

The influence of a family's cultural capital on the formation of the educational and occupational expectations of native and immigrant primary school students

GERASIMOS KOUSTOURAKIS¹, GEORGIA SPILIOPOULOU¹, ANNA ASIMAKI²

¹Department of Educational Sciences
and Early Childhood Education
University of Patras
Greece
koustourakis@upatras.gr
geospil.spiliopoulou@gmail.com

²Department of Primary Education
University of Patras
Greece
asimaki@upatras.gr

ABSTRACT

The present paper, which uses the concept of 'cultural capital' from the theory of Pierre Bourdieu, aims on the one hand to investigate the similarities and differences between the cultural capital of the families of native and immigrant students of primary schools in Greece, and on the other hand to correlate it with their expectations for their educational and occupational future. The research was carried out during the 2013-2014 school year with the use of a questionnaire. 408 students (358 natives and 50 immigrants) who attended sixth grade of state primary schools in the city of Patras participated. The results of this study showed that there were more differences than similarities between the cultural capital of the families in these two categories of research subjects and they focus on their cultural activities, as well as on cultural goods which exist in their house. It also emerged that the different forms of cultural capital of native and immigrant students correlate (positively or negatively) with their expectations for their educational and occupational future.

KEYWORDS

Cultural capital, educational expectations, occupational expectations, primary school, natives, immigrants

RÉSUMÉ

Ce travail, qui utilise le concept du « capital culturel » provenant de la théorie de Pierre Bourdieu, vise à explorer les similitudes et les différences entre le capital culturel familial des élèves indigènes et immigrés des écoles primaires en Grèce, ainsi que sa corrélation avec leurs attentes pour leur avenir scolaire et professionnel. Le sondage a été réalisé au cours de l'année scolaire 2013-2014 en utilisant un questionnaire. 408 étudiants (358 indigènes et 50 immigrés) de la dernière année des écoles élémentaires publiques de la ville de Patras ont participé. Les résultats de ce sondage ont démontré que les différences entre le capital culturel familial dans les deux types de sujets de recherche sont plus nombreuses par rapport aux similitudes et se distinguent par les activités culturelles et les biens culturels qui existent à la maison. Il a également été constaté que les diverses formes du capital culturel des élèves

indigènes et immigrés sont corrélées (positivement ou négativement) avec leurs attentes pour leur avenir scolaire et professionnel.

MOTS CLÉS

Capital culturel, attentes scolaires, attentes professionnelles, école élémentaire, indigènes, immigrés

INTRODUCTION

From the 1990's onwards Greek society has become multicultural because of the constant stream of immigrants that increases its linguistic and cultural diversity (Evaggelou & Kantzou, 2005, p. 14). Thus, contemporary Greek society is composed of native and immigrant families who possess their own culture, as well as their own manner of thought and action (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi, 2013; Motti-Stefanidi, 2014).

Scientific literature, which focuses on studies concerning native and immigrant students not only in the Greek field but also in the international one, could be categorized into the following cases: a) the adaptation of immigrant students to school (Giavrimis, Konstantinou, & Hatzichristou, 2003; Moon & Lee, 2009), b) the unequal access and the discriminations students are subjected to in school due to their national, racial and religious family origin (Connolly & Keenan, 2002; Rankin & Aytac, 2008), c) the influence of the family environment on the educational expectations of students (Dimaki, Kaminioti, Kostaki, Psarakis & Tsourti, 2005; Gil-Flores, Padilla-Carmona & Suárez-Ortega, 2011; Rimkute, Hirvonen, Tolvanen, Aunola & Nurmi 2012), and d) the influence of socio-demographic factors and various forms of 'capital' on the educational course of students (Archer, Halsall, & Hollingworth, 2007; Flere, Krajnc, Klanjsek, Musil & Kirbis, 2010). The present work attempts to enhance scientific literature which refers to the approach that focuses on the correlation between the factors: nationality, cultural capital, educational and occupational expectations of students.

The purpose of this study is twofold, since it attempts to investigate the similarities and differences between the 'embodied', 'institutionalized' in the form of educational credentials of the students' parents and the 'objectified' cultural capital of native and immigrant students of sixth grade state primary schools in the city of Patras, as well as to correlate the educational and occupational expectations of these two categories of students with these forms of cultural capital.

The paper begins with the theoretical framework, there follow the research questions and the methodology, and next, the research findings are presented and analyzed. The study closes with the section containing the discussion and conclusions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital can exist in the three following forms (Bourdieu, 1986; Lamnias, 2001; O'Brien & Ó Fathaigh, 2005): a) engendered (internalized, embodied) or habitus, b) externalized (objectified) and c) institutionalized in the form of educational credentials.

Cultural capital in its incorporated state appears to be internalized, a registered and integral part of the body in the form of dispositions since it comprises '*a have that became a be, an hexis, a habitus*' (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 78; Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014, p. 124).

Primary habitus which is acquired within the family environment constitutes the basis for the shaping of each on-coming habitus (Accardo, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970, p. 58). In particular, Bourdieu & Passeron (1970) argue that predispositions which are acquired during childhood within the family environment (primary habitus) are ‘longer lasting’. Moreover, different social environments ‘generate’ different habitus as well. However, habitus evolves, and onto it secondary habitus (such as the school) are ‘transplanted’ and afterwards tertiary habitus (for example, the professional). Thus, habitus constitutes ‘*an internalized structure which is to be found on the road of continuous restructuring*’ (Accardo, 1991, p. 90). In the case of our research, we consider that culturally privileged students have internalized from their family a primary habitus which differs from that of students who come from culturally underprivileged families. This differentiation can be imprinted on different educational choices and actions on the part of students.

The objectified form of cultural capital is manifest in cultural goods, which are visible and transmissible to inheritors (Bourdieu, 1986; Jeannotte, 2003, p. 38). Defining the notion of cultural goods, Bourdieu points out that they refer to paintings, works of art, musical instruments, books, bookcases, scientific instruments, as well as machines which constitute dimensions of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979, 1986; Jeannotte, 2003, p. 38; Levitas, 2004, p. 51; O'Brien & Ó Fathaigh, 2005, p. 68). However, the acquisition of cultural goods doesn't necessarily entail their comprehension because it presupposes a cultivated cultural code, that is, it presupposes permanent and durable dispositions (habitus) which are necessary for the approach to and perception of a cultural good (Bourdieu, 1979). As far as our research is concerned, we assume that students who come from culturally underprivileged families, in contrast to culturally privileged students, haven't acquired from their family context a ‘cultivated’ habitus which is necessary in order to approach and perceive a cultural good.

The institutionalized form of cultural capital is acquired through educational institutions and is legitimated through educational credentials (Bourdieu, 1986, 1994; Lamnias, 2001, p. 158). In particular, educational qualifications represent ‘*the certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture*’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). In the case of our research, we assume that students whose families don't possess ‘strong’ institutionalized cultural capital can hardly respond to the demands of school. And that comes about because the culture students have acquired from their family doesn't correspond with that which the school legitimizes, in contrast to students whose families possess ‘strong’ institutionalized cultural capital.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS – METHODOLOGY

In this paper, we are going to deal with the answers to the following research questions:

- What are the similarities and differences between the ‘embodied’, ‘institutionalized’ in the form of the educational credentials of students' parents, and the ‘objectified’ cultural capital of the native and immigrant sixth grade students in state primary schools in the city of Patras who participated in the research?
- How do the different forms of cultural capital in the families of these categories of research subjects correlate with their expectations for their educational and occupational future?

The research sample includes 408 sixth grade students from 16 state primary schools in the city of Patras. It concerns 203 (49.8%) boys and 205 (50.2%) girls. As far as the nationality of the students is concerned, 87.7% (358 subjects) are natives, whereas 12.3% (50 subjects)

come from immigrant families. Specifically, the families of 44 students are of Albanian origin, two students of Moldovan descent, one student of Romanian, one student of Polish, one student of Russian and one student of Belarusian.

In order for the research to be carried out, a questionnaire was used as a research 'tool'. For the construction of our questionnaire we relied on the questionnaire of Noble & Davies (2009) which was modified and reformed in order to correspond to the purposes and particularities of our research. This questionnaire consists of two parts. The first part includes questions which concern the social, educational and demographic data of students and their parents. The second part of the questionnaire includes closed-ended questions (two-part, multiple choice and questions with the use of the four-degree Likert scale by choosing 'never', 'rarely', 'often', 'very often') as well as open-ended questions (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2008, p. 414, 426; Filias, 2001, p. 171-176). Specifically, through the questions of the second part of the questionnaire the detection of the cultural capital of the families of the students who participated in the research, the students' educational and occupational expectations, as well as the expectations of the students' parents for the occupational future of their children, was attempted.

Before using the questionnaire, we administered it as a pilot project to 4 students in order to check the time needed for its completion, to mark the questions which cannot be understood by the students so as to modify them. Students who participated in the pilot project were excluded from the research sample (Cohen et al., 2008, p. 439-440).

The research was carried out during the 2013-2014 school year using 'convenience' sampling (Cohen et al., 2008). Namely, from the sum total of the state schools in the city of Patras we approached 16 primary schools to which we had access and their headmasters allowed us to administer questionnaires to the sixth grade students. In fact, these schools were chosen by taking into consideration as another criterion that they are located in regions of the city of Patras where immigrant families live. Consequently, our findings aren't generalized across the sum total of state primary schools in the city of Patras. And that comes about because the research sample represents only itself, namely 408 sixth grade students of the 16 primary schools the questionnaire was administered to (Cohen et al., 2008, p. 170; Robson, 2007, p. 314). The research data which were collected from the questionnaire were analyzed by means of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) using 'indicators' of the descriptive and inferential statistics.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

In Table 1 the distribution of the 'institutionalized' cultural capital of the parents of the students who participated in the research is presented.

From the study of the elements in Table 1 it emerged that the majority of native parents, as well as the sum total of immigrant parents don't possess strong 'institutionalized' cultural capital which could constitute a source of accumulation of a great volume of 'embodied' cultural capital in their children and contribute to the formation of high expectations for their educational course. And that comes about because according to Bourdieu (1977b, p. 83; Sianou-Kyrgiou & Tsiplianides, 2009, p. 729) habitus is '*a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions*', which is developed through experience and affects educational opportunities and choice processes. Specifically, the elements of Table 1 indicated that the majority of native fathers (165 subjects, 46.1%), as well as native mothers (173 subjects, 48.3%) are lyceum graduates. Concerning the educational level of immigrant parents, the

majority of fathers (24 subjects, 48%) and mothers (23 subjects, 46%) are gymnasium graduates. However, a significant difference between native and immigrant parents is that none of the parents of the latter hold a tertiary education degree. On the contrary, the percentage of native parents with higher educational qualifications (tertiary education graduates: 104 fathers, 29.1% and 106 mothers, 29.7% / holders of postgraduate diplomas: 15 fathers, 4.2% and 12 mothers, 3.4%) is significant.

TABLE 1
Educational level of parents according to their national origin

Educational level of parents	Father		Mother	
	Natives	Immigrants	Natives	Immigrants
No education	1 (0.3)*	2 (4)**	1 (0.3)*	1 (2)**
Primary school	25 (7)	3 (6)	18 (5)	4 (8)
Gymnasium	63 (17.6)	24 (48)	60 (16.8)	23 (46)
Lyceum	165 (46.1)	21 (42)	173 (48.3)	22 (44)
Tertiary education	104 (29.1)	0 (0.0)	106 (29.7)	0 (0.0)
Postgraduate diploma courses	15 (4.2)	0 (0.0)	12 (3.4)	0 (0.0)

*Percentage (%) of the sum total of native parents sample (N=358).

**Percentage (%) of the sum total of parents sample with an immigrant background (N=50).

Concerning the cultural activities ('embodied' cultural capital) of native and immigrant students, as well as their parents, the research results showed that:

- A greater percentage of native students read extracurricular books (315 cases, 88%) than immigrant students (26 cases, 52%). There was a statistically significant relationship between 'reading extracurricular books' and 'national origin of students' ($\chi^2=41.402$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.000$, $p<0.05$). From the t-test statistic of the means difference concerning reading extracurricular books by native and immigrant students there were statistically significant differences ($t=-6.771$, $p=0.000$). And that comes about because it seemed that the mean of reading extracurricular books by native students (Mean/M=0.88, Standard Deviation/SD=0.33) is greater than that of immigrant students (M=0.52, SD=0.51).
- In terms of reading extracurricular books by native students according to the educational level of father (315 subjects, 88%), a greater percentage of native students whose fathers are lyceum graduates (151 subjects, 47.9%) read extracurricular books than those whose fathers have a high educational level (103 subjects, 32.7%) as well as gymnasium graduate fathers (43 subjects, 13.7%) and primary school graduate fathers (18 subjects, 5.7%). There was a statistically significant relationship between 'reading extracurricular books by native students' and 'educational level of father' ($\chi^2=50.561$, $df=5$, $Sig.=0.000$).

- In terms of reading extracurricular books by native students according to the educational level of mother (315 subjects, 88%), a greater percentage of native students whose mothers are lyceum graduates (159 subjects, 50.5%) read extracurricular books than those whose mothers have a high educational level (105 subjects, 33.3%) % as well as gymnasium graduate mothers (40 subjects, 12.7%) and primary school graduate mothers (11 subjects, 3.5%). There was a statistically significant relationship between 'reading extracurricular books by native students' and 'educational level of mother' ($X^2=60.939$, $df=5$, $Sig.=0.000$).

In Table 2 the findings which concern the extent to which the parents of the students who participated in the research discuss books with their children are presented.

TABLE 2

Frequency of discussion between parents and their children about books according to their national origin

National origin	Discussion between parents and children about books					
	Never	Rarely	Often	Very often	M	SD
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
Natives	77 (21.5)	97 (27.1)	107 (29.9)	77 (21.5)	2.51	1.06
Immigrants	43 (86)	7 (14)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1.14	0.35

From the study of Table 2 it appeared that most native parents discuss books with their children to a large extent (often: 107 subjects, 29.9%, very often: 77 subjects, 21.5%, $M=2.51$, $SD=1.06$), in contrast to the majority of immigrant parents who never discuss books with their children ($M=1.14$, $SD=0.35$). In fact, there was a statistically significant relationship between 'frequency of discussion between parents and their children about books' and 'their national origin' ($X^2=90.691$, $df=3$, $Sig.=0.000$), since this issue constitutes a characteristic of Greek parents in the case of the students who participated in the research.

In Table 3 the distribution of the answers of the students in the sample regarding how often they go to the theatre to see various theatrical performances is presented.

TABLE 3

Frequency of visits to the theatre according to the national origin of students

National origin of students	Visits to the theatre					
	Never	Rarely	Often	Very often	M	SD
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		
Natives	64 (17.9)	149 (41.6)	124 (34.6)	21 (5.9)	2.28	0.83
Immigrants	34 (68)	13 (26)	3 (6)	0 (0.0)	1.32	0.47

From the study of Table 3 it appeared that in the case of Greek students, they are divided into two almost equivalent groups, since there is a large number of students who rarely go to the theatre (149 subjects, 41.6%), and a similarly large number of students who often and very often go to the theatre in order to watch theatrical performances (145 subjects, 40.5%). In contrast, the majority of immigrant students don't adopt this cultural activity (never: 34 subjects, 68% and rarely: 13 subjects, 26%). Hence, the statistical elaboration of the research material showed the existence of a statistically significant difference between 'frequency of theatre visits' and 'national origin of students' ($X^2=67.143$, $df=3$, $Sig.=0.000$).

In Table 4 the distribution of the answers of Greek students regarding the frequency of their theatre visits according to the 'institutionalized' cultural capital of their father is presented.

TABLE 4

Frequency of native students' theatre visits, according to the educational level of their father

Educational level of father	Native students' theatre visits					M	SD
	Never	Rarely	Often	Very often			
No education	1 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)		1.00	0.00
Primary school	14 (21.9)	11 (7.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)		1.44	0.51
Gymnasium	22 (34.4)	32 (21.5)	6 (4.8)	3 (14.3)		1.84	0.79
Lyceum	24 (37.5)	76 (51)	52 (41.9)	13 (61.9)		2.33	0.82
Tertiary education	3 (4.7)	30 (20.2)	66 (53.3)	5 (23.8)		2.77	0.56
Postgraduate diploma courses	0 (0.0)	5 (3.4)	9 (7.3)	1 (4.8)		2.73	0.59

From the statistical analysis of the elements in Table 4 a statistically significant difference between 'frequency of native students' theatre visits' and 'educational level of their father' ($X^2=104.230$, $df=15$, $Sig.=0.000$) emerged. And that comes about because it seemed that mainly the children of families whose fathers are tertiary education graduates ($M=2.77$, $SD=0.56$) or hold post graduate diplomas ($M=2.73$, $SD=0.59$) go to the theatre in order to watch performances. Also, children whose fathers are lyceum graduates go to the theatre to a lesser extent ($M=2.33$, $SD=0.82$) and this practice is minimized in the case of children whose fathers have lower educational qualifications.

In Table 5 the distribution of the answers of Greek students which concern seeing theatrical performances according to the 'institutionalized' cultural capital of their mother is presented.

TABLE 5*Frequency of native students' theatre visits, according to the educational level of their mother*

Educational level of mother	Native students' theatre visits					
	Never	Rarely	Often	Very often	M	SD
No education	1 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1.00	0.00
Primary school	12 (18.8)	5 (3.4)	0 (0.0)	1 (4.8)	1.44	0.78
Gymnasium	23 (35.9)	29 (19.5)	6 (4.8)	2 (9.5)	1.78	0.76
Lyceum	26 (40.6)	91 (61.1)	45 (36.3)	11 (52.4)	2.24	0.78
Tertiary education	2 (3.1)	24 (16.1)	73 (58.9)	7 (33.3)	2.86	0.55
Postgraduate diploma courses	0 (0.0)	4 (2.7)	8 (6.5)	0 (0.0)	2.67	0.49

The data analysis of Table 5 gave analogous results with those of Table 4. So, in this case too there was a statistically significant difference between 'frequency with which native students go to the theatre' and 'educational level of their mother' ($X^2=132.793$, $df=15$, $Sig.=0.000$). Namely, it seemed that the practice of going to the theatre correlates with the possession of 'institutionalized' cultural capital in the form of educational credentials by the students' mothers. Hence, going to the theatre is mainly observed in the case of students whose mothers are tertiary education graduates ($M=2.86$, $SD=0.55$) and hold postgraduate diplomas ($M=2.67$, $SD=0.49$). Moreover, this practice is followed in the case of students whose mothers are lyceum graduates ($M=2.24$, $SD=0.78$).

Concerning the existence of cultural goods ('objectified' cultural capital) in the houses of native and immigrant students, the research results showed that:

- More native students (307 subjects, 85.8%) have a bookcase in their house than immigrant students (19 subjects, 38%). There was a statistically significant relationship between 'existence of a bookcase in the house' and 'national origin of students' ($X^2=62.302$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.000$). From the t-test statistic of the means difference regarding the existence of a bookcase in the house of native and immigrant students there were statistically significant differences ($t=-8.554$, $p=0.000$). And that comes about because it seemed that the mean of the existence of a bookcase in the house of native students is greater ($M=0.86$, $SD=0.35$) than for immigrant students ($M=0.38$, $SD=0.49$).
- A greater percentage of native students (196 subjects, 54.7%) have works of art in their house than immigrant students (11 subjects, 22%). There was a statistically significant relationship between 'existence of works of art in the house' and 'national origin of students' ($X^2=18.825$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.000$). From the t-test statistic of the means difference regarding the existence of works of art in the house of native and immigrant students there were statistically significant differences ($t=-8.554$, $p=0.000$).

And that comes about because it seemed that the mean of the existence of works of art in the house of native students is higher ($M=0.55$, $SD=0.50$) in comparison with immigrant students ($M=0.22$, $SD=0.42$).

- Native students (145 subjects, 40.5%) have musical instruments in their house to a greater percentage than immigrant students (10 subjects, 20%). From the statistical elaboration of the research data there was a statistically significant relationship between 'existence of musical instruments in the house' and 'national origin of students' ($X^2=7.829$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.005$).

In Table 6 the findings regarding the types of books which exist in the bookcases of the houses of the students who participated in the research, according to their national origin, are presented.

TABLE 6

Types of books in the bookcase according to the national origin of the students

Types of books in the bookcase	National origin of students	
	Greeks	Immigrants
	N (%)	N (%)
Literature books	286 (79.9)	16 (32)
School aids	86 (24)	5 (10)
School textbooks	299 (83.5)	23 (46)
Fairytales	66 (18.4)	1 (2)
Comics	23 (6.4)	0 (0.0)
Encyclopedias	143 (39.9)	0 (0.0)
Dictionaries	103 (28)	0 (0.0)
Foreign language books	204 (57)	5 (10)

From the study of the data in Table 6 it appeared that Greek students have more types of books in the bookcase of their house than their immigrant schoolmates. Specifically, in the bookcase of native students there are, in order of quantitative presentation, school textbooks (299 students, 83.5%), literature books (286 students, 79.9%), foreign language books (204 students, 57%), encyclopedias (143 students, 39.9%), dictionaries (103 students, 28%), school aids (86 students, 24%), fairytales (66 students, 18.4%) and comics (23 students, 6.4%). In the bookcases of the houses of immigrant students there are, in order of quantitative presentation, school textbooks (23 students, 46%), literature books (16 students, 32%), school aids (5 students, 10%) and foreign language books (5 students, 10%), whereas only one student from an immigrant family (2%) stated that he has fairytales in his bookcase. In contrast, there are no comics, encyclopedias and dictionaries in the bookcases of the immigrant students who participated in the research. In fact, from the statistical analysis of the research data there were

statistically significant differences in the relationship between ‘national origin of students’ and the existence in the bookcases of their houses of ‘novels’ ($X^2=52.319$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.000$), ‘school aids’ ($X^2=4.978$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.026$), ‘school textbooks’ ($X^2=57.169$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.000$), ‘fairytales’ ($X^2=8.635$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.003$), ‘encyclopedias’ ($X^2=30.749$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.000$), ‘dictionaries’ ($X^2=19.244$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.000$) and ‘foreign language books’ ($X^2=38.761$, $df=1$, $Sig.=0.000$), since Greek students have these types of books in much greater percentages than their schoolmates who come from immigrant families.

In Table 7 the research findings which concern the educational expectations of students who finish their schooling in primary school, according to their national origin, are presented.

TABLE 7

Educational expectations of students after primary school according to their national origin

Educational expectations of students after primary school	National origin of students	
	Greeks	Immigrants
Finish primary school and help my parents in their job	3 (0.8)*	1 (2)**
Finish gymnasium and study at a technical school afterwards	7 (2)	0 (0.0)
Finish gymnasium, lyceum and help my parents in their job	21 (5.9)	9 (18)
Finish gymnasium, lyceum and find a job	4 (1.1)	0 (0.0)
Study at a Technological Educational Institute	4 (1.1)	0 (0.0)
Study at University	308 (86)	40 (80)
Study at University and pursue postgraduate / PhD studies	11 (3.1)	0 (0.0)

*Percentage (%) of the sum total of native students sample (N=358).

** Percentage (%) of the sum total of sample of students who come from immigrant families (N=50).

The evidence in Table7 showed that the educational expectations of the majority of native and immigrant students are very high. Specifically, the vast majority of native students expect to study at a tertiary education institution (Universities or Technological Educational Institutes) (323 subjects, 90.2% cumulative percentage) and their expectation exceeds in percentage terms, that of immigrant students (40 subjects, 80%). It also emerged that the expectations of native students are higher than those of immigrant students, and that comes about because 11 native students (3.1%) express the expectation to continue their studies after University and pursue post graduate - PhD studies. It should be mentioned here that none of the students who come from immigrant families expressed a desire to pursue postgraduate studies in the future. In addition, only a few Greek students expressed their intention to study at a technical school after gymnasium (7 subjects, 2%) or to find a job after finishing lyceum (4 subjects, 1.1%). Moreover, the percentage of Greek students (5.9%) who wanted to follow the occupation of their parents after lyceum was smaller than that of their immigrant schoolmates (18%). These three cases concern the native students whose parents don't possess ‘institutionalized’ cultural capital of high prestige. In fact, there was a statistically significant relationship between

'national origin of students' and 'their educational expectations after primary school' ($X^2=13.208$, $df=6$, $Sig.=0.040$). Particularly, from the t-test statistic of the means difference regarding the educational expectations of native and immigrant students after primary school there were statistically significant differences ($t=-2.121$, $p=0.034$). And that comes about because it seemed that the educational expectations of native students after primary school ($M=5.70$, $SD=1.03$) are higher than those of immigrant students ($M=5.36$, $SD=1.32$).

Besides, from the research findings it seemed that the most basic reason why the majority of native students (255 subjects, 71.2%) and immigrant students (28 subjects, 56%) prefer the particular educational course after primary school is education and future job stability. In addition, from the statistical elaboration of the research material there was a statistically significant relationship between 'national origin of students' and 'basic reason for preference for their educational course after primary school' ($X^2=21.788$, $df=5$, $Sig.=0.001$).

In Table 8 the findings of the statistical analysis which concern the investigation of the correlation between the 'institutionalized' cultural capital on the part of the students' parents, and the educational expectations of the students after primary school, are presented.

TABLE 8

Correlation between the education of father and mother and the educational expectations of students after primary school

		Education of father	Education of mother
Educational expectations of students after primary school	Pearson Correlation	.379**	.369**
	Sig (2-tailed)	.000	.000
	N	408	408

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

From the study of the data in Table 8 it appeared that there is a statistically significant relationship between 'educational expectations of students after primary school' and 'education of father' ($r=0.379$, $Sig.=0.000$), as well as 'education of mother' ($r=0.369$, $Sig.=0.000$). Namely, the higher the 'institutionalized' cultural capital of the father and mother is, the higher the educational expectations of students after primary school are.

In Table 9 the findings of the statistical analysis which concern the investigation of the existence of the correlation between the educational expectations of the students who participated in the research and their cultural activities, are presented.

The evidence in Table 9 showed that there is a statistically significant positive relationship between 'educational expectations of students after primary school' and 'reading extracurricular books' ($r=0.354$, $Sig.=0.000$), as well as 'going to the theatre' ($r=0.333$, $Sig.=0.000$). Namely, it seemed that the more the students are engaged in cultural activities, the higher their educational expectations after primary school are. According to Bourdieu (1998; Hunter, 2004, p. 177), culture is embodied and reproduced through participation in social practices in day-to-day activities produced by the interaction of fields and habitus, through social structures and agents. A student's habitus is structured by conditions of existence and generates practices and perceptions in accordance with its own structure

(Maton, 2008, p. 51). Through the adoption of cultural activities, students ‘internalize’ a series of predispositions and schemes of perception which shape their manner of behaviour, as well as their choices and their actions (Levine-Rasky, 2009, p. 332).

TABLE 9

Correlation between the cultural activities of students and their educational expectations after primary school

		Reading extracurricular books	Going to the theatre
Educational expectations of students after primary school	Pearson Correlation	.354**	.333**
	Sig (2-tailed)	.000	.000
	N	408	408

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In Table 10 the findings of the statistical analysis which concern the investigation of the correlation between the existence of cultural goods in the houses of the students' families, and their educational expectations after primary school, are given.

TABLE 10

Correlation between the existence of cultural goods in the students' houses and their educational expectations after primary school

		Existence of a bookcase in the house	Existence of works of art in the house	Existence of musical instruments in the house
Educational expectations of students after primary school	Pearson Correlation	.287**	.232**	.094
	Sig (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.059
	N	408	408	408

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

From the data in Table 10 a statistically significant positive relationship between ‘educational expectations of students after primary school’ and ‘existence of a bookcase in the house’ emerged ($r=0.287$, $\text{Sig.}=0.000$), as well as between ‘existence of works of art in the house’ ($r=0.232$, $\text{Sig.}=0.000$). Namely, the stronger the ‘objectified’ cultural capital in the houses of the students is, the higher their educational expectations after primary school are. However, there was no statistically significant relationship between ‘educational expectations of

students after primary school' and 'existence of musical instruments in the house' ($r=0.094$, $Sig.=0.059$).

In Table 11 the findings which concern the occupational expectations of the students who participated in the research, according to their national origin, are presented. It is noted that regarding the distribution of the occupations in these occupational categories we used the coding system of OPCS 1990 Standard Occupational Classification (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, 1990) which is internationally accepted and is used in research which belongs to the field of social sciences (Koustourakis & Asimaki, 2011; Wakeling, 2005).

TABLE 11
Occupational expectations of students according to their national origin

Occupational expectations	National origin of students	
	Natives	Immigrants
Executive and managerial occupations in the public and private sector	6 (1.7)	0 (0.0)
Higher scientific occupations	104 (29.1)	13 (26)
Health occupations	43 (12)	14 (28)
Teachers	74 (20.7)	2 (4)
Administrative scientific occupations in the public and private sector	7 (2)	2 (4)
Clerical, administrative and secretarial occupations in the public and private sector	1 (0.3)	2 (4)
Technicians and technical occupations	25 (7)	1 (2)
Army and security corps	89 (24.9)	16 (32)
Commercial and craft industry occupations	9 (2.5)	0 (0.0)

The statistical elaboration of the data in Table 11 showed the existence of a statistically significant relationship between 'national origin of students' and 'their occupational expectations' ($X^2=28.481$, $df=8$, $Sig.=0.000$). In particular, immigrant students want to follow in order of preference, in a greater number, occupations related to the army and the security corps which ensure the certainty of job stability (32%), health occupations (28%) and higher scientific occupations (26%), which offer good job prospects. In contrast, the preferences of Greek students for their occupational future rely on higher scientific occupations (29.1%), army and security corps (24.9%), educational occupations (20.7%) and health occupations (12%). Also, the fact that none of the immigrant students expressed their desire to integrate into the professional elite which relates to executive and managerial positions in the public and private sector is characteristic. This occupational expectation was expressed by a small number of Greek students (6 subjects, 1.7%) whose parents possess high 'institutionalized' cultural capital in the form of educational credentials.

In Table 12 the statistical elaboration of the research data which concerns the correlation between the educational level of the students' parents and the occupational expectations of the students, is presented.

TABLE 12
Correlation between the educational level of the father and mother and the occupational expectations of the students

		Educational level of father	Educational level of mother
Occupational expectations of students	Pearson Correlation	-.235**	-.241**
	Sig (2-tailed)	.000	.000
	N	408	408

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The study of the evidence in Table12 revealed the existence of a statistically significant negative relationship between 'occupational expectations of students' and 'educational level of father' ($r=-0.235$, $\text{Sig.}=0.000$), as well as 'educational level of mother' ($r=-0.241$, $\text{Sig.}=0.000$). Namely, the lower the 'institutionalized' cultural capital of the father and mother is, the higher the occupational expectations of the students are. According to Bourdieu (1990; Sianou-Kyrgiou & Tsiplianides, 2009, p. 729), the habitus which culturally privileged students acquire from their families contributes to the development of high educational and occupational expectations and in turn to higher education choices. In this way, a certain family habitus is shaped which provides family members with certainty and confidence in order to make more ambitious educational and occupational choices. In contrast, working-class families make less ambitious educational and occupational choices because they lack the 'cultivated' cultural capital which the school and the 'dominant' culture demand. So, it seems that our research findings don't confirm Bourdieu's view (1990) regarding lower occupational expectations on the part of students who come from culturally underprivileged families.

In Table 13 the findings which concern the perceptions of the students who participated in the research, regarding their parents' expectations for their occupational future, are presented.

The statistical elaboration of the data in Table 13 revealed the existence of a statistically significant relationship between 'national origin of students' and 'parents' expectations for the future occupation of their children' ($X^2=15.610$, $df=7$, $\text{Sig.}=0.029$). And that comes about because it seems that the priorities are differentiated according to national origin regarding the expectations of parents for the occupation they want their children to follow. So, students from immigrant families perceive that their parents mainly want them to follow health occupations (42%) and higher scientific occupations (36%). In contrast, Greek students perceive that their parents want them to follow in the future, in order of significance, mainly higher scientific occupations (33%), health occupations which focus on the medical sector (24.9%) or to become teachers (12.6%). Moreover, Greek parents mainly let their children make their own decision about the occupation they want to follow (21.8%) in comparison with immigrant parents (14%). Finally, only Greek parents want their children to

follow commercial and craft industry occupations (7 subjects, 2%), as well as to become executives and managers in the public or private sector (3 subjects, 0.8%).

TABLE 13

Students' perceptions regarding their parents' expectations for their occupational future, according to their national origin

Parents' expectations for the occupational future of their children	National origin of students	
	Natives	Immigrants
Executive and managerial occupations in the public and private sector	3 (0.8)	0 (0.0)
Higher scientific occupations	118 (33)	18 (36)
Health occupations	89 (24.9)	21 (42)
Teachers	45 (12.6)	0 (0.0)
Technicians and technical occupations	5 (1.4)	2 (4)
Army and security corps	13 (3.6)	2 (4)
Commercial and craft industry occupations	7 (2)	0 (0.0)
My parents let me make my own decision about the occupation I want to follow	78 (21.8)	7 (14)

In addition, according to the statements of the students in the sample, the most basic reason most native parents prefer these occupations is education and the broadening of their children's intellectual horizons (85 cases, 23.7%) a fact which could be related to the 'trend of Greek society towards education' (Tsoukalas, 1977), whereas for most immigrant parents it is the social recognition of their children (14 cases, 28%). It could probably be claimed that the negative experiences immigrant parents have had in the work and the social field urged them to desire the social improvement of their children by taking advantage of the opportunities that education offers. This is so that their children will escape from their own socio-economic circumstance which is negatively evaluated by them and which they experience as a cultural devaluation (Lehmann, 2009, p. 146-147). The statistical elaboration of the research data gave a statistically significant relationship between 'national origin' and 'basic reason for parents' preference for their children's occupation' ($X^2=48.181$, $df=8$, $Sig.=0.000$).

In Table 14 the results of the statistical elaboration of the research data which concern the correlation between the education of the students' parents, and their expectations for the future occupation of their children, are given.

TABLE 14

Correlation between the education of the father and mother and their expectations for the occupation of their children

		Education of father	Education of mother
Expectations of parents for the occupation of their children	Pearson Correlation	-.193**	-.204**
	Sig (2-tailed)	.000	.000
	N	408	408

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Studying the evidence in Table 14 it seemed that there is a statistically significant negative relationship between 'expectations of parents for the occupation of their children' and 'education of father' ($r=-0.193$, $\text{Sig.}=0.000$), as well as 'education of mother' ($r=-0.204$, $\text{Sig.}=0.000$). Namely, the lower the 'institutionalized' cultural capital of parents is, the higher their expectations for the future occupation of their children are.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

From the research results it was concluded that there are more differences than similarities between the family cultural capital of native and immigrant students. Specifically, most native parents often discuss books with their children in contrast to the majority of immigrant parents who never discuss books with their children. It also emerged that more native students read extracurricular books than immigrant students. This reveals that native students, mainly those students whose parents possess some degree of 'institutionalized' cultural capital (lyceum graduates), internalize in an acculturated way a primary habitus which stems from their previous experiences in the field of the family (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Jacobs, 2007, p. 250). So, family habitus structures the 'repertoire' of behaviour of young family members (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Thompson, 2009, p. 37-38). Going to the theatre is adopted to a great extent by most native students, since there is a large number of students who go to the theatre, albeit rarely, as well as those students who often and very often go to the theatre in order to watch theatrical performances. In contrast, the majority of immigrant students don't adopt this cultural activity. In fact, it seemed that to a large extent, native students whose parents are tertiary education graduates or hold postgraduate diplomas, go to the theatre to see performances. From this perspective, it could be claimed that a student's habitus is influenced by external 'conditions of existence', including socio-cultural origin, nationality and family, 'which in turn become the basis of perception and appreciation of all subsequent experience' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 78; Naidoo, 2009, p. 264). Moreover, 'indicators' such as the existence of a bookcase, the variety of books which exist in it (for example, literature books), the existence of works of art and musical instruments are found more in the houses of native students than immigrant students. Through their contact with these cultural goods, native students are becoming more familiar with the 'aesthetic' and the 'refined' than immigrant students, and consequently they enhance their 'objectified' cultural capital (Fragoudaki, 1985, p. 163-164). From this perspective, we realize that native students grow up in more

'cultivated' cultural environments than immigrant students, and as a result they are socialized with cultural goods, such as books, bookcases, works of art and musical instruments (Bourdieu, 1977a; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Li, 2007, p. 286). According to the above findings, native students seem to accumulate a greater volume of 'engendered' and 'objectified' cultural capital from their family environment than immigrant students. Family is, in fact, one of the basic 'places' of various forms of cultural capital accumulation and their transmission from generation to generation. It protects its unity because of and through its transmission so that the different forms of cultural capital could be inherited by the next generation (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 129).

The data analysis of the questionnaire revealed that there is a statistically significant positive relationship between the following variables: 'reading extracurricular books', 'going to the theatre', 'existence of a bookcase in the house', 'existence of works of art in the house' and 'educational expectations of students after primary school'. However, it emerged that there is no statistically significant relationship between 'existence of musical instruments in the house' and 'educational expectations of students after primary school'. 'Educational expectations of students after primary school' exhibit a statistically significant positive relationship with 'education of father' and 'education of mother'. This finding agrees with the research findings of Gil-Flores et al. (2011) and Rimkute et al. (2012) according to which the high educational level of parents correlates with the high educational expectations of students. It was found that there is a statistically significant negative relationship between 'occupational expectations of students' and 'education level of father', as well as 'education level of mother'. The lower the educational level of the parents is, the higher the occupational expectations of the students are, a fact which implies the desire of culturally underprivileged students to move up professionally and improve their position in the social structure. It also seemed that there is a statistically significant negative relationship between 'expectations of parents for the occupation of their children' and 'education of father', as well as 'education of mother', a fact which implies that the lower the educational level of the parents is, the higher their expectations for the occupation of their children are. It could be claimed that parents, regardless of national origin, desire the 'reformation' of the primary habitus their children have internalized within the family context and the structure of new schemes of perception and action which could help students move up professionally (Accardo, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970).

In addition, it was concluded that the educational expectations of the majority of students (natives and immigrants) are very high and they focus on tertiary education studies. However, the expectations of native students to study at University exceed in percentage those of immigrant students. Also, it seemed that the expectations of native students are higher than those of immigrant students when expressing their desire to continue their studies after University and pursue postgraduate - PhD studies. Our finding agrees with the research finding of Van Houtte & Stevens (2010) according to which native students tend to have higher educational expectations than immigrant students. The majority of both groups of students in our research sample state that the most basic reason they prefer these educational expectations is for education and future job stability, a fact which reveals their desire to 'broaden' their cultural capital in order to 'reform' and/or to improve their position in the social structure. And that comes about because most students (natives and immigrants) grow up in socio-culturally underprivileged environments (see Table 1), which don't seem to constitute a source of accumulation of a great volume of 'embodied' cultural capital through their continuous socializations (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1979; Lamnias, 2001, p. 157). Most native students expect to follow higher scientific occupations, whereas most immigrant students expect to follow occupations relevant to the army and the security corps. This expectation

seemed to stem from the personal interest of both groups of students to get engaged in these occupations. Most native parents, according to the statements of the students in the sample, expect their children to mainly follow higher scientific occupations and health occupations which focus on the medical sector in the future, so as to become educated and broaden their intellectual horizons, whereas most immigrant parents expect their children to follow mainly health occupations and higher scientific occupations, so that their children obtain social prestige.

To sum up, from our research paper the following conclusions emerge:

- There are more differences than similarities between the family cultural capital of native and immigrant students and they focus on their cultural activities, as well as on cultural goods which exist in their houses.
- The ‘embodied’, ‘institutionalized’ in the form of the educational credentials of the students’ parents, and ‘objectified’ cultural capital of native and immigrant students seem to correlate (positively or negatively) with their expectations for their educational and occupational future.
- Native students seem to accumulate a greater volume of ‘embodied’ and ‘objectified’ cultural capital from their family environment in comparison with immigrant students, which is imprinted on their choices and their actions.
- Finally, it seems that the cultural capital of socio-culturally disadvantaged families follows in some cases a model of social mobility, which is opposed to the reproductive model of cultural capital that Bourdieu expresses with his theory (Bourdieu, 1979; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970).

Although the findings of this research are not generalized they are interesting because they reveal the similarities and differences in the various forms of cultural capital which exist between native and immigrant students, as well as their correlation with the educational and occupational expectations of the students. The carrying out of similar research on a larger scale not only in Greece but also in other host countries for immigrants in Europe, such as Italy, would be very interesting.

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