



FACULTY OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SPECIAL EDUCATION

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND, ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND CAREER CHOICES OF GREEK YOUNG ADULTS. A MIXED METHODS STUDY

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Abstract

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Keywords:	Educational inequalities, Bourdieu's cultural theory, mixed methods, Socio-economic background (SEB), academic performance, career choices, young adults, economic crisis.

- Aim:** The main purpose of this study is to determine the role of socio-economic background (SEB) of young adults, who live in a medium size city of Greece (Ioannina), in shaping their academic performance at school and their career choices afterwards.
- Theory:** The project is based on the cultural theory or theory of reproduction from the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. The theory of cultural reproduction, is part of the new sociology of education. It was developed by Bourdieu in the 1960s and it interprets the inequality in academic performance of students' from different social backgrounds, from the distribution of cultural, social and economic capital
- Method:** The mixed methods approach was selected as the appropriate approach for this study, because it can provide the advantages of both quantitative and qualitative spectrum and different kind of perspectives. The research part of the study is divided into two parts, with the questionnaire being used as the data collection tool for the quantitative part and the semi-structured interview for the qualitative part.
- Results:** The collected data showed a strong relationship between young adults SEB and their academic performance and career choices. In particular, both parts of the study showed that participants' SEB influenced their academic performance through many different factors, such as their type of school, the kind of private tutoring and generally their parents' involvement. Accordingly, it was found a strong relationship between their academic performance and their career choices and a huge impact of the Greek economic crisis in their lives. Finally, the qualitative part revealed other relevant factors that affected participants' academic performance and career choices.

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Foreword

This thesis exceeds the 30,000 words limit that the guidelines of the program suggest. This is mainly because the researcher used the mixed methods approach in order to collect the data. Thus, the researcher had to analyze and present a large amount of data from the questionnaires and the interviews. Also, the qualitative part of the study reveal aspects that the participants considered as important and the researcher had the responsibility to import those factors in the analysis and presentation of the data. In conclusion the researcher decided not to sacrifice the quality of the study because of the word limit. This is why the researcher asks for your understanding for this 10% more words than the limit of the guidelines.

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List of Abbreviations

SEB - Social and Economic Background

Introduction

Education globally and in Greece in particular is considered as an asset for living and social continuity. It is a central link for almost all human activities and especially those that consolidate the catalytic presence and dominance of man in his environment. It is considered a supreme good, a gift from God, a certificate of prestige, honor and prosperity. In fact, education is very important for social growth and professional development and has been proclaimed as the highest social value, a social fetish, formed through a long historical journey (Kyridis, 2017). It is responsible for graduates' inclusion and development in occupational and social hierarchy (IOBE, 2018b). In particular, the transition to Tertiary education has always been an important process, since a university degree is regarded as a means of accessing high-profile occupations and passport for one's social development. Although in practice its use depends on the capability of political mediation, which is available to every social group (Tsikalaki & Kladi-Kokkinou, 2016).

On the other hand, occupation has a decisive role in human life, confers social status, determines our self-esteem and the way others view us (Super, 1976). While we overestimate factors like motivation, goals, etc., we tend to underestimate the economic, institutional, and sociological factors, which determine the professional career choices. These occupational choices can be influenced by political, economic and social factors, as well as gender and cultural capital, which means the family's ethos and values (Bourdieu, 2013).

In recent years Greece has been in the midst of an acute economic, political and social crisis, which had huge impact on the populations' academic and career choices. The crisis in the form of accumulated public debt it is still faced with strict economic measures. The unprecedented austerity measures imposed by the memorandums overturned social gains, severely restricted the welfare state, deregulated labor relations, degraded labor rights and led to the impoverishment of society. The rise in unemployment and the indiscriminate horizontal taxation have driven a large part of society under poverty line (Katsikas et al, 2014). In addition, the crisis caused a profound rupture in the link between education and labor market, as unemployment has increased significantly. Especially the rate of employment for young adults and higher education graduates' has been decreased a lot, along with a reduction in overall

employment (IOBE, 2018a). It is clear that these conditions have a significant impact on the individual occupational choices of students and on the structure and functioning of the educational system, whilst widened social inequalities.

Social inequalities in education are an issue, which affect the ideas of equality and social justice. Educational inequality essentially incorporates the unequal social starting point of individuals, the unequal access and “appropriation” of the knowledge provided in formal education and ultimately results to different educational achievements. To the extent that educational qualifications constitute a career passport, which determine the level of income, prestige and status, the educational titles fall under the ultimate criteria of social hierarchy. Therefore, educational inequality is a consequence of pre-existing social inequalities and the educational system contributes to their reproduction (Tsikalaki & Kladi-Kokkinou, 2016).

Furthermore, educational inequalities are an important factor that creates income inequality. In Greece, as in other countries, education is the most important “interpretive” factor of total economic-income inequality, but also a determinant of poverty, as higher levels of education are associated with lower levels of poverty (Tsakoglou, Andriopoulou & Papadopoulos, 2013). Access to higher education can be decisive in order to maintain or upgrade the social position someone has in society, as it improves prospects in employment and wages of graduates, compared to those who complete lower educational levels. (IOBE, 2018b). However, as many studies show students’ socio-economic background is a factor that impacts greatly their academic performance and consequently their chances to attend higher educational levels. Therefore, equality in Greek educational system, among students from different social backgrounds, is an important parameter for alleviating economic and social inequalities.

From the above it is understood that educational inequalities are not just a matter of moral, cultural, ideological or legal concern related to the equality of citizens. These inequalities have a socio-economic starting point, as modern theories of economic development emphasize on the importance of human capital that educational institutions create and the capabilities of human resources (Vettas, 2018). When social factors such as family, gender or ethnic origin interfere and hinder the development of

innate human resources, the growth potential of the economy is limited and valuable talent for growth is lost (Salmi, 2012).

Within the framework described above, the school is required to alleviate inequalities by providing the appropriate opportunities to make the most of each student's potential. Nevertheless, the school seems to perpetuate inequalities through the provision of "equal opportunities". However, it is unfair to treat in an equal way those who come from unequal background (Lappa & Vardoulis, 2006). As it is known, the role of the school is not just socialization, but through it society seeks to maintain itself and its continuation (Kelpanidis, 2002). Within a society characterized by a high degree of professional specialization and social diversity, school redistributes students' social positions and roles in an absolute and legal way. Although, this leads to reproduction of social structure, since there is no particular social mobility and students from low socio-economic backgrounds have little opportunity for social development, contrary to education's theoretical declarations (Mylonas, 1991). Indeed, research data internationally shows that the educational system reproduces social inequalities with remarkable stability (Thanos, 2012a).

Purpose of the study

The aforementioned issues of education raise a number of questions: What factors have a major impact on a person's educational and career choices? To what extent is a person's social, economic and cultural capital connected to his academic and professional choices? Based on the above questions, the purpose of the study is to examine the role of social and economic background (SEB) of young adults in a medium size city of Greece (Ioannina) in shaping their academic performance during their school years and their occupational choices afterwards.

More particularly, this study, by using a mixed methods approach, tries to examine the impact of SEB on the participants' academic performance and career choices, through the statistical measurement of their responses in the questionnaires and their perceptions in the interviews. Thus, through this study it is aimed to present the relationship between students' SEB and the educational inequalities they experienced and how these influenced their occupational choices, especially under the impact of the economic crisis in Greece. In specific this study tries to answer the broad question

of what is the role of SEB in shaping academic performance and career choices of Greek young adults.

Statement of the problem

Studies indicate that factors associated with students' choices and preferences, which are determined by their SEB, exacerbate social inequalities. That is because the decisions that students make at the last level of Secondary education are highly related with their future career choices. That is an important parameter as it is directly linked to economic, cultural and social capital of their family, making it a key factor in reproducing social inequalities (Bourdieu, 2004). Thus, governments tried through the implementation of policies, such as the expansion of Tertiary education, to tackle this issue. However, as it is presented in the literature review later on, these policies did not actually alleviate social inequalities or brought equal opportunities to students. Therefore, the investigation of educational inequalities related to students' SEB and their academic performance, it is linked with subsequent inequalities related to their future career choices (Marsall, 1998). Thus, SEB through the educational system has a strong influence on individuals' social trajectories, which creates an issue of social justice. In general, the educational system legitimizes the rule of the ruling class, reduces opportunities for social development for individuals from lower SEB and ultimately reproduces the existing social structure. As a result, this research tries to investigate how SEB shapes academic performance and professional choices of young adults in Greece in order to examine this problem.

Importance of the study

This study is important to be made, as it can offer valuable information on the relationship between SEB, academic performance and career choices. At first, in a society where working conditions and financial data are constantly being transformed, it is of particular interest to explore how young adults form their academic and career choices in regards to their SEB. Through the participants' perspective, the study deepens to the elements that determine their career choices at that time. Also, the topic of educational inequalities and their relation to the student's social and cultural background has been the research topic in recent decades for a large number of studies worldwide, which have already examined this issue with different methodologies and various perspectives. The scientific debate on the topic is

constantly updated and the international literature is enriched on the issue of social inequalities in education and the way these influence students in their subsequent career choice. This means that there is an ongoing dialogue on the topic and at the heart of this dialogue is the finding that equality in education has not been achieved. On the contrary, social inequalities are maintained and reproduced in various forms and ways of both discrimination and selection (Shavit, Arum & Gamoran, 2007).

The above proves that even though this topic may have been researched extensively during the last four decades, the problem is still active, whatever the policy or actions have been implemented. Thus, through this research it is tried to be offered another view towards the issue and especially to the specific context of Greece, where the last decade of the economic crisis had and still has a strong impact on every aspect of the country, as well as the educational system.

Moreover, it should be mentioned here that there is not much research done on the topic during this decade in Greece. This deficit, in the present economic crisis, has serious implications in the implementation of national and educational policy. In addition, it creates many obstacles to educational policies and practices, which change orientation and goals. For example, the policy that expanded the participation in Tertiary education resulted in an inflation of graduates, which makes it difficult for them to move to the labor market, where unemployment rates are extremely high (Kirpianos & Politis, 2016).

Additionally, the personal interest that the researcher has in issues concerning social justice, educational and social inequalities, is one more reason that this study could be addressed as important. The researcher's work in the field of education has helped him understand that the academic and occupational choices are a complex process for both students and their families. For decades, Greek family has a big desire towards academic education and for their children to follow a successful professional career. The daily contact with students and the dialogue with parents and colleagues were valuable inputs for reflection and findings related to the performance and choices of the students.

Structure of the study

In the first chapter it is presented the theoretical framework which this study was based upon. There is a clarification of the main concepts that are used and an analysis

of Bourdieu's theory, which was the theoretical foundation of the study. There is an emphasis on cultural capital and its forms and the term habitus is explained. Finally, the choice of Bourdieu's theory as the framework of the study is justified. The second chapter contains the literature review with the presentation of Greek studies. These studies attempt to interpret social and educational inequalities, as well as the reasons why certain parts of the population are favored and achieve academically and professionally. The researcher tried to present the history of educational inequalities in Greece and the way these inequalities were shaped in different time periods of the past till the present time of the economic crisis.

The third chapter presents the methodology used for conducting this study. Also, in this chapter are described the research tools that were used to collect and analyze the data, the research sample, the design of the research tools, the way the data were collected and analyzed and the research questions of the study. Also, reference is made to issues of validity, reliability, deontology and ethics. The fourth chapter contains the data analysis of the interviews and questionnaires. In this chapter are presented the findings of the research. The sample views, once categorized and coded, are used for a meaningful dialogue with the theoretical framework.

The fifth chapter contains the discussion and interpretation of the research findings, based on relevant theories and data from Greek and non-Greek researches. Finally, the sixth chapter presents the general conclusions of the study and some suggestions for future studies. At the end of the study, they are listed the bibliographical references and the appendices with the interview guide and transcripts of the interviews, as well as the questionnaire used.

Chapter 1

Theoretical framework

In order for social scientists to understand how educational systems work, various theories have been developed that, in conjunction with research, attempt to illuminate all educational aspects. Educational theories can be divided into two broad categories; the micro and macro level theories, which try to integrate the education system into the social genre. In the micro level theories the emphasis is on the experiences and interactions within the classroom among the students and between teachers and students. These theories often attribute school failure to individuals, that is, to students, teachers, or family environment. They also try to study what students and teachers do in school, in an effort to include the dynamics that are often overlooked by the macro level theories. On the other hand, macro level theories focus on the integration of the educational system into the general social genre and the study of its relations' with other institutions (Ballantine & Spade, 2009).

In this research it is used the interpretive tools of the macro level theories, which study the educational process as part of broader social functions. However, before describing the theory that it has been chosen in order to interpret the findings of this research, this chapter provides necessary clarifications on the main study concepts.

1.1. Social class and Socio-economic Background

The notion of social class has great importance in the study of social phenomena, especially in modern societies, where class discrimination is produced or reproduced by the distribution of social positions in economic life and in employment relations (Archer, Hutchings & Ross, 2003). The term “social class” has gained particular interest from the second half of the 18th century onwards. Although a great deal of work has been devoted to this issue, no universal and timely definition has been given to this concept, as its content is constantly changing, resulting in discrepancies between scientists (Ossowski, 1984). For this reason, many studies point out that social class is an issue that has not been studied as much as it should, because it is complex to record (Gerbrandt, 2007).

Influenced by Marxist theory, Bourdieu in his work “*La Distinction*” presents his view of society, which is divided into social classes created by the unequal capital

distribution. For Bourdieu, social class is the result of accumulation of various capital forms. In other words, social class is determined by the combination of what one has (financial capital), whom one knows (social capital) and what one knows (cultural capital). Thus, he associates social class with one's ability to accumulate various forms of economic, social, and cultural capital, which are important forms of power (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu borrowed much from classical sociological tradition to formulate his views on social class. He argues that it is possible for an individual to accumulate his capital in order to rise in social hierarchy and that social class is the product of individual conquest, not just a "given" reality by birth (Giddens, 2002). He also believes that education can lead to differences in accumulation of social and cultural capital, which lead to educational inequalities (Bourdieu, 1986).

Critics of Bourdieu's approach refer to his inability to develop definitive frameworks to define social class. They consider his theory to have a deterministic approach, since it mainly deals with high social classes and does not account that disadvantaged social classes can react. His theory does not look for boundaries between social classes; on the contrary, he claims that all social groups have cultural capital and that this may have a different value at a particular moment in history (Lareau, 1987). More generally, recent studies question the utility of social class as a category of analysis for social phenomena. It is considered as an obsolete concept that is incompatible with modern reality, as its content refers to experiences of the 19th century (Kingston, 2000). It is also assumed that in modern societies traditional class structures are weakened, so the differences between individuals or groups resulting from wealth are of little importance. To this end contributes the changes in the structure and forms of employment that offer similar incomes and lifestyles to people. This eliminates the dividing lines between social classes, especially middle and lower classes (Hecher, 2004).

Opinions such as the above justify the fact that the term of social class, even though is important, is often avoided today, while the term socio-economic background (SEB) is widely used. Therefore, SEB could be defined as an economic and social indicator that measures an individual's social and economic status compared to rest of population, based on the level of education, occupation and income. The literature states that SEB has many aspects and that there is no clear definition and distinct way of calculating it. However, calculating SEB makes possible to visualize the social and

economic differences within society, in the sense that discrimination in possession and access to basic sources of wealth is revealed (Walpole, 2007).

The purpose of the study makes it necessary to emphasize on the sample's social characteristics. It is an interesting perspective, which requires the social categorization of the sample into social strata. A key process of this research is the correlation of data with the variables that measure individuals' SEB. It should be noted that in the presentation of the research data, the term socio-economic background (SEB) is preferred instead of the term social class. This was not a random choice and it was made on the grounds that social class is not easy to demarcate and many doubts have been raised on how to define it. Socio-economic background, according to current literature, refers to occupation, level of education and parental income, which are key variables of the social background and reflect the pre-existing social inequalities.

Thus, in order to indicate the occupational dimension of SEB of the sample it was used the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO 08). This classification works as a dictionary, describing, classifying and identifying professional occupations and qualifications. The labels that each occupational category consists of are in Appendix 4. The participants were asked to indicate their parents' educational level and occupational status, alongside to other data such as the type of school they were attending and the kind of private tutoring they had during the last grade of High school. The crossing of the above data increases the reliability of the findings and thus avoids the risk of drawing incorrect conclusions. Of course, it is worth pointing out the doubts that are often expressed on the use of occupation as a key variable to determine SEB, as well as the demarcation of the variable of socio-occupational level. According to Bourdieu the property preceded by identifying a category, such as occupation, risks concealing the effectiveness of all secondary properties (Bourdieu, 2013). However, occupational categories are used in many international and large-scale studies in order to identify SEB. Profession is a multidimensional indicator, as it determines both the position of people in the structure of the capitalist production process as well as remuneration, the management of means of production, the working conditions, but also lifestyles, moods, attitudes and practices (Alexiou, 2002).

1.2. Equality and inequality

The present study, as mentioned above, focuses on educational inequalities, which have been the subject of ongoing research in sociology of education to date. This topic has been examined through a variety of research methods and it has been interpreted on the basis of existing theoretical approaches. In the first phase of the postwar period, the phenomenon of social inequalities in education has documented the relationship between academic performance and students' social origin as well as, the role of education in the reproduction of social inequalities. This is an important development for that time period, as until then, educational inequalities were interpreted on the basis of students' intrinsic abilities, which were considered a key factor in school performance. These findings led to the dissemination of the human capital theory and at the heart of interest was the issue of equal opportunities and democratization of education, which is a milestone for sociology of education as a discipline (Fragkoudaki, 1985).

The democratization of the educational system has its emphasis on the increased participation in education, which would remove barriers, reduce social restrictions and eventually promote equality. As it is already known, this democratization in developed western nations promoted the expansion of education, gradually lengthening educational paths, increased the average educational level and facilitated the participation in education for every social level (Moore, 2004).

At the same time, the demand for equal opportunities highlights the importance of education for the economic development, as well as, the advancement of individuals. Within this context, the interest in education is growing, as it is linked with the international economic competition between countries and that is why world states are called upon to increase its funding. Education is one of the three pillars, along with health and welfare, responsible for the development of a welfare state and it is an inalienable citizen right, which every bourgeois state must secure. For this reason, the state intervenes and builds the public educational system to provide everyone with equal access opportunities. Of course, equal opportunities does not necessarily mean equal results, since the opportunities offered are not used in the same way by individuals, even though education appears neutral and meritocratic. Thus, the responsibility is given to individuals and this is where a serious problem regarding

social justice occurs, because the level of education and qualifications that each individual achieves through education largely determine his professional and social life (Dahrendorf, 1988).

Since the 1980s and the prevalence of neoliberalism, interest in issues related to social inequalities in education has diminished and moved to new fields. Many changes occurred regarding the orientations and priorities of education policy around the world, aiming to upgrade its quality and enhance its effectiveness. Regarding social inequality and equal opportunities, there was increased focus on “mass” participation in higher education. This expanded participation, according to official rhetoric, had two main objectives. Firstly, to increase the highly skilled workforce, in order to meet the needs of modern knowledge-based societies and globalized economy. Secondly, to promote equal opportunities, so that all individuals with the necessary skills and performance, regardless their social origin, have the same access opportunities (Brown, Hesketh, & Williams, 2004).

In modern societies there are various forms of inequality that result from unequal wealth distribution, income and education. Equal opportunities are a myth designed to conceal school practices that allow dominant groups to perpetuate their own success (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2011). Actually, it is a “trap”, which tightens the relationship between social origin and education and exacerbates social inequalities (Brown, 2003).

Of course, it should be clarified what exactly equality and inequality are and their relation to education. Equality is a social situation in which all people, in a given society or group, have equal rights under the law, such as security, the right to vote, freedom of speech and equal access to services and social goods, such as health care and education. Equality in education is related to ethnicity, social class, gender, sexuality, learning disabilities and presence of equal opportunities (Cole, 2011). However, equal opportunities are also a way to justify inequality. As Crompton (1998) points out, if all students had equal opportunities to be unequal to each other, then the resulting inequality would be considered natural, justified and fair, a personal legacy rather than a social consequence. The presence of unequal opportunities and different benefits of different social positions in society cause social inequalities, which are a measurable and understandable phenomenon (Kyridis, 2015). Social

inequalities are a mechanism that acts unconsciously and ensures that society's most important positions are occupied by the most qualified (Crompton, 1998).

1.3. Inequalities in education

Inequalities in education are a central issue for every educational system in the world, which is always relevant and controversial in the pursuit of educational policy (Kyridis, 2015). One of the most important aspects of educational inequalities is that academic performance does not depend on physical advantages or disadvantages, but on the internalization of social conditions in which an individual is born and raised in such a way that the process appears as natural. In other words, talent, inclination and social skills depend on social background (Alexiou, 2007).

Social inequalities in education are an issue that has been at the heart of theory and research since the birth of educational sociology. The relationship between social background and education is a part of the broader problem of inequality and the various forms of discrimination and social choice in education. Educational inequalities are a pathogen of social inequalities (Kyridis, 2015). Although the concept of equal opportunities in education is widely used, there is no universally accepted definition in the scientific and educational community. This is because this concept is influenced by the vague and complex ideas and values of social justice and choice. Its content also varies according to the ideological context and interpretative approaches with which it is examined (Dahl, 2007).

Nevertheless, equal educational opportunities refer to an ensuring passage for every individual at every education level and the potential to harvest every benefit education is able to offer. The ultimate goal is for all children, through education, to have equal opportunities to access higher social positions characterized by prestige, high earnings and values (Kyridis, 1997). Also, equal opportunities in education refer to three different aspects of the educational process. Firstly, it presupposes a social situation in which all individuals begin school on same basis. Secondly, refers to outcomes of the educational process and in particular the opportunities for completing all educational levels. It assumes that all individuals receive the same cognitive experiences and stimuli during the educational process. Thirdly, refers to long-term effects on career and life opportunities in general (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydoridi, 1996). Educational inequalities are interpreted by different sociological theories, each approaching the

issue from a different perspective, as they come from different sociological schools. Although different, none of them are wrong and should always be studied in relation to the conditions, time and place that occurred. However, it should be mentioned, that all of them try to study, deal and interpret inequality (Kyridis, 1997).

1.4. The theory of Bourdieu

The discussion of educational inequalities and social background, as it is evident from the above, is based on a rich tradition of sociological theory. In the field of sociology of education there are many theories that attempt to highlight the decisive role of educational system in the reproduction and perpetuation of social structure. The most fundamental are the functionalist theory, radical theory and Marxist theory (Thanos, 2010). However, evolution and pioneering in classical sociological tradition is found in Bourdieu's work, which developed an approach that incorporates features from all theoretical traditions.

Bourdieu argues that his theory combines the macro and micro-sociological levels. Although he has been accused of determinism for the macro-sociological part of his theory, he stresses that at the micro level there is interaction between the individual and the social roles of the school (Thanos, 2015). Cultural theory, or the theory of cultural reproduction, is part of the new sociology of education. It was developed by Bourdieu in the 1960s and it interprets the inequality in academic performance of students' from different social backgrounds, from the distribution of cultural, social and economic capital (Petmezidou-Tsoulouvi, 1987). The theory sees education as a part of a superstructure, which is organized in order to serve the interests of the dominant social group, thereby contributing to the reproduction and legitimization of social inequalities. This theory emphasizes on the cultural capital that parents inherit to their children, who is socially differentiated and primates' children from high SEB about their educational progress (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010a).

1.4.1. Forms of capital

Society is structured into social classes, which owe their existence to the unequal distribution of the three forms of capital: economic, social, and cultural (Bourdieu, 1994). More particularly, Bourdieu (1986) argued that capital can be presented in these three different forms, which appear and operate in different contexts. However, capital in all three of its components functions as one factor, which contributes to

social reproduction and perpetuates socially differentiated school performance (Bourdieu, 1994).

1.4.1.1. The social capital

The definition of social capital still remains quite vague today, with no specific definition that holds common acceptance. However, social capital relates to social relationships and networks developed by the family and are a source of power in combination with financial capital (Bourdieu, 1986). It manifests as a network of permanent social relationships that provide individuals with differentiated opportunities for social development. It gives the individual “dignity” and “reputation” in what is called “high or good society” (Patereka, 1986).

According to Bourdieu’s (1985) definition, social capital is the sum of real or symbolic resources that are linked to multiple networks, maintained over time, and associated with highly regulated relationships of mutual acceptance and recognition. In other words is the participation to a social team that provides its members with collectively acquired capital credentials that legitimize its use in a variety of life aspects. It also refers to the acquaintances that people make for their own benefit and consists of social obligations, interconnections and in some cases it is also convertible into financial capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Individuals within their respective groups and social networks reap the benefits of adhering to the basic rules of conduct within those groups (Carpiano, 2006). For Bourdieu (2013) social capital is an individual commodity whose volume depends on the network size. Influenced by Marxist sociology, he considers that social capital is a crucial element of social mobility as it is used to reproduce unequal class relations. In particular, he argues that individuals with high socio-economic status, form exclusive bonds with one another through mutual recognition and acceptance, reinforcing the privileges of their class and reproducing their sovereignty (Sotiropoulos, 2006).

1.4.1.2. The financial capital

Financial capital is identified from the existing financial resources, can be directly converted into money, and institutionalized with property rights. It includes profits, as well as other monetary and hereditary benefits, has exchange value, and all capital types derive from it through transformative processes that are not automated but

require long-term efforts to reap long-term benefits (Bourdieu, 1986). In addition, it refers to means of production process, such as machinery, money, etc. and under certain conditions it can be acquired by any member of society (Lamnias, 2002).

Bourdieu argues that financial capital acts as a way of enhancing the success of privileged social backgrounds to education as opposed to the non-privileged. This contributes to reproduction of educational and social inequalities, as it enhances access to higher education and thus to labor market, with higher economic benefits for privileged backgrounds, as opposed to lower strata (Bourdieu, 1986).

Financial capital contributes to social reproduction, although its possession does not always guarantee a person's rank in the upper social classes. Nevertheless, it can reinforce cultural capital with the acquisition of goods, although without ensuring it. The goods the individual chooses and the way he consumes the accumulated financial capital are indicative of his differentiation and classification into social classes (Thanos, 2012b).

1.4.1.3. The cultural capital

The concept of cultural capital is introduced by Bourdieu and Passeron in their book "*Les héritiers*" in 1964. According to them, educational inequalities are not solely due to students' socio-economic background. It is also their cultural background that determines their academic performance and occupation choices. The cultural capital can be defined as the family's accumulated abilities to cultivate the most valued social knowledge, sensitivities and modes of action and expression, namely *a corpus de savoir*, meaning "a body of knowledge" (Mylonas, 1991).

In essence, it is a concept with many aspects and concerns everything related to a person's social background. It includes knowledge of culture and art, cultural preferences, qualifications such as university degrees, cultural skills like the knowledge of playing a musical instrument and the ability to distinguish between "good" and "bad" (Smith, 2014). It also consists of family social relationships; help with homework and knowledge of education. Furthermore, expressions of cultural capital include attending and participating in cultural events, the art of conversation, such as pronunciation and the "right" tone and style of voice, "good" taste, style and generally social acceptable ways of acting (Patereka, 1986).

Bourdieu and Passeron (2014) refer on how cultural capital is inherited, using the term “osmosis” to express the slow and uninterrupted rate of indirect education within the family and class origin. The mechanism operates with absolute naturalness as if it is something innate and the process of “transferring” cultural capital becomes subtle, daily and opaque in the context of a constant practice of language and “intelligence”. Bourdieu characterizes cultural capital as something that indicates its holder’s social status. An important innovation in his view is that cultural capital, through schools and examinations, which control the flow of students, has an important role in perpetuating social divisions and inequalities (Smith, 2014).

Finally, Bourdieu argues that securing equal financial opportunities is not capable of removing the lack of cultural capital that each family transfers indirectly to their children. This cultural heritage differs from one social background to another and is responsible for the inequality and success of children in the educational system (Fragoudaki, 1985). The families of high SEB inherit to their member’s specific educational privileges, knowledge, intellectual skills as well as a system of values very close to that of school, such as a positive attitude towards learning and high expectations. These qualities are not a result of teaching, but a creation of a long-lasting friction with educational goods that family provides. The educational system does not imply these goods directly, but indirectly recognizes and rewards them. In particular, school may recognize them as “natural gifts” or “intelligence”, ignoring the facts that are socially inherited goods (Askouni, 2011).

1.4.1.4. Forms of cultural capital

Bourdieu (1999) argues that cultural capital can exist in three different states. Initially, cultural capital in the embodied state is presented as an internalized form of enduring battles within the organization. Cultural capital is directly related to individual himself, as well as his biological characteristics. It is the result of social influences and its incorporation is made in an unconscious and masked way, presenting itself as a biological effect (Thanos, 2012b). Bourdieu associates this type of cultural capital with the concept of “habitus”, which is translated as a predisposition, that is, a system of perceptions, thinking and action patterns, which result from the active presence of past experiences and produce individual and collective practices (Bourdieu, 2006).

This intrinsic state begins to form unintentionally in the first years of human life and evolves mainly within the family. It is not acquired through teaching, nor it is transmitted and it is a system of internalized rules that regulates the child's behaviors, habits, "good taste", ways of communicating, the art of conversation and thinking "patterns" (Lamnias, 2002). Another feature is that it can be transformed, for example, from economic to cultural. This transformation helps the ruling classes maintain their dominance indefinitely. The transfer of financial capital is easy to be controlled from the social system, but the transfer of cultural capital from parents to their children cannot be questioned and declared illegal as it was carried out by the educational system and validated by academic degrees (Patereka, 1986).

The second form of cultural capital, the objectified state, relates to cultural goods such as paintings, books, disc collections, works of art, etc., which are transferable and can be inherited (Patereka, 1986). It is also found in various practices of individuals, such as buying books, attending plays, visits to cultural sites such as archaeological sites and museums, the dressing style and is always defined in relation to cultural capital in its embodied state (Vidali, 2012).

The acquisition of these cultural assets is essential for a person who possesses the appropriate financial capital, although this does not necessarily mean he has an understanding of them. Understanding and enjoying cultural goods certainly requires the existence of an appropriate embodied form of cultural capital (Lamnias, 2002). For example, when a person chooses to attend a theatrical performance (objectified state); he should have cognitive and aesthetic perceptions (embodied state) that allow him to understand the play, that is, to enable him to decode the message conveyed (Panagiotopoulos & Vidali, 2012).

The third and last form of cultural capital, the institutionalized state, refers to school capital which is validated by school titles. Specifically, this form of cultural capital is the one that it is provided by educational institutions and legitimized through the qualifications issued by the educational system (Lamnias, 2002). The fact that these titles are not passed on from parents to their children enables school to renounce all responsibility and support that the educational system offers equal opportunities and democratic processes (Patereka, 1986). The institutionalized form gives its holder particular prestige and legitimize the role of the educational system and it is directly

linked to educational inequalities. At the same time, the school requires students to bring all those cultural elements that are in line with its own culture without teaching those (Lamnias, 2002).

1.4.2. Habitus

The concept of habitus, has a central position in Bourdieu's theory, and is closely related with the Aristotelian term *exis* and ethos. For Aristotle, the word has acquired moral content, as it is the permanent elements of our character, acquired through the persistent exercise and repetition of specific actions. *Exis* is an acquired inclination, which we do not have by birth. Eye color is not an *exis*, but playing the piano is. It is a habitus, not only in the sense of habit, such as the habit of smoking, but something acquired and permits action. However, this inclination is optional and these permanent elements are acquired through the repetition of an act (Kastoriadis, 2003).

More specifically, habitus is a system of predispositions, a product of primary objective determinations, which tend to reproduce the objective logic but with some modifications through practice (Bourdieu, 1994). It is a subjective system of internalized principles, shapes, boundaries, directions and practices that can lead to the development of a wide range of solutions, as it adapts to the situation (Mylonas, 1991). Also, habitus is the internal habits that someone has acquired after years of nurturing them from institutions such as family and school. These habits considered as "objective" and they have internalized to an extent that not only influence the way someone thinks and evaluates, but mainly the way he acts (Bourdieu, 1999).

Habitus is formed mainly in the early stages of social life (primary habitus) as a result of socialization within the family (Mouzelis, 2000). Primary habitus "follows" the individual throughout his life as the basis of formation for every subsequent habitus and acts as a source of subsequent standards of thought and action (Bourdieu, 2013). Thus, primary childhood habitus that is formed and influenced by family acts as a guiding axis of the subsequent general "standards" of thought, perception, belief, attitude and practice (Mylonas, 1991). In essence, secondary habitus is formed from the actions that are influenced from primary habitus, which proves that habitus does not remain stable and consolidated, but is continually restructured and affects social development over time (Mylonas, 1996). So, habitus is presented as a chronological

link, since it is essentially the survival of the past in the present and the shaping of the future.

Habitus also influences one's preferences, expectations, beliefs and practices and shapes ambitions regarding career choices and access to higher education levels. However, it does not define life opportunities and it simply shapes a range of behaviors and perceptions that lead to school and professional success (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010a). In short, habitus does not legally determine one's choices, but unconsciously motivates him to act in a way that simply seems reasonable and "right".

For Bourdieu (2014) every social class produces and reproduces its own habitus, as people from the same social background tend to act in similar ways. Therefore, social reproduction can be the result of people's habitus, which produces differentiated practices according to gender, social origin and nationality (Bourdieu, 2007). Accordingly, the educational system requires a specific way of thinking without taking into account the differentiated family habitus of students, while claiming equal opportunities. In addition, it rewards those who can comfortably meet school requirements and rejects anything that differs from what it recognizes. Conclusively, education not only maintains educational inequalities, but also it reproduces them and greatly enhances them (Bourdieu, 2013).

1.4.3. Educational system and Bourdieu's theory

Based on the above it is understood that students from high SEB have some advantages over students from non-privileged backgrounds. Parents from privileged backgrounds can provide for their children the so-called "culture *libre*", which is compatible with high cultural capital and includes participation in cultural and artistic activities. This practically means visits to exhibitions, concerts, museums, libraries, learning foreign languages, musical instruments, etc. (Patereka, 1986).

Another very important element is the interest and involvement of parents with their children. Through discussions, observations, encouragement and emotional support, children create internal motivations for learning and knowledge, interest in the arts and culture and a positive mood towards school. In addition, school and subsequent academic life are directly linked to the encouragement or discouragement of the student from his social environment (Tzani, 1983). The education that the child

receives indirectly and naturally, without methodical effort, with the help of his family, depending on his social origin can be very close to school education. In fact, the higher the social origin, the easier it is to assimilate the culture transmitted by the school and better decipher the school message. This is a consequence of the positive predisposition towards learning, that students from high SEB get from a young age and they come to legitimize these acquisitions in school (Patereka, 1986).

On the other hand, children of disadvantaged backgrounds are “culturally deprived” and lack the “appropriate” resources, as they do not get this kind of knowledge from their families, which the educational system requires (Katsikas & Kavvadias, 2000). They also enter education system with a knowledge level, skills and attitudes that impede learning and contribute to an increasing deficit in school performance (Kyridis, 1997). So they need to work hard to get that knowledge, behavior, good manners and spirit that the school requires and rewards (Patereka, 1986).

Bourdieu states that the main purpose of the educational system is to legitimize social reproduction and social choice. Although it does not directly determine the reproduction of classes, but at the same time works as a mechanism of selection, discrimination and evaluation. It does that by imposing the cultural capital of the upper class as the only acceptable and right, ignoring the culture of other social backgrounds. Through this process, children from high SEB who have inherited their family’s cultural capital in a natural way appear to have endowed with the ability to possess and use the keys of dominant ideas inside the educational system. All this is done through “objective” and “fair” educational evaluation mechanisms, such as grades and examinations (Mylonas, 1991).

Thus, the socially privileged are considered mentally superior, while the unprivileged internalize and legitimize their exclusion from education. In addition, they are at a disadvantage throughout school life, as they try to “clash” with their favored classmates and forced to dispel some cultural elements that are incompatible with school culture and adapt to the demands of a non-familiar school environment that excludes them (Katsikas & Kavvadias, 2000). In conclusion, it seems that the educational institution contributes directly, but in an invisible mode (symbolic violence) in the reproduction process of social classes, and gives the already holders

of authority the title of the most capable to exercise power, thereby repeating a vicious cycle (Bourdieu, 1994).

Chapter 2

Educational inequalities in Greece: A Literature Review

Historically, the demand for higher education has always been very strong in Greece and the diploma has a very important role. This happens, because the upper class seeks to legitimize the position of its children in the social structure through appropriate education. Also, middle and lower classes see diploma as a passport for their children's social development and a way to find a stable job, mainly in the public sector, freeing them of anxiety and fear of uncertainty (Tsoukalas, 2005). However, while in the early post-war years, higher education did indeed serve as a "passport" for finding occupation for middle-class people, in recent years, particularly after the economic crisis, the prospects for social mobility have been decreased (Sianou-Kyrgiou & Tsiplakides, 2011).

Nevertheless, even to this day Greek society is characterized from a strong sense of faith in the relationship between education (Tertiary education in particular) and rising social mobility. Now society is indifferent to education as a field of knowledge and only seeks to achieve financial security and social development through it (Tsoukalas, 2005). With that being said, in order to examine the influence that SEB has in academic performance and career path, it is important to present the existing literature on the topic.

2.1. First Clues of Educational Inequalities in Greece

As it is visible from many studies in different countries, academic performance and the entrance to Tertiary education depends a lot on a set of social characteristics such as family identity, parental occupation and education, and inherited cultural capital (Kyridis, 1997). A lot of research has been done concerning this topic both in Greek and non-Greek literature. Regarding the Greek context, one of the first studies that examined the social inequalities in the educational system was the one of Lampiri-Dimaki (1974). This was the first systematic research regarding this topic in Greece and laid the foundation for sociology of education. The study examined the possibilities and challenges that students had in order to access Tertiary education. She studied the students' socioeconomic origin and examined their admission probabilities compared to their parents' occupation and social background. The data

analysis showed that students from low SEB (their parents were workers or farmers) were much less likely to study in high profiled departments, as opposed to students from high SEB. Similarly, Tzani (1983) conducted a quantitative research with a sample of 1863 primary education students, in order to examine the relationship between SEB and student performance. The results aligned with previous research, because parental income influenced students' academic performance and as income increased, students' performance improved. On the contrary, this was not the case for the low SEB students, where even if the parental income improved, it was not enough to cover the cultural deficiency of their family.

Moreover, Psaharopoulos and Kazamias (1985) argued that students from high SEB were over-represented in public university institutions. Also, the chances of access to higher education were related to parental income, educational background and students' geographical residence. Additionally, Kontogiannopoulou-Polidoridi (1987) in her study observes that during 1970s, students from high SEB were 2.3 times more likely to enroll in Tertiary education level than those from medium SEB and 4.3 times more likely than students from low SEB. Thus, it is understood that during 1960-1980 in Greece students with high SEB had much more possibilities to succeed in school and eventually follow better career paths than students from lower SEB.

2.2. Greek Education Policy Milestones

In 1993 the Greek government tried through an educational reform to address the issue of social inequality. This reform concerned the ways of access to higher education and changed the general structure of High school (curriculum reform, changes in student evaluation system, introduction of cross-curricular activities in schools, etc.). It was seen as the first step to open access to Tertiary education and raised broader issues regarding "equal" opportunities, namely broader democratization of education through targeted compensatory policy measures. Studies from that period show some interesting results regarding the topic of this study.

After the reform the possibilities Greek students had to attend Tertiary education raised compared to other countries. That happened also because of the large number of high SEB students who at that period chose to attend a non-Greek university (Lambiri-Dimaki, 1995). It is obvious, that this situation is another form, where student SEB had important influence in the transition to Tertiary education. Families

from high SEB were choosing to send their children to non-Greek universities in order to “buy” a better quality of education. They were choosing their inheritors to attend foreign departments that could lead to high income and status occupations. The study of Kontogiannopoulou-Polidoridi (1996) confirmed these findings, as from her research it is visible that students’ SEB and parental occupation had decreased their impact on students’ academic performance during the period of 80s. However, it should be mentioned, that the relationship between social origin and educational inequalities still remained significant, especially in the “internal” evaluation of schools.

Furthermore, Gouvias (2010) in his research, tried to assess the benefits of the reform in 1993. He examined the data from the Hellenic Statistical Authority for the period 1993-2004 and had some very interesting findings that align with the previous research results. Firstly, even though the impressive “opening” of higher education had occurred, the reality was that students, whose parents were unskilled workers or farmers, were failing to be represented in Tertiary education to the limits of exclusion. Also, students whose parents profession had high income and social status and their cultural background was high (parents maybe had a Bachelor or a master) had more possibilities to be admitted to better universities and study at the departments which were connected with high status professions (Law and medicine school). It is important to mention that in his conclusion remarks predicted that as long as the specific structural and institutional characteristics of Tertiary education are maintained, the inequalities based on the financial capital of a student will increase. Further on the review it is going to be seen if this statement still holds true.

Overall it is obvious that during that period with the expansion of participation in Tertiary education, inequalities in education based on student’s social origin seemed to have been improved from the past and especially in contrast to other European countries at that time. However, the truth is that students from lower SEB still faced many obstacles and the educational system maintained its reproductive role. Subsequently, it is examined a decade where Greece had economic growth as country and it is interesting to see the way this influenced educational inequalities.

2.3. The years of plenty

During the first decade of 2000 there was an economic and cultural growth in Greek society, mainly due to the 2004 Olympic Games and governmental policies of that period. However, even though the economic capital of many Greek families might have raised, according to many studies the inequalities in society and education were still strong and apparent.

In their research Hatzigianni and Callas (2016), investigated the issue of inequalities during that period. They analyzed the data from students of the University of Athens and found that successful educational and subsequently professional career of each individual during that period depended to a large extent on their SEB and on cultural capital of the family. Moreover, Sianou-Kyrgiou (2010a) examined the data from the national statistical service for the period 1999-2008. The analysis showed that students with a father pursuing a freelance occupation or higher office job were much more likely to enter at university than those with a farmer or laborer father. For the first category, the rate from 1.44% in 1999 raised to 2.75% in 2008, while for the second category, the rate dropped from 15.96% to 12.72%. These stats make obvious that even though society might have had better economic conditions than before; in education the obstacles that children from low SEB faced were still there and sharpened over the years.

Also, Thanos (2012a) in his research examined students' social characteristics, during the period 2001-2009, in all the departments of educational sciences in Greece, on the basis of parental education level, occupation and gender. He used the same methodology as Sianou-Kyrgiou and his findings were based on the data collected from the statistics issued by the national statistical service. According to his findings, more likely to be admitted in educational sciences departments were students from low SEB and educational backgrounds and especially women. From this it is evident that the Faculties of Education contribute to the reproduction of the social structure. This can be justified from the fact that being a teacher in Greece does not come with high income or social status and students whose parents have high socioeconomic and cultural level; they were not usually attracted from this profession. These departments are a way of a short social mobility mostly for people coming from medium or low

SEB and again it is visible that the social structure keeps on maintaining itself through the educational system.

Conclusively, during that period Greeks economic status might have improved and many more students were admitted in Tertiary education. However, inequalities in education did not reduce and the influence of inherited cultural capital became even more apparent. An individual's successful educational and professional career continued to depend heavily on social status in the sense that this status affected his/her abilities related to the possession and use of economic, social and cultural capital. However, in the next part it is evident that the extreme change in the financial situation of the country made the situation in education even worse.

2.4. The Economic Crisis

Through the previous presentation of studies it is visible that even though the economic features of society were getting better by the years, in education the situation did not change. After 2010 the economic crisis struck Greece in a very profound way that affected every aspect of society including education. A qualitative study with sample students from seven universities explored the impact of crisis on their educational choices. The results showed that students' plans and study choices were affected from their SEB and previous education. In addition, the barriers and limitations they faced in education were related to their living conditions and SEB (Sianou-Kirgiou, 2010b). It is evident that especially after the economic crisis, the strategies of social mobility for certain social groups have changed. Particularly after the sharp decline in public sector jobs, which were the main absorption body and the first choice for higher education graduates; something that had a major impact on Greek students.

Similarly, Thanos (2010) in his research agreed with these findings. He argued that in "privileged" departments, meaning the departments that offer an occupation with high income and social status afterwards, the students from high SEB have the highest entrance chances, while those from the lower SEB have the lowest chances. On the other hand, in "non-privileged" departments, students from high SEB have the least chances to be admitted, while those from low SEB have the highest. This way the educational system is still enacting its reproductive role, through the internal hierarchy of departments, which is in fact a social hierarchy of them. The hierarchy of

departments and universities based on the professional and generally social prospects they offer, corresponds to their social composition of students.

Moreover, in their research Tsikalaki and Kladi-Kokkinou (2016), investigate whether financial crisis impacted High school students' decisions on which departments they choose to attend in Tertiary education and the inequalities they face because of their social status. With a sample of 252 High school students of Athens, their results showed that financial crisis affects all educational decisions of a student. Such as expectations and goals or whether they want to attend Tertiary education at all. It also redirects the occupational choices of students by imposing criteria not on their real interests, but on whether the department they are going to choose can provide an immediate vocational placement afterwards. In addition, this study has once again confirmed the social reproduction that is enacted from the educational system, as the results showed a strong relationship between student academic performance and parental socio-cultural background, which influenced all of students' educational and occupational choices.

Furthermore, in another quantitative study with a sample of 420 university students, the findings showed that students coming from families whose parents and particularly the father have a high income profession or one of the parents is teacher the majority of them has been admitted in the departments that lead to high income and status jobs. On the other hand, students with parents practicing any of the lower income and status professions are mostly admitted to non-privileged departments. Also, students whose parents practicing any middle class profession are admitted at the same rate to both privileged and underprivileged departments. The study also found that students' cultural and social practices are related to their social position, influence their educational choices and guides them to specific departments in Tertiary education level and eventually to specific career paths (Anastasiadou, 2018).

It is evident that cultural capital also affects students' academic performance and their future career prospects. A study that examined the correlation between parental cultural capital and distribution of students in higher education in Greece used the data from all first-year students who entered higher education. The results showed that the widened access to Tertiary education gave more opportunities to students from less advantaged backgrounds to participate. However, these students are still

underrepresented in high status departments that usually guarantee successful occupational trajectories in the labor market. The impact of cultural capital could be seen from the fact that students, whose parents have a university degree, are overrepresented in prestigious departments (Tsiplakides, 2018). Accordingly, Taouktsi (2018) with her literature review study confirms that despite the expanded access to higher education, socially underprivileged groups continue to be underrepresented in the “privileged” university departments that usually guarantee successful career paths.

Finally, one of the latest studies in the Greek context on the topic is the one made from the Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research in 2019 titled “Educational inequalities in Greece. Access to higher education and the impact of the crisis”. The researchers examined data from the national statistical service for 1,043,390 first year students who participated in Tertiary Education during the years 2001-2014. From this study many interesting findings came up. Firstly, students’ social characteristics and their access to higher education have undergone significant changes during the period before and after the onset of the financial crisis. These changes are linked with the long-term social changes in Greece that are still active. In addition, the study found significant inequalities in the representation of students with different social characteristics in higher education and particularly increased rates of students from high SEB in medical, engineering and law departments. The study also found inequalities based on students’ family background in their access to central and regional universities. Moreover, because of the crisis, state policy on access to higher education changed during this period. The study showed that these policies have been an important determinant of students’ access to higher education depending on their SEB.

Thus, it is obvious that because of the economic difficulties in Greek society the inequalities in education sharpened, while students’ academic performance and occupational choices were affected deeply. Students from low SEB, because of the big rates of unemployment, find it very difficult to secure their occupational future. This situation depicts once again the role of education on the reproduction of society, by putting obstacles to the ones that need more help.

2.5. The review conclusions

From the above literature review it is evident that the topic of educational inequalities from a socioeconomic point of view has been researched a lot over the years from the Greek scientific community. It is an issue that always had the attention and the interest of the researchers, because even though many studies acknowledge it and many policies tried to impede it, educational inequalities based on student social origin are still active. Through this literature review it is understood that SEB influenced a lot students probabilities to be admitted in Tertiary education. Also, the review showed that children from high SEB choose departments that could offer an occupation with high salary and status later on, in contrast with low SEB students.

Another, interesting finding from this review is that, although the Greek society over the years was getting better financially, inequalities in education were sharpened. Also, the policy of expanding Tertiary education did not actually help students from lower strata to increase their opportunities for a better career future and social mobilization, because now departments and universities based on the professional and generally social prospects they offer, correspond to the social origin of their student population.

Overall, it is understood that the topic of educational inequalities is significant to be researched as there is not enough literature from recent years where many new factors, as the economic crisis, have affected Greek society. Also, there is a need for this research as there are not many studies that try to explore the views of individuals on how they have experienced the inequalities in the educational system depending on their social origin.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter presents the elements that intertwine and ensure the research progress and success, namely its methodological approach and design. In this chapter it is stated the study purpose and research questions. Also, research methodology, data collection tools and sample are described. Finally, the limitations of this research are highlighted, issues regarding its validity and reliability are discussed and it is presented the ethics and deontology of the study.

3.1. Purpose of study

As mentioned above, the purpose of this research is to examine the impact that individuals SEB had on their academic performance and future career choices. Specifically, it is examined the social origin of individuals in relation to their academic performance and the career choices they made, during the period of the economic crisis in Greece.

This topic falls within the field of sociology of education and examines the question of educational and occupational choices from a sociological perspective. Studies show that social origin has a catalytic effect on individuals' preferences regarding their study and occupation. In essence, this study aims to contribute to a better understanding of educational inequality, which derives from the education system itself and its reproductive role in maintaining the existing social structure.

3.2. Research methodology

In the study it was chosen to follow the mixed methods approach because they can offer many different advantages. Bryman (2004) identifies several differences between the quantitative and qualitative method and he is prominently aligned with their combination. The utility of combining these two approaches is internationally recognized as the best research method, because in this way their disadvantages are mitigated and their advantages highlighted (Creswell, 2011). Neither of the two methods alone can lead to accurate conclusions, as the depiction of social reality cannot only be measured quantitatively or only interpreted qualitatively (Creswell, 2011). However, it should be noted that the use of the mixed methods approach comes

with some limitations as well, such as the need for extensive data collection, the time-intensive analysis of both numeric and text data, and finally, the requirement that the researcher should be familiar with both quantitative and qualitative research forms (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

For this study in particular, the research process is divided into two parts. In the first part, the techniques derived from the quantitative approach are used in order to answer the questions that measure the impact of SEB in academic performance and career choices. On the second part the qualitative approach is followed in order to deepen on the findings coming from the quantitative part and provide some complementary data. The main purpose of the second part is to explore and understand the authentic perceptions and attitudes of participants' on the influence that SEB has on academic performance and career choices. More specifically, this study follows the embedded approach of the mixed methods. The embedded approach has a primary method that guides the project and a secondary database that provides a supporting role in the procedures. Given less priority, the secondary method (qualitative) is embedded, within the predominant method (quantitative) (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data is a time-consuming and rigorous process. As Creswell and Creswell (2018) suggest, when time is a problem, the embedded model of mixed methods design is a good choice for the researcher. This model emphasizes on a major primary form of data collection and includes a minor secondary form of data collection. The fact that both forms of data are not equal in size and rigor enables the study to be reduced in scope and manageable for the time and resources available.

Quantitative methodology provides useful and large number of statistical data in order to produce valid results. In addition, it ensures objectivity as it reduces researchers' involvement in data collection and interpretation (Kyridis, 2017). Its key features include stable structure, the ability to verify theory through empirical indicators, and finding general trends. However, as a mean of understanding social reality, quantitative approach has been criticized, because of its difficulty to map sociological theories and concepts into empirical indicators and variables. The quantification of social phenomena can lead to misleading conclusions, since the researcher defines the quantitative variables by imposing his own meanings on them. This implies that these meanings are commonly accepted and consistent. On the contrary, social reality is not

based on a given order and it is not static (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). In the quantitative part of the research, the questionnaire is the data collection tool that was used.

Quantitative approach might be fundamental research method of social sciences, although its potential as the only tool for interpreting social reality has been questioned (Kyriazi, 1999). Qualitative methodology is then also used, which is a paramount tool for the search of knowledge in social sciences (Galani, 2018) and it is appropriate for a research that aims to explore social qualities (Iosifidis, 2003). Also, qualitative approach is used to interpret and understand beliefs and perceptions, behaviors, attitudes, experiences, views and values (Silverman, 2000). That is because it can record the subject's expressions and "voice" (Eisner, 1991). While quantitative approach seeks to predict phenomena using statistical analysis, qualitative method tends to focus on the natural history of events. Generally, aims to describe, analyze, interpret and understand social phenomena in order to answer "how" and "why" questions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). From the qualitative spectrum, the semi-structured interview is used, as a method of data collection.

The advantage from using the embedded mixed methods design is that the researcher was able to collect two types of data. This provides the advantages of both quantitative and qualitative approach. In addition, through using the two different methods in this fashion, the study provides perspectives from the different types of data. One of the limitations is that because the two methods are unequal in their priority, this approach might provide unequal evidence within the study, which may be a disadvantage when interpreting the final results (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

3.3. Research questions

The research questions are structured in relation to the purpose of the study and in turn they shape its design and methods (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). The mixed methods approach clearly demand the integration and use of both quantitative and qualitative methods for the methodological part of this study and the same applies for the research questions. Mixed methods studies benefit from at least one overarching mixed question, which would provide the opportunity of subsequent quantitative and qualitative type of sub questions (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). Such a question can

effectively link the components of both quantitative and qualitative approach and set the stage for comprehensive conclusions. The central question of this research is:

What is the role of SEB in shaping academic performance and career choices of Greek young adults?

In order to answer the central question, they were examined specific factors, which according to the literature and the theoretical framework influence academic performance and career choices. These factors are associated with the participant's socio-economic background and helped to form the research tools. Also, as described above the research design is divided into two separate sections. Initially, the quantitative part of the research was designed in order to examine the impact of SEB in academic performance and career choices in a broader sample. It is aimed to examine the trends that arise in that topic through the following research questions:

What is the impact of SEB on academic performance of Greek young adults?

What is the impact of SEB on the career choices of Greek young adults?

The second part of the study follows the qualitative approach, as the researcher wanted to gain a deeper image of the trends that rose from the quantitative part. Thus, in the second stage of the study, the research questions are of a qualitative nature, trying to explore the participants' perspectives on the relationship between SEB and academic performance and career choices, through their personal descriptions and experiences.

What is the perspective of Greek young adults on the relationship between their SEB and academic performance?

What is the perspective of Greek young adults on the relationship between their SEB and their career choices?

Are there any other relevant factors identified by Greek young adults that influenced their academic performance and career choices?

3.4. Data collection tools

To better understand the importance of the combined use of both methods is sufficient to take account the particular characteristics of each of the two research tools. Thus,

follows a description and analysis of the characteristics from the two research tools selected.

3.4.1. The questionnaire

The questionnaire was chosen as it is a convenient and economical means of data collection, enabling a large sample of subjects with diverse composition to be queried, provides information on various sectors, and the data collected from it can be processed and easily exploited by the researcher (Athanasiou, 2007). On the other hand, there is a sense that questionnaires produce large sets of data with poor reliability, because the data are influenced by the characteristics of the respondents, such as their memory, knowledge, experience, motivation (Robson, 2011). In this study in particular it offered access to a larger sample, in contrast to interviews, and the possibility to identify trends of how SEB impacts academic performance and career choices.

In order to structure the questionnaire, a clear wording of the research purpose and its clarification into individual goals based on the research questions were first formulated. In the second stage, the objectives were categorized into measurement types or empirical indicators. The third stage was an attempt for the questionnaire to have clearly formulated questions. At this stage, the content of the questionnaire, the type of questions, their formulation and their placement in the questionnaire were selected. The questionnaire consists of 22 questions and it is comprised from different type of questions. Some of them are dichotomous, some are calibration questions, that is, the respondent can answer only one of the existing answers and in some the respondent is asked to rate a category of answers on a Likert scale. Most questions are closed type, which are easy to complete and codify. Also, they allow the variables to be correlated and compared between different groups of the sample and through these, more specific and “focused” results can be derived (Creswell, 2011).

The questionnaire is divided into four parts. The first part consists of simple non-threatening dichotomous questions, such as demographics, in order to generate interest, encourage participation and create incentives to complete the questionnaire (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). The second part contains questions regarding the participant’s SEB. These questions concern the professional status and educational level of participant’s parents. In the third part, the questions relate to participant’s

academic performance, the help he/she received from his/her parents and the impact of his/her social origin. Finally, the fourth part has questions about the participant's career path and how it was influenced by SEB and academic performance.

The questionnaire also contained a small text with a brief description of the research purpose and emphasized on confidentiality. In addition, each question was supplemented with instructions to help participants to understand how to respond. Finally, at the end of the questionnaire the researcher thanked the participants for the time they spent on completing it.

3.4.2. Semi-structured interviews

Interview as method is one of the most well-known tools for data collection, as the researcher submits to the interviewee a series of questions to answer (Tsiolis, 2014). Interview is the interaction between individuals led by the researcher in order to obtain information related to the research topic (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). It is used for in-depth exploration of views, experiences, emotions, perceptions, beliefs and motivations of individuals in relation to specific issues (Dicicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Aims to reveal aspects of personality recognize behaviors and create a "mental content" (Mialaret, 1997). In general, it is based on free and open communication and as a data mining technique, helps the researcher not only to approach his subject in depth, but also to utilize his experiences and feelings (Kedra, 2008). Furthermore, interviews help researchers in educational studies to understand lived experiences, as well as the range and variation in perspectives and opinions about a phenomenon. It offers in-depth, contextualized and individualized data that can assist researchers in education to comprehend the researched topic from different perspectives (Frey, 2018).

It has the advantage to deepen even more, where it was unclear what has been said, as the interviewer has the opportunity to clarify some of the answers by making follow-up questions (Kedra, 2008). Also, the interviewer with his presence can ensure mutual understanding with the interviewee, as he may simplify or rephrase those questions that were misunderstood and provide more accurate data for the research (Alshenqeti, 2014). In addition, through the recordings of an interview the collected data can be reviewed several times and produce accurate research findings (Berg, 2009). Also, because of its directness interview usually finds great acceptance from

the participants (Kedra, 2008). Additionally, it offers the opportunity to find out information that may be inaccessible using other tools, such as the questionnaire (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2006).

However, interviews gain a lot of criticism for being time-consuming, because its data need to be transcribed, coded and sometimes translated (Robson, 2011). Also, a large amount of data can be collected through interviews and is essential for researchers to distinguish and highlight everything important for their study (Alshenqeti, 2014). Another drawback is the risk of hasty questions, which may possibly result in inaccurate or misleading data (Paraskevopoulou-Kolia, 2008). Generally, a researcher should always keep in mind that, the responses of people in an interview, to some degree, are shaped from many different factors. Their answers can be affected from the questions they were asked, from what they might think the interviewer approves and from conventions on what is appropriate to be spoken (Hammersley & Gomm, 2008). Interview might be one of the most enjoyable and revealing methods, but it is also deceptively difficult (Alshenqeti, 2014).

The interview types vary depending on research questions, methodological approach and specific study goals (Frey, 2018). They are mainly divided into structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Galanis, 2018). Semi-structured interviews include some key questions that help researchers identify the most important research areas and give the opportunity both to participants and researchers to expand on the topic in greater depth (Gil et al, 2008). Interviewers using semi-structured interviews lead participants to a certain extent, facilitate them to focus on topic and give opportunities to expand. They are flexible and can lead to important information, which were not perceived as that important from the researcher before the interview (Galanis, 2018). In this study semi-structured interview was selected because it can provide a deeper understanding of the trends that emerged from the questionnaires and richer data to use in the analysis.

The interview guide (Appendix 3) was carefully designed to include general questions and allow subjects to express themselves freely. After being informed about the research, the participants expressed their experiences. Some introductory questions about the demographic and social characteristics of the sample (age, educational and occupational status) were preceded. Next, the categories of analysis related to the

purpose and research questions. Based on this, the interview guide was divided into four thematic categories in order to ensure adherence on the purpose of the study. The first category contains questions about the socio-economic status and educational level of the participant's family. The second category relates to the academic performance the participant had at all school levels, if he had succeeded in entering the university, to what department and the role of his/her family and his/her social background. The third category concerned the participant's occupational status, the reason for choosing it and the perceived impact of his socio-economic background on this choice. Finally, in the fourth thematic category there are reflective questions on what they would have changed.

3.5. Research sample

The sample from both parts of the study consists of individuals living in a medium size city of Greece (Ioannina), who have completed Secondary education shortly before or during the financial crisis. They are people who after High school either continued their studies in Tertiary education or entered the labor market. The population for the quantitative part is 101 individuals aged between 26-30 years old. Correspondingly, for the qualitative part 4 individuals were interviewed. The reason this sample was selected is that there is a deficit in Greek literature, as most research on educational inequalities measures data or investigates beliefs from school or university students. Thus, this study gives the opportunity to young adults to reflect on their school path and their subsequent educational and vocational choices. Also, the specific sample offers the opportunity to assess the impact of economic crisis on both their academic performance and their occupational choices, because the crisis began when all of them were at school and continued for a long time after they had finished.

Moreover, the path that individuals take from dependency in childhood to independence in adulthood is now more complicated and longer one than it used to be. The specific age group was chosen as at that point of time, most of these "young adults" are in long-term relationships, live on their own and have clear career paths. This life stage is dependent upon the social, family and personal resources they possess. Also, during this stage occurs a social, cognitive and psychological development. Individuals begin to develop the necessary qualities to assume more

adult roles and responsibilities, become self-sufficient, engage in mature, committed relationships and obtain an educational level and training that sets the foundation for work during the adult years (Wood et al., 2017).

Also, as mentioned above the sample comes from a medium size city of Greece called Ioannina. The city was picked not only because conveniently is the hometown of the researcher, but also there are some interesting facts that need to be clarified. According to the National Statistical Service of Greece, the region of Ioannina has the highest percentage of unemployment in the country and especially in the age groups 15-24 and 25-34. Thus, it is intended through the research to be shown the impact that economic crisis had in this region especially in young ages.

The sampling method that was selected for the interviews and questionnaires was convenient or purposive. With this method, the sample is chosen on the basis of convenience of the researcher (Acharya et al., 2013). More specifically, the participants from both qualitative and quantitative part were people the researcher already knew from before, met the criteria of the study and accepted to participate. This method has the advantages that there is no need for a list of all the population elements and that is less expensive. However, its primary drawback derives from the fact that without any kind of selection rules, there is no easy way to understand which exactly wider population the specific sample group represents or how the specific sample might differ from other potential ones. Also, variability and bias cannot be measured or controlled and the results from the data cannot be generalized (Tansey, 2007). Nonetheless, in spite of the above limitations, the specific sampling technique was chosen due to the lack of funds and the fact that there is not enough time for another method to be used in the timeframe of a master program. However, the sample attempted to have typical cases that best represent the population under examination.

3.6. Data collection

The questionnaires were given to participants in February and interviews were conducted in March 2020. The pilot checking of the questionnaire was preceded by early-form questionnaires, which were distributed to a small sample, in order to provide feedback on its content, structure and language. Correspondingly, for the interviews, two pilot interviews were conducted and their evaluation provided useful

feedback for improvement. Their answers and observations have greatly helped to formulate the content, sequence and final formulation of the interview. The pilot phase was very important in order to avoid misunderstandings in the formulation of the questions and its participants were excluded from the final sample (Creswell, 2011).

All participants were given a consent form (Appendix 1) to sign their voluntary participation in the research. The final questionnaire was distributed and completed on-line. The researcher explained the topic, the objectives of the research, and provided necessary supplementary instructions. The duration for completion of the questionnaire was 5-10 minutes. Similarly, the interviews were conducted at the researcher's home, providing the appropriate conditions for the respondents to feel comfortable and friendly. This gave participants the necessary time and convenience for an in-depth interview. Their duration ranged from 30:00-45:00 minutes. Dialogs were recorded in a modern recorder to ensure no loss of data. Finally, the researcher thanked them and asked if they wanted a summary of the research results (Creswell, 2011). Also, it should be noted that the interviews were conducted in Greek and then translated.

3.7. Data analysis

The processing of the questionnaires was carried out with the social sciences statistical program SPSS. The methods of analysis selected are the Descriptive Statistics with the aim of describing and presenting the various trends observed and the chi square χ^2 statistical criterion, in order to investigate statistically significant relationships between variables.

For the interviews a thematic analysis was applied, which is the systematic understanding of repetitive patterns within a dataset (Tsiolis, 2014). The analysis involves obtaining an overview of the data and then the coding of themes raised (Creswell, 2011). The extracts that provided information for each research question were identified and coding started. This was an inductive process to extract meaning from the data and then yield it with a code. In the next step, the codes were compared and merged to produce the themes that function as answers to the research questions. Finally, the presented findings are enriched with individual extracts from interviews for better documentation (Tsiolis, 2014).

The qualitative and quantitative data were used in a complementary way. More particularly, the qualitative data were used in order to enrich and enhance the quantitative data. The rationale was to increase the research results interpretability, meaningfulness and validity by both capitalizing on the strengths of the methods and counteracting their inherent biases (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989).

3.7.1. Socio-economic categorization and educational level of the sample

For the socio-economic analysis of the data, the participants were divided into three major categories. The main criterion for this categorization was parental occupation, which is influenced by their education and at the same time determines the social prestige and financial earnings of the family. The categorization of each occupation in this study has been based on the categorization of other Greek studies and the personal estimation of the researcher on Greek reality. It should also be noted that the need to merge into three socio-economic categories may not make apparent the real impact of occupation. This is because there may be parents who practice lower professions but may have high incomes, possibly through other financial sources. Thus, the participants were sorted in three different categories (Low, Medium and High Socio-economic Background) depending on their parents' occupation:

- A). High Socio-economic Background: Managers, Professionals
- B). Medium Socio-economic Background: Technicians and associate professionals, Clerical support workers, Armed forces occupations, Service and sales workers
- C). Low Socio-economic Background: Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, Craft and related trades workers, Plant and machine operators and assemblers, Elementary occupations, Unemployed (Thanos, 2015)

Finally, in order to categorize the educational level of both participants and their parents it was used the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). In particular, ISCED is the reference classification for organizing education programs and related qualifications by education levels and fields. It is a product of international agreement and it is adopted from all UNESCO members. Also, it is designed to serve as a framework to classify educational activities as defined in programs into internationally agreed categories. Therefore, the basic definitions of

ISCED are intended to be internationally valid and comprehensive of the full range of education systems (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012).

3.8. Research reliability and validity

Apart from proper planning of research, effort was made to ensure the reliability and validity of research. Reliable research is the one whose results are consistent (Creswell, 2011), in other words, ensuring the same result in repeated measurements (Robson, 2011). In the present study a sufficient degree of reliability was ensured by making the questions in a clear way and the formulation of an accurate, complete and adequate research design. Also, fuzzy and lengthy questions that may have been difficult for participants were avoided and it was offered a description of the researcher's role (Iosifidis, 2003). Also, the researcher payed a lot of attention on technical issues that might occur, such as equipment malfunction and recording errors (Robson, 2011).

Validity is the degree to which the findings of a research correspond to reality and accuracy of a result (Robson, 2011). In simple words it is about whether they are accurate, correct or true. The researcher's discreet and impartial attitude, as well as the pilot study in order to test and develop the questionnaire and the interview contributed to this. Accurate data collection was done through transcription and faithful recording of dialogues to produce valid results. Thus, the analysis focused on the findings accuracy and correct interpretation (Creswell, 2011).

3.9. Ethical and deontological issues

Research ethics have become an important topic for every researcher, as it appears that there is a growing concern regarding the ethical dimension on the design and implementation of research. The field of social sciences has developed a lot and this has brought an increasing awareness on the ethical issues (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2018).

From the researcher's part, the observance of the ethical issues, were very important in order to conduct the study, because ethical issues that are encountered in educational research, could be particularly complex and usually create difficulties to researchers. Thus, there are some basic principles that the researcher should follow in order for his research to respect ethics. Voluntarily participation, confidentiality, no

harm to the participants and no deception are some of the most important rules that every researcher needs to follow (Tsiolis, 2014).

In this particular study, in order to achieve the rule of voluntarily participation, before asking them to participate, the participants were fully informed of the topic and the motives of the study (Aspraki, 2004). In addition, regarding the issue that no harm should be inflicted to the participants during a research project, prior their participation, there was a discussion between the researcher and participants, regarding the possible risks that they could face from their participation. Furthermore, the researcher distributed to the participants from both parts of the research a paper of Informed Consent Agreement to sign, with all the necessary information regarding the study (identity of the researcher, what is the topic and purpose of the study, possible risks), so that they were fully aware of the risks and the topic of the research. Also, from the part of the researcher there was no intention to deceive the participants regarding the topic of the study in order to collect the data.

In order for a study to guarantee confidentiality the researcher and the people who read the research should not be able to identify the participants from their responses. Thus, in this particular research, the interview participants that did not want their names to be visible, as soon the researcher assured that there is no need for additional information from the respondents, all the identifying data were removed and the names were replaced with pseudonyms. In addition, in order to ensure confidentiality of the questionnaire data, all names and addresses were removed from the questionnaire and were replaced from identification numbers. Finally, after the completion of the study, the data from both parts of the research were destroyed (Babbie, 2014).

3.10. Study limitations

Concluding this chapter, it is worth mentioning the limitations of the research, which influence the findings and conclusions and cannot be ignored. Firstly, all research methodology manuals point out that it makes sense to have limitations on any real-world research. These limitations are due to a number of factors such as inadequate variable measurements, lack of participants, small sample sizes, measurement errors, and other factors commonly associated with data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2011).

The discussion of the limitations of this research can start from the sample size. The sample was found to be satisfactory for investigating these variables according to purpose and research questions. However, its small size cannot lead to generalized conclusions. The sampling method used also has limitations, as the sample is unrepresentative for the whole population. These limitations do not allow for generalizations, but what it gives is clues that lead to findings that may give rise to further investigation (Katsillis, 2006).

Another research limitation concerns the answers provided from the data collection tools, as we cannot know whether the individuals who completed them are telling the truth or whether the information they provide is accurate (Stamelos & Dakopoulou, 2006). Finally, regarding the qualitative part, each researcher finds it difficult to deal with his own data objectively as it carries his own experiences (Creswell, 2011).

Chapter 4

Analysis and presentation of the research data

In this section of the study there is the presentation of the data collected from the questionnaires and the interviews. In the beginning, they are presented the data coming from the first part of the study, the quantitative part. After that, follows the presentation of the data from the qualitative part of the study. In both parts the data are presented in subcategories in order to make more understandable and clear the findings.

4.1. Quantitative part of the study

The sample that took part in the quantitative part was 101 individuals between 26-30 years old that currently live in the city of Ioannina (Greece). The populations' gender is 48 female (47.5%) and 53 male (52.5%). Most of the participants N=52 (51.5%) are graduates of Tertiary education or N=20 (19.8%) have a master's degree (ISCED level 7). Also, N=17 (16.8%) of the participants have graduated till High school, another N=3 (3%) have some post-secondary, but non-tertiary education (ISCED level 4) and finally N=9 (8.9%) of the participants have completed a short-cycle Tertiary education course/program (ISCED level 5).

Table 1. Participants' education level

	Frequency	Percentages
Completed High school (ISCED level 3)	17	16.8%
Post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED level 4)	3	3.0%
Short-cycle Tertiary education course (ISCED level 5)	9	8.9%
Bachelor's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 6)	52	51.5%
Master's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 7)	20	19.8%
Total	101	100,0

Generally, the majority of those that have fulfilled Tertiary education level were graduates of the Educational sciences N=26 (29.7%). Also, N=12 (13.5%) were graduates of Engineering, N=12 (13.5%) from Health Sciences, N=9 (10.1%) from IT sciences and another N=9 (10.1%) from Natural sciences. Finally, in smaller percentages were N=6 (6.7%) from Finance and Administration, N=5 (5.6%) from Humanities, N=4 (4.5%) from General programs, N=3 (3.4%) from Services, N=2 (2.2%) from Social Sciences and N=1 (1.1%) from Law.

Most of the participants are working at the moment N=69 (68.3%), while N=32 (31.7%) are unemployed. More particularly, the majority N=33 (32.7%) are in the Professionals occupational group while in the other groups there are much less as it can be seen from the table below.

Table 2. Employment status

	Frequency	Percentages
Managers	2	2.0%
Professionals	33	32.7%
Technicians and associate professionals	6	5.9%
Clerical support workers	8	7.9%
Service and sales workers	13	12.9%
Craft and related trades workers	2	2.0%
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	1	1.0%
Elementary occupations	4	4.0%
Unemployed	32	31.7%
Total	101	100,0

From the above data it is understood that the sample of the participants is almost equally divided regarding their gender and that most of the participants have completed Tertiary education level. However, almost one out of three of the sample has not attended university. Also, it should be mentioned the big percentage that are currently unemployed, which is indicating the situation of employment in Greece, especially in young ages and the impact of the economic crisis.

Parental educational level and occupation, which are important aspects of the participants' SEB and help to build the concept of social origin, are presented below. Firstly, for both parents their educational level is quite similar. The majority of the mothers have completed High school N=37 (36.6%) and N=24 (23.8%) are university graduates, while there are few N=1 (1.0%) of the mothers who have not completed Primary education. Correspondingly, the majority of the fathers N=29 (28.7%) have completed High school and N=24 (23.8%) are university graduates. The percentage of fathers who have not completed Primary education is a little higher than mothers N=4 (4.0%) and also there are few N=2 (2.0%) who have a PhD and N=1 (1.0%) have a master's degree.

Table 3. Parental education level

	Father education	Mother education
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	Frequency	Percentages	Frequency	Percentages
Less than primary education (ISCED 0)	4	4.0%	1	1.0%
Primary education (ISCED 1)	14	13.9%	6	5.9%
Lower secondary education- Gymnasium (ISCED 2)	10	9.9%	16	15.8%
Completed High school (ISCED level 3)	29	28.7%	37	36.6%
Post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED level 4)	10	9.9%	8	7.9%
Short-cycle tertiary education course (ISCED level 5)	7	6.9%	5	5.0%
Bachelor's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 6)	24	23.8%	24	23.8%
Master's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 7)	1	1.0%	4	4.0%
Doctoral or equivalent level (ISCED 8)	2	2.0%	0	0%
Total	101	100.0	101	100.0

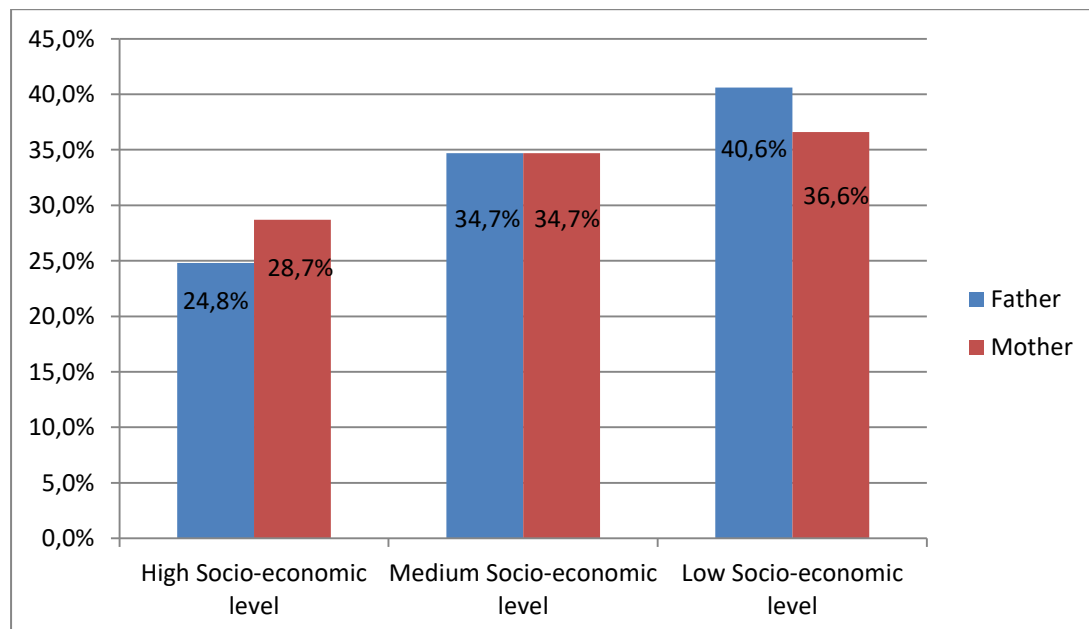
The table below shows parents' occupational categories group. Most of the participants' fathers N=26 (25.7%) are occupied as Craft and related trades workers, while there are many N=19 (18.8%) who are Professionals and N=16 (15.8%) in Armed forces. It should be mentioned that none of them was unemployed. Accordingly, the majority of mothers are in the Professionals group N=24 (23.8%), while there are significant percentages of them working as Service and sales workers N=19 (18.8%) and N=19 (18.8%) on Elementary occupations. Also, there is a high percentage of mothers N=13 (12.9%) who are unemployed and they are mainly occupied with the household chores.

Table 4. Parental occupation categories

	Father occupation		Mother occupation	
	Frequency	Percentages	Frequency	Percentages
Armed forces occupations	16	15.8%	2	2.0%
Managers	6	5.9%	5	5.0%
Professionals	19	18.8%	24	23.8%
Technicians and associate professional	3	3.0%	3	3.0%
Clerical support workers	9	8.9%	12	11.9%
Service and sales workers	7	6.9%	18	17.8%
Skilled agricultural, forestry workers	2	2.0%	1	1.0%
Craft and related trades workers	26	25.7%	3	3.0%
Plant and machine operators	6	5.9%	1	1.0%
Elementary occupations	7	6.9%	19	18.8%
Unemployed (Household)	0	0%	13	12.9%
Total	101	100.0	101	100.0

From the above data it is understood that regarding parental education both parents have similar numbers in every category. The only difference that is worth mentioning is the bigger percentage that fathers who may have completed or not Primary education compared to mothers. Regarding parental occupation there are noticeable differences in some of the professional categories. At first in the Armed forces occupations and the category of Craft and related trades workers which are mainly comprised from men. Also, it should be mentioned the big difference between the two genders in the group of Elementary occupations where women are the majority. Finally, there is a big difference between the parents who were unemployed, with mothers being the only ones that might not work in order to manage the household chores. Generally the sample consists from different socio-economic backgrounds and after the categorization made by the researcher, as explained in the previous chapter; most of the parents are in the medium or low socio-economic level. In particular, N=25 (24.8%) of the fathers belong to High socioeconomic level, N=35 (34.7%) in Medium socioeconomic level and N=41 (40.6%) in Low socioeconomic level. Accordingly, N=29 (28.7%) of the mothers belong to High socioeconomic level, N=35 (34.7%) in Medium socioeconomic level and N=37 (36.6%) in Low socioeconomic level.

Table 5. Socio-economic level of parents



4.1.1. Parental education level and academic performance

From the collected data there is statistically significant relationship between mother education level and the participants academic performance ($\chi^2(21)=53.285$, $p<0.05$, $V=0.419$), but not with fathers' educational level.

Table 6. Mothers' education level and academic performance

		Academic performance				Total
		0-10	10.1-15	15.1-17	17.1-20	
Mother education level	Less than primary education (ISCED 0)	0	0	1	0	1
	Primary education (ISCED 1)	1	3	0	2	6
	Lower secondary education - Gymnasium (ISCED 2)	0	6	7	3	16
	Completed High school (ISCED level 3)	0	6	10	21	37
	Post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED level 4)	0	1	4	3	8
	Short-cycle tertiary education course (ISCED level 5)	0	2	2	1	5
	Bachelor's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 6)	0	1	2	21	24
	Master's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 7)	1	0	2	1	4
	Total	2	19	28	52	101

4.1.2. Parental occupation and academic performance

From the data it was found that there is significant relationship between mothers' socio-economic level and participants highest educational level ($\chi^2(8)=17.952$, $p=0.022<0.05$, $V=0.298$). However, there is no relationship between parental (either mother or father) socio-economic level and participants' academic performance.

Table 7. Mothers' socio-economic level and participants' educational level

	Mothers' socio-economic level			Total
	Low socio-economic category	Medium socio-economic category	High socio-economic category	
Completed High school (ISCED level 3)	6	7	4	17

Participants educational level	Post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED level 4)	3	0	0	3
	Short-cycle tertiary education course (ISCED level 5)	7	1	1	9
	Bachelor's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 6)	14	23	15	52
	Master's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 7)	7	4	9	20
	Total	37	35	29	101

4.1.3. Type of school

The type of school that participants attended in the third grade of High school was also used to measure the impact of SEB on their academic performance. During the third grade of High school most of the participants N=84 (83.2%) attended General High school, N=11 (10.9%) attended EPAL (Vocational upper secondary school), N=4 (4.0%) attended Private High school and N=2 (2.0%) attended Evening High school. There is a statistically significant correlation between their academic performance and the type of school they attended ($\chi^2(9)=27.038$, $p=0.001<0.05$, $V=0.299$).

Table 8. Academic performance and type of school

		Type of school				Total
		General High school	EPAL (Vocational upper secondary school)	Private High school	Evening High school	
Academic performance	0-10	1	0	1	0	2
	10.1-15	12	6	0	1	19
	15.1-17	24	3	0	1	28
	17.1-20	47	2	3	0	52
	Total	84	11	4	2	101

4.1.4. Private tutoring

As for the kind of private tutoring they had during High school, N=48 (47.5%) had group private lessons, N=13 (12.9%) had individual private tutoring, N=23 (22.8%) had both in group and on their own private lessons and N=17 (16.8%) did not have any private tutoring at all. Accordingly, there is a statistically significant correlation

between their graduation grade and the kind of private lessons they had ($\chi^2(9)=38.796, p<0.05, V=0.358$).

Table 9. Academic performance and type of private tutoring

		Type of private tutoring				Total
		Group private lessons	Individual private lessons	Both group and individual private	No private lessons	
Academic performance	0-10	0	0	0	2	2
	10.1-15	6	2	2	9	19
	15.1-17	11	1	11	5	28
	17.1-20	31	10	10	1	52
Total		48	13	23	17	101

From the above it can be seen the impact that a school and a private tutoring has on academic performance. However, the tests showed that there is no relationship between the father or mother socio-economic level and the kind of private tutoring or type of school the participants attended. This means that the parents of the sample independently of their economic situation tried to help their children with the best way they could.

4.1.5. Parental involvement

According to the data coming from the sample of this study N=1 (1.0%) totally disagree with the statement that their parents were interested with their school performance, N=6 (5.9%) neither agree nor disagree, N=36 (35.6%) agree, N=58 (57.4%) totally agree. Also, there is statistically significant relation between the participants' academic performance and the interest that their parents' had for their performance ($\chi^2(9)=17.249, p=0.045<0.05, V=0.239$).

Table 10. Parents interest in school performance and academic performance

		Parents interest in school performance					Total
		Totally disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Totally agree	
Academic performance	0-10	0	0	1	0	1	2
	10.1-15	0	0	2	4	13	19
	15.1-17	0	0	0	16	12	28
	17.1-20	1	0	3	16	32	52
Total		1	0	6	36	58	101

The interest that parents show in school performance is an important factor that affects academic performance and this interest many times is correlated with the parent's social and educational level. In the data of this study it was found that there is statistically significant relationship between fathers' education level and the interest parents showed for the school performance ($\chi^2(24)=59.085$, $p<0.05$, $V=0.442$).

Table 11. Parents interest in school performance and father's education level

		Parents interest in school performance					
		Totally disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Totally agree	Total
Father's Education Level	Less than primary education (ISCED 0)	0	0	0	2	2	4
	Primary education (ISCED 1)	0	0	2	4	8	14
	Lower secondary education - Gymnasium (ISCED 2)	0	0	1	4	5	10
	Completed High school (ISCED level 3)	0	0	2	12	15	29
	Post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED level 4)	0	0	1	3	6	10
	Short-cycle tertiary education course (ISCED level 5)	0	0	0	1	6	7
	Bachelor's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 6)	0	0	0	9	15	24
	Master's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 7)	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Doctoral or equivalent level (ISCED 8)	1	0	0	1	0	2
	Total	1	0	6	36	58	101

Moreover, the questionnaire data showed no relationship between the parents' interest in school performance and their socio-economic level.

4.1.6. Studies after High school

The participants responded to the statement "My parents were interested in order for me to continue my studies after school" that N=1 (1.0%) totally disagree, N=1 (1.0%) disagree, N=7 (6.9%) neither agree nor disagree, N=13 (12.9%) agree and N=79 (78.2%) totally agree. It should be noted that there is statistically significant

correlation between the interest of their parents to continue their studies after High school and their academic performance ($\chi^2(12)=26.807$, $p=0.008<0.005$, $V=0.297$).

Table 12. Parents interest to continue their studies after High school and academic performance

		Parents interest to continue studies after High school					
		Totally disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Totally agree	Total
Academic performance	0-10	0	0	1	0	1	2
	10.1-15	0	1	3	1	14	19
	15.1-17	0	0	1	9	18	28
	17.1-20	1	0	2	3	46	52
Total		1	1	7	13	79	101

It has not been found any relationship between this variable and their parents' socio-economic level. Nevertheless, mother's educational level and participants' parents interest to continue their studies have a statistically significant relationship ($\chi^2(28)=44.894$, $p<0.005$, $V=0.333$).

Table 13. Parents interest to continue studies after High school and mother's education level

		Parents interest to continue studies after High school					
		Totally disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Totally agree	Total
Mother's Education Level	Less than primary education (ISCED 0)	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Primary education (ISCED 1)	0	0	3	0	3	6
	Lower secondary education - Gymnasium (ISCED 2)	1	1	1	4	9	16
	Completed High school (ISCED level 3)	0	0	1	6	30	37
	Post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED level 4)	0	0	0	1	7	8
	Short-cycle tertiary education course (ISCED level 5)	0	0	0	1	4	5
	Bachelor's or equivalent level	0	0	2	0	22	24

degree (ISCED level 6)						
Master's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 7)	0	0	0	0	4	4
Total	1	1	7	13	79	101

Moreover, in the statement “My parents encouraged me to do the specific studies after High school” the responses were N=16 (15.8%) totally disagree, N=14 (13.9%) disagree, N=25 (24.8%) neither agree nor disagree, N=27 (26.7%) agree, N=14 (13.9%) totally agree and there is N=5 (5.0%) that did not respond. Also, there is not any significant relationship between this variable and the mothers or fathers socio-economic level.

4.1.7. Employment status and SEB

The tests showed that there is no relationship between father's or mother's socioeconomic level and the participants' employment status (If they are unemployed or not). Similarly, there was not any relationship between fathers or mothers educational level and the participants' employment status. Also, there was not any relationship between participants' educational level and their employment status.

Furthermore, for the participants that work at the moment there was no relationship between the type of occupation they do and their parents' socio-economic level. The same applies for the parents' educational level and the type of occupation that participants do. This can also be seen from the answer of the participants in the statement “I chose this occupation because my parents do a similar one”, where most of them N=84 (83.2%) responded that they totally disagree, N=3 (3.0%) disagree, N=4 (4.0%) neither agree nor disagree, N=5 (5.0%) agree and N=5 (5.0%) totally agree. In addition in the statement “My parents directed me to choose this occupation” N=21 (20.8%) of the participants said that they totally disagree, N=21 (20.8%) that they disagree, N=32 (31.7%) neither agree nor disagree, N=13 (12.9%) agree and N=14 (13.9%) totally agree.

4.1.8. Academic performance and career path

Another aspect that was measured through the questionnaires referred on the relationship between the participants' school performance and their career choices afterwards. In the statement “My school performance is one of the reasons that made me choose this occupation” the answers varied with N=30 (29.7%) totally disagree,

N=14 (13.9%) disagree, N=20 (19.8%) neither agree nor disagree, N=23 (22.8%) agree and N=14 (13.9%) totally agree. Moreover, the test showed that there is no relationship between the participants' employment status and their educational level. However, it was found a statistically significant relationship between the participants' educational level and the type of job they do ($\chi^2(28)=50.083$, $p=0.006<0.05$, $V=0.426$). Accordingly, it was found significant relationship between participants' educational level and their current socio-economic status ($\chi^2(8)=19.671$, $p=0.012<0.05$, $V=0.312$).

Table 14. Participants' socio-economic status and participants' educational level

		Participants' socio-economic status			Total
		Low socio-economic status	Medium socio-economic status	High socio-economic status	
Participants educational level	Completed High school (ISCED level 3)	11	5	1	17
	Post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED level 4)	3	0	0	3
	Short-cycle tertiary education course (ISCED level 5)	3	4	2	9
	Bachelor's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 6)	18	14	20	52
	Master's or equivalent level degree (ISCED level 7)	4	4	12	20
	Total	39	27	35	101

4.1.9. Career path inside the economic crisis

As seen above, in the questionnaires the participants were called to show their level of agreement in given statements. In the section that was dedicated on the measurement of SEB and their career choices, there were statements regarding financial crisis and career choices. Firstly, in the statement "I chose this occupation because it does not need a lot of requirements in order to work" N=50 (49.5%) of the participants responded that they totally disagree, N=22 (21.8%) disagree, N=13 (12.9%) neither agree nor disagree, N=7 (6.9%) agree and N=9 (8.9%) totally agree. Also, in the statement "I chose this profession in order to directly or indirectly financially help my parents" N=34 (33.7%) of the participants totally disagree, N=18 (17.8%) disagree,

N=29 (28.7%) neither agree nor disagree, N=12 (11.9%) agree and N=8 (7.9%) totally agree.

4.2. Qualitative part of the study

In the qualitative part of the study participated 4 individuals (3 male, 1 female) 28-30 years old, that currently live in Ioannina. More particularly, interviewee 1 (I1) comes from medium SEB and his parents educational level is high, because both of them have master degree (ISCED level 7). He is a university student in Material Sciences and at the moment he is unemployed. Interviewee 2 (I2) comes from low SEB and his parents' educational level is low as his parents have completed Gymnasium (ISCED level 2). He has a degree from Short-cycle tertiary education (ISCED level 5) and he currently works as a security guard. Interviewee 3 (I3) comes from low SEB and the educational level of his parents is low as both of them completed Gymnasium (ISCED level 2). He is an EPAL (Technical-Vocational High school) graduate and he currently works as a web designer. Finally, interviewee 4 (I4) comes from high SEB and her parents educational level is high, as both of them have a bachelor's degree (ISCED level 6). She is a master graduate and she currently works as a Primary education teacher.

4.2.1. Type of school

From the responses of the participants in the interviews it is visible that the type of school affected their academic performance. The response of the first interviewee (I1), who is the first born among his brothers and sisters, is very characteristic.

“Two of my siblings who went to private High school had almost 20 in their graduation grade. I went to a public High school and my grade was not that good. Of course my family could not afford to send all of their kids to private schools” (I1).

It is visible here that his parents after their experience with I1, decided that the public school is not capable to offer what they expected in order for their children to succeed. Thus, having the necessary financial capital, took the decision to change the type of school for their other kids and turn to private education instead.

Also, it should be noted that individuals who chose EPAL (Vocational upper secondary school), did so because they did not have good academic performance the

previous academic years. So they chose an institution with less requirements and expectations, but still they had poor academic performance. For instance interviewee 2 (I2) and interviewee 3 (I3) who come from low SEB did not have good academic performance during Gymnasium (ISCED level 2) and they chose to attend EPAL instead of general High school.

“...in EPAL it was easier for me, cause it does not have the same expectations as general High school” (I2).

“I wasn’t good enough to go to general High school. In Gymnasium I was a middle performance student, so if I went to general High school I think I would be bad student.” (I3).

Thus, they chose to attend the Vocational High school because they did not feel capable enough in order to meet the demands of general High school. It is interesting here to combine these data with the previous response of I1. As it is visible, the parents of I1 who come from medium SEB realized that public school provides less opportunity in terms of school performance and sent their other children to private schools. On the other hand, I2 and I3 who come from low SEB, their parents did not blame school for their academic performance and they just lower their expectations for their children and directed them to attend Vocational High school, which is presumably easier.

4.2.2. Private tutoring

The data from the interviews are very interesting on this relationship and depict a different situation than the questionnaires. The families from I2 and I3, who come from low SEB, could not afford for their children to do any private tutoring in order to help them and this had influence on the academic performance.

“I didn’t have any extra help...I performed really badly in the exams...I have three sisters so my parents had to save money for them as well. That is why they could not spend money for any extra help in order to improve my performance” (I2).

“My parents could not afford any extra help...It was too much money for all the subjects that I was examined...I believe if I did private lessons, I could manage to attend university, but my parents had my sisters that they had to give money too” (I3).

As it is seen from their responses the parents of I2 and I3 did not have the necessary financial capital so that their children could attend any kind of private tutoring lesson. This obviously from their grades and their responses greatly affected their academic performance and raises a big issue of equality and democracy in education.

Also, the parents of I1 had the economic capacity for private lessons, but in small groups, which according to him affected his performance.

“In group private tutoring I did not feel comfortable with ten other people in the classroom. I would prefer to do individual private tutoring. Actually, before the final exams in the group tutoring in Physics I scored only 4. However, after two months of individual private tutoring I managed and to score 16. Just from it. The group tutorial didn’t help me, even though it was supposed to be the best in Ioannina” (I1).

On the other hand I4, whose parents come from high SEB, could afford for her to do both group and alone private tutoring on every subject of her exams and that helped her to have a very good academic performance.

“I had private tutoring from the third grade of Gymnasium, where without even wanting to, I did a private lesson in Math. It was their insecurity (her parents)...In High school I did in group tutoring in every grade all the necessary subjects...In the third grade of High school I did private tutoring in every subject of the exams. Five of them I did it in group tutoring and one in individual tutoring, because it was cheaper. However, I did more extra lessons in some of the subjects that I already did in group tutoring” (I4).

“I think when I was in school and even if they (her parents) had a problem, if there was something we needed (her and her sibling) they would definitely do it. Especially in education, such as private tutoring. They would reduce some of their own needs to provide us with what we need” (I4).

From the above responses there is a pattern that can be seen relating academic performance with private tutoring and participants’ SEB. The socio-economic background is related with the kind of private tutoring the have attended and if they have attended at all. From low SEB parents because of their low financial capital chose for their children not to attend private tutoring at all, which had major impact to

their school performance. On the other hand I1 and I4 who come from medium and high SEB their parents considered as obligatory for their children to attend private tutoring. The difference between them which indicates the influence of SEB is the kind of private tutoring that they attended, with I1 going to group sessions and I4 was having a mix of group and individual sessions. This difference on the quality of private tutoring was visible to their performance as well.

4.2.3. Parental involvement

From the data of the interviews it is visible that parents' interest towards school performance is related with the participants' academic performance. At first, I2 and I3, who had poor academic performance and come from low SEB, their parents, did not show high interest for their school performance.

“I was studying on my own. As a student, you didn't call me a good student. I didn't study much. I was trying to do the best I could...My teachers told them (his parents) that I wasn't good and they didn't like it. They were telling me to study more, but they couldn't do anything else. If someone doesn't want to study, you can't press him to do it” (I2).

“Then at EPAL I was more relaxed and they didn't ask me how I was doing in class. They didn't even know what to ask” (I3).

From their responses it is visible that their parents did not show any significant interest for their performance. There are many factors that could explain this attitude such as their low cultural capital and education level. On the contrary, I1 and I4 who come from medium and high SEB, their parents had much different approach on their school performance and themselves had much better academic performance.

“She (his mother) made me read a lot of books. There was a lot of pressure to read books all the time. I think eventually that was very good for me and she probably did that, because she is a teacher...Whatever I did at school then I did it at home with their help. I remember it was too easy for me. I was all the time with a book in my hand and I had to learn to read and write” (I1).

“In elementary school I was one of the good students of my class. I had a lot of help from my mother who was always by my side when I was studying. Then in high school my mom helped me a lot again... She organized my studying a lot and sat next

to me and watched if I finished my lessons because otherwise I couldn't concentrate. She didn't let me go play outside every day. This organization helped me learn how to study on my own...In every level of education my parents were asking my teachers on my performance" (I4).

"...they wanted me to do well in every subject, not only the important ones. They wanted to help me learn in general. I think their profession played a role in that. Teachers cannot afford their children to have poor school performance" (I4).

In their case, the parents find it really important for their children to succeed in school. Thus, they were studying together, for a long period of time and tried to enhance their children's knowledge. It should be noted that both of them had a teacher as a parent. Thus, their parents knew what and how to teach their children in order to have a good academic performance.

4.2.4. Studies after High school

In the interview data, parents had different approach towards Tertiary education depending on their socio-economic level. In particular, the parents of interviewees I2 and I3 who come from low SEB did not have expectations for them to continue their studies after High school.

"I had also shown them (his parents) that I did not want to study. I wanted to work directly after school; I did not want to go to university" (I2).

"I didn't have the pressure that other students may have from their parents. Maybe, that is because my parents haven't studied anything particular. Since they haven't been in the university, they didn't think that it is important for their children. So, none of my sisters have a university degree and I couldn't finish my studies in university" (I3).

"There was never any pressure; they just asked me what I was going to do after school. I have the impression that this is mainly the case with parents who have studied and know what needs to be done. That counts. I was never pressured to go and become a doctor. It was my decision what to do and what to study and they respected it" (I3).

Even though the participants may not want to continue their studies after High school, their parents did not seem to show any particular interest towards Tertiary education. This also matches with their low expectations for their academic performance as it has been presented before. On the contrary, interviewee 1 and 4, who come from medium and high SEB, characteristically state their parents' ambition for them to continue their studies.

“There was the impression (in his household) that if you do not enter university you are not good enough and useless” (I1).

“There has never been a discussion involving the Vocational High school (EPAL) and there has never been a discussion without referring to university. It was obvious that I would go. They took it for granted. I also wanted to continue and that is why I was studying hard” (I4).

From their responses it is visible that their parents considered essential for their children to attend Tertiary education and always had high expectations for them.

Also, the interview data show that the parents of the participants, regardless their socio-economic status to some degree guided them towards a specific subject to study after High school.

“My parents found out about this school and told me to go there...It was for two years and I got the specialty of Mechanical engineer and operator...My parents urged me to go there in order to find job in the public sector” (I2).

“I was between three departments. Eventually I chose this (Primary Education teacher)...Mostly my father guided me to this” (I4).

On the other hand in I3 case it is visible the influence that parents might have to their education from a different perspective, where due to economic problems in his family, he chose to abandon his studies at university and return at his home town (Ioannina).

“I was a (university) student and I had to stop studying for that reason. There was no money to be able to continue living in another city and studying. I had a lot of expenses, rent, food and other things. It costs a lot to study in another city. But my parents' money had to go elsewhere. My father had to pay for his rent (because he

was leaving in another apartment now) and we (he and his mother) had loans to pay, so I had to stop” (I3).

From the above responses it is understood that depending on their socio-economic level parents have different approaches on Tertiary education in general and on what their child should study in particular. Generally, the parents with low socio-economic level did not have any particular interest if their child should continue his studies after High school. On the contrary, parents with high socio-economic level had much higher ambitions for their children and clearer target for their studies in the university.

4.2.5. Employment status and SEB

The interview data show that participants’ SEB did not affect their employment status. Firstly, I1 who comes from medium SEB is unemployed, while I2 and I3, who come from low SEB, are currently working. Also, even though the parental educational level of I2, I3 and I4 might be very different, all of them are currently employed.

Moreover, only one of the participants actually followed the same occupation as her parents and she admitted that they directed her towards this choice. The rest of them followed different kind of occupation and they did not follow the recommendations of their parents.

“...I chose this because my parents did the same profession. My father guided me mostly. They told me that it is a good profession with good money and I could work immediately. It has a lot of holidays and it’s easier to start a family...my parents did it so I knew what it offered” (I4).

Her response depicts how important is the image the children might form regarding their own occupation and the way this could affect them in their future career choices.

4.2.6. Academic performance and career path

The interview data show that academic performance of the participants did not affect if they had a job or not. For example, I2 who comes from low SEB and has a degree from Short-cycle tertiary education (ISCED level 5), found a job since he finished EPAL (Vocational High school).

“I didn’t have good school performance and I didn’t go to university. So I had to find a job immediately and whatever that could be” (I2).

His education level has not been an obstacle to find a job. However, the main difference between him and the other participants that have higher educational level can be seen from the type of job and what this job offers financially and socially. The interview data show that I2 and I3 who had poor academic performance could not find a job that would help them upgrade their status and at one level they blamed their academic performance for that.

“I couldn’t find anything else. They suggested me to do this job and I did. In the beginning I tried to find something else but I couldn’t” (I2).

“In the future, if I want to join a company, then it will play a role. A degree opens doors. That’s why I was thinking that it’s a pity I didn’t get it but it wasn’t my decision” (I3).

Thus, the academic performance according to their views is related with the type of job they are going to do, especially in Greece and the way the labor market is formed. Those with poor academic performance mostly found jobs with bad working conditions and low status, which cannot offer secure income.

“I was working as a security guard at a dairy factory in Ioannina. But things were difficult there. They didn’t pay on time and they gave me little money...Now with the job I do I still have to live with my parents and I don’t have to pay rent. It would be very difficult to find an apartment and live alone with the money I gain now. I would have to cut down a lot of stuff like food and going out” (I2).

“I was working on welding. The conditions there were bad and from there I realized that it is difficult to find a job. In general, it was not easy at that time to find a job” (I3).

At the same time I4 who had high school performance and continued to obtain as many certifications as she could to enhance her chances to find a job, she found a job with good income for the Greek society.

“...it is a secure and stable profession...it also offers professional stability (in the future)” (I4).

The contrasts that can be seen between the participants of this study show the importance of the academic performance in order to find a “good” occupation.

4.2.7. Career path inside the economic crisis

From the analysis of the interviews a theme that came up several times concerned the career paths of the participants and how these were affected from the economic crisis in Greece. It is understood that this situation affected all participants regardless their SEB and educational level, as all of them expressed many difficulties to find a job during this period because of the crisis. However, from their responses it could be seen that depending their SEB they faced different problems and in a different way. For example I2 and I3 who come from low SEB the crisis made difficult for them to find a job and especially an occupation that could offer them a stable and good income.

“At the time of the economic crisis it wasn’t easy for anyone to find a job...it was very difficult, because in my previous job they didn’t pay me. They gave me very little money and they were taking advantage of the economic crisis and that you couldn’t easily find a job. Even if you left, they could find another one, as there were many people looking for job, so they didn’t care. They were also delayed my payment for two months. This is a torment for the one who works. What will you do until you get paid? It was not easy at all. I had to cut a lot of personal expenses to make ends meet... there was a fear that you will lose the money that you have worked” (I2).

“I had gotten a job at a gas station and then at welding, but the conditions were very bad. There was too much exploitation in these jobs with little money. Certainly the economic crisis has made this situation worse. There weren’t many jobs to do specifically for me without a degree and some specialization” (I3).

According to their experiences, economic crisis affected everyone on their hunt to find a job. However, it can be seen that those from low SEB had to do jobs that did not offer any financial security. Combining the fact that they did not have any university degree, they did not have many chances during that period to find a “good” job. However, they felt obligated to do so because of their families’ low socio-economic level. Thus, they had to lower their expectations and ambitions on the type of job they could find. On the contrary I4 comes from high SEB experienced the impact of the crisis herself, but in a different way.

“When I finished (her studies) due to the economic crisis, the Greek state had stopped hiring teachers. Fortunately, my parents were able to support me until I found a job” (I4).

In addition the interview data show that during the economic crisis all participants regardless their SEB and their educational level had to search for a job with low requirements and standards in order to work.

“(He worked in a cafeteria) only for livelihood reasons and if I could find something else I would change it. But it was not possible. It’s one of the few jobs where you can quickly work and get paid. It is the easy solution” (I1).

“It’s hard without any degree to work. Of course, it also depends on what kind of job you are looking for. You can’t go to a cafeteria and be told I want a university degree. They want experience and knowledge” (I2).

“I waited programs from the state for unemployed. Look, whether you have a degree or not, it is difficult in Greece, especially during crisis” (I3).

“I was looking for anything not only for the profession I studied...Due to the economic crisis, you couldn’t find job easily. You could see people working only in cafes. I was looking everywhere but they didn’t take me because I had no experience. So even though I had many degrees, I was unemployed for a lot of time during this period” (I4).

From the above responses it is visible that economic crisis affected all of them in their job opportunities and their ambitions. They had to lower their expectations for their occupation, especially those who had the necessary titles to justify these ambitions for a job with good status and income.

4.2.8. Trust towards Greek educational system

From the interview data a lot of reports came concerning the views that people have towards the Greek educational system. All the participants of the interviews referred with strong belief on the incapability of the teachers from public schools to help them improve their school performance.

“There was a culture that school couldn’t help you at all, so you don’t have to bother with it and everything you do (for his school performance) is through private tutoring” (I1).

“I think at some level I can blame the teachers. In school, even though I was a weak student, I showed a willingness to become better. However, the teachers did not expect me to do anything better. From one point on, I didn’t care” (I2)

“Maybe the problem was on how my teachers did their class. I had many teachers at a very old age” (I3)

“Some teachers were very indifferent and did not care at all, except for a few exceptions” (I4).

From their answers it is visible that the school institution in Greece has a lot of problems and the situations that the participants faced were very similar regardless their SEB. That is why, according to I1, that Greek students feel obligated to take extra private lessons in order to be ready for their final exams.

“In public school, of course, teachers are not interested in teaching you, because they know that you do private tutoring after school in order to learn what you need to learn. They also know that students are not interested. So the class is like “tourism” ” (I1).

However, this is where a huge issue on democracy in education is raised, because not all the students have the capability to fill this gap in knowledge that the public education system creates.

4.2.9. Household situation

Another theme that emerged concerned the household situation in their school years. Especially for those from low SEB it is a subject that came up really prominent and according to them it affected a lot.

“I think the situation in the house is really important. Financial factors are prominent but from that depends if there is fuss and disagreements in the house, which can affect” (I2).

“My father (after his parents divorced) said that both of them should equally give me money in order to study. This made the situation very difficult. There was selfishness in the way and that’s why I had to stop my studies” (I3)

According to their answers, a house with a calm, supportive and friendly environment can offer better chances for a good academic performance. It is very interesting that this finding came up from the participants with low SEB, which shows that their homes may not have these necessary elements that could help them to succeed in education.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The interpretation of the data is based on the theoretical framework and other studies findings. The mixing of data from the two methods is often used to integrate the information and compare one data source with the other. However, the data may also reside side by side as two different images that provide an overall composite assessment of the problem. This model is used so that the researcher can gain and present broader perspectives as a result of using mixed methods. In an embedded mixed methods study, the quantitative and qualitative data collection may be presented in separate sections, but the analysis and interpretation combines the two forms of data in order to seek convergence or similarities among the results (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

5.1. Academic performance and SEB

Interesting findings emerged from both the quantitative and qualitative parts of the study regarding the relationship between academic performance and SEB. The discussion is divided in smaller subcategories in order to facilitate the reader.

5.1.1. Parental educational level and occupation

The level of parent education in a household has a significant influence on the interests a person develops for his future career. In addition, education is closely correlated with household income, as people with higher education tend to have a higher chance of finding a job and higher income (IOBE, 2018a). Therefore, parental education is a social trait that may significantly affect one's academic performance. The quantitative data showed that participants' academic performance had significant relationship only with their mother's educational level. This means that the higher the mother's educational level is the better academic performance participants had. Similarly, in the interview data the participants, whose parents had high educational level, had high academic performance, in contrast to those whose parents had low education level.

The influence of cultural capital, as it is located on the general educational level of the family and the school success of their children, is a key point of reference in Bourdieu's theory, as it is described in the theoretical framework, and had huge

impact in the participants of this study. High cultural capital of family has positive effect on school success, as children in these families perform better in all areas of knowledge (written and oral, mathematics and general performance), achieve greater academic success and more years of studies (Tourtouras, 2010). Bourdieu (1986) argues, that the power of parental cultural capital can balance or in some cases overcome the financial capital, however, in this study this was not observed. The participants whose parents have low educational level in both parts of the study had poor academic performance.

The questionnaire data also showed a strong relationship between mother socio-economic level and the educational level that the participants reached. Bourdieu (1986) commends parents' profession as a key factor for their children educational progress. Profession determines the family's financial capital and therefore ensures appropriate educational prospects. Parental financial capital may not always provide cultural capital, but it does strengthen and favor the access of children from privileged backgrounds to higher education through the financial and educational opportunities it offers them, as opposed to the non-privileged (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014).

The qualitative part of the study offered similar results, where the parents' profession is linked with a better academic performance. Occupation influences academic performance, duration of studies and study choices and Bourdieu in order to understand this phenomenon, as discussed in theoretical framework, introduced the term of cultural capital. Students from high SEB when they come to school, they already have the educational supplies that while not taught, create a predisposition for learning (Fragkoudaki, 1985). In this study this was observed in the quantitative data, but also the interviews gave a clearer image of the phenomenon. For example I4 has parents whose occupation offered high social, financial and cultural capital and that offered her many assets to succeed in education. In particular, her parents through their high financial capital could give her all the necessary assets that she needed to succeed, such as individual private tutoring.

Also, the parents of both I1 and I4 are teachers, which is an occupation that offers a high cultural capital and this had influenced participants' academic performance. They created a positive habitus towards education, while the participants from low SEB did not receive that from their families. The cultural capital that the family

inherits, intentionally or not, to its children is proportional to their occupation (Bourdieu, 1996). Occupation and the social status that provides offer specific “attitudes” towards education that can differ depending SEB. Families from upper social strata inherit to their children specific educational privileges, knowledge, mental skills and a system of values very close to that of school, such as a positive attitude towards learning and high expectations. These qualities, which the educational institution does not presuppose directly, however indirectly recognizes and rewards, are not a teaching result, but the creation of a long-term friction with educational goods. The school recognizes them as “intelligence” or “natural gifts”, ignoring that are socially inherited goods (Askouni, 2011).

On the contrary, the interview data of I2 and I3, whose parents’ occupation offers low social, financial and cultural capital, show that they both had poor academic performance and did not reach high educational levels, as both of them did not attend Tertiary education. Students from low socio-economic and cultural levels are at a disadvantage throughout school life, because they have been socialized on the basis of the “culture of poverty”, which differs from the prevailing dominant school culture. As a result they fail to continue their studies after Secondary education, which was the case observed in the interviews too. As it is mentioned from Bourdieu (1996) grades are the basic mechanism of the ruling class to exclude low SEB children from entering Tertiary education. Thus, the education system relinquishes responsibilities and transfers them to students and their families. This way, the class division of social classes is legitimized.

It is obvious that both parents’ educational level and occupation, which are main aspects of SEB, affected participants’ academic performance. This is consistent with the results of many studies dealing with the issue of academic performance in relation to SEB. It has been found that children of high SEB and teacher parents have more often excellent grades. On the other hand, students with parents of medium SEB have the highest percentage of medium grades, while children from the low SEB have the highest percentage of low grades (Liambas & Tourtouras, 2008). School, through grading, selects and ranks students not based on their qualifications and abilities, but according to their background. It favors and promotes the best students, who come, for the most part, from high and medium SEB, as it can be seen from the interview data. It favors them, as the knowledge they receive from home is consistent with

school education and so their school environment seems familiar and natural. It could be said that they come to school more to legalize what they have already established from their family than to actually learn. Then, as a natural development, these students are introduced to higher education and the departments that offer high socio-economic status (Bourdieu, 1996).

5.1.2. The type of school

The inability of the educational system to remove educational inequalities leads parents to solutions such as private tutoring or choosing a private school. As previously presented, the participants' academic performance in High school third grade was inextricably linked to the type of school and the type of private tutoring they attended.

The vast majority of participants attended the general High school, which indicates that the burden of preparing students for admission to Tertiary education is borne by the free, public, general High school. However, in both parts of the study it was observed that those who graduated from private High schools had achieved a very good academic performance and usually come from high SEB. It makes sense for these parents to have invested a portion of their financial capital in the "proper" education of their children. The literature shows that these parents prefer private schools, as they believe that they are better in terms of infrastructure, organization, mode of operation, educational programs and activities, teacher training, etc. In other words, focusing on their high income and social status, they provide the right supplies for their children, so that they can be admitted to privileged university departments and retain their social position (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010c). On the other hand, the data showed that in Vocational and Evening High schools most of the participants were coming from low SEB. Also, from these types of schools there are very few who were admitted to Tertiary education. Thus, the students attending these schools, only a small minority manages to be admitted in higher education. The rest may just graduate from Secondary Vocational education and go directly to work life and practice auxiliary professions, as seen in some of the interview cases.

5.1.3. The kind of private tutoring

In regards to private tutoring, as shown in the data before, there is significant relationship between the types of the tutoring and participants' academic

performance. However, there was not found any relationship between parents' socio-economic level and the kind of private tutoring participants' had. From that result it is understood that the need for extracurricular support does not differ from the social origin; on the contrary it has become a "necessary evil" for the Greek family which provides it to its children at all costs (Katsikas & Kavvadias, 2000).

Even though there was not any relationship between parents' socio-economic level and the kind of private tutoring, it should be mentioned that the percentage of those that did not have any kind of extracurricular support is statistically higher in low SEB, while it is minimized as the socio-economic level increases. Also, from both parts of the study it can be seen that participants from high SEB chose more frequently the type of individual private tutoring. Of course, the fact that families with high socio-economic level choose "individual private tutoring" more than low socio-economic level families, indicates that the former choose a cost-effective way to strengthen their power and gain access to higher education (Liambas & Tourtouras, 2008).

The majority of families, regardless their socio-economic level, choose the type of "group private tutoring" to help their children in school. However, the families with high socio-economic level offer their children the type of "individual private tutoring" to a greater extent than the other categories, especially in relation to the category of low socio-economic level. These findings can be interpreted by the intense competition among candidates to perform well in the final exams in order to enter university and the privileged departments. This situation combined with the belief that private tutoring complements the bad Greek educational system leads parents to adopt the strategy of extracurricular support to prepare children for the national exams (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2008).

Furthermore, almost one out of six did not attend any private tutoring and the majority of them came from low SEB. The same case was with the interviews where the participants from low SEB did not attend a private tutoring session. The current socio-economic crisis and recession have impoverished a very large section of society, which is no longer able to meet the high costs of private extracurricular tutoring (Tsikalaki & Kladi-Kokkinou, 2016). Characteristically, in a survey of Secondary school students in 2012, 39% of High school students from families with financial difficulties did not have extracurricular support, but also 24% of students from

families with moderate financial situation (Sklavos, 2014), while the research of Tsikalaki & Kladi-Kokkinou (2016) determines the percentage in 7.7% from all the candidates in the final exams.

Thus, knowledge converts to private commodity that serves the personal goals of favored candidates who have the opportunity to act as consumers of educational services and to differentiate themselves from others. As a result, the state disclaims responsibility and shifts the cost and financial burden of student preparation to family. Here the effect of financial capital on academic performance, as stated by Bourdieu, is clear. At this point one can reasonably wonder not only about the concept of free education that is always mentioned to various declarations and reforms of education, but also about the consequences of the exacerbation of educational inequalities.

5.1.4. The involvement of parents

The questionnaire data showed that the bigger the interest of the parents towards school performance, the bigger the academic performance of the participants was. Apart from SEB and its obvious effect on academic performance it is added the interest parents show towards school progress, the discussions they do with teachers, as well as parental assistance in homework (Tourtouras, 2010). This finding was much more prevalent in the interviews, as the parents who showed interest and helped their children with their homework during school years, these participants had better academic performance and they acknowledged that this attitude helped them a lot.

Assistance in studying is the most well-known type of parental involvement in school. As many studies have confirmed, high levels of parental involvement are associated with school success, while low levels are associated with low performance. Also, helping with schoolwork strengthens the communication between parent and child about the learning process and helps parents get to know the teaching content and educational events (Magi et al., 2011).

Additionally, the interviews showed that parents from high socio-economic level showed greater engagement to help their children. Specifically, I4 whose parents are teachers, as she describes, they always helped her study, something that she recognized as very important for her school performance. Generally, parents who practice the profession of teacher or higher professions, by showing their interest for the school activities, make clear for their children the value of education and how

important is school success and good performance for their academic and professional future. Thus, the children acquire positive motivations and attitude towards learning (Bourdieu, 1986). The fact that teacher parents help their children to a greater extent (I1 and I4 from interviews) in their school obligations could be justified by the nature of their profession. That is to say, being teachers, they know the school subjects and the curriculum and so they can provide the valuable help that their children need, in order to succeed. They know learning strategies that make it easier to understand school activities. They pass on these strategies to their children through imitation, demonstration and dialogue. In fact, many times such practices may exceed school obligations and enhance school success (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001).

Added to the above, the quantitative part showed that parents' interest towards school is also related to fathers' educational level. This finding was also confirmed from the interviews with a participant justifying the low interest of his parents on his performance, because, they did not have the necessary knowledge level to help him. This is due to their low education level and cultural capital. As a result, they have a low level of knowledge and insecurity about their children schoolwork. Thus, they are not in position to really help their children, especially when they are in higher grades of High school. Finally, it should be mentioned that the parents of this socio-economic level are mainly engaged in heavy and manual labor, as a result of which they waste their time and energy there and cannot devote themselves to school progress and help their children.

5.1.5. Tertiary studies

The quantitative part showed that parents' interest for their children to continue their studies after High school had significant effect on their academic performance. The interview data align with this finding as it showed that parental socio-economic level had big influence on their approach towards Tertiary education. Parents of higher socio-economic and education levels fill their children with ambitions and help them understand the structure of higher education and the stages of the educational and vocational path, so that they have high school performance and do the "right" academic choices (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010c).

Indeed, many studies show that parents from high socio-economic levels have greater ambitions for their children and at the same time the financial ability to provide

various educational supplies for the realization of these aspirations (Shoon & Parsons, 2002, Rojewski & Kim, 2003), as it has been presented in the previous results of this study. Also, their children are directly or indirectly affected by the environment they grow up and more specifically by parental social status and occupation, the cultural and social norms and habits of the family. Therefore, professional ambitions of the environment are adopted and internalized by children, creating a habitus, as analyzed in the theoretical framework (Bourdieu, 2013). Children wanting to reproduce the same lifestyle and profession as their parents make good choices in the name of free choice and admitted to good universities (Shoon & Parsons, 2002). That was the case of I4 from the interviews where her parents directed her to follow a certain academic path and helped during her school years with their cultural (knowledge of how the school works) and financial (provided her the necessary extra help by paying private tutoring) capital.

On the other hand, parents from low SEB had lower ambitions for their children to enter Tertiary education. One of the main reasons is the low performance of their children in High school, which based on the way the Greek education system works, leaves no room for admission to university. The low academic performance, in other words, contributes to the development of medium and low expectations that in turn influence and shape children medium and low expectations and ambitions for their academic and professional future (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010c).

Also, parents who belong to middle and lower socioeconomic and educational levels, have as their main goal to meet the family financial needs and they put in “second place” their children school performance that will determine their entrance in university. Having this lifestyle and standards, they are more interested in the professional security of their children (job security) and less in their education that will ensure them a better profession (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010c). This can be seen in the interview data where the parents of I2 who come from low SEB and as he mentions they are happy with the fact that he is making some money and they did not care if he continued his studies. The analysis of the qualitative data leads to the conclusion that the expectations of participants for their studies are significantly related to the expectations and consequently the encouragement of the parents to continue their studies (Vryonides & Gouvias, 2012).

5.2. Career choices and SEB

In regards to the relationship between SEB and the participants' career choices the data from both parts of the study were interesting. Respectively with the above part the discussion of the research findings is divided into smaller subcategories.

5.2.1. Employment status

In this study, 31.7% of the ones that filled the questionnaires and one out of the four that participated in the interviews were unemployed at the moment and both quantitative and qualitative data showed that parental socio-economic and educational level did not affect the participants' employment status. The unemployment rate seems high, but it is a situation that is confirmed by the data of the National Statistical Service. Specifically, according to the most recent data, in Greece, the age groups 15-24 and 25-34 have the highest unemployment rates in the country with 32.4% and 22.2% respectively. It should also be noted that Ioannina is located in the geographical area with the highest unemployment rate for all age groups in Greece with 19.8% (ELSTAT, 2020).

For the participants that work at the moment, the tests showed that there is no relationship between the occupation they do and their parents' socio-economic or educational level. Also, from the questionnaire answers it can be seen that almost one out of four agree that their parents directed them towards the occupation they chose. Family, as the main and primary carrier of socialization, seems to be responsible for their educational choices and consciously or unconsciously determines the professional goals of most of them (Thanos, 2015). Individuals shape their desires, expectations and choices significantly through the social context provided by their socioeconomic position (Kasimati, 1991).

The vast majority of the questionnaire participants denied that they chose an occupation because their parents' job is similar and the same was for the interviews too. Personality with the elements it contains (interests, preferences, inclinations, talents, achievements and values) is a factor that has its own weight for the choice of profession (Super, 1976). However, there was a small percentage in both parts of the study that did follow their parents' occupation. For example, I4 from the interviews chose the same occupation as her parents, because as she explained it was not only that they directed her towards this choice, but also that she knew what this occupation

could offer. Parents' profession and the professional values they promote to their children are subconscious criteria for the formation of a professional career (Dimitropoulos, 2004).

5.2.2. The relationship between academic performance and career path

The questionnaire data showed that one third of the population claims that their academic performance influenced their career choices. Although their educational level has nothing to do with whether they are working at the moment or not, it is related with the type of profession they have chosen and consequently with the socio-economic status they currently have.

Here lies the importance of entering Tertiary education, which can offer better prospects in the labor market than someone who completed lower levels of education. The modern requirements of labor market function against those from disadvantaged social groups and reproduce inequalities. After all, educational inequalities are linked to the labor market structure, which greatly affects the expectations that High school graduates may have for their future career prospects (Gouvias, 2010). The modern labor market, after the globalization of the economy and the increase in university participation, has changed radically. Adapting to these new conditions requires new forms of knowledge and higher qualifications, which are linked to knowledge and technological innovation.

Interviews helped to deepen into this relationship between the profession choice and the participants' academic performance and educational level. It seemed that participants that did not reach Tertiary educational level chose professions with low socio-economic status, because according to them their academic performance did not offer better choices. However, their parents are content with the fact that they have a job that can provide them an income. Low SEB attaches more value to the security and permanence that a profession can offer. In turn, their children by internalizing the standards and values of their family are directed to medium or low occupations (Tsoukalas, 2005). This desire is reinforced by the current economic conditions of Greece and more specifically by unemployment and low wages.

On the contrary, I4 who comes from high SEB and had high academic performance had the opportunity to choose from different occupations that can lead to a secure and

stable financial future. Those who come from high SEB and attend, for the most part, high profile university departments, as it was seen in the quantitative part, choose to practice occupations that offer socio-economic prestige. They achieve this, because they enhance the “value” of their degree with the help and privileges offered by their social background, such as connections, social knowledge, social relationships and the ability to use these relationships. Here is prevalent the influence of social capital as it is defined by Bourdieu. In addition, these people, as seen before, have parents who fill them with ambitions regarding their professional choices and so in a natural way they internalize the notion that only they deserve to occupy the best and most efficient positions and ultimately they succeed (Katsikas & Kavvadias, 1996).

Finally, I4 said in her interview that she chose the teaching profession, because it will offer her the opportunity in the future to have quality time for her family. This aligns with Bourdieu (1996), who stated that girls in their choices seem realistic about their chances of success in the job market and take into account the difficulties of combining a career with family life.

5.2.3. Economic crisis

One more aspect that seemed to have affected participants’ occupational choices was the economic crisis in Greece. Almost, one out of five in the quantitative part of the research answered that they had to find a job in order to indirectly or directly support their family, because of the impoverishment of Greek society due to ten years of financial crisis. The interview participants expressed obstacles that they faced because of this in order to find a job. Educational level was not a factor that helped to find a job easier. A major impact of the crisis has been on the relationship between education and labor market, as unemployment has risen sharply. There has been a decrease in total employment, but much more in the employment of higher education graduates (IOBE, 2019).

However, SEB affected how participants faced this situation, as I4 who come from high SEB find it easier to overcome the obstacles, while the others from low SEB needed to find a job immediately. Unemployment has led to immigration abroad, mainly of university graduates, while, for those who remained in Greece, it has exacerbated differences in employment conditions based on the graduation institution. In other words, working conditions were different for university graduates and for

Vocational school graduates (IOBE, 2019). This specific image that is described from other study was the situation that was described from the participants too, as they faced similar obstacles due to economic crisis, but in a different way because of their SEB.

Also, it was observed that Tertiary graduates had to lower their expectations for career choice in order to find a job during this period. The decrease in income made unbearable the family's obligation to help with the additional costs of their children until they find a job. Thus, their children are forced to limit their professional choices by lowering their expectations, even if their education level could offer something better. In this way they might choose professions that do not really interest them and could not provide good professional prospects (Tsikalaki & Kladi-Kokkinou, 2016).

The economic crisis and unemployment have strengthened the importance of higher education in the labor market, as evidenced by the interview data (IOBE, 2018a). As a result, competition for admission to high-profile university departments, which lead to better professional prospects, has intensified. Of course, the losers of the case are the candidates of low SEB, who even before the economic crisis, let alone during it, as it appeared from the data of this research, do not have the possibility of extracurricular preparation. Thus, they are admitted to schools and lower prestige departments, or are completely excluded from Tertiary education (Maloutas, 2016). In contrast, students from high SEB have the financial capital to support specific options for higher education and, as a result, high-ranking departments are occupied by them (Gogou & Kalerante, 2015), a situation which is not different from before the economic crisis.

5.3. Other factors that influenced academic performance

The data from the interviews also revealed some unexpected but very important findings that answer to the third research question of the qualitative part of the study. According to the participants, in addition to SEB, other factors that influenced their academic performance and professional choices were their school teachers and household environment.

5.3.1. High school teachers

In the interviews all of the participants talked on how the teachers they had met in High school affected their academic performance. The extremely important role of

teacher greatly affects the students' performance, either directly or indirectly. The quality of the student-teacher relationship is very important, as the smoother it is, the more likely is for the student to achieve high academic performance (Gotovos, 2003). Teachers' expectations for students affect, positively or negatively, students' behavior and attitude, the learning process and consequently students' performance and overall future course. It is worth noting that the negative attitude towards school, which is often shown by students, who come from low SEB, is due to low expectations that teachers have of these children, regarding their abilities and capabilities (Tourtouras, 2010). This was the case for I2, who described a situation where his teachers did not believe he can be a good student. They did not give him enough attention, even though as he said tried to improve his performance, because they already knew his sister who was not a good student herself.

The literature shows that students from privileged backgrounds participate more in the class than the students from non-privileged. This is due not only to the fact that the participating students are motivated by their family to learn, but also because of the teacher behavior, who in many cases chooses to work only with good students, who mostly come from high SEB (Mavrogiorgos, 1989). Thus, teachers' expectations influence, decisively many times, the students' academic performance.

There has been a lot of research on "self-fulfilling prophecy" that both its existence and its results cannot be disputed. Factors such as teacher's personality, social class, behavior, appearance and gender of students affect, to a greater or lesser extent, the expectations formed by the teacher. Also, I3 who comes from low SEB, claimed that some of the teachers he met already knew his older sisters, who were not good students. So the teachers did not expect from him to do any better. In a way the teachers had already formed expectations for his performance based on the knowledge they had for his SEB.

The expectations that a teacher sets for his students that come from high SEB and are diligent (their external appearance is in line with the requirements of the school, etc.), are mostly positive, strengthening the already good prospects of these students and leads them to high academic performance, confirming his/her initial expectations (Bikos, 2004). The opposite happens in the case of students from lower SEB, where the teacher expects them to show low school performance, which is most often

confirmed, as the teacher not only sees the students to live up to expectations, but also shapes his behavior towards them accordingly (Kaparavelou, 2008).

5.3.2. Household environment

In the interviews the participants who come from low SEB talked about the importance of having a nice, calm and supportive household environment that could lead to high academic performance. It is very important for parents to have a good relationship with their children, to support and encourage them in failures and their academic success. Good interpersonal relationships and time parents spend with their children contribute significantly to academic success. In fact, even when low-income families have good interpersonal relationships, meaning parents spend time with their children, talk and support them emotionally, then some of the disadvantages of poverty are offset and school improvement is observed (Tourtouras, 2010).

Undoubtedly, the data showed that the family's socio-economic status had a great influence on school performance of Greek young adults, as from living conditions such as the economic situation, educational level and cultural capital of the family; derive the possibilities for social education. Living conditions of high socio-economic level families provide opportunities that promote language development and cultural cultivation, which, in turn, play a key role in school success. However, characteristics such as communication, emotional attachment and mutual support are ensured and improved when there is an active involvement of elements such as tenderness and discussion. On the contrary, loose emotional bonds between family members, lack of mutual respect, tension, quarrels and indifference to the child's future, in relation to the educational institution, act negatively. Thus, family environment is important not only in terms of financial benefits, but also in terms of behavior (Nikolaou, 2009).

Chapter 6

Conclusions

The present study is an attempt to investigate the impact of socio-economic background on academic performance and career choices. In particular, the research tried to examine the impact of SEB on the academic performance and career choices of Greek young adults living in a medium size city of Greece, especially after the disastrous impact of ten years of economic crisis. With the use of mixed methods, the data that emerged showed that SEB affected both school performance and their occupational decisions. Also, from the qualitative part of the research, emerged other relevant and interesting factors that according to participants influenced their academic performance and career choices.

In general, the data analysis revealed very interesting findings and indications of critical issues regarding educational inequalities and how these later evolve into social inequalities through the occupational choices. Their description, as well as the formulation of final conclusions in this chapter, is made without ignoring the limitations of this study, which were discussed in the chapter of methodology. The conclusions for the first two research questions of the quantitative and the qualitative part of the study are merged together, since the two parts were investigating the same phenomenon but from a different angle. The quantitative part wanted to measure the impact of SEB in academic performance and career choices, while the qualitative part wanted to explore the participants' perspective on this relationship.

6.1. SEB and academic performance

In regards to the first research question the study revealed that there is a strong relationship between SEB and academic performance, through many different ways. The findings showed that mothers' education and socio-economic level had influenced participants' academic performance. In the present study, the distinction of parents' socio-occupational categories does not lead to obvious "class" distinctions. This is because many parents are employed in jobs that do not meet their qualifications or have income from different sources in addition to their job. This explains the effect on academic performance of only mothers' social and professional level and not the father. On the other hand, this finding highlights trends that reveal

the existence of social inequalities in education due to SEB. Trends that became clearer through the qualitative part of the research, which is something that the researcher aimed at from the beginning by choosing mixed methodology approach.

The existence of educational inequalities due to SEB is certainly a finding that has been analyzed by many Greek studies, as it appeared in the literature review. However, this study presents how these are enacted in the Greek educational system and society. Initially, the findings revealed that the majority chooses general public school for their children's education, although certain trends were observed regarding the type of school and participants' SEB. There is a tendency for people from low SEB to choose the Technical/Vocational or Evening High school. This is because they themselves have low expectations for their school performance and do not believe that they can cope in general High school. In this case it is obvious the influence of primary habitus, which is formed from an early age through family relations. Particularly, this is an apparent effect from the low expectations that parents have for education in the participants from low SEB views and actions.

Also, the study showed that there is a relationship between parents' socio-economic level and the interest they have shown for participants' academic performance. This means that the parents of participants from high SEB showed greater interest to their kids' school performance, while those from low SEB did not. Parents' low cultural capital created predispositions from their childhood regarding school and their choices (habitus), which were transmitted to participants. Habitus act as a source of subsequent standards of thought and action (Bourdieu, 2013). Students are influenced by their parents' previous school experiences, their family's different forms of capital and morals, factors that ultimately differentiate their future "educational capital".

The reproduction of social inequalities stems precisely from the fact that inherited capital largely determines the expectations of parents and students and then becomes educational capital, which is expected to offer them various benefits. The problem is that those who come from low SEB due to the deficit in the inherited capital have low expectations from the educational capital, as a reflection of a realistic assessment of social reality (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014). As Bourdieu (1985) stated the members of medium and low classes think as their dream the reality, because in this social level, expectations are determined from the objective conditions, which exclude the

possibility to desire the impossible to be achieved. It is an expression of internalized necessity, as it expresses something impossible and at the same time forbidden (Bourdieu, 1985). In addition, as evidenced by the results, people from high SEB are presented in higher percentage than the other categories in private schools. With this option, their parents aim for their children to receive the best possible supplies, so that they have the best possible performance and to claim their position in the best university departments. This is something that is evidenced from this study too, as the results showed that parents' interest for their children to continue on their studies after High school is strongly related to their socio-economic status.

Furthermore, the impact of SEB on academic performance is also evident from the, widespread in Greece, institution of private tutoring. The questionnaire data showed that parents' socio-economic level did not influence the type of private tutoring. However, as it mentioned there is a trend that can be seen, even in this sample with all its limitations, where those from low SEB seem to more frequently been without any kind of private tutoring than the other socio-economic levels. Also, those from high SEB had more frequently individual private tutoring, which is much more expensive for the parents. In the interviews this was even more apparent with the participants from low SEB not having any private tutoring, while the others from medium and high SEB had.

The situation described above depicts the low trust of Greek families on the Greek educational system. They choose their children to receive knowledge not from the formal education system but from private institutions, as they believe that they can better prepare them, with the ultimate goal of entering the university. But here a question of justice and equality arises between students in general in relation to SEB. Despite proclamations of equal opportunities in education under the guise of a unified curriculum, objective and impartial assessment bodies (grades, exams) for access to Tertiary education, the school throws "ashes in the eyes" and covers or rather hides student inequality. Students are not the same, as not all of them come from the same SEB and not all have the guarantees that will help them make the right academic and professional choices in order to socially ascend. That is, in other words, not all students have the same opportunities to succeed in school and academia.

Favored by this process are students from high SEB, as their parents, through their high financial capital, can offer them the supplies, such as better schools or extracurricular support, that help them succeed. These families do not hesitate to spend large sums of family income in order to strengthen their position and manage their children to succeed in school and be admitted to the privileged university departments that offer professional and social success. Students from low SEB, although their parents try to guide their children to educational success by offering them some degree of private tutoring, most of the times they do not succeed. This fact, as presented extensively in the discussion chapter, is explained by the low income of these families that limits the spending of money on tuition fees to private tutoring courses.

Therefore, as Bourdieu points out, education system is not acting equally and is not interested in social justice. On the contrary, through these forms of acting reproduces social inequalities and maintains the existing social structure (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydoridi, 1996). In short, educational system fulfills its reproductive role, as it organizes and serves the interests of the dominant socio-economic groups and contributes to the legitimation and reproduction of social inequalities. It achieves that through the imposition of the cultural capital that goes hand in hand with the upper socio-economic strata and through the transfer of responsibility from itself, regarding the education of students, to their parents and their financial capabilities.

In conclusion, it seems that the educational institution contributes in a direct and invisible way (symbolic violence) to the process of reproduction of social structure, as it attributes to the already power possessors the title of the most capable to exercise it, thus repeating a vicious cycle, as it has mentioned in the theoretical framework. Symbolic violence is preferred because open violence would provoke strong oppositions (Bourdieu, 1994). It is therefore a great need for the Greek state to upgrade the role of public school with the aim of eradicating educational inequalities that stem from socio-economic inequalities. It has to upgrade educational structures so that they can match private education, by offering financial support and the necessary materials. This, of course, requires better planning and implementation of educational policies, especially in the time of economic crisis.

6.2. SEB and career choices

The study found a high percentage of unemployed especially in the young ages that participated in this research. The findings showed that SEB did not actually influence whether participants are currently employed or the type of occupation they do. Also, parents may have directed their children towards a profession but only a small percentage actually followed their suggestion. This shows that personal interests, beliefs and social circumstances that are in action, most of the times guide participants to their occupational choices. Although, it should not be forgotten the way this interests are formed through a long process inside the family, which creates certain predispositions towards a specific occupation.

Moreover, the study showed that academic performance is a dominant factor that influences occupational choices. The way Greek educational system is structured students' academic performance is directing them towards specific occupational choices when they finish Secondary education. However, the educational system is the place where the educational inequalities between students are active. These are inequalities that students bring with them from their families based to their socio-economic origin. Greek students from low SEB, as it was shown in the literature review, have much more possibilities for a poor academic performance. This means that their academic choices when they finish Secondary education are fewer than someone who had good academic performance. Thus, an individual with low academic performance ends up having as choice at best a lower university department or some other kind of non-university specialization provided by private or public institutions. Then subsequently they have fewer occupational choices and most probably professions with low income and status, which especially in the period of crisis, do not offer any confidence and stability and increase the gap between successful and unsuccessful students in school.

The relationship between academic performance and occupational choice makes even clearer the reproductive role of educational system, as those who come from high SEB through their good academic performance succeed to enter in university departments that offer them the possibility to maintain their social status. On the contrary, those from low SEB have fewer possibilities to rise in the social structure, because of this process that the educational system enacts.

Also, policies such as the expansion of Tertiary education may seem to help but in essence transfer inequality to this level. Even if there are now more entrants in higher education from low SEB, inequality is now transferred on the selection of the university departments and the job opportunities they offer afterwards. The study showed a trend that participants from high SEB attended university departments that offer job opportunities with high socio-economic status and thus maintain the social identity they inherited from their parents. In contrast, those from medium and especially those from low SEB, because of their poor academic performance did not have the same options and choose departments with low status and income and minimum opportunities for social advancement. So it is necessary to upgrade the programs of Tertiary education in a way that will protect graduates from long-term unemployment and the continuous title hunt in order to find a job. Also, it is the state's duty to upgrade Vocational High schools and the university departments that lead to primary and secondary production sectors. This way, graduates from these schools and departments will not be regarded as inferior to university graduates and will have more opportunities to find a job.

Moreover, economic crisis seems to have affected everyone regardless SEB or educational level. Due to financial crisis, all participants had difficulty finding a job and even if they did, they described difficult working conditions. All of them had long periods of unemployment due to crisis, regardless their educational level. Certainly economic crisis has made it difficult for everyone, especially at a younger age, to find a job. However, it should be noted the differences observed in the choice of profession during crisis depending on SEB. Due to the difficulty of finding a job, those with a higher educational level were forced to low their expectations. Of course, at the same time, those from high SEB were more comfortable waiting to find the best possible job, when those from low SEB felt obliged to find any job as fast as possible to help their families. The result of this was that the participants from low SEB usually had to choose lower jobs with poor working conditions and low socio-economic status. Also, they could not look for another job, because apart from the poor economic situation, they did not have the appropriate specialization to seek something better. Therefore, in continuation of the previous proposals, it is necessary to help those from lower SEB by providing more job opportunities and better training. The alleviation of educational inequalities is a fact that educational policy must set as

its primary goal. To achieve this goal, must first remove social inequalities and promote a new educational model, which will be based on equality.

6.3. Other relevant factors that influenced academic performance and career choices

While, initially, the design was, perhaps, different, the fact that empirical research guides discussion in a direction that was not initially expected does not mean that the study did not achieve its purpose. On the contrary, to reveal new and alternative correlations favors the research and learning process (O'Brien & Shennan, 2010).

In the qualitative part of the research, emerged factors that, according to participants, influenced their academic performance and subsequent career choices. Firstly, they talked for the importance of family situation and home environment. Participants from low SEB revealed the need for a family environment that offers calmness, confidence and stability in order to succeed in school. The fact that this finding comes from low SEB reinforces the belief that socio-economic background has an effect on academic performance, as lower backgrounds show less faith in the value of education. Of course, this is justified by the job nature of these SEB, which often have great physical fatigue, so not only there is no possibility of the necessary financial support but also to immediate support their children in school.

Another finding that emerged concerns the trust towards the educational system and more specifically in teachers. From the data, it appeared that the participants were not happy with the teachers they met at school, because they had an indifferent behavior. This is a widespread perception in Greek society regarding teachers, especially for higher educational levels, and justifies to a large extent the great faith shown by the families of all socio-economic levels in private education, as it is described before. The Greek educational system needs to be upgraded through the continuous and adequate training of public school teachers, starting of course from the upgrading of the school itself.

6.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, in order to answer the central research question of this study, there is a strong relationship between SEB and academic performance and the career choices of Greek young adults. Moreover, the combination of bad policies and the economic

crisis have sharpened the inequalities in education in a way that made the relationship of SEB, academic performance and career choice even stronger than the previous years. The education system is not the main culprit of social inequalities, which is why all the reforms that have been made to change the situation have failed. The real causes must be sought outside of this, in society and in the change of capitalist way of life, as social and educational inequalities are not going to cease to exist if economic inequalities do not stop first.

The next step is the overall improvement of education, which should be open and provided to all without indirect exclusions. This can be achieved with the effective cooperation of all political forces, but also with the activation and assistance of teachers with the aim of social justice and the expansion of democracy within the school. The improvement-reform of education needs to focus on the critical questioning of school practices and the adoption of new ones who will undo economic, educational, social and racial discrimination.

6.5. Recommendations for further research

Making a final critique of the results and proposing further solutions and ideas for future research, it would be particularly interesting for a comparative study between Greece and a country that has not experienced the global economic crisis at the same magnitude, as for example Sweden. It would be interesting to see the different perspectives and practices of young adults in these two countries during the same period.

Also, it would be interesting for the topic of this study to be researched in a much wider population and better sampling techniques. This would give the opportunity for findings and conclusions with more generalizability. Finally, it would be interesting for this kind of research to be done in 5-10 years from now, when the economic situation in Greece might be better, in order to examine if the observed inequalities are still active.

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Appendices

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Appendix 1

Consent form

You are invited to participate in a research conducted by Panagiotis Patsis master student at the University of Gothenburg. You must be at least 18 years old to participate in the survey. Your participation is voluntary. You can spend as much time as you need to read the Consent Form.

I ask you to participate in this research, which purpose is to examine the relationship between the socioeconomic background of students and their academic performance and career choices in the context of Greece. Completing and returning the questionnaire or answering the interview questions constitutes consent to participate in the present study.

There are no foreseeable risks arising from your participation in this survey. If you feel uncomfortable answering specific questions, please do not hesitate to ask them to be omitted. You will not have any immediate or future financial benefit from participating in this survey. However, the participant is given the opportunity to share his or her experiences and views on the research topic, which can help to expose the societal reproductive process carried out within the educational system.

Any information obtained about this study, which could identify you personally, will remain confidential and will only be disclosed with your permission or as provided by law. The information that identifies you personally will be kept separate from the rest of your data. The data will be kept under the responsibility of the researcher. In case of recording, your consent will be requested and you may refuse to record. The researcher will transcribe the recordings and may provide you with a copy of the transcribed transcript at your request. You have the right to control and edit the transcript. Anything that you said and you do not want to be used, you can ask the researcher and it will be deleted from all relevant files. If the research results are published or presented at conferences, information that will identify you will not be included. Should your photos, videos, or audio recordings be used for educational purposes, your identity will be protected or concealed.

Pursuant to Article 5 (d) of Regulation 2016/679 (GDPR), personal data may be stored for longer than the research process, provided that the appropriate technical and organizational measures required by Regulation 2016 / 679 (GDPR) to safeguard the rights and freedoms of the subject data collected during the study. On this basis, the data of the present research will be retained after its completion.

In addition, in regards the need for further (secondary) processing of personal data, in accordance with Article 5 para. B of Regulation 2016/679 (GDPR), for research purposes, the secondary processing of personal data is considered to be compatible with the original purposes of the processing without any mention of the need for technical and organizational measures. Consequently, the personal data of this study may be used by other studies that will be properly approved without the participants' consent being required again.

You can choose whether or not to participate in this study. If you volunteer for this study, you can leave at any time without any consequences. You can also refuse to answer any questions you do not wish to answer and stay on the study. The researcher may ask you to withdraw from the research if circumstances so warrant.

You may withdraw your consent at any time and terminate your participation without penalty. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, feel free to contact the researcher.

Researcher Contact Details:

Email: guspatpa@student.gu.se

Phone: 698xxxxxxx

I have read the above and I accept my participation in the research.

Signed

.....

Date

...../...../.....

Name

.....

Appendix 2

The questionnaire

A. General information

1. Please identify your gender.

Male	
Female	

2. What is your age?

18-22	
23-25	
26-30	

3. What is your level of education?

ISCED level 0 - Less than primary education	
ISCED level 1 – Primary education	
ISCED level 2 – Lower secondary education	
ISCED level 3 – Upper secondary education	
ISCED level 4 – Post-secondary non-tertiary education	
ISCED level 5 – Short-cycle tertiary education	
ISCED level 6 – Bachelor's or equivalent level	
ISCED level 7 – Master's or equivalent level	
ISCED level 8 – Doctoral or equivalent level	
ISCED level 9 - Not elsewhere classified	

4. If you have a Bachelor degree, please identify.

General Programmes (covers personal development and skills programmes)	
Educational Sciences (Primary education, Preschool education etc.)	
Arts and Humanities (Fine Arts, Theology, Philosophy, etc.)	
Social Sciences, Journalism and Information	
Economics and Management	
Law school	
Science (Math, Physics, Chemistry etc.)	
IT and Telecommunications	
Engineering, manufacturing and construction	
Agriculture	
Health and welfare	
Services (Services (Personal services, tourism, grooming, military and police schools)	

5. Do you work at the moment?

Yes	
No	

6. If yes, what is your profession at the moment?

Managers (Chief executives, senior officials and legislators, Administrative and commercial managers, Production and specialized services managers, Hospitality, retail and other services managers)	
Professionals (Science and engineering professionals, Health professionals, Teaching professionals, Business and administration professionals, Information and communications technology professionals, Legal, social and cultural professionals)	
Technicians and associate professionals (Science and engineering associate professionals, Health associate	

professionals, Business and administration associate professionals, Legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals, Information and communications technicians)	
Clerical support workers (General and keyboard clerks, Customer services clerks, Numerical and material recording clerks, Other clerical support workers)	
Service and sales workers (Personal service workers, Sales workers, Personal care workers , Protective services workers)	
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers (Market-oriented skilled agricultural workers, Market-oriented skilled forestry, fishing and hunting workers, Subsistence farmers, fishers, hunters and gatherers)	
Craft and related trades workers (Building and related trades workers, excluding electricians, Metal, machinery and related trades workers, Handicraft and printing workers, Electrical and electronic trades workers, Food processing, wood working, garment and other craft and related trades workers)	
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers (Stationary plant and machine operators, Assemblers, Drivers and mobile plant operators)	
Elementary occupations (Cleaners and helpers, Agricultural, forestry and fishery laborers, Laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport, Food preparation assistants, Street and related sales and service workers, Refuse workers and other elementary workers)	
Armed forces occupations (Commissioned armed forces officers, Non-commissioned armed forces officers, Armed forces occupations, other ranks)	

B. Social Background

7. Fill in the level of education of your parents.

	Father	Mother
ISCED level 0 - Less than primary education		
ISCED level 1 – Primary education		
ISCED level 2 – Lower secondary education		
ISCED level 3 – Upper secondary education		
ISCED level 4 – Post-secondary non-tertiary education		
ISCED level 5 – Short-cycle tertiary education		
ISCED level 6 – Bachelor’s or equivalent level		
ISCED level 7 – Master’s or equivalent level		
ISCED level 8 – Doctoral or equivalent level		
ISCED level 9 - Not elsewhere classified		

8. What is (or was) your father’s and mother’s main occupation?

	Father	Mother
Managers (Chief executives, senior officials and legislators, Administrative and commercial managers, Production and specialized services managers, Hospitality, retail and other services managers)		
Professionals (Science and engineering professionals, Health professionals, Teaching professionals, Business and administration professionals, Information and communications technology professionals, Legal, social		

and cultural professionals)		
Technicians and associate professionals (Science and engineering associate professionals, Health associate professionals, Business and administration associate professionals, Legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals, Information and communications technicians)		
Clerical support workers (General and keyboard clerks, Customer services clerks, Numerical and material recording clerks, Other clerical support workers)		
Service and sales workers (Personal service workers, Sales workers, Personal care workers , Protective services workers)		
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers (Market-oriented skilled agricultural workers, Market-oriented skilled forestry, fishing and hunting workers, Subsistence farmers, fishers, hunters and gatherers)		
Craft and related trades workers (Building and related trades workers, excluding electricians, Metal, machinery and related trades workers, Handicraft and printing workers, Electrical and electronic trades workers, Food processing, wood working, garment and other craft and related trades workers)		
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers (Stationary plant and machine operators, Assemblers, Drivers and mobile plant operators)		
Elementary occupations (Cleaners and helpers, Agricultural, forestry and fishery laborers, Laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport, Food preparation assistants, Street and related sales and service workers, Refuse workers and other elementary workers)		
Armed forces occupations (Commissioned armed forces officers, Non-commissioned armed forces officers, Armed forces occupations, other ranks)		

C. Academic Performance

9. What was your score in 3rd grade of High school?

17,1 - 20	
15,1 - 17	
10,1 - 15	
0 - 10	

10. From what type of school did you graduate on the 3rd grade of High school?

Private	
General	
Technical/Professional	
Evening	

11. What kind of private tutoring did you have in 3rd grade of High School?

Private tutoring in a group	
Private tutoring alone	
Both the above	
Did not have any extra help	

12. Rate from very easy to very difficult what you consider this extra help was for your parents from economic perspective.

Very difficult	Difficult	Medium	Easy	Very easy

13. Rate your experience from High school according to your academic performance.

Very difficult	Difficult	Medium	Easy	Very easy

14. My parents were interested for my school performance.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

15. My parents were interested with the prospect of continuing my studies after High school.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

16. My parents encouraged me to do the specific studies after High school.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

D. Occupational Choices

(If at the moment you are unemployed, answer the next section with the last main occupation you had)

17. My parents directed me to choose the specific profession.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

18. I chose this profession because my parents have or had a similar profession.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

19. My academic-school performance was one of the reasons that made me choose this profession. (Did you choose this profession because you fulfilled the merit requirement?)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

20. My school performance did not give me better occupational options.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

21. The financial state of my family directed me to choose this profession.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

22. I chose this profession because I wanted to have a job with high income and status.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

23. I chose this profession because it does not have many requirements in order to get the job.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

24. I chose this profession because I wanted to help economically, directly or indirectly, my family.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

Appendix 3

The interview structure

General information

1. What is your age?
2. What is your occupational status?

Socioeconomic Background

3. Could you talk to me about your parents?
4. What is their education level?
5. What is or was their main profession?
6. Could you describe the financial state of your family during your school years up until now?

School academic performance

7. Let's make a journey in the past. Could you describe yourself as a student during your school years?
8. Did you like High school?
9. During High school, how would you describe yourself as a student? (Did you find it easy or hard? And why?)
10. Would you say that your parents were interested for your school performance?
11. Did they help you in any way during High school years? (payed private lessons, emotionally)
12. Were your parents interested for you to continue your studies later on Tertiary educational level? (was it important for them)
13. Were you as person interested to continue your studies after High school?
14. Did you continue your studies and if yes to what department?
15. What are the reasons that made you choose this department? (If they answer yes to question 14)
16. Did your parents direct you towards this department? (If they answer yes to question 14)

Career path - Occupational choices

17. Could you tell me what is the job that you do at the moment?
18. Do you like your job? (Would you change it with another?)

19. Is this job important for you?
20. What are the reasons that made you choose this job?
21. What was the role of your parents to choose this profession?
22. What do you expect to gain from your profession at present time and in the future?
23. What was the role of your family's financial state to choose this profession?
24. Did your academic performance during High school influence you to choose this job?

General questions - reflections

25. What do you think influences someone's academic performance at school?
26. What influences someone's career path?
27. Is the academic performance related with career choice and path?
28. What would you change during your school years to have a better career path?

Appendix 4

Labels from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO 08)

Armed forces occupations: Include all jobs held by members of the armed forces. Members of the armed forces are those personnel who are currently serving in the armed forces, including auxiliary services, whether on a voluntary or compulsory basis, and who are not free to accept civilian employment and are subject to military discipline. Included are regular members of the army, navy, air force and other military services, as well as conscripts enrolled for military training or other service for a specified period.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

- 01 Commissioned Armed Forces Officers
- 02 Non-commissioned Armed Forces Officers
- 03 Armed Forces Occupations, Other Ranks

Excluded from this group are:

- jobs held by persons in civilian employment of government establishments concerned with defence issues;
- police (other than military police);
- customs inspectors and members of border or other armed civilian services.

Managers: They plan, direct, coordinate and evaluate the overall activities of enterprises, governments and other organizations, or of organizational units within them, and formulate and review their policies, laws, rules and regulations. Competent performance in most occupations in this major group requires skills at the fourth ISCO skill level, except for Sub-major Group 14: Hospitality, Retail and Other Services Managers, for which skills at the third ISCO skill level are generally required.

Tasks performed by managers usually include: formulating and advising on the policy, budgets, laws and regulations of enterprises, governments and other organizational units; establishing objectives and standards and formulating and evaluating programmes and policies and procedures for their implementation; ensuring appropriate systems and procedures are developed and implemented to

provide budgetary control; authorizing material, human and financial resources to implement policies and programmes; monitoring and evaluating performance of the organization or enterprise and of its staff; selecting or approving the selection of staff; ensuring compliance with health and safety requirements; planning and directing daily operations; representing and negotiating on behalf of the government, enterprise or organizational unit managed in meetings and other forums.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

11 Chief Executives, Senior Officials and Legislators

12 Administrative and Commercial Managers

13 Production and Specialized Services Managers

14 Hospitality, Retail and Other Services Managers

Professionals: They increase the existing stock of knowledge; apply scientific or artistic concepts and theories; teach about the foregoing in a systematic manner; or engage in any combination of these activities. Competent performance in most occupations in this major group requires skills at the fourth ISCO skill level.

Tasks performed by professionals usually include: conducting analysis and research, and developing concepts, theories and operational methods; advising on or applying existing knowledge related to physical sciences, mathematics, engineering and technology, life sciences, medical and health services, social sciences and humanities; teaching the theory and practice of one or more disciplines at different educational levels; teaching and educating persons with learning difficulties or special needs; providing various business, legal and social services; creating and performing works of art; providing spiritual guidance; preparing scientific papers and reports. Supervision of other workers may be included.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

21 Science and Engineering Professionals

22 Health Professionals

23 Teaching Professionals

24 Business and Administration Professionals

25 Information and Communications Technology Professionals

26 Legal, Social and Cultural Professionals

Technicians and associate professionals: They perform technical and related tasks connected with research and the application of scientific or artistic concepts and operational methods, and government or business regulations. Competent performance in most occupations in this major group requires skills at the third ISCO skill level.

Tasks performed by technicians and associate professionals usually include: undertaking and carrying out technical work connected with research and the application of concepts and operational methods in the fields of physical sciences including engineering and technology, life sciences including the medical profession, and social sciences and humanities; initiating and carrying out various technical services related to trade, finance and administration including administration of government laws and regulations, and to social work; providing technical support for the arts and entertainment; participating in sporting activities; executing some religious tasks. Supervision of other workers may be included.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

31 Science and Engineering Associate Professionals

32 Health Associate Professionals

33 Business and Administration Associate Professionals

34 Legal, Social, Cultural and Related Associate Professionals

35 Information and Communications Technicians

Clerical support workers: They record, organize, store, compute and retrieve information, and perform a number of clerical duties in connection with money-handling operations, travel arrangements, requests for information, and appointments. Competent performance in most occupations in this major group requires skills at the second ISCO skill level.

Tasks performed by clerical support workers usually include: stenography, typing, and operating word processors and other office machines; entering data into computers; carrying out secretarial duties; recording and computing numerical data; keeping records relating to stocks, production and transport; keeping records relating to passenger and freight transport; carrying out clerical duties in libraries; filing documents; carrying out duties in connection with mail services; preparing and checking material for printing; assisting persons who cannot read or write with correspondence; performing money-handling operations; dealing with travel

arrangements; supplying information requested by clients and making appointments; operating a telephone switchboard. Supervision of other workers may be included.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

41 General and Keyboard Clerks

42 Customer Services Clerks

43 Numerical and Material Recording Clerks

44 Other Clerical Support Workers

Services and sales workers: They provide personal and protective services related to travel, housekeeping, catering, personal care, protection against fire and unlawful acts; or demonstrate and sell goods in wholesale or retail shops and similar establishments, as well as at stalls and on markets. Competent performance in most occupations in this major group requires skills at the second ISCO skill level.

Tasks performed by services and sales workers usually include: organizing and providing services during travel; housekeeping; preparing and serving of food and beverages; caring for children; providing personal and basic health care at homes or in institutions, as well as hairdressing, beauty treatment and companionship; telling fortunes; embalming and arranging funerals; providing security services and protecting individuals and property against fire and unlawful acts; enforcing of law and order; posing as models for advertising, artistic creation and display of goods; selling goods in wholesale or retail establishments, as well as at stalls and on markets; and demonstrating goods to potential customers. Supervision of other workers may be included.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

51 Personal Services Workers

52 Sales Workers

53 Personal Care Workers

54 Protective Services Workers

Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers: They grow and harvest field or tree and shrub crops; gather wild fruits and plants; breed, tend or hunt animals; produce a variety of animal husbandry products; cultivate, conserve and exploit forests; breed or catch fish; and cultivate or gather other forms of aquatic life in order to provide food, shelter and income for themselves and their households. Competent

performance in most occupations in this major group requires skills at the second ISCO skill level.

Tasks performed by skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers usually include: preparing the soil; sowing, planting, spraying, fertilizing and harvesting field crops; growing fruit and other tree and shrub crops; growing garden vegetables and horticultural products; gathering wild fruits and plants; breeding, raising, tending or hunting animals mainly to obtain meat, milk, hair, fur, skin, or sericultural, apiarian or other products; cultivating, conserving and exploiting forests; breeding or catching fish; cultivating or gathering other forms of aquatic life; storing and carrying out some basic processing of their produce; selling their products to purchasers, marketing organizations or at markets. Supervision of other workers may be included.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

61 Market-oriented Skilled Agricultural Workers

62 Market-oriented Skilled Forestry, Fishery and Hunting Workers

63 Subsistence Farmers, Fishers, Hunters and Gatherers

Craft and related trades workers: They apply specific technical and practical knowledge and skills to construct and maintain buildings; form metal; erect metal structures; set machine tools or make, fit, maintain and repair machinery, equipment or tools; carry out printing work; and produce or process foodstuffs, textiles, wooden, metal and other articles, including handicraft goods. Competent performance in most occupations in this major group requires skills at the second ISCO skill level.

The work is carried out by hand and by hand-powered and other tools which are used to reduce the amount of physical effort and time required for specific tasks, as well as to improve the quality of the products. The tasks call for an understanding of all stages of the production process, the materials and tools used, and the nature and purpose of the final product.

Tasks performed by craft and related trades workers usually include: constructing, maintaining and repairing buildings and other structures; casting, welding and shaping metal; installing and erecting heavy metal structures, tackle and related equipment; making machinery, tools, equipment and other metal articles; setting for operators, or setting and operating various machine tools; fitting, maintaining and repairing industrial machinery, engines, vehicles, electrical and electronic instruments and other equipment; making precision instruments, jewellery, household and other precious

metal articles, pottery, glass and related products; producing handicrafts; executing printing work; producing and processing foodstuffs and various articles made of wood, textiles, leather and related materials. Supervision of other workers may be included. Self-employed craft and related trades workers, who operate their own businesses either independently or with assistance from a small number of others, may also perform a range of tasks associated with management of the business, account and record keeping and client service, although such tasks would not normally comprise the major component of the work.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

71 Building and Related Trades Workers (excluding electricians)

72 Metal, Machinery and Related Trades Workers

73 Handicraft and Printing Workers

74 Electrical and Electronics Trades Workers

75 Food Processing, Woodworking, Garment and Other Craft and Related Trades Workers

Plant and machine operators and assemblers: They operate and monitor industrial and agricultural machinery and equipment on the spot or by remote control; drive and operate trains, motor vehicles and mobile machinery and equipment; or assemble products from component parts according to strict specifications and procedures. Competent performance in most occupations in this major group requires skills at the second ISCO skill level.

The work mainly calls for experience with and an understanding of industrial and agricultural machinery and equipment, as well as an ability to cope with machine-paced operations and to adapt to technological innovations.

Tasks performed by plant and machine operators and assemblers usually include: operating and monitoring mining or other industrial machinery and equipment for processing metal, minerals, glass, ceramics, wood, paper or chemicals; operating and monitoring machinery and equipment used to produce articles made of metal, minerals, chemicals, rubber, plastics, wood, paper, textiles, fur or leather, and which process foodstuffs and related products; driving and operating trains and motor vehicles; driving, operating and monitoring mobile industrial and agricultural machinery and equipment; and assembling products from component parts according to strict specifications and procedures. Supervision of other workers may be included.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

81 Stationary Plant and Machine Operators

82 Assemblers

83 Drivers and Mobile Plant Operators

Elementary occupations: They involve the performance of simple and routine tasks which may require the use of hand-held tools and considerable physical effort. Most occupations in this major group require skills at the first ISCO skill level.

Tasks performed by workers in elementary occupations usually include: cleaning, restocking supplies and performing basic maintenance in apartments, houses, kitchens, hotels, offices and other buildings; washing cars and windows; helping in kitchens and performing simple tasks in food preparation; delivering messages or goods; carrying luggage and handling baggage and freight; stocking vending-machines or reading and emptying meters; collecting and sorting refuse; sweeping streets and similar places; performing various simple farming, fishing, hunting or trapping tasks; performing simple tasks connected with mining, construction and manufacturing including product-sorting; packing and unpacking produce by hand, and filling shelves; providing various street services; pedalling or hand-guiding vehicles to transport passengers and goods; driving animal-drawn vehicles or machinery. Supervision of other workers may be included.

Occupations in this major group are classified into the following sub-major groups:

91 Cleaners and Helpers

92 Agricultural, Forestry and Fishery Labourers

93 Labourers in Mining, Construction, Manufacturing and Transport

94 Food Preparation Assistants

95 Street and Related Sales and Services Workers

96 Refuse Workers and Other Elementary Workers