together to produce a particular result rather than measuring the individual impact of each quality on the outcome. Following the descriptions by Sayer (2017), Perri (2006), and Bellamy (2012), it would be appropriate to refer to this analytical approach as the analysis of patterns of interaction in a specific context.

The central question of this research revolves around the social mobility strategies employed by parents and children in the realms of education and career acquisition. Among the sub-questions of the study are the financial, motivational, and cultural actions families undertake when guiding and providing resources for their children. Moreover, exploration has been undertaken to scrutinise the reasons tied to their class positions that guide these actions and the resources facilitated by their afforded means, which prove instrumental in executing these actions effectively. Parents' choices regarding which schools to send their children to, the reasons behind these choices, the desired level and purpose of education, and how they mobilise resources for societal mobility have been scrutinised in directing their children financially. From a motivational standpoint, the focus extends to how families plan

or assist their children in preparing for the future, the concerns related to maintaining or failing to maintain a particular social position, and how their behaviours are shaped based on the child's gender or specific circumstances.

The other sub-questions of the study revolve around how the characteristics present in the family's and child's social lives impact the strategy pursued by the family in the child's education and career preferences. Within this framework, an examination has been conducted on how the family's class and status position, and consequently, the profession they hold, influence the habitus, economic, cultural, and social capital, the resources they possess, and how they utilise them. Simultaneously, the impact of the family's life experiences on the attitudes, desires, and intellectual accumulations they acquire has also been scrutinised.

2. Methodology

The objective of this research is not to conduct an extensive survey about the abovementioned matters. Instead, it is to identify and analyse patterns at the level of real experiences of actual actors, with data gathered from individuals possessing relevant qualifications. Within this context, the goal is to understand parents' strategies to maintain or elevate their social class position across generations, how they mobilise and utilise their resources, and how they influence their children regarding education and career preferences through guidance or advice. Additionally, the aim is to comprehend how these actions are linked to the development of attitudes in children.

In this regard, the most suitable target participants for this purpose are high school students preparing for university entrance exams, students who have recently commenced university education, and their families. The following subgroups, characterised by the mentioned criteria, have been determined using a purposive sampling method:

- Families of self-employed professionals (such as doctors, lawyers, engineers)
- Families of business owners or commercial entrepreneurs with medium-scale enterprises
- Families of labourers (including mechanics and construction workers)

The families in the first group, distinguished by their ownership of economic capital, differ significantly in their opportunities to preserve or enhance this capital within the broader structure of the economy. In contrast, the other two categories involve families where economic capital is collectively lower and more evenly distributed, while social and cultural capital is unequally distributed. Education serves as the primary channel for mobility in these families.

In line with the research methodology and considering the research objectives, in-depth and semi-structured interviews with parents and children have been deemed the most suitable means to understand the influence of parents on their children and the children's

responses to this influence. During the research process, both paths of reaching were employed, from the parent determining the family's social class position to the young person and from the young person to the family. The individuals interviewed were reached using a purposive sampling method. The interview forms were prepared differently for parents and children. In purposive sampling, the researcher selects units that best align with the study's objectives. In this case, participants representing three distinct types of families were included in the sample (Gürbüz & Şahin, 2018: 132).

To facilitate a comparative analysis of the causal forces that have emerged in family relationships and social mobility, categorisations have been made based on the relationships of mother-child, father-child, or mother-father-child. From the specified categories, 18 groups were formed: seven from the worker family groups, six from the business owner/entrepreneur family groups, and five from the self-employed professional family groups. Interviews were conducted with 42 individuals belonging to these groups. Among the individuals interviewed, 17 were mothers, seven were fathers, 11 were daughters, and seven were sons. Consequently, 24 parents and 18 children were interviewed in the research. All interviews took place in Ankara, either at the individuals' homes or in café-like environments, with the participants' permission and were recorded with their consent. Transcriptions were completed for all recorded interviews. Before commencing the research fieldwork, ethical approval was obtained from the Bartın University Social Sciences and Humanities Ethics Committee with the document number "2023-SBB-0865."

Table: 1
Socio-demographic Characteristics of Interviewed Participants (n = 42)

Participant	Social Role	Family Class Position	Participant	Social Role	Family Class Position
P1	Mother	Labourer	P22	Daughter	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur
P2	Daughter	Labourer	P23	Father	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur
P3	Mother	Labourer	P24	Mother	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur
P4	Daughter	Labourer	P25	Son	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur
P5	Mother	Labourer	P26	Father	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur
P6	Daughter	Labourer	P27	Mother	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur
P7	Mother	Labourer	P28	Son	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur
P8	Son	Labourer	P29	Mother	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur
P9	Mother	Labourer	P30	Son	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur
P10	Daughter	Labourer	P31	Mother	Self-employed professional
P11	Mother	Labourer	P32	Son	Self-employed professional
P12	Daughter	Labourer	P33	Father	Self-employed professional
P13	Mother	Labourer	P34	Mother	Self-employed professional
P14	Daughter	Labourer	P35	Son	Self-employed professional
P15	Mother	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur	P36	Father	Self-employed professional
P16	Daughter	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur	P37	Daughter	Self-employed professional
P17	Father	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur	P38	Father	Self-employed professional
P18	Mother	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur	P39	Mother	Self-employed professional
P19	Daughter	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur	P40	Daughter	Self-employed professional
P20	Father	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur	P41	Mother	Self-employed professional
P21	Mother	Business owner/Commercial entrepreneur	P42	Son	Self-employed professional

Drawing on a relational perspective and in line with Sayer's notion of 'causal analysis,' which involves an effort to understand the causal powers, capacities, action styles, or mechanisms of objects or relationships rather than an abstract relation between events (Sayer, 2017: 141-142), the research utilised a causal analysis approach. Accordingly, the foundational qualitative data analysis method, coding, was employed as the analysis

strategy. As Creswell (2016: 180) outlines, the essential components of coding include reducing data into meaningful segments, assigning names to these segments, grouping codes under broad categories or themes, and making and presenting comparisons in data graphs, tables, and charts. The data collected in the research were analysed using this method. The transcribed texts were reduced into meaningful segments, codes were generated, and these codes were grouped under broad themes. These themes were constructed based on two comparison strategies: the difference among similarities and the similarity among disagreements.

3. Findings

As mentioned in the paper's introduction section, the research's primary focus is the interaction between the general societal conditions in which families and individuals find themselves and the societal mobility processes they pursue. In this section, the data collected within the scope of the research were analysed, and in particular, the guidance practices of parents in three different class positions regarding the career choices of their children, the processes experienced, and the social mobility strategies shaped according to the class positions of the families were examined.

Class and status are crucial indicators determining individuals' social positions in the sociological literature. Class and status positions primarily emerge from various factors such as occupation, income level, lifestyle, and consumption habits. Additionally, these positions signify where individual members stand within the structured social inequalities of the family to which they belong. The question is how families and individuals, for various reasons or motives, aim to preserve or alter their positions within the social order and what paths or strategies they follow should be treated as something other than a deterministic relationship in technical terms.

Instead, class or status positions refer to a limited number of indicators describable by an outside observer of the results produced by human agency. Even though these positions constitute a resource or constraint for human actions, other dimensions of social action extend from the past to the future. They are shared and evaluated between generations, constituting a justification and motivation for action. Therefore, it is essential to comprehend these dimensions and how individuals or groups perceive and condition them for action to extensively understand social action causally.

Bourdieu (1987: 6) defines constructed classes as similar positions that provide similar life conditions and conditioning within social space, thereby generating similar predispositions and, consequently, similar practices (Swartz, 2015: 215). Individuals internalise similar life possibilities based on a collective habitus and share the same habitus (Swartz, 2015: 150). From this perspective, similar practices are observed in professional groups with similar life conditions; thus, societal-level interpretations can be made regarding these groups. The foundations that give rise to these practices are similar predispositions in similar positions.

According to Bourdieu (1984: 123), the possibilities of class mobility within a social group are determined by the types of structures internalised through habitus. He identifies three social trajectories: upward class mobility, downward class mobility, or stagnation (Swartz, 2015: 226). In his analysis, Bourdieu conceptualises cultural capital, which he emphasises as one of the fundamental sources of class mobility, as a form of power in differentiated societies. According to him, cultural capital encompasses verbal skills, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, knowledge about the school system, and various opportunities, such as education (Swartz, 2015: 111). Based on Bourdieu's definitions, "habitus" and "cultural capital" are not independent concepts. In the context outlined in the previous subsection, a general analysis reveals that in the context of the social positions of families, the influence of the habitus and cultural capital of parents and children is predominant in guiding their children in the education and career selection process and social mobility strategies. As a common feature of the three classes, the impact of habitus and cultural capital is observed in different contexts and forms in different class layers.

Habitus varies according to individuals' living conditions. In this regard, class habitus, such as working-class or bourgeois, can be mentioned. This section has discussed how habitus influences individuals' perception, evaluation of the world, and modes of action and how it manifests itself in the mobility strategies of families in three different class positions (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016: 42-43).

3.1. Families of Self-Employed Professionals

According to Bourdieu and Passeron, social inequalities in academic achievement are rooted in cultural differences rather than disparities in economic resources. University students from the most privileged classes in society possess a 'cultural privilege' (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016: 53). Based on the data from this study, it can be inferred that parents with university education, and thus a higher level of education and consciousness, provide the necessary attention to their children through the 'cultural privilege' described by Bourdieu. By identifying their children's talents, offering proper guidance throughout the education process, and providing direction in career choices, parents instil the determination to work, motivation, and self-discipline in their children for success. Consequently, children excel in setting and achieving goals in their career choices. Additionally, this situation has broadened the vision of both parents and children, enabling them to aspire to more challenging goals than others.

...we have always tried to raise children like that, that is, about him who is questioning like that, and that is to do the best there, no matter what profession he has... Well, this is a constant suggestion; for all of us, everyone should do well in every job they do in a place they love (P34).

...I have had something like this since childhood; he supported me; for example, my father has a little more interest in this, and since my father helped me in this regard, I have increased my enthusiasm for my career. (...) You know, especially regarding my career, the advice my dad gave me helps. For

example, my dad and I listed my university preferences together when making my final choices. And honestly, my dad played a big role in that. Thanks to him, I chose this department at Gazi [University], you know? I could've probably put Gazi lower on the list... but because of my dad, I believe I made the right choice (P35).

So, I found these people in robotics work and arranged for my son (A...) to meet with them. When they sat down and talked about what they do and what could happen in their future careers, A... said, "Okay, this is exactly what I want. This is my profession, and this is the path I'm going to take". So, that's how A... made their choice. I've always supported A... they've always been interested in robotics, and I always wanted them to pursue something in that field (P36).

In families where the father is a professional, most mothers request their children to continue the 'father's profession.' On the other hand, fathers are inclined to guide their children toward socially esteemed professions that at least sustain their status in honour and respect. This tendency arises from the perception that their professions involve challenges and difficulties during education and practice. In this case, parents are developing a strategy to maintain their social position, indicating a reluctance for vertical mobility towards lower positions in the social stratification system.

My father did not want me to choose medicine because it was too tiring, and maybe he was too tired. He wanted me to choose engineering. But I still decided to study medicine (P42).

As Bourdieu emphasised, the habitus of individuals is shaped somewhat unconsciously by internalised predispositions and the general cultural awareness and educational consciousness acquired through these predispositions and cultural capital. According to Bourdieu's perspective, the habitus of individuals, influenced by these predispositions and awareness inherited from the family, takes a form that aligns with their class position. These inherited predispositions and awareness acquired from the family determine individuals' chances of maintaining or elevating their class positions. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, diverging from the prevalent view attributing academic success or failure to natural predispositions such as intelligence or talent, suggests that the quantity and type of cultural capital inherited from the family better explain the level of success in the educational process compared to individual ability or success criteria (Swartz, 2015: 111).

Similar to the concept of cultural capital, the habitus is not an individual entity but is considered a heritage acquired from the family due to predispositions related to the class positions of the family and gained through the relationship with the social environment. This study, in line with Bourdieu's thought, demonstrates that specific characteristics that may seem individual, such as talent and interest, are not independent of an individual's social class position. The insights shared by Bourdieu and Wacquant (2016: 116) further support

this conclusion, suggesting that even seemingly individual, personal, and subjective attributes can indicate a social and collective structure.

The observed predispositions and awareness within the self-employed professional family group contribute to individuals' success in their educational journey, enabling them, as Goldthorpe (2000: 171-174) suggests, to preserve their social class through academic achievement. According to Goldthorpe, the strategies of salary-earning families revolve around transforming their children's skills as much as possible into 'educational attainment.'

3.2. Families of Business Owners or Commercial Entrepreneurs

Unlike salaried individuals, within the 'petite bourgeoisie,' the preservation of social class positions is not achieved through educational attainment but rather through the inheritance of family businesses and the continuation of these businesses by the offspring. The tendency for intergenerational stability in the petite bourgeoisie, at least for males, is relatively higher (Robinson, 1984, cited in Goldthorpe, 2000: 174). When considering the direct intergenerational transfer of economic resources as a clear possibility in the context of the offspring of the petite bourgeoisie -or at least their sons- education is seen to be less critical in ensuring class stability (Ishida, Müller & Ridge, 1995, cited in Goldthorpe, 2000: 176).

In this context, it can be interpreted that the presence of economic capital diminishes the role of educational mobility as the primary strategy for individuals. In this case, the status position takes precedence, and education serves not as a ladder for mobility but merely as a means of achieving status for the petite bourgeoisie. This interpretation is supported when considering the class group referred to as 'petite bourgeoisie' by Goldthorpe and described as 'business owners/entrepreneurs' in this study. In interviews with business owners' families, both parents and offspring emphasise the prestige gained through formal education. Additionally, in these families, the offspring state that they do not prefer their fathers' professions because these occupations do not require a university education. Similarly, even if fathers have sufficient economic capital to leave for their children, they advise against their children continuing their professions.

In families where the father is a business owner, parents provide their children with the necessary financial support during education preparation and training. However, for their children to succeed in obtaining formal education at the university, more is needed. It is also observed that the older siblings in these families were primarily more successful in the necessary work stages to reach a professional position after completing their undergraduate education, despite having gained the right to receive education at a private or state university. Instead, they started working with their fathers, even though they did not prefer this path. The main reason is the influence of predispositions based on the individual's habitus. While the ownership of economic capital by the family may seem advantageous in providing a good resource for educational attainment, it creates a disadvantage for the individual as it forms an alternative in their mind regarding their professional career. This alternative affects

their motivation, determination to work, and self-discipline, leading them to complacency and hindering them from making the necessary effort.

...now he [his brother] works for my father. Since my two older brothers are working with my father anyway... well, one of them graduated. The other probably started his business life, so he doesn't do much about school anymore because now he has decided on his job, he will continue from there... (...) ...he will not do anything related to the department he is studying, that is, he will only attend the university. He reads it with the idea of "just let me finish it that way" (P16).

...I think they (her offspring) thought, "There is something to do anyway." I think if they were in need, maybe they would try harder. (...) ...that is, "I am more comfortable, I am not under pressure, I am not obliged" (...) he didn't try too hard; he could have at least started in the private sector, but he didn't try very hard. (...) they thought like, "My father has a nice job anyway, it's okay if I study if I don't, I'll go there" (P15).

In these families, when factors such as the low academic education level of the parents and their inadequacy in guiding their children are considered, there is no change observed in the distance between the individual's current class position and the social position they will reach, experiencing what Bourdieu calls 'stagnation.' Indeed, Aral's study (1980) supports this result. According to this research, 83% of individuals whose fathers were large-scale business owners and 67% of those whose fathers were business owners maintain their fathers' class positions, and there is no upward or downward mobility.

3.3. Families of Laborers

The mobility strategies observed in individuals from professional class backgrounds have the lowest probability of being limited by the availability of resources. In contrast, the strategy followed by individuals from the working class is considered the most constrained (Goldthorpe, 2000: 165). The working-class families examined in this study face numerous educational and career acquisition disadvantages. These disadvantages include low academic education levels of parents, financial constraints, fathers' indifference to their children, inability to stimulate educational aspirations or set specific goals in children, and inadequacy in guiding their children in education processes and career choices. Therefore, the individual's social class of origin, with its inherent disadvantages, is transmitted to the next generation. This situation can manifest in the child's lack of awareness of the necessity of university or vocational education, inability to take responsibility, lack of determination to work, lack of understanding of their abilities and interests, and a deficiency in cultural capital.

The educational aspirations observed in the other two groups are also evident in working-class families. However, these families do not frame their social position goals as a well-defined strategy for social mobility. Instead, they aspire for their children to 'have a

profession,' not to experience the difficulties they have faced, to secure their livelihood smoothly, and because they do not consider labour a profession.

Individuals raised in families where the father is a labourer do not observe behaviours such as setting a clear goal with a sure foundation and striving toward it, similar to their parents.

I didn't have a goal; I wasted a lot of time (in high school). (...) It (my choice of profession) is always completely random (P2).

According to Bourdieu, when students come from a relatively deprived environment, the likelihood of their choices being constrained increases (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015: 17). In his view, individuals at the lowest level of society seem to internalise in their habitus that 'access to higher education is low' and shape their behaviour based on these low success probabilities (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016: 55).

According to Willis (2016: 14), vocational skills from a working-class background are generally considered through the lens of standardisation brought about by inadequacy. Accordingly, individuals in the lower layers of the working class perceive themselves as inadequate and, with this mindset, accept even the worst jobs without question. In this context, the disadvantage for the children can be linked to the family's class position. The fact that individuals come from a relatively deprived social environment, meaning there are no role models in their immediate surroundings, influences their choices. The interviewed children from working-class families expressed a desire for a university education but did not make it an 'absolute necessity' for themselves and made more limited career choices. Moreover, children from working-class families need more motivation and a sense of responsibility necessary to work adequately due to the inadequate guidance from their families.

In other words, they (parents) have low educational backgrounds. When choosing a university or department, I decided independently that there was no one to help or anyone I could consult for an opinion. Of course, it would have been better if there had been (P6).

Well, I guess the enjoyable environment seemed appealing to my son because everyone around was like that. Generally, the kids around, you know, played like that, and there weren't many achievers. Of course, they had their own thing going on; the education wasn't very high-quality, especially the primary school, and the background wasn't that good to thrive in. Maybe when you combine all these factors, things turn out like this (P1).

Bourdieu argues that the working class does not possess cultural capital that grants privileges within society (Swartz, 2015: 243). Thus, upward mobility in working-class families can only be possible if individuals develop their cultural capital individually. This perspective contradicts the notion of a 'cycle of deprivation' (Marshall, 2009: 829) that

claims poverty, socio-economic disadvantages, and their consequences persist across generations. It suggests that, at least, the individual still has the potential to make a difference.

Gouldner (1979: 21), as suggested by this study's findings, emphasises a new class formation shaped by cultural capital. He defines this 'new class' as the 'cultural bourgeoisie,' characterised by their control over cultural capital (Wright, 2016: 121). The class positions examined within the scope of this study draw a picture of potential reproduction through habitus and cultural capital. Therefore, it can be emphasised that the dominance of the 'cultural bourgeoisie' might be opening up.

Table: 2
Main Findings of the Study

Family Type	Providing Guidance and Motivation	Mobility Strategy	Educational Expectation
Families of Self-Employed Professionals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Through their "cultural privilege," parents can identify their children's aptitudes and guide their career choices throughout the educational process. - Families can instill a sense of work ethic, motivation, and self-discipline in their children. - Children can be successful in setting goals for their career choices and achieving them. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most mothers desire their children to continue the 'paternal profession.' On the other hand, fathers tend to guide their children towards professions that offer societal prestige and esteem rather than their exact occupation. - In general, they wish to maintain their current status positions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents desire their children to attain, at minimum, an educational level equivalent to their own.
Families of Business Owners or Commercial Entrepreneurs with Medium-Scale Enterprises	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A family's possession of economic capital appears advantageous in providing ample educational resources. However, this situation creates a disadvantage as it engenders a robust alternative career option in the child's mind. The alternative of being able to work in the family's business may impact their working motivation and self-discipline, leading to complacency and hindering them from exerting the necessary effort. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Among the 'petite bourgeoisie', in contrast to salaried individuals, the preservation of their social class position is ensured not through educational attainment but rather through the inheritance of family businesses and their children's continuation of these enterprises. - Considering factors such as the generally low academic educational levels of parents in these families and their inadequacy in guiding their children, no significant change was observed in the distance between the individual's current class position and the social position they will attain. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In this family type, status takes precedence, and education is viewed not as a ladder for social mobility for the petite bourgeoisie but rather as a means of status attainment.
Families of Laborers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents' low academic educational levels, financial difficulties, fathers' indifference towards their children, and inability to ignite educational aspirations or set specific goals in children lead to inadequacies in guiding them through the educational process and career choices. - The child's lack of awareness regarding the necessity of university or vocational education may manifest in an inability to take responsibility, a deficiency in studying motivation, unawareness of talents and interests, and a shortage of cultural capital. - It can be stated that children from labourer-class backgrounds cannot acquire sufficient motivation and a sense of responsibility necessary for academic achievement due to their families' inadequate guidance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An individual's social class, along with the inherent disadvantages it encompasses, is transmitted to the subsequent generation. - Consequently, in labourer families, upward mobility is only possible if individuals develop their cultural capital through their efforts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Labourers' families can mostly not articulate well-defined social position goals as a coherent social mobility strategy. Instead, they aspire for their children to "have a profession," avoid the hardships they have encountered, and secure their livelihoods without difficulty.

According to Sönmez's study (2007), which is based on general population and agricultural data conducted by the State Institute of Statistics, images of industrial society, findings from previous research on social mobility in other countries, and analyses within the context of rural transformation, migration, and urbanisation studies in Türkiye, there is no evidence that the transformation in occupational structure creates new opportunities and paths for upward social class mobility in the country. On the contrary, increased rigidity or closure of class mobility may be a more pronounced feature of the social mobility pattern in Türkiye. Sönmez (2007: 180) stated that there is no indication that economic and occupational developments lead to a divergence between social positions reached and their class positions. Instead, relative mobility rates are more or less stable and do not change over time. Studies in the field of social mobility, such as those by Breen and Goldthorpe (2001) in the United Kingdom, similarly showed that there was nearly no change in the power of class origins to shape class trajectories in the last quarter of the twentieth century (Breen, 2017: 72). The low social mobility potential observed in the three class categories examined in this study aligns with the findings of Sönmez and Breen-Goldthorpe's studies.

4. Results and Discussion

The first and most prominent finding is that the family's class position impacts individuals' motivation, drive, self-discipline, and determination to work in their education, success, and career choices. These effects can be observed in all three family class positions.

Due to their class position, offspring from working-class families often need more determination and motivation to work. Additionally, their families' inability to consciously direct them towards a specific profession results in an inability to set clear goals and a failure to demonstrate the academic success required for vocational training. Therefore, the disadvantages inherent in an individual's class position are likely passed on to the next generation. However, in working-class families, the individuality of the offspring takes precedence, and their individuality enables them to have social mobility.

Another result is that families admire university education, even if they cannot provide adequate guidance to their children. Likewise, Uz (2022: 570) claimed that young people are pursuing university education to overcome the disadvantage of being a high school graduate.

Similar results have been observed in offspring from business-owner families concerning determination to work and motivation. As a result, both parents and offspring continue their fathers' professions even if they are unwilling to. Several factors contribute to this situation. First, like working-class families, the offspring lack sufficient motivation, self-discipline, and determination to work. Another factor is that the father's economic capital creates an alternative in the offspring's mind, preventing them from working eagerly and leading to complacency.

Bayındır and Kara (2022: 124-125) argued that students whose parents are senior executives or business owners are conceptualised as "learning to be bosses". As these students participate in business processes, their goals regarding life and career may change. Consequently, their academic concerns and attachment to school diminish. These students view school as a hindrance, seeing it as a tool and a process to be completed to enter the business world. To maintain the authority and status they learn in the workplace, they shape their relationships with their peers and teachers accordingly.

Similarly, the study suggests that in these family groups referred to as the "petite bourgeoisie," education is not seen as a ladder for upward mobility but rather as a means of gaining status. Consequently, even if they receive an education, they tend to remain in the same social position regarding their professions, resulting in limited social mobility.

Significant differences have been observed in self-employed professional families. By being successful in discovering their children's talents and vocational inclinations, parents can provide more informed guidance in their education and career choices. As a result, it is evident that the offspring from these families make more informed career choices and demonstrate the necessary determination to work.

Consequently, this result ensures that children receive a quality vocational education while maintaining their parents' status. Similarly, Özdemir (2020: 70) asserted that parental occupational status, individual education, and parental education level enhance an individual's occupational status.

Moreover, regarding social mobility, despite their high status, fathers do not wish their children to experience the difficulties they face in their professions. However, their preferences tend to lean towards occupations that are not significantly different in status from their own. This inclination indicates their strategy to preserve their social positions.

Despite numerous regulations regarding the institution of the family, the perception of women as solely responsible for domestic labour and responsibilities remains unchanged, perpetuating educational inequalities within the family structure. In Türkiye, even after entering the workforce, the notion that domestic responsibilities belong to women persists, doubling their burden (Gök, 2016: 359). According to the findings of this research, due to the persistent notion that domestic responsibilities are inherently feminine, a portion of the parents interviewed tend to guide their daughters towards professions that align with traditional gender roles, such as being teachers. This is done to enable their daughters to seamlessly balance their careers and domestic duties by societal gender norms.

Marshall and Swift argue that the most crucial factor influencing educational attainment is class origins, whereas Saunders believes that ability and effort are more important than class origins. These two distinct perspectives appear to be opposing each other in discussions on the subject (Şengönül, 2008: 19). However, according to the results of the study, qualities such as determination to work, consciousness, motivation,

responsibility, and self-discipline can be considered as indirect outcomes of class origins and, therefore, cannot be entirely separated from each other. At the same time, the conditions necessary for the emergence of individual abilities are also dependent on factors such as the family's sociocultural context, education level, consciousness, and vision. Hence, the manifestation of inherent skills in an individual is not entirely independent of their class background. The processes, patterns, and outcomes elucidated by the empirical data in the study can be summarised with the following words: For some, penetrating the elite's culture is a conquest for which a high price has been paid. For others, it is an inheritance that contains both the ease and the allure of ease (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015: 45).

In light of the study's findings, the primary issue pertains to the inequalities observed among different family types concerning access to educational opportunities and the possession or lack of sufficient capital to maintain or elevate their societal status. While eradicating these inequalities might not be possible, various policy recommendations can be offered to mitigate them. Prominent among these inequalities is the inadequacy of parental guidance observed in the labourer and business-owner family groups, failing to instil the necessary motivation in children. Children often find themselves unable to determine their desired profession or career goals clearly, and even if they do, they may lack the drive to pursue the necessary efforts to attain these vocations. Considering this issue, proposed policies should address the deficiencies in parental guidance and motivation-building within families.

Given that the working classes are relatively disadvantaged, it would be appropriate to offer practical guidance services, particularly in the context of their career pathways. Specifically, it would be prominent to enhance the effectiveness of guidance services provided in public schools. From an early age, children should be provided with opportunities to explore their talents and interests across all age groups. One such policy suggestion may involve establishing and effectively operating counselling centres for families and children to guide parents in supporting their children and enabling them to discover their abilities and interests. Through these counselling centres, children can receive the necessary advice to determine their career goals and acquire the motivation to pursue the requisite efforts to achieve their desired professions.

The study's main limitation is that it cannot be generalised since it is qualitative research. Further studies can be conducted to understand whether the phenomena experienced within the scope of this study's sample are valid for other parents in similar family types. Future studies that adopt a quantitative perspective might allow drawing a general framework by conducting research with larger samples. A quantitative study investigating the underlying causes behind the lack of guidance and motivation observed in labourer and business owner family groups, identified as a source of social inequality in this research, could prove functional in contributing to reducing inequality.

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