

“Digital” cultural capital and expectations regarding choice of educational “path”: a sociological study of High School students

GEORGIA SPILIOPOULOU¹, GERASIMOS KOUSTOURAKIS², ANNA ASIMAKI³

¹*Primary Education Directorate of Aetoloakarnania
Greece
geospil.spiliopoulou@gmail.com*

²*Department of Educational Sciences
and Early Childhood Education
University of Patras
Greece
koustourakis@upatras.gr*

³*Department of Education
and Social Work
University of Patras
Greece
asimaki@upatras.gr*

ABSTRACT

This work, which utilizes concepts from Pierre Bourdieu's theory, aims to outline the dimensions of the “digital” cultural capital of High School students and to highlight their expectations about choosing an educational “path” after graduating from High School, as well as the factors that determine these expectations. The main findings of this study showed that the students owned Smartphones, used social media on a daily basis and can be characterized as digital natives. The students’ “digital” cultural capital, which is an organic element of their habitus, does not seem to have influenced their expectations when it comes to choosing an educational “path” after High School. It seems that the specific cultural characteristics of the parents and their families played a more decisive role in shaping these specific expectations.

KEYWORDS

“Digital” cultural capital, expectations, educational “path”, students, General High Schools, Vocational High Schools

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude, s'appuyant sur les concepts issus de la théorie de Pierre Bourdieu, vise à cerner les dimensions du capital culturel « digital » des élèves du secondaire et à mettre en lumière leurs attentes relatives au choix d'une orientation scolaire après l'obtention du diplôme, ainsi que les facteurs qui influent sur la formation de ces attentes. Les principaux résultats de cette étude révèlent que les élèves possèdent des smartphones, utilisent quotidiennement les réseaux sociaux, et peuvent être qualifiés de « natifs du digital ». Leur capital culturel « digital », constituant une composante organique de leur habitus, ne semble pas avoir exercé d'influence significative sur leurs attentes en matière de parcours éducatif postsecondaire.

Les caractéristiques culturelles spécifiques des parents et de leur entourage familial semblent jouer un rôle plus déterminant dans la structuration de ces attentes.

MOTS-CLÉS

Capital culturel "digital", attentes, "trajectoire" éducatif, élèves, Lycées Généraux, Lycées Professionnels

INTRODUCTION

In the new reality of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), as it is “built” on the global social “map”, there is talk of the “information” culture that people today tend to accumulate, as they “interact” with constantly evolving technological tools and various digital applications. In the context of modern social developments, ICTs are rapidly entering aspects of the daily lives of a large number of citizens. From this perspective, the differences observed in the effectiveness of ICT utilization in relation to the socio-economic profile of their users are at the center of public debate, as well as being of interest from a scientific point of view (Bonfadelli, 2002; Choo et al., 2008; Cornali & Tirocchi, 2012; Giddens & Sutton, 2020; Livingstone & Helsper 2007; Machkour et al., 2025; Qureshi, 2011; Willis & Tranter, 2006).

The rapid entry of computers into various sectors of modern Western societies since the 1990s has made the computer-assisted learning environment a reality, a fact that seems to be of great concern to the scientific community and this is reflected in the production of a wide range of relevant scientific papers (see: Alomyan & Alelaimat, 2021; Djeki et al., 2022; Ihmeideh & Al-Maadadi, 2018; Konca et al., 2016; Machkour et al., 2025; Ogegbo & Aina, 2020; Shandryk et al., 2024).

It seems, in fact, that the need for technological literacy constitutes a key element of the culture of modern European citizens in order for them to be able to respond to the demands and necessities of modern globalized social reality (Giddens & Sutton, 2020; Papen, 2006). In particular, young people born in the 21st century can be identified as “digital natives” because the habitus they “carry” seems to have integrated skills for handling digital technology since they are raised in a family and social environment “rich” in technological stimuli and images, a fact that is reflected, in turn, in their various practices (Bourdieu, 2000, 2006; Konca & Koksalan, 2017; Koustourakis & Panagiotakopoulos, 2011; Palaiologou, 2016).

Here it is worth discussing the impact that the capital available to the family, through its various forms of expression (e.g. cultural, economic and social capital), has on educational success and on the educational expectations and choices of young people in relation to their social background. In fact, this issue is at the center of research interest in the context of numerous scientific works (see: Davies et al., 2014; Mullen, 2009; Noble & Davies, 2009; Thompson, 2009; Wakeling, 2005; Waters & Brooks, 2010).

The purpose of this paper is to enrich the recent scientific literature by outlining the dimensions of the “digital” cultural capital possessed by second-year High School students (General High School/Vocational High School) of the Western Greece Region in relation to the educational level of their parents and the socio-economic status of their families. It also seeks to investigate the expectations of the specific students regarding the choice of educational “path” after graduating from High School, as well as the factors that influence the formation of their expectations.

THEORETICAL NOTES

In this paper we will use concepts from the theory of the French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, which we present below.

According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital is found in the following forms: a) “embedded” form or habitus (a system of enduring predispositions based on which social subjects shape ways of thinking and behaving, as well as acting and taking action), b) “objectified” form (cultural goods that are transferable but also visible to social subjects - heirs, such as books, libraries and computers) and c) “institutionalized” in the form of academic qualifications (educational credentials - educational qualifications granted to social subjects through official educational institutions) (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248).

In particular, the “objectified” form of cultural capital, which could be linked to the “digital” form of cultural capital, includes various technological means and various digital devices, such as computers, Smartphones and tablets, which seem to be used by High School students and which they have access to in their daily lives - for communication, entertainment and information purposes - as digital natives of the 21st century (Bourdieu, 1990; Koustourakis, 2023).

The content of the concept of “digital capital” can be outlined through the following two dimensions: a) digital cultural capital, which concerns the time the individual dedicates to improving their technological skills, the knowledge the individual has regarding digital technology, education and training in ICT, the encouragement provided by the family and school environment regarding the use of ICT and b) digital social capital, which concerns face-to-face networking, as well as online networking with technological contacts (Delibeys & Vergidis, 2022, p. 1237; Seale, 2013; Selwyn, 2004). Using Bourdieu's terms, digital capital could be defined as embodied abilities and inclinations (digital skills), as well as exogenous resources (digital technology), that can be transferred from one “arena” to another within the context of individuals' historical “journey” (Delibeys & Vergidis, 2022, p. 1238; Ragnedda, 2018).

As Bourdieu argues, the habitus of an acting subject is shaped during successive socializations. Its construction begins during childhood through the provision of family education (as a primary habitus), with the evolutionary course of its construction subsequently taking place in the school environment (as a secondary habitus) and then in the various professional spaces (as a tertiary habitus), as well as in the broader social environment in which the subject is integrated and acts (Bourdieu, 1979, 1986). Habitus includes a series of skills and behavioral systems that shape the context of each social subject's practices and choices (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014; Bourdieu, 1977, 2000, 2006; Koustourakis, 2023). Furthermore, Bourdieu (1979, 2006) claims that the social practices that acting subjects implement during their lives are “constructed” through the system of predispositions they “carry” (habitus) in combination with the experiences they accumulate, which are a product of the “trajectory” they have traced, in the past and in the present, on an individual and social level.

At this point and taking into account the modern era, which is strongly characterized by the integration of technology into many aspects of everyday life, it could be argued that the habitus of modern people, and especially young people, seems to have incorporated knowledge and skills in the use of ICT. In addition, young people seem to have become familiar with the use of New Technologies, a fact that could be seen from their access to the internet using Smartphones. This can be done at home and/or in public places (e.g., an Internet Cafe) using social media. Therefore, the habitus of young people (as a technological habitus) seems to be reflected in their practices in the context of their daily lives which

concern the utilization of New Technologies and various digital devices (Bourdieu, 1990, 2000, 2006; Koustourakis, 2023).

Habitus, as a system of internalized structures, includes a series of ways of perceiving and acting that present a homology between individuals belonging to the same social class and/or group (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 76). By extension, it could be argued that the formation of the expectations and choices of social subjects for the construction of their (educational and social) future seems to be shaped in relation to the habitus that they themselves carry (Naidoo, 2009, p. 264), where the family environment and the social class in which social subjects are included tend to play a decisive role (Bourdieu, 2006; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Bourdieu argues that there are connections between the habitus of the social subject and the social class to which he or she belongs. In particular, he points out that common elements emerge in the practices adopted by people who live in the same or similar conditions within the social environment that they are part of, and which come to constitute the class habitus that they themselves carry (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 99).

According to the above theoretical observations, it could be argued that the “digital” cultural capital of the students who participated in this research tends to be linked to the “objectified” cultural capital they have at home and to which they have direct access, which concerns computer ownership and familiarity with the internet, ownership of smart mobile phones, as well as the reasons they use the internet in their daily lives. Furthermore, one could talk about the habitus that students carry, in the form of a technological habitus, as their practices in the contemporary social reality of the 21st century seem to include familiarity with ICT, a range of knowledge about digital technology, communication using smart mobile devices and the management of social media, which by extension also reflect the digital practices adopted, to a greater or lesser extent, in their family environment. Finally, the expectations of the High School students in the sample when choosing an educational “path” tend to be determined in relation to the particular cultural characteristics of their family of origin, taking into account their class habitus.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS – METHODOLOGY

In this work, we were concerned with answering the following research questions:

- How is the “digital” cultural capital of the second year High School students who participated in the research outlined in relation to their parents’ “institutionalized” cultural capital in the form of titles, and the socio-economic status of their families?
- Does the “digital” cultural capital of the students in the sample play a role in shaping their expectations regarding the choice of educational “path” after High School?

This research, which is part of a larger study, was carried out in the 2017-2018 school year, specifically from January to May 2018. It is worth noting that the students participated in the research only after their parents’ signed consent had been secured, taking into account the rules of ethics in the context of conducting the research process. To answer the specific research questions, we conducted this research using the “tool” of the semi-structured interview and the collection of research data was carried out using snowball sampling (Bryman, 2017; Cohen et al., 2008; Creswell, 2011; Robson, 2007).

The research sample consists of 45 students in the second grade of General and Vocational High Schools in the Western Greece Region. To conduct the research, an appropriate semi-structured interview question guide was developed, and the questions were divided into thematic areas. The guide was previously pilot tested on second-year High School students who were excluded from the main research. During the interviews, we

recorded the responses of the research subjects after obtaining their consent (Bell, 1999; Iosifides, 2003; Robson, 2007).

Then, the technique of qualitative content analysis of the research data that resulted from the transcription of the interviews with the research participants was utilized. The “theme”, which is the smallest piece of text from which a clear meaning emerges and is incorporated into a more specific category of analysis, was used as the unit of analysis. In the context of the analysis of this research data, emphasis was placed on the overt content of the participating students’ discourse (Bell, 1999; Iosifides, 2008; Krippendorff, 2004; Psarrou & Zafeiropoulos, 2004).

The following categories of analysis emerged from the purpose, research questions and theoretical framework of this paper:

- (a) The formation of the students’ “digital” cultural capital in relation to the exogenous technological resources of their family of origin.
- (b) Expectations regarding choice of an educational “path” after High School and factors shaping students’ preferences.

RESULTS - DISCUSSION

Analysis of the interview data regarding the educational background of the parents of the students in the sample (“institutionalized” cultural capital in the form of titles) revealed that: a) Sixteen fathers had strong “institutionalized” cultural capital in the form of titles (Bourdieu, 1986), as fourteen were graduates of higher education and two held a postgraduate degree. One father was a graduate of post-secondary education, sixteen fathers had a lyceum diploma, five fathers had a gymnasium diploma and seven fathers had a primary school diploma. b) Thirteen mothers possessed strong “institutionalized” cultural capital in the form of titles (Bourdieu, 1986), as twelve were graduates of higher education and one had a doctoral degree. One mother was a graduate of Post-High School Education, twenty-two mothers had a lyceum diploma, four mothers had a gymnasium diploma and five mothers had a primary school diploma.

Classification of the occupations of the parents of the students in the sample was done by initially taking into account the OPCS 1990 Standard Occupation Classification coding system. This system shows a high degree of correspondence with the occupational classification categories that have been applied in a range of surveys carried out in Greece (see: Sianou & Tsiplakides, 2009; Vryonides & Gouvias, 2012). Then, we relied on Pyrgiotakis’ (2009) classification system, which seems to be adapted to the specific features of social stratification in the context of modern Greek social development, and classified the families of the students in the sample into the following social categories:

- Upper middle class [parents’ occupations: professionals in managerial positions in the service sector, businessmen, professionals with high income and higher education (doctors and lawyers)]: 12 students in the sample belong to this category (10 General High School students and 2 Vocational High School students) (27%).
- Intermediate middle class [parents’ professions: administrative scientific executives in the public or private sector (bank employees)]: 5 students in the sample belong to this group (4 General High School students and 1 Vocational High School student) (11%).
- Lower middle class (parents’ professions: teachers, civil servants, administrative and secretarial executives in the public or private sector, nursing staff, specialized technicians): 16 students in the sample belong to this group (11 General High School students and 5 Vocational High School students) (35%).

- Working and rural classes: There are 12 students in the sample in these classes (5 General High School students and 7 Vocational High School students) (27%).

Next, we will present our research findings following the order of presentation of the categories of analysis of the research material.

A. The formation of students' "digital" cultural capital in relation to the exogenous technological resources of their family of origin

The analysis of the research material shows that all students in the sample (100%), regardless of the socio-economic status of their family of origin, claim to own Smartphones, that they are familiar with using the internet, and that they use social media daily. In fact, they could be characterized as digital natives, and the following parameters have contributed to this, taking into account the students' responses: (a) their family environment, (b) friends/peers, who are a key agent of socialization (Giddens & Sutton, 2020), and with whom they communicate through the use of social media and the possession of Smartphones, and (c) the school and especially the Primary school, where the Curriculum has included lessons in ICT since the beginning of 2000 (i.e. during the time that the students in the sample attended Primary school) (DEPPS, 2003).

Therefore, the fact that the students in the sample are familiar with the internet and ICT, influenced by the representations they accumulate in their family, social and school environment, highlights dimensions of the "digital" cultural capital that they bring to the system of their (pre)dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Delibeys & Vergidis, 2022; Koustourakis, 2023; Ragnedda, 2018). The following interview quotes are characteristic:

"I consider it essential to use my mobile phone, which I use to 'log in' to Facebook and communicate with my friends. I learned to use a computer and 'get on' the Internet when I was in Primary school. Back then, we had a computer class in the All-Day School" (Interview 4 - I. 4, General High School student from the lower middle class).

"I use my Smartphone every day... I log on to Facebook, exchange messages with my friends... My parents also use their Smartphones a lot. They talk to friends and acquaintances, watch the news, upload photos to Instagram, send me messages on Viber... Everyone should know how to use the internet, computer, and tablet in our time. I remember that in Primary school they would take us to the Computer Laboratory to do lessons and I could use the computers and the internet" (I. 43, Vocational High School student from the intermediate middle class).

Based on the above quotes, it could be argued that the habitus of students regarding the familiarity and use of ICT (as a technological habitus) is shaped in relation to their individual experiences and the stimuli they derive from the specific (family, social and school) contexts in which they move and act (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990).

The analysis of the interview data reveals that the vast majority of the families of the students in the sample (42 students, 93.3%), regardless of socio-economic background, have computers and internet access at home, as well as having access to specific digital media and "tools", such as desktop computers, laptops and tablets (Bourdieu, 1986). In this case, it can be argued that the possession of a computer connected to the internet constitutes a widespread digital "practice" that governs the habitus of modern people in the context of their daily lives, which includes various technological means and applications and comes to build the "world" of ICT (Bourdieu, 2000, 2006; Konca & Koksalan, 2017; Koustourakis & Panagiotakopoulos,

2011). This finding is consistent with the findings of research by Koustourakis et al. (2018) and Tondeur et al. (2011). The following interview extract is indicative:

"I have a tablet at home and I connect to the internet every day for various reasons, e.g. to watch a video, to use Facebook and talk to my friends... My parents also have their own (desktop) computer. They need it for work. Nowadays, it is essential to have a computer and the internet. It is now part of everyday life..." (I. 11, General High School student from the upper middle class).

In addition, analysis of the research material also revealed that 3 students in the sample (6.6%) whose families do not have the necessary technological/computing infrastructure at home, go to an Internet Cafe to play "online" games with their classmates. The following interview extract is characteristic:

"We don't have a computer at home or an internet connection. I often go to Internet Cafes to play 'online' games with my classmates..." (I. 31, Vocational High School student from the working class)

Furthermore, the analysis of the research material shows that the General High School and Vocational High School students in the sample (42 students, 93.3%), regardless of the socio-economic status of their family of origin, use the internet primarily for entertainment purposes. In particular, these purposes concern "downloading" videos and music, as well as chatting with friends and classmates through the use of Skype, through the use of social networking media, as well as through the use of e-mail. Students also use the internet very often at home to play "on-line" games with their friends. The following extracts from interviews with two High School and Vocational High School students from the working and rural social strata are characteristic:

"I 'download' music and videos from the internet very often... I also use it very often to play 'online' games with my friends... We talk [with my friends] constantly via Skype, but also using Facebook..." (I. 25, General High School student).

"I often 'download' music and videos from the internet... I also use it very often to chat via Skype with my siblings, who live far away... I rarely use Facebook... I sometimes send e-mails to my friends..." (I. 37, Vocational High School student).

These interview extracts reveal that the students in the sample utilize the internet in multiple ways and bring to the fore the element of communication and entertainment, which is in line with the findings of the research by Kraut et al. (2002).

Furthermore, the analysis of the research material from the interviews shows that a significant number of General High School students (24 subjects, 80%) and a comparatively smaller number of Vocational High School students (7 subjects, 46.6%) reported using the internet for educational purposes, regardless of socio-economic background. This fact is consistent with the findings of the research of Bulfin & North (2007) and Thomas (2005). In particular, the specific students in the sample claim that they turn to the internet to find information in order to write school assignments. It seems that the frequency of searching for educational material on the internet is higher among students whose parents have a strong volume of "institutionalized" cultural capital in the form of titles (Bourdieu, 1986). It is worth noting that 17 General High School students (56.6%) and 5 Vocational High School students (33.3%) spoke about an additional form of utilizing the internet for educational purposes: This

involves the online sending of school assignments to the teachers of the school unit they attend (via e-mail). The following statements from General High School and Vocational High School students are indicative:

“I often find information for school assignments... We are asked to find information in various subjects... mainly in Literature... But if I need to sometimes... e.g. if I hear something interesting in class, I'll go 'search' it on the internet to learn more about it... I will also send assignments to our teachers by e-mail when they ask us to, e.g. for the projects we do at school...” (I. 9, General High School student from the upper middle class).

“I sometimes 'go' online when teachers ask us to write assignments... Let's say, we did a project on archaeological tourism in the Prefecture of Ilia and searched for information on the internet... Another assignment was about a field trip we were going on to Italy... They divided us into groups and asked us to find information, for example, about Milan... I will email assignments to our teachers when they ask us to...” (I. 32, Vocational High School student from the rural social stratum).

“Teachers often ask us to write assignments, e.g. in creative writing, using information from the internet... and I refer to it... I send the homework to the teachers when they tell us...” (I. 43, Vocational High School student from the intermediate middle class).

Furthermore, a portion of High School and Vocational High School students in the sample (14 High School students, 46.6% and 5 Vocational High School students, 33.3%) indicate that they use the internet for informational purposes. Specifically, they report that they use the internet to read news from various “digital” newspapers. It is worth noting that this cultural “practice” is applied more frequently by students whose parents have strong “institutionalized” cultural capital in the form of titles (Bourdieu, 1986, 2000, 2006) and to a lesser extent by students whose parents have lower educational qualifications. The following interview extract is indicative:

“I often read ‘digital’ newspapers in my free time... I am interested in learning about social, economic and political issues in Greece and other countries... I am concerned about issues such as the economic crisis we are experiencing in Greece, the unemployment that exists in many professions... That's why I want to stay informed...” (I. 7, General High School student from the upper middle class).

B. Expectations regarding choice of educational “path” after High School and factors shaping students' preferences

From the analysis of the research material, it emerges that the “digital” cultural capital of the High School students in the sample does not seem to directly or visibly influence their preferences regarding their educational “path” after High School. This is because the “digital” cultural capital that students carry through various dimensions (such as their familiarity with the internet and ICT in the context of their daily lives and the use of smart mobile phones mainly for developing conversations with their friends on social media) seems to be an organic element of their own habitus (as digital natives). Therefore, students' preferences regarding their educational “path” after graduating from High School seem to be influenced by factors, presented below, which are linked to the specific cultural characteristics of their parents and their families of origin.

The analysis of the interview data reveals that the majority of High School students (26 subjects, 86.6%), regardless of the socio-economic status of their families, expect to pursue a "trajectory" of higher education studies. Specifically, it appears that the General High School students in the sample, who come from the upper middle, intermediate middle and lower middle social strata, whose parents possess a strong volume of "institutionalized" cultural capital in the form of degrees, expect to pursue a university education. Here it could be argued that their decision-making is linked to and constitutes a continuation of a "normative biography" and a more specific "body" of perceptions that have been "built" historically in their family environment and that "carry" the "educational" culture of the middle class (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996; Maton, 2008, p. 58).

These findings are consistent with the findings of a significant body of research, based on which young people who come from privileged socio-economic backgrounds and whose parents have a high educational and professional status, seem to be primarily oriented towards choosing higher education studies (see: Davies et al., 2014; Gouvias & Vitsilakis-Soroniatis, 2005; Green & Vryonides, 2005; Jacobs & Harvey, 2005; Minello, 2014; Mullen, 2009; Rimkute et al., 2012; Sá et al., 2011; Sianou Kyrgiou & Tsiplakides, 2009, 2011; Van de Werfhorst et al., 2003).

The General High School students in the sample claim that they expect to follow a "trajectory" of higher education studies and the reasons, based on their statements, for this expectation are as follows: personal interest, the acquisition of educational resources, the prospects for professional development, career prospects and the acquisition of specialized and high-level knowledge on the subject of study. The following statements by General High School students are characteristic:

"I believe that in our times of economic crisis, having more degrees and qualifications helps you have better job prospects, but also a better chance to advance in your job in the future..." (I. 3).

"I want to follow this 'path', that is, to finish High School, study at university and then do postgraduate/doctoral studies, out of personal interest..." (I. 6).

"I would like to get my High School diploma, study at university and then do a master's degree... I will certainly gain a lot of knowledge, I will learn things that I don't know... and I will be able to have many prospects in the future... that is, in the profession that I will follow in the future..." (I. 9).

Furthermore, the analysis of the data from the recorded interviews shows that 3 High School students in the sample (10%) expect to pursue an educational "path" related to the army and security forces personnel. Based on the statements of the specific students in the sample, the reasons for their expectation to follow this specific educational "path" are the following: career prospects and financial independence. A student from a working-class background expressed his expectation of following a post-secondary education "path", which specifically concerns studying at an Institute of Vocational Training after completing his High School studies. The reason that the student in question expects to follow this specific educational "path" is, according to his statements, because it interests him on a personal level.

From this perspective, the system of high educational expectations expressed by the majority of High School students, coming from more or less privileged socio-economic and cultural family environments, could be associated with the reproductive and/or transformative character of the "body" of their predispositions, aimed at maintaining and/or reshaping their

position in social happenings (Accardo, 1983; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Mills, 2008a, 2008b; Swingewood, 1998).

Furthermore, a significant number of Vocational High School students in the sample (8 subjects, 53.3%) expect to pursue university studies after graduation. The reasons for this are, according to their answers, the following: personal interest in the subject of study and potential future career prospects. A small number of Vocational High School students in the sample (4 subjects, 26.6%) claim that they expect to follow an educational “path” that has a connection with the army and security forces personnel. These students expect to follow this “path”, based on their statements, for reasons connected with job opportunities and financial independence.

In addition, one Vocational High School student in the sample who comes from the upper middle class expressed the expectation of following a “trajectory” of post-secondary education. Specifically, he expected to choose to study at an Institute of Vocational Training after completing his studies at Vocational High School. The reason for this is, as is evident from his answer, out of personal interest. Finally, two Vocational High School students from the sample, from working class and rural social strata of origin expect to complete their High School studies and then proceed to find a job. In fact, based on their statements, their most specific expectation concerns their immediate integration into the professional “arena”.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Finally, within the framework of this work, the following conclusions can be drawn based on the findings that emerged from the analysis of the data in the transcribed interviews:

- The outline of the dimensions of the “digital” cultural capital of the second year High School students in the sample is expressed, in particular, through the “digital” cultural goods that exist in the students' homes, which is intertwined in parallel with the existence of “objectified” cultural capital, as well as through the “digital” practices they adopt and the frequency of their adoption. Specifically, the findings of this research show that all students in the sample own Smartphones and are familiar with using the internet, a fact that appears to be a generalized “digital” practice among young people in the modern social reality of the 21st century. All students in the sample claim that the use of a mobile phone is necessary in order to have daily access to social media, which suggests that they carry a system of “digital” (pre)dispositions that guides, by extension, their practices which involve “interacting” with various digital media (Bourdieu, 1990, 2000, 2006; Delibeys & Vergidis, 2022; Koustourakis, 2023). Furthermore, the volume of the “objectified” form of cultural capital that 2nd year High School (General High School/Vocational High School) students have in their homes, namely, the existence of the internet and a computer at home (Bourdieu, 1986), is found in General High School and Vocational High School students' homes, regardless of their parents' educational level and their family's socio-economic status. It is found, in particular, that the 2nd year High School students in the sample (General High School/Vocational High School) make significant use of the internet for entertainment purposes, such as for “downloading” music and videos, regardless of the educational level of their parents and the socio-economic status of their family. Also, a significant number of High School students and a comparatively smaller number of Vocational High School students claimed to use the internet for educational purposes, regardless of their family's socio-economic background. However, it seems that the frequency with which they search for educational material on the internet is higher among students whose parents have strong “institutionalized” cultural capital in the

form of titles (Bourdieu, 1986). Furthermore, a portion of General High School and Vocational High School students in the sample emphasize that they use the internet for informational purposes, specifically for reading news in “digital” newspapers. This is, in fact, a cultural “practice” that is adopted more frequently by students whose parents have a high level of educational qualifications and less frequently by students whose parents have a low level of education (Bourdieu, 1979, 2000, 2006).

- The majority of the sample's 2nd year High School students expect to pursue a higher education “path” after completing their High School education. More specifically, they expect to attend university and pursue postgraduate/doctoral studies. It is worth noting that these expectations are expressed by students from both socio-economically and culturally advantaged and less advantaged family environments. Here it could be underlined that the high level of educational expectations expressed by students from less advantaged socio-economic and cultural family environments suggests that the habitus structures they possess, are of a reformatory and evolutionary nature, aiming, through their choices, to achieve upward social mobility for their future (Accardo, 1983). From this perspective, these students tend to turn to the expectation of choosing higher education studies, after completing their studies at the High School level, within the context of a “transformative” function of the habitus they possess (Mills, 2008a, 2008b). The reasons why the Greek grammar school students in the sample express the expectation to follow this specific educational “track” of studies are, based on their answers: personal interest, professional development prospects, the acquisition of educational resources, career prospects and the acquisition of specialized and high-level knowledge on the subject of study. Furthermore, the expectation of a significant number of second-year Vocational High School students in the sample appears to be to follow a higher education study “path”. These students express this expectation for the following reasons: personal interest in the subject of study and career prospects. A small number of second-year Vocational High School students in the sample express the expectation of pursuing an educational “path” related to the army and security forces personnel. The reasons why these students expect to follow this specific educational “path” are: job opportunities and financial independence.
- It could, therefore, be argued that the “digital” cultural capital of the students in the sample does not seem to play a role in shaping their expectations regarding the choice of educational “path” after High School. The factors that appear to play a decisive role in students' preferences regarding their “path” after High School are linked to the specific cultural characteristics of their parents and their families of origin, which are the “institutionalized” cultural capital of their parents in the form of academic qualifications and the habitus that they “carry” from their family environment in relation to their socio-economic status, within the context of a “reproductive” or a “transformative” function of the habitus that they possess (Accardo, 1983; Mills, 2008a, 2008b).

Although the findings of this qualitative research are not generalizable, they are interesting because they reveal a series of dimensions of the “digital” cultural capital of second year High School students (General High School/Vocational High School) in the Western Greece Region highlighting similarities and differences in relation to the educational level of their parents and the socio-economic status of their families. Furthermore, the expectations that these students have regarding the choice of educational “path” after graduating from High School are presented, as well as the reasons that substantiate their educational expectations.

We believe that conducting a similar study in a wider range of prefectures in Greece would be of particular interest.

REFERENCES

- Accardo, A. (1983). *Initiation à la Sociologie. L'illustrationnisme social*. Bordeaux: Le Mascaret.
- Alomyan, H., & Alelaimat, A. (2021). Employing ICTs in Kindergartens in remote areas of Jordan: Teachers' perspectives on uses, importance and challenges. *European Journal of Educational Research*, 10(4), 2145-2157. <https://doi.org/10.12973/eu-jer.10.4.2145>.
- Asimaki, A., & Koustourakis, G. (2014). Habitus: An attempt at a thorough analysis of a controversial concept in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. *Social Sciences*, 3(4), 121-131. <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ss.20140304.13>.
- Bell, J. (1999). *Methodological design of pedagogical and social research. Guide for students and doctoral candidates*. Athens: Gutenberg.
- Bonfadelli, H. (2002). The Internet and knowledge gaps: A theoretical and empirical investigation. *European Journal of Communication*, 17(1), 65-84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323102017001607>.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). *La distinction: Critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Practical reason: On the theory of action*. Athens: Plethron.
- Bourdieu, P. (2006). *The sense of practice*. Athens: Alexandria.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1996). *The inheritors: Students and their culture*. Institute of Book A. Kardamitsa.
- Bulfin, S., & North, S. (2007). Negotiating digital literacy practices across school and home: Case studies of young people in Australia. *Language and Education*, 21(3), 247-263. <https://doi.org/10.2167/le750.0>.
- Bryman, A. (2017). *Social research methods*. Athens: Gutenberg.
- Choo, C. W., Bergeron, P., Detlor, B., & Heaton, L. (2008). Information culture and information use: An exploratory study of three organizations. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 59(5), 792-804. <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.20797>.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2008). *Research methods in education*. Athens: Metaixmio.
- Cornali, F., & Tirocchi, S. (2012). Globalization, education, information and communication technologies: what relationships and reciprocal influences? *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 47, 2060-2069. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.06.949>.

- Creswell, J. W. (2011). *Educational research: planning, conducting and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*. Athens: Ion.
- Davies, P., Qiu, T., & Davies, N. M. (2014). Cultural and human capital, information and higher education choices. *Journal of Education Policy*, 29(6), 804-825. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2014.891762>.
- Delibeys, G., & Vergidis, D. (2022). From cultural to digital capital, as a conceptual framework for the study of distance learning in Greek schools during the Covid-19 pandemic: A first approach. In C. Panagiotakopoulos, A. Karatrantou & S. Armakolas (Eds.), *Proceedings of 7th Panhellenic Scientific Conference "Integration and Use of ICT in the Educational Process"* (pp. 1235-1242). Patra. <https://ocean.upatras.gr/7c/index.php/praktika/>.
- DEPPS (2003). *Interdisciplinary Unified Curriculum Framework for Informatics*. Athens: Pedagogical Institute. http://www.pi-schools.gr/lessons/computers/epps/18deppsaps_Pliroforikis.pdf.
- Djeki, E., Dégila, J., Bondiombouy, C., & Alhassan, M. H. (2022). E-learning bibliometric analysis from 2015 to 2020. *Journal of Computers in Education*, 9(4), 727-754. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40692-021-00218-4>.
- Giddens, A., & Sutton, P. (2020). *Sociology*. Athens: Gutenberg.
- Gouvias, D., & Vitsilakis-Soroniatis, C. (2005). Student employment and parental influences on educational and occupational aspirations of Greek adolescents. *Journal of Education and Work*, 18(4), 421-449. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639080500327790>
- Green, A., & Vryonides, M. (2005). Ideological tensions in the educational choice practices of modern Greek Cypriot parents: The role of social capital. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26(3), 327-342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690500128858>.
- Ihmeideh, F., & Al-Maadadi, F. (2018). Towards improving kindergarten teachers' practices regarding the integration of ICT into early years settings. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, 27(1), 65-78. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-017-0366-x>.
- Iosifides, T. (2003). *Analysis of qualitative data in social sciences*. Athens: Kritiki.
- Iosifides, T. (2008). *Qualitative methods of research in social sciences*. Athens: Kritiki.
- Jacobs, N., & Harvey, D. (2005). Do parents make a difference to children's academic achievement? Differences between parents of higher and lower achieving students. *Educational Studies*, 31(4), 431-448. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03055690500415746>.
- Konca, A. S., & Koksalan, B. (2017). Preschool children's interaction with ICT at Home. *International Journal of Research in Education and Science*, 3(2), 571-581. <https://doi.org/10.21890/ijres.328086>.
- Konca, A. S., Ozel, E., & Zelyurt, H. (2016). Attitudes of preschool teachers towards using information and communication technologies (ICT). *International Journal of Research in Education and Science*, 2(1), 10-15. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1105132>.
- Koustourakis, G. (2023). A sociological investigation of public and private kindergartens students' exclusion from the distance educational process during the Covid-19 time. In A. Lionarakis & E. Manousou (Eds), *Proceedings of the 12th Conference on Open & Distance Education. "Distance and Conventional Education in the Digital Age"*. Athens, November 24-26, 2023 (Vol. 1, pp. 221-249). Hellenic Open University, EDAE. <https://doi.org/10.12681/icodl.5999>.

Koustourakis, G., Asimaki, A., & Spiliopoulou, G. (2018). Cultural activities and the family's 'institutionalised' cultural capital: the case of native and immigrant primary school pupils. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 26(3), 397-415. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2017.1412340>.

Koustourakis, G., & Panagiotakopoulos, C. (2011). Investigation of the familiarity with the ICT of new entrant students at the Department of Preschool Education of the University of Patras: a longitudinal study. In C. Panagiotakopoulos (Ed.), *Proceedings. 2nd Pan-Hellenic Conference "Integration and use of ICT in education"* (pp. 373-382). Department of Primary Education. University of Patras. <https://eproceedings.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/cetpe/article/view/4785>.

Kraut, R., Kiesler, S., Boneva, B., Cummings, J., Helgeson, V., & Crawford, A. (2002). Internet paradox revisited. *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(1), 49-74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-4560.00248>

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis. An introduction to its methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Livingstone, S., & Helsper, E. (2007). Gradations in digital inclusion: Children, young people, and the digital divide. *New Media and Society*, 9(4), 671-696. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444807080335>.

Machkour, M., Lamalif, L., Faris, S., Mansouri, K., & Akef, F. (2025). Rethinking the integration of ICT in education: Towards a communication model to promote sustainable development. In B. Benhala, A. Lachhab, A. Raihani, M. Qbadou & A. Sallem (Eds), *E3S Web of Conferences* (Vol. 601, Article number 00097). EDP Sciences.

Maton, K. (2008). Habitus. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (pp. 49-65). Stocksfield: Acumen.

Mills, C. (2008a). Opportunity and resignation within marginalized students: Towards a theorisation of the reproductive and transformative habitus. *Critical Studies in Education*, 49(2), 99-111. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17508480802040191>.

Mills, C. (2008b). Reproduction and transformation of inequalities in schooling: the transformative potential of the theoretical constructs of Bourdieu. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29(1), 79-89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690701737481>.

Minello, A. (2014). The educational expectations of Italian children: The role of social interactions with the children of immigrants. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 24(2), 127-147. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09620214.2014.896567>.

Mullen, A. L. (2009). Elite destinations: pathways to attending an Ivy League University. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30(1), 15-27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0142569002514292>.

Naidoo, L. (2009). Developing social inclusion through after school homework tutoring: a study of African refugee students in Greater Western Sydney. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30(3), 261-273. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690902812547>.

Noble, J., & Davies, P. (2009). Cultural capital as an explanation of variation in participation in higher education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30(5), 591-605. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690903101098>.

Ogegbo, A. A., & Aina, A. (2020). Early childhood development teachers' perceptions on the use of technology in teaching young children. *South African Journal of Childhood Education*, 10(1), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.4102/sajce.v10i1.880>.

- Palaiologou, I. (2016). Children under five and digital technologies: Implications for early years pedagogy. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 24(1), 5-24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1350293X.2014.929876>.
- Papen, U. (2006). *Literacy and globalization: Reading and writing in times of social and cultural change*. London: Routledge.
- Psarrou, M. K., & Zafeiropoulos, K. (2004). *Scientific research. Theory and applications in social sciences*. Athens: Typothito - G. Dardanos.
- Pyrgiotakis, I. (2009). *Socialization and educational inequalities*. Athens: Gregoris.
- Qureshi, S. (2011). Globalization in development: Do information and communication technologies really matter? *Information Technology for Development*, 17(4), 249-252. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02681102.2011.610142>.
- Ragnedda, M. (2018). Conceptualizing digital capital. *Telematics and Informatics*, 35(8), 2366-2375. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2018.10.006>.
- Rimkute, L., Hirvonen, R., Tolvanen, A., Aunola, K., & Nurmi, J.-E. (2012). Parents' role in adolescents' educational expectations. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 56(6), 571-590. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00313831.2011.621133>.
- Robson, C. (2007). *Real world research. A resource for social scientists and practitioner researchers*. Athens: Gutenberg.
- Sá, C., Tavares, D. A., Justino, E., & Amaral, A. (2011). Higher education (related) choices in Portugal: Joint decisions on institution type and leaving home. *Studies in Higher Education*, 36(6), 689-703. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075071003725343>.
- Seale, J. (2013). When digital capital is not enough: Reconsidering the digital lives of disabled university students. *Learning, Media and Technology*, 38(3), 256-269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2012.670644>.
- Selwyn, N. (2004). Reconsidering political and popular understandings of the digital divide. *New Media & Society*, 6(3), 341-362. doi:10.1177/1461444804042519.
- Shandryk, V., Radchenko, O., Radchenko, O., Koshelenko, A., & Deinega, I. (2024). Digitalization as a global trend of public management systems modernization. In R. Shchokin, A. Iatsyshyn, V. Kovach & A. Zaporozhets (Eds), *Digital Technologies in Education. Studies in Systems, Decision and Control* (V. 529, pp. 3-16). Springer.
- Sianou-Kyrgiou, E., & Tsiplakides, I. (2009). Choice and social class of medical school students in Greece. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30(6), 727-740. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690903235276>.
- Sianou-Kyrgiou, E., & Tsiplakides, I. (2011). Similar performance, but different choices: social class and higher education choice in Greece. *Studies in Higher Education*, 36(1), 89-102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075070903469606>.
- Swingewood, A. (1998). *Cultural theory and the problem of modernity*. USA: ST. Martin's Press INC.
- Thomas, A. (2005). Children online: Learning in a virtual community of practice. *E Learning*, 2(1), 27-38. <https://doi.org/10.2304/elea.2005.2.1.27>.
- Thompson, R. (2009). Social class and participation in further education: Evidence from the Youth Cohort Study of England and Wales. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30(1), 29-42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690802514318>.

Tondeur, J., Sinnaeve, I., van Houtte, M., & van Braak, J. (2011). ICT as cultural capital: The relationship between socioeconomic status and the computer-use profile of young people. *New Media & Society*, 13(1), 151-168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810369245>.

Van de Werfhorst, H. G., & Hofstede, S. (2007). Cultural capital or relative risk aversion? Two mechanisms for educational inequality compared. *British Journal of Sociology*, 58, 391-415. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2007.00157.x>.

Vryonides, M., & Gouvias, D. (2012). Parents' aspirations for their children's educational and occupational prospects in Greece: The role of social class. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 53, 319-329. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2012.04.005>.

Wakeling, P. (2005). La noblesse d' état anglaise? Social class and progression to postgraduate. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26(4), 505-522. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690500200020>.

Waters, J., & Brooks, R. (2010). Accidental achievers? International higher education, class reproduction and privilege in the experiences of UK students overseas. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(2), 217-228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690903539164>.

Willis, S., & Tranter, B. (2006). Beyond the 'digital divide': Internet diffusion and inequality in Australia. *Journal of Sociology*, 42(1), 43-59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783306061352>.