



The Role of Family and Teachers on Art Choice of Students- The Example of Fine Arts High School

Hasan Sankır ¹, Şebnem Sankır ²

Abstract

In the study, the main factors influencing the artistic orientation of the students (choice of art branch and art school) and how families and teachers influence the orientation of students who pursue a career at the field of art have been analyzed. The quantitative data of the study reveal the main factors influencing students' choice of art branch and art school. The qualitative data obtained from semi-structured interviews provide an in-depth understanding of how families mobilize their cultural, economic and social capital they possess with different degrees and structures and the functioning of this process. In addition, it highlights the various social factors such as recognition of talent by teachers, supporting and guiding talent to choose art education and the resources used in this process. In this study, family has emerged to be a significant source as the initial accumulation of every kind of useful cultural capital and a place of transmission of diverse capitals across generations in the artistic tendency. Students' familiarity with the art field, embodiment of behavior and attitudes have begun in childhood. The artistic characteristics, interests and occupations of the family members were reproduced by the next generations and this also included their school and subject choices. The cultural capital they acquired through the process of family socialization did not only affect the cultural interests, mental tendencies and preferences of the students who chose art, but also shaped their habitus. It also provided an understanding of the "rules of the game" in advance in the field of art and what they should do. In addition, discovering talent at an early age, belief in talents' ability, supportive and guiding approach of teachers have a decisive influence on the students' choice of art.

Keywords

Sociology of art and culture
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¹ Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Department of Sociology, Turkey, hsankir@gmail.com

² Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Department of Sociology, Turkey, sankirsbnm@gmail.com

Introduction

Among the sociologists who have, in recent years, taken the artist as their subject, Bourdieu (1999) and Becker (1982) offer some of the most challenging ideas to the field (as cited in Zolberg, 1990). Bourdieu argues that as the artist's identity come to exist gradually in the social mechanism, artists should be studied within the field of production, as being its product. His definition of the social conditions of the production of art field is not limited to the work of the artist only. In this context, Bourdieu's artistic field not only takes its producers (artists, writers, etc.) into account, but also considers agents and institutions that participate in the production of the value of art such as critics, collectors, intermediaries, museum directors, art historians, publishers, academies, halls, juries (Bourdieu, 1999, p.351-352). It also includes political and administrative authorities that can have an impact on the art market. Bourdieu (1999) stated that teachers and parents should not be disregarded, "the science of art,... not to mention the members of institutions which work towards the production of producers (schools of fine arts, etc.) and towards the production of consumers capable of recognizing the work of art as such, that is, as a value, starting with teachers and parents, in charge of the initial inculcation of artistic dispositions" (p. 352).

Bourdieu (1999, p. 352) sees teachers and parents responsible for the artist's production and of initial inculcation of artistic dispositions. In addition to this, he indicated that the family and teachers have an important role in the production of individuals who recognize the artwork, that is equipped with symbolic meanings in this system, as a value, in other words in the production of "art public". There are very few studies in the field of sociology of art and education aimed at the key influence of teachers and families on children's art orientations (art high school and subject choices). Studies in the field of educational sociology reveal that individuals' future orientations are a process related to their experiences, backgrounds and who they are. In addition, studies show that the school has different impacts on achieving students' educational objectives (McDonough, 1997; Reay, David, & Ball, 2001; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015).

This study contributes to the literature from three different aspects. First, Bourdieu defines artist as a result of social production (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 354). Although the works of Bourdieu at the field of the sociology of art shed light on how artist and artwork are created historically and socially (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 354; 441-48), the studies investigating influences of teachers and parents, whom Bourdieu regards as responsible for the production of creators and of initial inculcation of artistic dispositions, on students' decision-making process to choose art remain inadequate. The study aims to contribute to the literature.

Secondly, for the emergence of artistry, both sociologists and social-psychologists acknowledge that the role of social factors is important in terms of determining, recognizing and supporting artistic talent (Zolberg, 1990, pp. 116-117). This study examines the influence of class based family, teachers and their social capital in explaining artistic tendency of candidates. The institutional habitus, that is developed by Bourdieu and adopted to school context, (McDonough, 1997; Reay et al., 2001) was used to reveal the influence of schools. Habitus and cultural capital were used to understand the effect of the family. Both approaches were adapted from "habitus" theory developed by Bourdieu into the context of family and school. This study also uses Bourdieu's concept of social capital, which is another key concept of him. While there is few study (Liu & Morgan, 2016) combined these three effects together to investigate students' higher education choices in context of Chinese, there isn't any study investigating these three effects on art choices.

Thirdly, in the Turkish context, there is not any research investigating art orientations of students studying in art high schools. For that reason, art high school was studied as a topic especially. In the Western literature, there are many studies conducted by different disciplines in terms of the motivations of creative individuals and to pursue a career in art. In these studies, factors such as commercial recognition and monetary reward, economic and symbolic success, artistic freedom and autonomy seeking, sense of self-realization, and the pursuit of passions are mentioned as attractive reasons behind individuals' art making (Lindemann, 2013; Muñiz Jr, Norris, & Alan Fine, 2014; Tepper & Lindemann, 2014; Lingo & Tepper, 2013; Rodner & Kerrigan, 2014; Gerber & Childress, 2017). In the psychic income model of Menger (1999, 2006), he argues that the expectations behind the pursuit of artistic careers cannot be understood from the point of classical economic theory, that explain in the sense of economic income. He points out that artistic works are attractive from the aspects such as high degree of autonomy, giving a sense of self-realization, providing a unique way of life, strong sense of sociality, low routine and high recognition for successful artists (symbolic capital).

While there are researches, investigating motivations behind the school and art subject choice of students at higher education level and conducted by different disciplines such as educational sciences, psychology and sociology (Brook, 2013; Tepper & Lindemann, 2014; Daniel & Johnstone, 2017), these studies are few in number and students' reasons for choosing a subject are not specifically included in the questionnaires, which also stated by Daniel and Johnstone (2017). For example Brook (2013), in his study on students enrolled in the creative writing program of the literature faculties in Austria, remarked that the symbolic capital of the cultural area is an attractive option especially for students from middle and lower socio-economic income groups. In the study of Elias and Berg-Cross (2009) that investigated motivations of 54 painter enrolled at two art school in America, he identified three motivational constructs for the fine (visual) artist. While "visionary artist" model defines self-express on being an artist, the motivation of "self-actualised artist" model is focused to define itself on understanding the surroundings better. The artist who is oriented towards customers or financial return is positioned in "commodity model".

Another is the research by Luftig et al. (2003) that is investigating 544 higher education students enrolled in different art related disciplines in the state of Ohio, USA. In the questionnaire, while the reasons of students for pursuing tertiary study in the arts were not specifically asked, the authors attributed this to students' commitment and for the love of the fields they were studying (18). One of the recent studies on the motivation of students studying in artistic fields is Daniel and Johnstone (2017). In this study, conducted on a sample of 120 students studying performance and creative arts at an art school in Australia, students stated that they chose to study higher education in their own field because of the opportunity to focus on creative areas. Besides, as the motivations behind their artistic career, the reasons such as personal satisfaction and autonomy are found to be more important than the reasons such as monetary gains and social status.

This study, that aims to explore main factors influencing students' decision making for pursuing high school study in the arts and especially focusing on teachers' and families' influence in this process in Turkish context, consists of five sections. In the next section, arts education in Turkey has been elaborated. Then the specific rules of the art field and the characteristics of artistic careers are discussed. Thirdly, the concepts of habitus, capitals, social class and the theoretical relations between them are defined. Fourthly, the methodology of the study is described. In the fifth chapter, the findings of the study and the main factors affecting the students' art subject choice and the influences of the family and teachers in shaping students' decision-making process are presented.

Art Education and Fine Arts High Schools in Turkey

The development of fine arts education in Turkey has been handled simultaneously with the efforts of Turkish modernization. Between 1924 and 1950, trainers from abroad were invited to provide counseling especially in the topics of art and education (Gürelli, 2016, p.24). In 1989, Anatolian fine arts high schools were opened in Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir. The opening of Anatolian fine arts schools is considered as one of the most important developments in the context of directing talented and interested students to the field of art immediately after the secondary school education (Çelebilik & Nas, 2011, p. 182). Today (2017-2018 year) there are 81 fine arts high schools in 71 provinces across Turkey. In these schools, which accept students according to their scores taken at special talent exams related to their specialized fields, there are 30 student quotas for each of the music and visual arts fields, but in a few schools, the music department is divided into music, folk music and art music. In these schools, there are 2700 candidates in the music branch, 150 in the folk music branch, 90 in the art music branch and 2850 in the visual arts branch. There are 5790 students across Turkey (Ministry of Education [MEB], 2016, 2018a).

Although an increase in the total number of fine arts high schools parallel to the fine arts faculties in Turkey has occurred, a reduction in the number of people aspiring to attain fine arts education has been observed (For an evaluation on the number and quotas: Aslan, 2015; MEB, 2018b). Removal of the additional point advantage given to art schools during the transition to higher education (Aslan, 2015), lack of adequate awareness and interest of educationalists and the society to art (Yige, 2017, p. 6), lack of incentives effort to art education in Turkey are the problems encountered in this field. Students graduated from these schools usually prefer the faculties of the universities that take students with special talents.

Art Field and Rules

According to Bourdieu, social space is composed of many social fields such as art, literary, scientific, economic, religious, education and sports. The autonomy of a social space starts by identifying its specific purpose. Individuals involved in a field act in accordance with the objectives of this field and struggle to acquire or maintain capital specific to this field. As a social agent, the individual is located in the field through the social positions and transforms or preserves the structure with the strategies appropriate to their social positions (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016, s.122).

Bourdieu defines art field as a place where the economic world is reversed and based on the quality of symbolic goods. According to him, the field of art is bipolar, "art for art sake" and "art for society" and here there is a reverse economic process, in which the economic is neglected in the short term. The autonomous pole of pure art rejects the artist's dependence on external demands (2006, p.147). In the heteronomous pole of commercial art, there is the economic logic of the artistic industries, where immediate success is the commercial success, and move towards popular demand (Bourdieu, 1999, pp.228-229). "Autonomous / commercial" or "pure / heteronomous" poles, which are in completely opposite positions, constitute the basic rules of the art field. In other words, according to these two opposing values of the artistic field, the artists are either continuing or changing the rules of the game. (Bourdieu, 2006, pp. 65-66). According to Bourdieu, to obtain symbolic gains of art field in the long term without having to work in a second job, seems to have a large proportion of economic, cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1999, pp. 391-394).

Studies on artistic careers (Scarborough, 2017; Gerber & Childress, 2017; Flisbäck, 2014; Kleppe, 2017; Bain, 2005; Oakley, 2009; Lingo & Tepper, 2013) unfold that artistic careers exhibit a structure with two different outputs and each is located in completely opposite positions. At the one side of this structure, there is a group of winners with a small minority who earn a lot of money, while the opposite pole has a large majority with low and uncertain income when their economic and social situation are

examined. In addition, dependence on intermediaries, long working hours, and lack of economic support are only a few of the problems of this majority (Silva, 1999; Menger, 1999; 2006; Flisbäck, 2014; Lena & Lindemann, 2014; Tepper & Lindemann, 2014; Gerber & Childress, 2017). When we look at the economic and social situation of the artists, having low and uncertain income, intermediary dependencies, long working hours, not having an adequate economical support are just some of the problems that artists are facing (Silva, 1999; Menger, 1999). Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), who conducted a qualitative study on the working conditions of three cultural industries, including television, music, and magazine, reached similar results (income, working hours, precariousness and uncertainty in predicting their future). In this sense, starting an artistic area can be described as a risky effort, except in a few different situations that can only be expected to yield significant returns (Flisbäck, 2014, p.55). Studies on large sample groups related to the artistic labor markets show that the income inequality of the artists earning less than employees in the same reference category. So many artists who have suffered financial difficulties seem to have to do other things like teaching, journalism, criticism or taxi driving (Menger, 2006, p. 5; Silva, 1999; Bourdieu, 1999, p.348-49).

As summarized above, art field exhibits a similar situation in the context of Turkey. Artists try to exist in a rather gray area where they struggle with low incomes and high unemployment. Efforts in the provision of social security rights of artists constitute one of the quite problematic areas in Turkey. (Caniklioğlu & Özkaraca, 2014, p. 662-3; Peksan & Tosun, 2014, p.223; Çırık, 2011; Erdoğan, 2009). Studies revealed that the regulations in the laws are not sufficient and are not compatible with the basic principles of the social security law. Together with these two parliamentary elections in Turkey, the war in Syria, fluctuations in the economic field and growing terror attacks have increased security and political uncertainty concerns in Turkey (OECD, 2016, p. 12; IMF, 2016, p. 4), and this condition produce various affects in the art market such as the decrease in the number of art activities, the decrease in the consumption of art, the differentiation in the state support to art (Oktay, 2017).

Despite the large uncertainties that artists have to struggle with, there has been a steady increase in the number of artists in all areas of art (artistic employment) over the past 30 years and artists have not withdrawn as expected from their artistic careers (Menger, 2006, p. 12). According to Bourdieu, participation in a field fall into the situational connections between a habitus and a field. In fact, this participation is the connection in itself and is the result of harmony. It is important to think in the context of the habitus, because the habitus-field relationship shows us how people go after their passions (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 151-152). In addition, habitus is important in terms of indicating the recognition of the rules and awards of the field. For example, the most successful students in the field of education are those that are the best prepared to the expectations of the school in their families. Without awareness it, they have acquired a habitus that allows them to know what to do in order to succeed in school, that is, how to "play" in this field (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016, p. 124). Habitus's sense of play presents itself under the view aiming for a successful future (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2016, p. 115).

Analytical Tools

Habitus

Bourdieu offers researchers a comprehensive conceptual architecture where social practices can be analyzed. This study used Bourdieu's concepts of space, habitus and capital to unfold the effects of the family and teachers on the students who decided to study at the art high school. Bourdieu arguing that as embodied in the body, habitus is acquired tendencies shaping the preferences of social agencies in different fields of their practices such as kitchen, sport, music or politics. Specifically, it should be emphasized that the habitus represents the whole practices of the agent or individuals of the same social class (2015, p. 255). In this way, social space gives us the characteristics of different social classes, in other words, the habitus of each class / group (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 21). Similarly, the habitus of the same

class produces practices that combine at the same point. In addition, the habitus shows that even the individuality is collective. Habitus is a socialized subjectivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2016, p. 115-116). Bourdieu (2015) expresses the conditions under which the habitus, as an abstract representation, is produced, "The mere fact that the social space described here can be presented as a diagram indicates that it is an abstract representation, deliberately constructed, like a map, to give a bird's-eye view, a point of view on the whole set of points from which ordinary agents see the social World" (p. 253).

Bourdieu suggests that different living conditions lead to different habituses as well as the practices, being the production of different habituses, have been emerged as systemic configurations of goods. (2015, p. 255). Habitus, as being both structuring and structured structures, had internalized. Bourdieu indicates that life-styles are perceived by habitus forms. (2015, p. 255-57). Bourdieu notes that habitus is embodied in body as acquired tendencies and shapes the 'preferences' of agents (2015, p. 255). According to Bourdieu's main idea; by rising in "a social space", the agency endowed with a certain taste with classificatory judgements and system of classification of these practices. It allows him the capacity to differentiate and appreciate to these practices. Differences are a sign and are embodied in all actors.

Having a broad definition of the habitus concept, to understand the conditions of production of habitus require an understanding of Bourdieu's field theory. Because the habitus is built in the space which is shaped by the structure and volume of cultural and economic capital and the evolution of these two capitals over time (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 177). In Bourdieu's field theory, while the agents are distributed according to different sizes and types of total volume of the capital they possess, in the second dimension the agents are distributed according to relative weight of the economic and cultural capital (2006, p. 20; 2015, p. 255). It is especially important to detail Bourdieu's definition of capital. Because the two major organizational principles of social space dominate the structure of the space of cultural consumption or, more generally, the structure and evolution of the space of all life-style (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 262). While classifying social classes according to the size and structure of the capital, Bourdieu mainly focused on the cultural capital and social capital, as the main interest of him (2016, p. 68). Bourdieu states that the accumulation of objectified and embodied capital take time, tend to continue its existence as having a potential capacity to produce profits and reconstruct itself in an expanded manner (1986, p. 46).

Cultural capital exists in three ways: objectified, embodied and institutionalized. Institutional forms are recognized as official certificates such as academic degrees and diplomas. Objectified forms are manifested in cultural sources such as books, encyclopedias, musical instruments, paintings, paintings or works of art. Embodied cultural capital is seen as the long-lasting tendencies of mind and body (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47). The transformation of the embodied capital into an integral part of the person into his habitus is not immediately occurred because the social conditions of the intergenerational transition and cultural capital from the family are quite unconsciously acquired. In this respect, it requires a certain amount of time and effort (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 48).

In addition, a cultural competence acquired as a cultural capital (for example, reading in a world without literacy) is a rare asset, and it provides distinction profits for those who have. But the most powerful principle of the symbolic activity of cultural capital lies in its indisputable logic. The differences in cultural capital acquired from the family mean the first differences in the age at which transition and accumulation begin (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 49). The objectified cultural capital used as a force in the fields of cultural production, such as the art field, and becomes a fruitful capital in the investment process (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 50). The concept of cultural capital encourages the researches investigating the cultural practices that children bring from their families into the classrooms and affect their academic achievement in the sociology of education.

Bourdieu tries to construct clear definitions of social capital, and says that the word “relations” in ordinary language can give a heuristic idea about the meaning of social capital (Bourdieu, 2016, p. 69). Bourdieu defined the social capital as having a long-lived network and a set of potential resources that provide a reference to its members. According to him, the basis of this solidarity lays creating multiplier effect on the capital possessed by agent. He argues that the network of relationships requires individual or collective investment strategies aiming to transform random relations such as continuity, neighborhood, workplace and kinship into the long-lasting obligations including gratitude, respect or friendship (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 51-53).

In this study, the concepts of habitus, cultural capital and social capital of Bourdieu were used to understand the students' art orientations from different social classes. Through habitus, Bourdieu emphasizes that education-oriented preferences are based on class-based tendencies rather than conscious and rational strategies (Swartz, 2015, p. 273). Habitus and cultural capital refer to the family's economic, social and cultural resources, while emphasizing the tendencies, experiences and views shared by their family members (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015; Reay, 1998, p. 527). Studies on the effects of family background on students' educational preferences have increased (Reay, 1998; Archer et al., 2012).

The concept of organizational habitus was the first described by McDonough (1997), but developed as 'institutional habitus' by Reay (1998) and Reay et al. (2001). Reay expanded Bourdieu's theory to show how the institutional impact works in his work. Reay had demonstrated that perceptions and expectations of choices are constructed in relation to views and recommendations of schoolmates and teachers (Reay et al., 2001, p.3; Reay, 1998, pp. 524-525). Number of researches showing how institutional habitus has an effect on upper level of educational preferences of students studying at universities (Smyth & Banks, 2012), high school (Oliver & Kettle, 2010) and secondary level (Tarabini, Curran, & Fontdevila, 2017) has been increasing continuously. The purpose of this study is to contribute to academic discussions on the effects of schools specific to the art field. This study also concentrates on the habitus of teachers individually (Oliver & Kettle, 2010, p. 740). Thus, it is aiming to show how teachers shape the behaviors and expectations of students in the art field.

Method

Research Questions

In the study, the main factors influencing the artistic orientation of the students (choosing art subject and art high school) together with the roles of family, teachers and their social capital have been analyzed. The mixed method approach has been used in the study as the purpose of this study is not only to provide a view of whether parents and teachers have an impact on students' choices of art, but also to deeply understand the effects of the family and teachers, as social factors, behind the students' subject and school choice. While the survey data reveal the main factors affecting the students' subject and school choice, semi-structured interviews provided an in-depth and detailed understanding of the influences of family and high school teachers on decision-making of students who choose art as a career field. In this context, the study was organized in two parts. Quantitative and qualitative data were collected in parallel, analyzed separately, and then had been combined to bring a complete understanding (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2015).

One of the positive aspects of quantitative research is that quantitative research measures admit for a comprehensive and systematic description of situations or phenomena (Punch, 2005, p. 228). On the other hand, especially in the field of educational sciences, the explanatory characteristics of the quantitative method are limited and it is insufficient to give meaning to the results (Yıldırım, 1999, p. 9). The most powerful aspect of qualitative research is that it provides the researcher with detailed and

in-depth data about the research problem (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011, p. 96). The main assumption of this research model is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches will provide a much better understanding of the research problem (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2015, p. 5-6). The perspective of this study is consistent with the scientific thinking and practice of Bourdieu. Dewey's pragmatic worldview; in order to give the best answer to research problems, researchers should adopt a pluralist stance that allows them to collect all types of data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2015, 52). Methodologically, Bourdieu combined statistical techniques in his research with direct observations, interactions, discourses and interpretations of documents. By applying the observation and verification process in the most appropriate way to the problem at hand, he has always faced the results obtained by different methods (Wacquant, 2016, p. 57).

Participants

The survey was conducted with 180 participants studying in X art high school located within related city borders on the Black Sea region of Turkey. The reason for choosing this school is that it is the only art high school in the related province boundaries. Secondly, this art high school has students from diversified backgrounds. Thirdly, this school is located in the most advanced location of the region and students have the ability to choose from multiple schools. The whole universe was reached because the number of the universe was small. 180 questionnaires were distributed; 165 questionnaires were returned to us. Six questionnaires out of the 165 were eliminated due to incomplete information. The demographic information of the survey participants has been presented in Appendix 1.

Data Collection and Analysis

Within the scope of this study, a mixed method approach consisting of a large questionnaire and semi-structured interview is adopted. For the first research question, a comprehensive review of the literature, including the researchers conducted in the field and in the context of Turkey, was carried out (Phillippo & Griffin, 2016; Reay & Lucey, 2000; McDonough, 1997; Tepper & Lindemann, 2014; Daniel & Johnstone, 2017; Aslan, 2016). In this context, a list of preferences for the school and subject choice are composed, including the following items: a) personal interest, b) belief in the relevant field, c) believe that they'll become a good artist, d) teachers' advice and guidance, e) families' guidance, f) expect to get advantage for university, g) easier to find a job, h) good income expectation, i) reputation of the subject, j) advice of friends, k) popularity of the subject, l) cost of package, m) geographical location of the school, n) school entry requirements, o) school's academic reputation, p) school academic quality, r) school boarding, s) school graduates. Based on that, survey questions for quantitative part was designed with two parts. The first part was composed of socio-demographic questions such as age, gender, educational level and occupational status of parents, place of residence. Second part was composed of the topics such as reasons of choosing school and subject. Students were asked for three most important items both for choosing art education and subject and then rank each item. The data collected from the questionnaire was analyzed descriptively via SPSS. Each item score was calculated by summing the value. The sum of the value of each item is shown in Table 1 and Table 2.

For the second research question, semi-structured interviews with 20 students, having strong artistic identity (having artistic ideals, want to be in art field in the future, skilled and identified successful by their teachers), was conducted. Semi-structured interview was consisted of the topics such as their common cultural patterns, their morale values, their school experience, the effect of family, teachers and community on their art direction and motivation and other decisive influences in acquiring artistic orientations. The talks lasted from a minimum of 30 minutes to a maximum of one hour. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim into text for analysis. The demographic information of the students interviewed is presented in Appendix 2. The interviews, that was transcribed and written, were uploaded to the qualitative data analysis software program Maxqda 12+

(VERBI Software, 2016), coded and analyzed by thematic analysis. A code scheme was created based on theory and data. In this study, Bourdieu's concepts gave the initial categories for high-level abstraction. Qualitative interview analysis showed a three-step improvement. In the first stage, a broad coding schema has been created for the data to be coded and analyzed from the data. The answers given to each of the questions in the semi-structured interview form were coded in detail by using Maxqda programme. In the second stage, a more detailed categorization was made by linking the relationship and meaning between the first set of code schema. In the third stage, the data were synthesized and the code diagram was developed and combined with the related categories. In the data analysis, an experienced colleague of the researcher checked the data schema and themes.

Results

Quantitative Findings

Main Reasons for Choosing X Art High School and Subject

Table 1 shows students' reasons in choosing art branches. 'Personal interest' was the main reason for choosing subject. While thinking that they have a talent followed this second place, third place has followed by becoming a good artist. It has been seen that the advice from teachers and guidance of parents were effective factors in art subject choice.

Table 1. Students' Reasons For Choosing Their Subject

	N	Percentage (%)	Sum
Personal interest	121	(76%)	924
Believe that they have a talent	115	(72%)	693
Believe that they become a good artist	105	(66%)	677
Advice from teachers	95	(60%)	518
Guidance from family	83	(52%)	334
Expect to get advantage for university	81	(51%)	305
Easier to find a job	78	(50%)	250
Expect good income	76	(48%)	248
The reputation of this subject	73	(46%)	171
Advice from senior students	65	(41%)	102
Popularity of the subject	62	(39%)	93
Cost of package	62	(39%)	44

Table 2 shows the reasons in choosing X art high school. While looking at the first three reasons of choosing X art high school, the geographical position of the school has taken the first place among them. This is followed by the quality of the education and entry requirements. The fact that the school is boarding and academic reputation have also been important factors in choosing X art high school.

Table 2. Students' Reasons For Choosing X Art High School

	N	Percentage (%)	Sum
Geographical location of school	131	(82%)	932
Education quality of the school	125	(79%)	779
Entry requirements	111	(70%)	597
Boarding	91	(57%)	473
Academic reputation of the school	96	(60%)	385
Previously studied at the school	77	(49%)	239

The Influence of Family and Teachers

The influence of family. It has become clear that for some students family habitus has an important influence on the art orientation of subjects.

“The sound of music has been in our house since the day I was born. My father plays the bağlama (folk instrument in Turkey), sings Türkü (folksongs). My mother plays the oud, sings Türk Sanat Müziği (Classical Turkish Music). I have been playing the violin since I was 9. I took violin lesson. My family always wanted me to build a career in music. My brother and sister were graduated from this art high school. I decided to study this school with their encouragements.” (Art 1, a middle-class male student).

When looking at the families who have graduated from university (5), students from predominate artistic family characteristics have talked about the positive effects of the family habitus and the family attitudes that encourage education in the art field (4/5).

“My mother is a sewing teacher and is very talented in painting. My talent has been recognized firstly by my mother when I was in primary school. My mother side motivated and supported me to choose art high school. My grandfather told that he would give spiritual and financial support. My mother told me that I should study in art high school. Then I found myself in this school with their encouragements.” (Art 2, middle-class male student).

It is understood that the cultural capital acquired from the family is very important in the artistic orientation. It has been seen that with the cultural capital (the accumulation of the objectified and embodied cultural capital) acquired from family, students could get artistic accumulation from the early ages and further influence their decisions to study art in high school.

“I had an interest in music. I have been very influenced by having grown up in a family that has been involved with music and has expressed themselves through art since my childhood. My mother sings Türkü (folksong), Türk Sanat Müziği (“Turkish High Art Music”) and classical music perfectly. My father and my brother sing folk songs and play bağlama (folk instrument). My fathers’ sisters had a great reputation in our region (Z city). They had been invited to sing Türkü in wedding associations. My brother and two sisters have graduated from this school. My family has encouraged me to sing Türkü since my childhood. When I decided to study music in art high school, I have been encouraged. I have been supported by my family all the way.” (Art 19, middle-class female student).

In addition, it has been observed that most of the families possessing high cultural capital and interest in art are more sensitive towards their children at the point of recognizing their children’s artistic ability. They support talents and encourage them to attain art education.

“I started playing guitar at our home when I was in 4th grade. My family always thought that the artistic space is universal. They said to me that I could perform my art everywhere in the world since my childhood. My mother told me the first-time about this school. They told me that I was lucky as a school of fine art was close to our home.” (Art 4, a middle-class male student).

When looking at the artist candidates that none of the members are graduated from university, it is understood that the family has no decisive role on the artistic orientation. It is possible to explain this by the lack of cultural capital of the working-class families. However, it was found out that the family had an important impact on the artistic orientation of the students in the type of family, that has artist among the family members. Among the students interviewed in this group, there was only one family having significant engagement in art field. Family habitus was seen to have an effect on yield profits of distinction for the student of this family. For this student, first accumulation of objectified and embodied cultural capital started from the early ages and family guided him in school and subject choice.

“My interest to music began in my family. Everyone in my family is already a musician. My father, my brother, my uncle, my daughters, my grandfathers ... Darbuka, clarinet, violin, zurna, oud are the most played musical instruments. My father was playing clarinet till the morning. He was always telling about the beautiful aspects of the music. I was playing the clarinet till the morning on weekends as much as I learned from my father. Becoming a musician has always been in my mind, but also to be a police officer was in my mind. But my father has managed to dissuade me. For example, before coming to this school, my father took the initiative for me to perform in ‘international clarinet festival’ in İstanbul. I came first at the festival and got the chance to meet lots of great artists and then I began to take lessons from a famous clarinet teacher in İstanbul. My family always helped me in those processes. All of these events were influential in my music orientation.” (Art 14, working-class male student).

As it is understood from the above examples, the fact that the artist family members have enabled the talents to experience the cultural socialization in the family from an early age. It was seen that the cultural practices of the family were reproduced by the students as their future practices. This also brought a familiarity with the art world and encouraged them to choose art field as a highly desirable area. Thanks to their families, all of the students received artistic training from an early age and continued their activities in this field on a regular basis. In this process, both their experiences and their familiarity with the field of art through family socialization shaped their thoughts about the possibility of this field. When we look at it as a whole, all these developments made it possible for the artist candidates to see the art space close to them, to feel that they could manage the risk and could choose this field.

The data indicated that nine working-class families couldn't give any special guidance to their children and suggestion to study art in high school. In addition, it was understood that these families did not recognize their children's interest in art and did not transfer resources to develop their skills.

“In fact, they do not know much about art field. We can define artistic field where they are strangers. They never objected when I have made the decision to study art in high school. They said that it was my choice. I was not directed by my family in diverse ways.” (Art 10, working-class male student).

The data indicated that some families (4) used social capital. Those families' effort on the point of supporting and developing children's artistic ability at early ages shaped their interest to the field of art, thereafter impacted on school and subject choice.

“Actually I have been drawing since I was 7. I started to create a lot of awareness on people with my drawings when I came to 4th grade. My father didn't approve at all but my mother immediately contacted with my painter cousin. I took private courses from his teacher for free for 4 years. My family's economic situation was not sufficient enough anyway. After that, he did not take any money from my cousin. His expectation was that I would win the art high school.” (Art 5, working-class male student).

Two participants stated that they have got information about education quality of school and teachers and consulted the tips while preparing to school talent exam.

“One of my relatives has graduated from this school. I consulted him. He gave tips about how to prepare to school entrance exam.” (Art 8, a working-class female student).

The influence of teachers. Our data revealed that teachers' high awareness of the artistic abilities and their confidence in their abilities and beliefs have important influence on almost all of the students' motivation to study art in high school. Teachers have had a direct effect on almost all of the students' decision to study in art high school.

“My painting teacher in elementary school said that I was fitting fine arts. He was directing me to all painting tournaments. I took first place five times in national and international painting tournaments. My teacher encouraged me to choose art school. His unshakable confidence in my ability kept me motivated to choose art school.” (Art 11, a working-class male student)

Additionally, the interview data revealed that early recognition of students' skills (during elementary school) by their teachers played key role for them in the development of students' artistic skills and later have effect on art orientation.

“My music teacher in elementary school was telling me that I should study in fine arts high school. During school meetings, my teacher was asserting my family not to ignore my ability. After that my teacher suggested my family that I should take a private course. After that I took private violin lessons for two years. In the last six months, my music teacher in elementary school helped me in preparing for the entrance exam.” (Art 19, a middle class female student).

More importantly, the data shows that teachers' belief in artistic abilities, their supportive and promoting behaviors motivated these abilities and have important influence on the choice of students to study art in high school.

“My elementary and middle school teachers always liked my paintings very much. They told me that I should always draw pictures. My tech-design teacher in the middle school personally dealt with 6 students whom he discovered like me for six hours per week for 6 months. He prepared us for the talent exam of art high school without any compensation. His contribution motivated me to choose art high school. Maybe it was in me, but I was not aware of art high school. I couldn't be here without guidance, support and help. Because I didn't know, I was not conscious, I was not aware.” (Art 7, a working-class female student).

Some of the students mentioned the contribution of their teachers' social capital to prepare for talent exam.

“My music teacher has put lots of effort on me to attend in art high school. My teacher always told me that she wants me to attain in art high school. He directed me a friend of her that give preparation course for the candidates aspiring to attend art high school. I took courses from her for four to five months without any compensation.” (Art 17, a working-class female student).

Discussion, Conclusion and Suggestions

This study has investigated the factors that influence the art orientation of candidates and the role of family, teachers and their social capitals. More specifically, this study has showed the ways and actions of the out forces for artistic orientation of the subjects who are progressing to the way of art. The quantitative data we obtained by using the survey technique showed that parents and teachers were effective on students' preferences for art. However, quantitative information does not provide an in-depth understanding of how this effect is. The information we obtained from the semi-structured interviews provided an in-depth understanding of the influence of the teachers and families on how they mobilized their cultural, economic and social capital they possess with different degrees and structures, and the functioning of this process.

If we put the reason of choosing art subject for 'personal interest' in one side, 'to think that they have a talent', 'to believe that they become a good artist', 'the advice of the teachers' and 'family guidance' have been listed as main reasons. On the other hand, the location of the school, quality of the education and acceptance requirements are the other reasons that affect the school choice of the students.

Qualitative data identify how family and teachers influence on the art orientation of subjects who have chosen to be in art field. Many studies in different disciplines indicated the relation of direct or indirect influence of families' cultural practices on pupils' cultural practices through family socialization (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015; DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mukhtar, 2004; DiMaggio & Useem, 1978). In this study, family has emerged to be a significant source as the initial accumulation of every kind of useful cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 49) and a place of transmission of diverse capitals across generations (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 131) in the artistic tendency.

It has been observed that possessing embodied and objectified form of cultural capital (relations with art, artist family members, art knowledge, sense of art, engagement in art field, membership in art organization) were the important factors affecting the art orientation of students. It was obvious that those candidates have grown in an environment where they were involved with art at an early age, discover their abilities, have artistic connections and their environment encouraged them to improve their artistic ability. Furthermore, possessing cultural capital (embodied) yields profits of distinction for those students (Bourdieu, 1986, 49).

The artistic characteristics, interests and occupations of the family members were reproduced by the next generations and this also included their school and subject choices. The cultural capital they acquired through the process of family socialization did not only affect the cultural interests, mental tendencies and preferences of the students who chose art, but also shaped their habitus. He also provided an understanding of the rules of the game in advance in the field of art and what they should do. This led to the students' beliefs that they would be successful in the field of art. For those, art has been defined as a field where they express themselves, produce works and at the same time plan to earn enough money to live. It has been found that students from families with low cultural and economic capital were more autonomous in decision making process and their families cannot transfer resources at the point of improving and supporting their artistic ability. But some students from those groups compensated limited resources by using social capitals of their families. This situation has influenced students' decision-making process in the field of art.

One of the important issues that the institutional habitus put forward is stressing the quality of guidance in students' career planning (Reay et al., 2001). Consistent with studies on institutional habitus (McDonough, 1997; Oliver & Kettley, 2010; Tarabini et al., 2017), this study has demonstrated how high sense of awareness and confidence of teachers are determinant for choosing art for almost all students. It has been found that teachers function as a supportive mechanism for the students possessing high economic and cultural capital and become a key position in early recognition, development (granting private tutoring for free) and directing to artistic field for those possessing low economic and cultural capital. It has also been observed that teachers use social capital to develop artistic ability and to prepare for talent exams at the point where they are inadequate.

Although the primary goal of this study is to determine factors that influence art orientations of subjects and the influence of family and teachers, the main emphasis of this study is to point out that art is a collective process which includes families (mother, father, sister, brother, aunt, grandpa, cousin), school teachers (art teachers, class teachers, guidance teachers, school managers) and their artist environments supporting candidates albeit in different levels (Becker, 2013; Bourdieu, 1999). In the study, it is ensued that both parents and teachers and their art lover environments devote time in particular for the candidates. We can say that their beliefs and encouragements have a significant influence on the choice of students towards being involved in the field of art. Of course, while there are multiple factors that influence the artistic trends of students, the effect of these factors is not guaranteed and uninterrupted in every individual on an equal level.

It must be noted that this research considered only the case of one art high school in related provincial borders in the Black Sea region and there are limits to generalizing the findings to the whole Turkish art high school students. Another limitation is that the study covers the creative individuals who are going to specialize only in painting and music in art high school. In the future, it is thought that the studies to be done on creative individuals who have chosen different branches of art field at both high school and university level will contribute to the literature in terms of the factors affecting the subject and school choices. Consequently, it is suggested for further researches to be conducted in other provinces in art high schools to enlighten art values of families and institutions and to disclosure actors' contribution to the art field. At the same time, these researches will also shed light on the defined and undefined actors of the art field.

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Appendix 1. Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants

Characteristic	N		(%)	
Total	160			
Age	15-18			
Gender				
Boys	51		32%	
Girls	109		68%	
Art Branch				
Visual Arts	96		60%	
Music	64		40%	
Birth region				
Aegean region	1		1	
Marmara region	14		9	
Blacksea region	135		84	
Central Anatolia region	6		4	
Eastern Anatolian region	2		1	
Abroad	2		1	
Total	159		100,0	
Parents' Job				
	Father		Mother	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
Managers (Chief executives, senior officials and legislators..)	11	7	1	1%
Professionals (engineer, teacher, architects, doctor, lawyer, authors, creative artists and others)	29	18	15	9%
Technicians and associate professionals	24	15	-	-
Service and sales workers	42	26	18	11%
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	5	3	1	1%
Craft and related trades workers	27	17	2	1%
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	13	8	-	
Elementary occupations	9	6	3	2%
Housewife			119	75%
Total	160	100	159	100%
Parents' Education				
	Father		Mother	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
Elementary school or below	47	30	76	47
Secondary school	38	23	37	23
High school	50	31	32	20
University and upper	25	15	14	9
Total	160	100	159	100,0

Appendix 2. Demographic Information of The Participants

Characteristic	N			
Total	20			
Age	15-18			
Gender				
Boys	9			
Girls	11			
Art Branch				
Visual Arts	10			
Music	10			
Birth region				
Marmara region	5			
Blacksea region	13			
Central Anatolia region	2			
Parents' Education				
	Father	(%)	Mother	(%)
	N		N	
High school and below	15	75%	18	90%
University and upper	5	25%	2	10%
Total	20		20	