

**The Sociological Study of Cultural Capital Role of Iranian Families
on the Acceptance of their Children in University
(Case Study: Sanati Sharif University- Entrance of 2015-2016)**

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Abstract

The aim of present study is to study sociologically the role of cultural capital of Iranian families on their students' acceptance in university. This is a descriptive post-event survey. The statistical population of study includes all students, in Sharif University of Technology, who have been studying in 2015-2016 (n= 1013). The sample size was 350 students selected according to Cochran table through simple random sampling. In order to measure research variables, data has been collected through researcher-made questionnaire with Cronbach's Alpha 0.82. Data analysis has been done through inferential statistical method (Kolmogorov-Smirnov normality test, structural equation modeling, combination of detention analysis, multivariate regression, correlation coefficient and path analysis) through SPSS and Amos version 22. The research findings show three types of cultural capitals that are institutional cultural capital; objective cultural capital and embodiment cultural capital. Some components of embodiment of cultural capital and some habitus such as interest in studying books other than textbooks, interest in art, voluntary presence in scientific communities, attention to literature and cultural fames, going to museum, cinema, festivals, artistic activities and sport are not desired among the families of students. Thus, it is essential to promote the cultural capital of Iranian families for improvement of mental and cultural capabilities of their children.

Keywords: Embodiment cultural capital, Objective cultural capital, Institutional cultural capital, Social field, Iranian families.

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1. Introduction

The sociological studies of several past decades have emphasized on the role of cultural capitals of families and even on their students' educational progress; thus, various experimental measures and indicators have been used to explore and examine the role of increase or decrease of cultural capitals of families. In the first look, the expression of "cultural capital" is defined as the overall view of family educational background, habitus, preferences and aesthetic behaviors due to social structure with concentration on having of lacking excellent artistic forms (drawing, music, literature and theatre) that will be coordinated with a certain combination of triple cultural capitals (Weininger, 2006). Based on this, each member of family benefits from unique pattern of artistic taste that even affect the academic failure or success (scientific or educational) of children; although, on the other hand, cultural capital is not ineffective on the main reproduction mechanism of social hierarchy (Hayes, 2004). Generally, it is based on good tastes, the desired life style and cognitive growth that the selection and acceptance of common cultural products in families are fulfilled to lead to formation of habitus in children and then it is through educational media that it increases or decreases (Mirza Beygi, 2015, pp. 88-89).

Cultural capital is very close to lifestyle concept of Max Weber that includes special skills, taste, manner of speaking, educational documents and behavioral methods through which individuals distinguish themselves from others as Weber considers lifestyle as a kind of behavior directed by desires and the life chances provide the ground for its emergence (Rikowski, 2008, p. 149).

In sociology, life style has three applied concepts: style of life, stylization of life and life conduct. Stylization of life indicates the individuals' selections; however, life conduct means the probability of fulfillment of selections, manner of spending leisure time, consumption pattern and cultural products including indices of life style which is the most important one (Fazli, 2012, p. 28).

Cultural capital could be defined as the individual's ability in exploitation and use of cultural products and the literal-speech capabilities. Hayes (2004) considers the expression of cultural capital as representative of all forces such as family background, social class, diversified investment and commitment concerning education, various resources and so on that influence the (academic or scientific) success of students. In the first look, cultural capital is defined as benefiting from the culture of social stations, inclines and imaginations (Hayes, 2004).

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital plays some roles in families in three general forms:

1) Embodied state: this capital depends on the body and mind, individual's personal efforts and investment and derived from the individual itself. This capital is the set of mental competencies and knowledge and practical and behavioral skills (Fakhri, 2010).

2) Objectified state: material objects, cultural products and media including compilations, books, paintings and art works are among objectified cultural capital such that utilizing objectified cultural capital depends on the subjective cultural capital of individual (Fakhti, 2010).

3) Institutionalized state: objectification of cultural capital is done through academic and educational documents and degrees that are achieved beyond objective and material cultural assets, mental and living capital and through approved educational degrees legally and institutionally. These documents are valid independent of their owners and are as objective and official document that could be used to compare the families and even it is possible to estimate the rate of transforming such cultural capital to economic capital in respect to monetary value (Fakhri, 2010).

On the other hand, sometimes cultural capital is defined as static cultural capital, i.e. all informed activities and actions of parents and dynamic cultural capital or communicative, i.e. cultural interactions and the relations of parents and children (Ahmadi Asl, 2012). Some experimental evidences show that cultural capital has some roles in communities' subcultures ethnically, politically, racially and religiously such that the cultural inside the group turns into capital and the social hierarchy will be fulfilled in human interaction (Zanakis, 2011, p. 90).

According to Jenkins, the cultural capital of families depends on the achievement of children to various cultural products such as websites, emails, painting works, books and the use of foreign dictionaries (Jenkins, 1992).

DiMaggio (2007) concludes that nowadays the cultural capital measures are mostly influenced by the gender variable such that the presence of women in the excellent cultural events has increased their comparison to men such that in some communities, women have higher share in excellent cultural events, literal books reading, participation in art classes and highbrow/ high culture (DiMaggio, 2007, p. 161).

Cultural products include those items that define a distinct manner of social life thus, the covering style, decorative devices and cultural locations such as libraries, mosques, holly shrines, and intellectual affiliated locations such as coffee shops, cinemas, cultural centers, sport halls, coffee shops and other known spaces such as cultural centers could be considered in this category.

Sullivan (2002) in his study entitled, "Cultural capital and educational achievements (or acceptance in university)" has classified cultural capital of family in three categories:

a. Activities that could be identified in three sections:

1. Study: Depending on the type and number of books that an individual studies in a time interval, reading newspaper or use of library.

2. Watching television: watching some programs with scientific, artistic, political and cultural subjects.

3. Participation in art areas: visiting art museums, presence in theatre halls.

b. Cultural knowledge: Recognition of cultural personalities, scientists, policymakers, poems and artists.

c. Language: verbal skills and the vocabulary range of individuals (Rezaei, 2014).

Lowiek (2005) considers the education level of parents, the number of books in the house and participation in artistic works as the main measures of cultural capital; Maas and Aschaffenburg (1997) consider familiarization with cultural symbols of elite class and their ability in making use of them and Dumais (2006) considers the visit of art museums or historical places, participation in playwriting and having cultural and lingual competencies as the main measures of cultural capital. Verner (2004) considers being fan of reading, the number of books in the house, parents' educational level, interest in writing as indicators of cultural capital, Werfhorst (2010) considers parents' educational level, visiting art museums, watching theatre during the year and the rate of reading non text books during the week, and Robson (2003) considers visiting museums, going to exhibition, membership in library, interest in writing as the indicators of cultural capital (Rezaei, 2014). However, Gaddis (2012) considers four main indicators of cultural capital as going to museum, theatre, cultural centers and having habit of studying (Gaddis, 2012).

Warde (2011) considers the rate of watching television, interest in movie, music, reading, conceptual arts, attention to sport, watching sport activities, physical training, consideration of body health, wearing pattern, architecture and decoration of home applicants and lifestyle as the indicators of cultural capital.

Segre and Bucci (2009) have tested three predicting patterns of cultural reproduction, cultural mobility and cultural resources for determination of the output of cultural capital on the educational status.

Lamont and Lareau both present applicable definition of cultural capital. According to them, cultural capital is institutionalized when it accompanies superior

cultural symbols such as inclines, preferences, official recognition, behaviors, objectives and educational documents and leads to social and cultural differentiation. They take into account the tangible cultural capitals such as buildings, structures, cultural places/ cultural heritage, historical buildings, personal cultural products such as paintings and statues (Sullivan, 2002, p. 165).

It could be claimed that there are two main origins for cultural capital that are habitus in family life and education. The former is formed and developed inside the family and the latter out of family. Nevertheless, education is one of the main variables that could be replaced for family habitus since it could teach taste, morality and some trends to individuals which make them closer to a certain place.

For some theorists, cultural capital is diversified knowledge and skills and for Burks and Volk, cultural capital is used to refer to the flexible capabilities of human communities for dealing with environment and its modification (Azad, 2012).

Smith (2006) views cultural capital according to its habitus nature and considers it as including some dimensions such as objective knowledge about different varieties of art and cultures, tastes and preferences and formal features (such as knowledge, academic document and passing artistic skills courses) and finally cultural skills (Smith, 2006, p. 224).

There are mutual relations between life style and cultural capital such that cultural capital of individual or family could lead to creation of some lifestyles and at the end leads to some changes in cultural capital. Moreover, cultural taste is a function of cultural capital; thus, those benefiting from different cultural capital will have different lifestyle and consumption pattern.

Austin (1991) refers to different varieties concerning the students' typology and classification. The mentioned types in his approach are scholarly type that focuses on academic and scientific success; social activist type that considers mostly political influence and social values and artistic type which is creative and innovative works are valuable; hedonist type has leadership skills and enjoys ceremonies; social type thinks of social success through financial and professional successes and uncommitted type has no certain expectation of education or occupational dreams (Austin, 1991, pp. 36-46). Based on the findings of DiMaggio and Mohr (1985), the effect of cultural capital of family on male children in lower classes of society is more.

Hayes (2004) believes that cultural capital has direct relation with parents' education but indirect relation with economic status of family; i.e. the higher is the parents' education, the higher will be cultural capital of family; however, high economic status cannot bring about high cultural capital. Thus, cultural capital

depends on a set of forces and various resources such as family economic background, social class and various educational investments that could affect the educational success. According to Boudon, the education- related condition is different for social classes such that if a child of a worker wants to become a lawyer, he should benefit from higher level of perfectionism than the child of a family of intermediate class. To the same extent, degradation of social rank happens much more difficult for child of intermediate families than the child of working class which makes the children of intermediate class seek more valid educational options than the children of working class (Hayes, 2004).

Moreover, McKay (2004) asserts that social literacy develops through family, school, university and even working environment as a social characteristic in individuals. On the other hand the education of parents has positive effects on the educational progress of their children in school. Although in Iran, there is no meaningful relation between educational level of father and educational progress of children in university in case of their mother being housewife (Azad, 2012); according to Bourdieu, cultural capital mostly transfers from family to children rather than school (DiMaggio, 1982, pp. 189-201). Although Rikowski (2006) claims that Bourdieu considers cultural capital that is to some extent subjective and increases always through schools and universities as equal to objective labor force (Rikowski, 2006). Bourdieu considers three features for cultural capital: 1. It transfers to children gradually and progressively; 2. It is manifested in form of educational documents 3. It has social reproduction mechanism in developed capitalist communities (Sullivan, 2002, p. 165).

Fan (2007) in his studies found that in China, family has direct influence on children education such that the valuable educational opportunities are exclusively available to the families who have high economic, social and cultural capital. The educational level of parents and number of children have some relation with educational success and at the end, the father's education is more effective than mother's education. Moreover, Dumais (2002) considers the students' score as a function of intelligence, social class and their habitus and considers the cultural capital of parents just effective on educational progress of female students and occupational expectations of male children and the selection of type of school as a function of occupation and cultural capital of families (Zanakis, 2011, p. 85). On the other hand, Fan and Chen (2001) in their study, contrary to the mentioned approaches, consider four different factors, i.e. the association of parents with school, family's supervision on the students' educational matters, the relation between parents and children and at

the end, the aspirations and expectations of parents of their children education effective on their education progress. Moreover, they believe that from these factors, the role of aspirations and expectations of parents in formation of the children's believe in the value of academic education which is the most influential on educational progress so that the parents regulate their educational planning to provide the condition of preparation of children for entrance in university (Jacob, 2010, p. 12).

As Bucci and Segre (2011) declare, in most theoretical studies on economic growth, the influential role of cultural capital has not been taken seriously (Bucci, 2011). Cultural capital plays different role in educational success in non-western communities especially in southeast of Asia compared to western communities and in terms of family, parents cause inequality in achievement of educational and occupational success of their children by inheriting material, human, social and specially cultural investments (Chavoshbashi, 2013, p. 24). According to Lareau (2003) in social hierarchy, occupational situation has higher value compared to specialized skill and knowledge so that Bourdieu intends to make clear distinction between skill and social status following the discussion of document or institutionalized cultural capital (Lareau, 2003). Crook (1997) and De Graaf (2000) realized that educational success are linked to study while this is not the case for participation in artistic activity and the educational progress depends on educational resources such as cognitive and analytical skills that both are related to study instead of participation in cultural- artistic associations (Trope, 2002). According to Bourdieu, the children of low classes (worker and farmer) suffer from clear distinction between family culture and school due to cultural dominance of governing educational system and confront with a cultural and social world which is different from family and will suffer from some problems and conflicts (Gold Trop, 2007). Taking this approach, one of the reasons for youth migration from rural areas to urban areas becomes clear as in contemporary communities. The family is not the only source of cultural capital transmission but the educational centers have also a considerable role in this regard. Nowadays, the incline of a great portion of cultural capitals to the dimension of information shows the necessity for making wide communication, i.e. social actors could access the producers of knowledge just by increasing the range of activities and areas of communicative networks. In this case, due to lack of different kinds of capital in low-income classes and due to lack of centers and individuals engaged in new information networks in their living area, these people will be deprived from embodied cultural capital and therefore being deprived from material cultural assets leads to reduction of their intellectual cultural capitals. Thus, the main objectives of

this study are the examination of the role of three types of cultural capital (embodied, objectified and institutionalized) in education of children in university based on Pieter Bourdieu approach (1930-2002), Sullivan (2002) and Alen Warde (2011) and determination of the role of each of these triple cultural capital of families in educational success of students. Concerning what was mentioned, the research hypotheses are as follows:

2. Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. The mean index of institutionalized cultural capital (parents' educational degree) of the families whose children are studying in university is less than average level.

Hypothesis 2. The mean index of objectified cultural capital (instruments, places and cultural products) of families whose children are studying in university is higher than average level.

Hypothesis 3. The mean index of embodied cultural capital (habitus) of families whose children are studying in university is higher than average level.

3. Methodology

This study is comparative post-event and the statistical population includes 1013 students of Sharif University of Technology who entered university at 2015, including elite students (member of national foundation of elites) etc. in 11 fields (Electricity Engineering, Chemistry and Oil Engineering, Mechanic Engineering, Computer, Civil Engineering, Aerospace Engineering, Industries Engineering, Mathematical Sciences, Chemistry, Engineering and Science of Materials, Physics) and students of a few similar fields entrance of 2015 at Payame Noor University of Tehran, West branch for comparison. The sample size concerning Cochran's formula is determined 350 students whose have been selected based on probability (Simple Random Sampling). In addition, it was compared with a 94-member sample of students of the same entrance year of Payame Noor University of West Tehran as less successful students so that it would be possible to study the reasons of students' educational success of Sharif University of Technology (entrance of 2015) concerning the role of their families' cultural capital. The constructor-made and pretested questionnaire including three parts, 24 closed, open and semi-closed questions and 76 questions have been used for data collection on the variables related to research from students of Sharif and Payame Noor universities, entrance of 2015. The intended questionnaire has been designed based on previous studies, research objectives and theoretical studies. For

examination of questionnaire in terms of validity and reliability, various methods have been used. After preparation of questionnaire and before its final implementation, each question and the whole questionnaire have been evaluated by the students and experts who had positive view concerning validity and reliability. However, it could be expected that the questionnaire used in this study has sufficient content and face validity. For calculation of Cronbach's Alpha, a questionnaire with 85 items has been pretested by SPSS software. Using the information obtained from this questionnaire scores have been calculated through Cronbach's Alpha. This value indicates that the used questionnaire benefits from required reliability.

Table1. The reliability of research variables

Independent variables	Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha
Embodied cultural capital (habitus)	0.7426	
Objectified cultural capital (tools, places and cultural products)	0.8755	
Institutionalized cultural capital (Parents' educational degree)	0.7556	0.8052
Effective economic capital	0.7683	
Social capital (social interactions)	0.8842	

As can be seen in above table, Alpha coefficient for all variables is acceptable. Data have been analyzed using inferential statistics method (Kolmogorov-Smirnov normality test, structural equation modeling, and a combination of detention analysis, multivariate regression, correlation coefficient and path analysis) using SPSS and Amos version 22.

4. Research Findings

For investigation of the normality of distribution of research variables, Kolmogorov-Smirnov test has been used. Kolmogorov- Smirnov normality test has been performed on research variables. The statistical hypothesis is as follows:

H₀: Data are normal (Data have been derived from normal population)

H₁: Data are not normal (Data have not been derived from normal population)

If the significance level of test is more than 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected and it could be concluded that the distribution of data related to variable has not meaningful difference with normal distribution. As reported in the table 2, the significance level of all variables is bigger than 0.05 which indicates that data has normal distribution.

Table 2. The normality test of research variables

Kolmogorov- Smirnov		
Variable	Z statistics	Significance level
Embodied cultural capital (habitus)	1.148	0.143
Objectified cultural capital (tools, places and cultural products)	0.725	0.670
Institutionalized cultural capital (parents' educational degree)	0.782	0.575
Effective economic capital	0.684	0.737
Social capital (social interactions)	0.795	0.552

5. Modeling of Structural Equations

The modeling of structural equations is a combination of detention analysis and multivariate regression analysis.

In this method, the general test of model includes measuring model (examination of reliability and validity) and structural modeling test (path coefficient and explained variance).

Thus, in this part, we will test the structural validity (measurement device) and the goodness of fit test of the intended structure using Amos software by having the data related to variables taken from hypotheses.

After running the program and applying required changes; the fitted model, hypotheses and the relations mentioned in the research appeared as follows. The structural model of success or failure of children in entrance to university has dealt with testing the structural validity of measuring instrument of success or failure of students and goodness of fit test of its structure. In evaluation process, most indicators of latent variables have been appropriated loaded on them. It worth noting that the factor loads and explained variance of each structure and its components are shown on the figures.

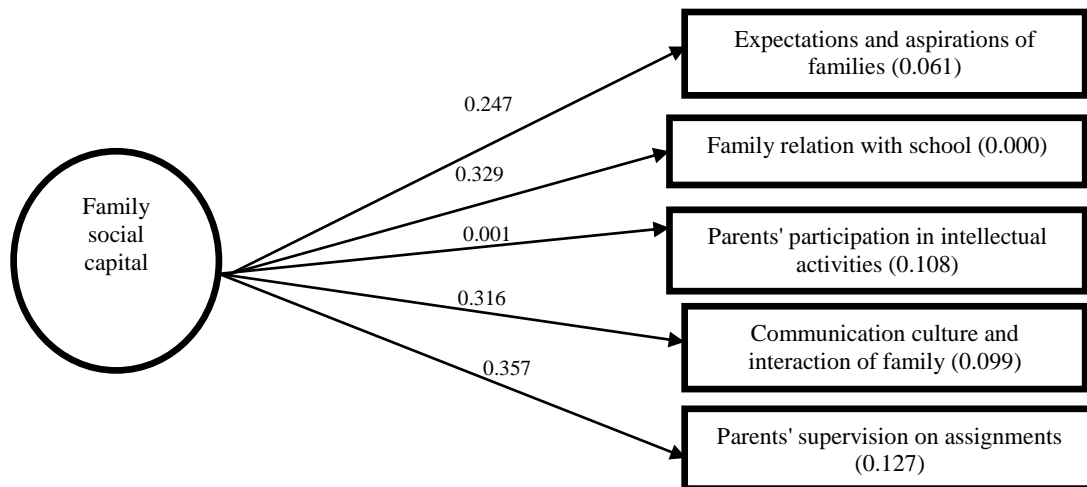


Figure 1. Confirmatory analysis model of family social capital structure

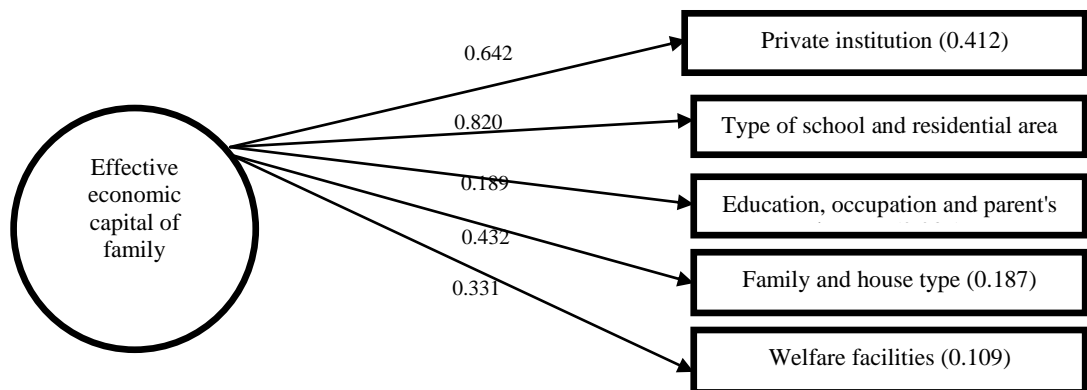


Figure 2. Confirmatory analysis model of effective family economic capital

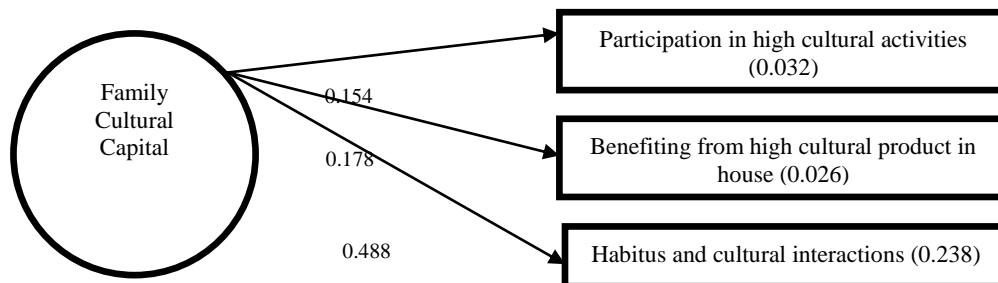


Figure 3. Confirmatory analysis model of family cultural capital

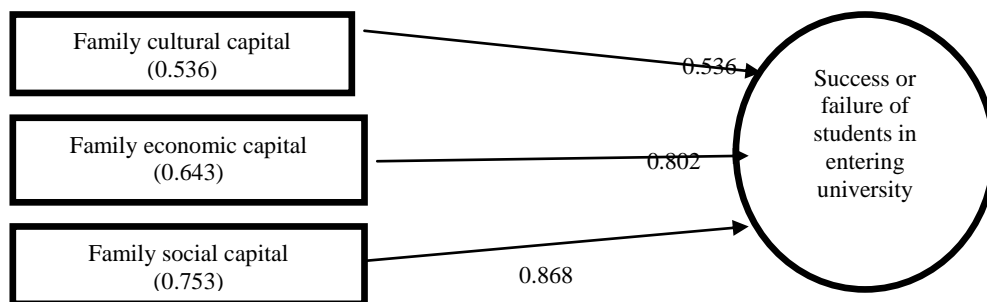


Figure 4. Confirmatory analysis model of success or failure of students in entering university

Table 3. The calculation of direct effects of independent structures with dependent variable on children's acceptance at university

Effect	Paths	Indirect effects based on β coefficients	Direct effects based on β coefficients
Economic capital	The effect of effective family economic capital on university acceptance	0.432	
Social capital	The effect of family social capital on university acceptance	0.417	
Economic capital	The effect of effective economic capital on university acceptance		0.662
Social capital	The effect of social capital on family cultural capital in university acceptance		0.573

In the following figure, the direct and indirect effects of effective economic, social and cultural capital of family for acceptance in university has been drawn. The direct and indirect effect of effective economic capital of family for acceptance of children in university is more than social capital.

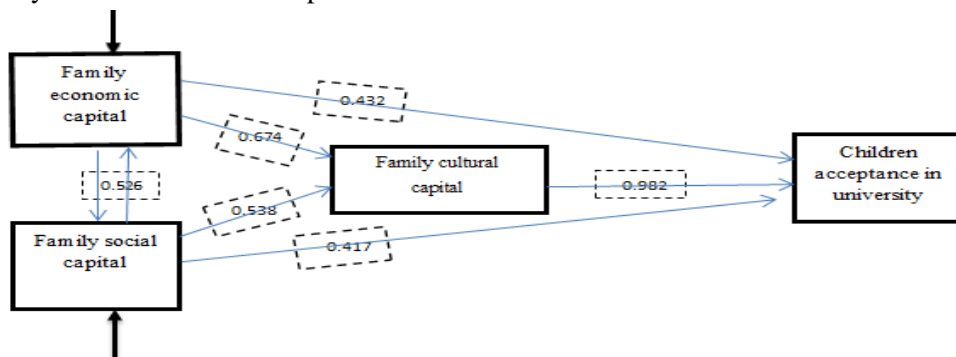


Figure 5. Path analysis of effective factors on children acceptance in university

Table 4. Correlation coefficient of objectified cultural capital with variables

Name of variables (index)	Test and its level	1	2	3	4	5
Family objectified cultural capital	Correlation coefficient	1				
	Significance level	0				
Family embodied cultural capital	Correlation coefficient	0.195	1			
	Significance level	0.000	0			
Institutionalized cultural capital	Correlation coefficient	0.011	-0.071	0		
	Significance level	0.827	0.140	0		
Family effective economic capital	Correlation coefficient	-0.062	0.167	0.009	1	
	Significance level	0.194	0.00	0.855	0	
Family social capital	Correlation coefficient	0.482	0.276	-0.018	0.072	1
	Significance level	0.000	0.00	0.704	0.133	0

6. Conclusion

Cultural capital theory emphasizes the relation between education, family and social class that considers the effect of quadratic aspects of cultural capital (benefiting from intellectual culture, habit to study, cultural communications and resources) on educational success during the education as being different. However, the measurement of the effect of dominant culture and value of education in any society compared to the culture of other society is not that much easy and the cultural capital due to benefiting from official education is affected by the dominant habitus including attitudes and normal values (Sullivan, 2002). Some researchers such as Segre and Bucci (2009) have tested three predicting model of cultural reproduction, cultural mobility and cultural resources for determination of the efficiency of cultural capital on education status. Lamont and Lareau present an applied definition of cultural capital. According to them, the cultural capital is institutionalized when it accompanies the high cultural signs such as attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, objectives and educational degree and leads to social and cultural differentiation. On the other hand, from tangible cultural capitals such as buildings, structures, cultural locations, cultural heritage, historical buildings, personal cultural products such as paintings and statues are mentioned (Sullivan, 2002, p. 165). Two origins could be considered for cultural capital, one is habitus in family life and the other education. The former is formed inside the family and the latter outside the family; however, education is one of the most important variables that could be replaced for family habitus since it could teach taste, morality and lifestyles to individuals that make him closer to certain place.

Some theorists consider cultural capital as diversified knowledge and skills, Burks and Volkboth use cultural capital to refer to flexible capabilities of human resources

for dealing with environment and its modification (Azad, 2012). Smith considers the habitus nature of cultural capital and considers it as including some dimensions such as objective knowledge about various types of art and culture, cultural tastes and preferences of formal features (such as knowledge, academic degree and passing art skills) and cultural skills (Smith, 2006, p. 224). There is mutual relation between lifestyle and cultural capital since cultural capital of individual or family could lead to some life styles and at the end make the cultural capital experience some changes and cultural taste is also considered as a function of cultural capital. Thus, individuals benefiting from different cultural capital will have different lifestyle and consumption pattern. Concerning student typology, Austin refers to students' classification in different ways. The types mentioned in his approach are scholarly type that focuses on academic and scientific success; social activist type that considers mostly political influence and social values and artistic type which is creative and innovative works are valuable (Austin, 1991, pp. 36-46). The meanings related to aim of education could be affected by social and cultural effects including the parents' expectation, the governing culture of educational centers, social values, and main social variations that at the end influence the individual experience of education. In addition to these meanings that the students have from education, it is affected by various forms of social effects. In this study, in order to achieve the embodied cultural capital index within the respondents, the variables of pre-university GPA, the rate of reading non-textbooks, presence in scientific sessions and the rate of respondents' success and some expressions in realm of habitus are used such as number of studying textbooks and non-textbooks, literature, educational motivation, collective scientific activities, economic dependency from family, materialism and interest in art.

To achieve objective cultural capital index (instruments, locations and cultural products) within respondents, some variables have been used including the number of non-textbooks, the number of art words, the number of studied books, studying textbooks, learning drawing and painting, art activities, knowledge of foreign language, use of internet, participation in sport classes. The results of this study showed that in objective cultural capital index (instruments, locations and cultural products), the amount of objective cultural capital of student has been less than average or equal to it. Moreover, in order to achieve institutionalized cultural capital (education degree) within respondents, the last educational degree of parents has been used. The results of this study show that in institutionalized cultural capital (educational degree), the amount of institutionalized capital of students has been higher than 3.634. Thus, due to the general approach of educational system (especially

in 12 years of school) which is just based on studying and doing assignments, these wrong habits are formed. The children success in family has reduced to educational success and entrance to the favorite university and accessibility to more profitable course and continuing higher education in higher-income course and at the end to educational melancholia. The talented and successful students have been more engaged in studying on contrary to the past; however, they just study textbooks and what they don't show any interest is to study of non-textbooks due to lack of researcher spirit. Despite increased educational level (increased institutionalized capital) of family, the embodied cultural capitals (habitus) and objectified capital are both not at desired level in family of students. The reason for emergence of such phenomenon in Iranian family is commercialization of science and limitation of education system (from education organization to higher education) to development of intelligence quotient (IQ) without consideration of development of analytical, critical, emotional and social intelligence and other talents and creativities of students. It should be accepted that the current educational system has not taken any positive action for balanced promotion of triple cultural capitals of family especially students.

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