

Education Expectations and Income Level of Families: An Assessment within the Framework of Human Capabilities Approach

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Abstract

This study aimed to examine the education expectations of the parents of compulsory education students (primary, secondary and high schools) according to the income levels within the context of the human capabilities approach. The study used a qualitative phenomenological research design. The study group consisted of 128 parents of students. Convenience sampling, which is one of the purposive sampling methods, was employed in the study. The descriptive analysis method was used to analyze the data. The findings revealed that parents mostly had social and individual expectations. However, they were found to differ by income groups. The most frequently expressed expectation, on the other hand, was having a good job and serving the nation and country.

Keywords: Human capabilities approach, Parental expectations, Family income, Educational expectations, Economics

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English Version

Introduction

Being educated is of value even if it has no economic or other benefits. Education is known to lead to other valuable things such as vocational training, income earning, literacy, leading a healthy life, and social benefits. In the last century, education has been regarded as an investment and sometimes as a means of development in economic and social terms through the human capital approach (Becker, 1964; Schultz, 1963). The human capital model, in which teaching and learning are seen as investments in the productive capacity of the individual and in which individuals are motivated by the expectation of the return on this investment, has become a common way of expressing the links between education and the labor market (Knight and Mlotkowski, 2009). Accordingly, the returns of education are expenditures on education from a macro perspective (OECD, 2019; Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004; Tansel, 1994). On the other hand, they are also treated as a variable that is frequently addressed in terms of family income in education research from a micro perspective (Davis-Kean, 2005; Stull, 2013; Tabak, 2019; Trusty, 1998). The economic aspect of education investments is undoubtedly an important dimension of individual returns. However, according to the capabilities approach, which presents a different and richer perspective at this point (Sen, 1997), receiving a better education should be considered holistically in terms of both the internal and instrumental returns mentioned above. In other words, education is important for developing other capabilities (Nussbaum, 2003; Unterhalter, 2003). While an examination of the returns of education in relation to only individual or social income will express the indirect value of education as “capital” to invest, the latter offers a more inclusive perspective that can cover both direct and indirect values of human capabilities. Education plays a role not only in the accumulation of human capital but also in the development of human capacity (Sen, 1997).

Capability refers more to what people can actually become and what they can do rather than to the resources to which they have access. Here, two basic concepts are functions and capabilities. Functions are what a person values being or doing. Capabilities, on the other hand, are about realizing these valuable functions. The capabilities approach centers on improving people’s capacity to choose a life that they value.

The Capabilities Approach

The capabilities approach, which was developed by Amartya Sen (1992, 1999, 2003) and Martha Nussbaum (2000, 2006), mainly includes an evaluation of social policy, including education, without ignoring individual expectations or dictating social criteria. For this reason, it has become a popular approach for the

past 30 years, offering a different perspective on economics (Pressman and Summerfield, 2000), social justice (Nielsen and Axelsen, 2017; Nussbaum, 2002), and poverty (Towsend, 1985). The basic idea is to turn what matters to people into real functions; that is, it is “the real-life that people manage to achieve” (Sen, 1992). From this perspective, the approach proposes investigating what people need to do and what they will be able to do, rather than looking at resources or satisfaction with choices while evaluating the quality of life to determine the kind of policies that will be better in human development (Berges, 2007). This approach aims to analyze the policy arrangements and social and institutional supports that are necessary for the development of individuals through education, work, and social life in general and to make recommendations. It is a comprehensive, deep, and interdisciplinary study subject with this feature (Robeyns, 2006). Indeed, it can form a theoretical framework from many fields of study and pave the way to a discussion of some already-known situations from a different perspective. It has some specific aspects with its education and returns, and is also comprehensive and associated with many disciplines.

In the capabilities approach, a person can achieve several functions. These functions are the constituent elements of life, i.e., being and doing. Sen (1992) defines functions as outcomes and achievements such as being healthy, being educated, having a job, being part of a family, and being a good person. When these functions come together, they make human beings capable and life valuable (Robeyns, 2006). For this reason, capabilities can be thought of as reaching and sustaining those things which are valuable in human life.

Sen (1999) expresses the role of human capabilities in three ways: (1) those directly related to the well-being and freedom of people; (2) indirect roles affecting social change; and (3) indirect roles affecting economic production. In this respect, the capabilities approach sees people from a wider perspective and proposes a holistic assessment. In this context, it considers education not only as a means of promoting productivity, economic growth, and individual income but also as an element that expands opportunities and functions. Education offers the opportunity to do and be in non-productive areas and also produces social and civil outcomes as a public property. For example, as stated by Nussbaum (2006), education is important for democracy. Through basic education, young citizens gain habits that will last a lifetime. In this context, compulsory education is seen as an argument for the future. The child will have more choices and skills when they grow up if the competition is not carried out with a top-down approach; capabilities are increased and opportunities are expanded. This will give the child the freedom to make choices in a wider area (Saito, 2003).

Education is compulsory to gain both the skills that will provide the production and efficiency required by economic growth and the values, attitudes, and skills that will contribute to the development of society. In addition to its economic benefits, education has social and cultural benefits that are indispensable to society. For this reason, basic education is compulsory and free (Karip, 2011). According to OECD (2010), as the level of education increases, the percentage

of those who state that their health status is good and that they participate in the decisions also increases.

Here, education can play a role in three ways (Dre`ze and Sen, 1995): (i) As a purpose: to be educable, to use the knowledge, and to produce; (ii) as a tool: to be able to work and to have a job; and (iii) as a transformation factor: to be healthy. While the function is a reached achievement, capability means that a person can choose alternative functions.

From the framework of the capabilities approach, two different perceptions of education emerge. First, education can be seen as a function or a form of achievement—for example, completing 12 years of basic education, which corresponds to the idea of schooling. On the other hand, education is considered the process of defining a person's right to use their knowledge, thinking, and understanding capacities to express what is valuable and what is done for the person (Unterhalter, 2003). In this context, Walker (2008) uses the concept of "functional capabilities" to express the importance of capabilities and function in education. Stating that the capabilities approach has a strong relationship to education, Saito (2003) suggests that education plays a role in supporting the promotion of capabilities by paying attention to the values.

As long as incomes are assumed to be welfare through choices in consumption, and as long as the question of why people prefer some consumption types and outcomes over others is defined as "external" in analyses, the formation of preference is related only to the quantitative expressions of the economy. This approach acknowledges a linear relationship between income and capabilities. Income is a factor in increasing capabilities, and capability is a factor in the income generated. However, in measuring welfare, income is a means and not an end. On the other hand, each individual needs a different income. Furthermore, this need for income may differ depending on the culture or society (Saito, 2003). In the absence of a certain level of welfare through which basic needs can be met, some of the functions that can be developed by education remain in the background for some. For this reason, besides a certain level of economic welfare, it is necessary to attach importance to better education, as opposed to more education, and to humanitarian life conditions and values, and not to more rich people.

Expectation – Family Income

The effect of family on the child can be said to begin with genetic heritage and to consist of many social and economic factors. Education expectations are also said to be created in social environments and economic conditions provided by families. In other words, how they view education is thought to be related to the social environment created and the economic resources that have an impact on expectations (Teachman and Paasch, 1998). In the literature, it is widely accepted that the educational expectations of parents and family income are important factors in predicting children's educational gains, academic achievement, and professional outcomes (Blau, 1999; Davis-Kean, 2005; Fan and Chen, 2001;

Eccles, 2005; Neuenschwander, Vida, Garrett, and Eccles, 2007; Nam and Huang, 2009; Stull, 2013; Schlechter and Milevsky, 2010; Walpole, 2003). Studies show that lower-income and less-educated parents tend to have lower educational expectations of their children as compared to higher-income and more educated parents (Crosnoe, Mistry, and Elder, 2002; Davies-Kean, 2005; Zhan and Sherraden, 2003). On the other hand, it is said that the educational expectations of adolescents can be predicted by parental expectations to some extent and that there are also parents who report high expectations for their children despite their low level of education (Kirk, Lewis-Moss, Nilsen, and Colvin, 2011). However, high parental expectations in low-income families are said to play a critical role in increasing educational success and decreasing the risk of failure in the following school years (De Civita, Pagani, Vitaro, and Tremblay, 2004). Benner and Mistry (2007) concluded that the expectations of adults in low-income families had a significant effect not only on young people's perceptions and beliefs regarding academic skills but also on their performance.

Some studies suggest that the educational gains of children, regardless of the family's past and socioeconomic status, are related to parents' expectations of what their children will gain educationally (Buchmann and Dalton, 2002; Eccles and Wigfield, 2002). Behaviors, participation, beliefs, goals, and expectations of parents are reported to be important for children's education and career choices (Garg, Kauppi, Lewko, and Urajnik, 2002). Children coming from families with high socioeconomic levels tend to choose riskier and higher-income careers. On the other hand, children coming from families with low socio-economic and educational levels may tend to prefer risk-free, job-assured, and lower-income careers (Delaney, Harmon, and Redmond, 2011; Caner and Okten, 2010).

Despite all financial difficulties, when parents have higher expectations of their children, this will also affect the expectations of the children in the long run and increase their belief in school education (Flouri and Hawkes, 2008; Lazariades, Viljaranta, Aunola, Pesu, and Nurmi, 2016; Wentzel, 1998; Zhang, 2012). Parents with higher expectations of their children are more likely to provide better conditions than are parents with low expectations of their children's school and socialization, and they are more likely to pass on to their children the importance of being successful at school and getting along well with teachers and peers (Zhan, 2006). Claiming that more positive beliefs and expectations contributed more to successful behaviors and achievements of children, Halle, Kurtz-Costes, and Mahoney (1997) suggested that mothers with low income and higher education had higher expectations regarding their children's academic success and that these expectations were associated with the school success of their children in the following years. Parents' demands and expectations of their children are also said to be reflected in their children and to affect the children's expectations (Wentzel, 1998). From this point of view, the expectations of parents are said to indirectly affect the working conditions, behaviors, and success of children (Marjoribanks, 2003).

The Study

This study was carried out to analyze what families expected from education and whether these expectations changed based on different income groups. Because the investment that families make in education is shaped according to their income status, and their expectations are shaped according to the investment made. Therefore, it is thought that the expectations of different income groups may differ. The rationale behind this objective was the reports that family income affected the types of investment that parents make in their children and that parents' investments impacted children's outcomes in terms of skills development (Bradley and Corwyn, 2002; Davis-Kean, 2005; Mayer 1997; Yeung, Linver, and Brooks-Gunn, 2002). The contribution of the capabilities approach, on the other hand, is to clarify the process of influencing internal and instrumental values through education and to help demonstrate education in terms of both internal and instrumental value. The existence of multiple expectations based on work and social life for each income group is considered important in terms of questioning the functions of education from a different perspective. Research into this approach, which is an economic theory, is limited in the education literature. It has been associated with education (Saito, 2003; Walker, 2008) and addressed in studies measuring the value of education (Chiappero-Martinetti & Sabadash, 2014; Wigley-Akkoyunlu and Akkoyunlu, 2011) and investigating student motivations (Fredman, 2014). No research was specifically conducted in terms of expectations and income. In this research, the income levels of families and their expectations from education are examined. Because it is thought that people's expectations regarding the subject and the income status that will determine these expectations are important in performing the functions they value. The capabilities approach framework is expected to make an interdisciplinary contribution to research and form an idea for further research.

Studies have revealed the relationship between the socioeconomic status of the family and educational outcomes. For the most part, the reason for the existence and permanence of this relationship was dealt with quantitative variables. In other words, the relationship between income and academic achievement, educational expectation and academic achievement is known. In this context, in this study, different from academic success, what kind of expectations families might have according to their income was discussed. In the study, capabilities were considered as a theoretical framework. An effort was made to determine the expectations of the parents of compulsory education students within the context of the human capabilities approach. Expectations are examined as their children's capabilities, that is, their thoughts about what they can actually do / be within the scope of HCA. Additionally, the findings that the study obtained were expected to provide information for future research for the consideration of the expectations. The research questions were as follows:

- 1) What are the expectations of parents regarding the education their children receive?
- 2) What are the expectations of parents according to family income?

Method

Research Model

This study used a descriptive design with a qualitative research technique and aimed to determine the opinions of parents about their educational expectations according to their income status. The purpose of qualitative research is to make discoveries that lead to the emergence of new ideas. For this reason, the study adopted the phenomenological method, which is the basis of qualitative research and one of the approaches that enable individuals to directly define their experiences. In this research, with questions about expectations it is expected that individuals who have child in compulsory education should express their experiences in this subject. To that end, participants are asked to write about their expectations of education regarding their children in the future. The question form stated:

Imagine your child has finished compulsory education. Regarding the education your child received until then; What kind of a person is he/she do you expect to be in the future ? What knowledge and skills do you expect he/she to have? How behavior do you expect he/she to have?

Study Group

The data were collected from parents whose children were students at one of three schools selected using the convenience sampling method, which is one of the purposive sampling methods, among primary, secondary, and high schools located in the central district of Aksaray province. The purposive sampling method is said to directly reflect the purpose of a study and to help determine information-rich situations (Merriam, 2013). It is the deliberate choice of a participant due to their qualifications. Accordingly, the researchers preferred participants who had expectations about education and children who were already attending school. These three schools were selected from the region where people of all socioeconomic levels lived. In total, 162 parents filled out the questionnaire; however, only 128 questionnaires were included in the study group to ensure a homogenous distribution in terms of gender, education level, and income groups and because of the quality of the responses given. The demographic characteristics of the parents who participated in the study are given in Table 1.

Table 1.

The socio-demographic characteristics of the participants

Gender		School Level			Income Group		
Female	Male	Elementary	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
67	61	39	42	47	41	43	44

Data Collection and Analysis

The unstructured questionnaire designed by the researcher for purposes of collecting the study data consists of three open-ended questions about family expectations regarding education. Open-ended questions give the researcher flexibility in studying relatively less-researched topics. Also, they create an opportunity to understand facts from the perspective of respondents without pre-defined limitations and insights (Patton, 2014). A comprehensive literature review was conducted for the preparation of the questions, which were submitted to the opinions of field specialists. The support of a Turkish language specialist was sought to ensure intelligibility. A pilot study was carried out with five parents, and the form was eventually finalized. The data were collected through school visits during parent-teacher meetings in the fall and spring semesters of the 2018-2019 academic year. The researcher explained to the parents the study's purpose and answered their questions about the subject. The parents answered the researcher's questions in writing in the school garden on a volunteer basis. In the study, the descriptive analysis technique was used to analyze the data. The descriptive analysis consists of data coding, theme finding, code and theme editing, and defining and interpreting the findings steps (Wertz, 2011). Also, before data analysis, the answers in each participant's questionnaire were read several times to learn about the study group and to recognize the codes, thereby maintaining a holistic perspective. The data were analyzed independently by three researchers, and then the analyses were combined for consensus. First, thoughts, ideas, and meanings were examined in detail to reveal concepts behind the data obtained and to name and develop them. Researchers analyzed the data and examined the words one by one. The emerging concepts were named and a code list was created. The participants who had conceptually meaningful and similar characteristics were grouped under more concrete and comprehensive categories with the help of the codes obtained from the analyses. Because each participant might express more than one code, frequencies were presented for the resulting codes (Table 2). To examine the participants in terms of income groups, the incomes of the participants were sorted and then the answers were divided into three groups (low, middle, and high). The responses were analyzed according to each theme in each group and their frequencies were presented (Table 3). Because most of the parents who participated in the study had children at more than one school level, no classification was done according to school levels. The analyst diversity technique was employed to ensure impartiality and reliability (Creswell, 2002). Each researcher analyzed the data obtained one by one and compared the findings with the analyzed data. Then common codes were created. The internal consistency coefficient of the codes produced with the analyst diversity technique was found to be .83. This coefficient indicated a high level of consistency among coders (Krippendorff, 2004). To ensure reliability, independent field experts checked the codes determined by the researchers.

Findings

This study aimed to investigate the educational expectations of families according to their income levels. The findings were presented regarding the two problems of the study. Firstly, families' expectations regarding education were analyzed in Table 2. Then, in Table 3, the findings showing the distribution of these expectations by income groups were examined. The first problem of the research was expressed as "What are the expectations of parents regarding the education their children receive?" Findings regarding this problem are given below.

1. Expectations from education

The examination of Table 1 indicated that families' expectations regarding education were grouped under four themes: academic, professional, social and civil, and individual.

Table 2.
Families' expectations regarding education

<i>Capabilities</i>	<i>Functionings</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>Academic</i>	Being educated	24
	Self-expressing	24
	Self-developing	19
	Being sophisticated	17
	Questioning	14
	Interested in learning	12
	High level of awareness	11
<i>Professional</i>	Having a good job	78
	Being a civil servant	38
	Entrepreneur	21
	Doctor	12
	Knowing responsibilities for studying	11
<i>Social</i>	Rich	9
	Serving the nation and the country	64
	Benevolent	47
	Respectful of others	38
	A good person	34
	Contributing to society	29
	Responsible	28
	Compassionate	25
Recognizing the rights and freedoms of others	23	

Table 2.
Families' expectations regarding education (Devamı)

<i>Capabilities</i>	<i>Functionings</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>Individual</i>	Successful	26
	Conscious of their religion	23
	Having a certain personality	23
	Honest	20
	Loyal to the family	18
	Hardworking	15
	Standing on their own feet	14
	Respectful of art	13
	Having information technology skills	13
	Having foreign language skills	12
	Interested in sports	10
	Having moral values	13
	Having no bad habits	11
	Self-confident	8

Parents' expectations regarding education were related mostly to professional expectations. The most frequently expressed expectations within this theme were having a good job (n = 78), being a civil servant (n = 38), and being an entrepreneur (n = 21). Professional expectations were followed by social expectations. The most frequently expressed expectations in this theme were serving the nation and the country (n = 64), being benevolent (n = 47), and being respectful of others (n=38). Individual expectations included expectations regarding the personal values of the children. Here, parents mostly expected their children to be successful (n = 26), be conscious of their religion (n = 23), have a certain personality (n = 23), and be honest (n = 20). The theme of "academic" yielded the least expectations regarding education. The top expectations in this theme were being educated (n = 24), self-expressing (n = 24), self-developing (n = 19), and being sophisticated (n = 17). The examination of the participants by income groups and sample statements are given in Table 3. In light of these findings, the parents can be said to care about their children in terms of having a profession primarily through education. This situation can also be considered economically.

2. Expectations according to family income

The second problem of the research was expressed as "What are the expectations of parents according to family income?" Findings regarding this problem are given below. Table 3.

Comparison between the income status of the families and their expectations regarding education

Income status \ Theme	Low (₹4000 and less)	Middle (₹4001- ₹6500)	High (₹6501 and higher)	Total
Academic	32	54	35	121
Professional	104	45	20	169
Social	86	130	72	288
Individual	54	70	95	219

As seen in Table 3, the expectation themes of families differ by income groups. In terms of income groups, families in the low-income group were observed to often have social and professional expectations, whereas families in the middle- and high-income groups were found to have higher social and individual expectations. While academic expectations were most common in families from the middle-income groups, social expectations ranked first in low- and middle-income family groups. Overall, the families were observed to express their expectations in the (i) social, (ii) individual, (iii) professional, and (iv) academic themes, respectively.

Expectations Among High-Income Families

The highest expectations among the participants in the high-income group were individual expectations (n = 95), while the lowest expectations were in the professional expectations theme (n = 20). On the other hand, the high-income group had the highest individual expectations. A participant with a monthly income of ₹14,000 expressed their expectation as “being a sophisticated person who gives importance to sports and arts.” A participant with a monthly income of ₹9,000, on the other hand, expressed their opinion as “I expect my child to be respectful of others, smart, helpful, successful, love their job, and conscious of the[ir] religion.” Also, another participant, with a monthly income of ₹17,000, expressed their expectation as “hardworking, respectful, loving the nation and the country, loyal to their family.” Moreover, the expectation of another participant with a monthly income of ₹25,000 was “they must know their responsibilities for studying; we are already trying to do the rest.” Some of the other statements were as follows: “*In today’s conditions, education is the primary requirement around the world. Their father has a job, but his income is not stable; things go well for one month and go bad the following month. I wish he had a fixed salary.*” “*I want him to be a sophisticated person with moral values and high awareness.*” “*I always expect him to be a person who has their own view of life and can make their*

own decisions.” “*They must be able to make their decisions about their life, have an entrepreneurial spirit, and ... stand on their own feet.*”

Expectations Among Middle-Income Families

The expectations among the participants in the middle-income group were mostly in the social expectations (n = 130) category. This was followed by individual (n = 70), academic (n = 54), and professional expectations (n = 45). A participant with a monthly income of ₺6,000 expressed their expectations as “I want my child to be a person who serves their nation and country, can express themselves, has respect and affection in human relations, and [is] a role model.” A participant with a monthly income of ₺8,000 said, “I do not see my aim to send my children to school as giving them an opportunity to have a job. Human values are more important than having a job (doctor, teacher). They must first have human values; the rest will automatically follow.” Another participant, with an average monthly income of ₺9,000, said, “I want my child to be a virtuous person even if he is not very successful at school, to communicate with people around them, to fulfill their responsibilities, and to earn money after completing their school.” A participant with a monthly income of ₺4500 replied, “compassionate, conscientious, self-confident, and not in need of anyone.” Other opinions were listed as follows: “*My children must be respectful of others, be helpful, and be successful in their classes. I want them to love their job, and [be] conscious of their religion.*” “*Pursuing their dreams, seeking their rights, developing themselves, and [being] respectful and successful.*” “*I want my child to be [a] responsible, disciplined, organized, helpful, and respectful person.*” “*I want them to get an education and be civil servants, to be a statesman who contributes to their country and serves their country, and to be successful.*” “*Having moral values, faithful, talented, and loving to work.*”

Expectations Among Low-Income Families

The highest expectations among the families regarding education in this group belonged to the professional expectations theme (n = 104). This was followed by social expectations (n = 86), individual expectations (n = 54), and academic expectations (n = 32). A participant with a monthly income of ₺1,800 expressed their expectation as “I want them to be successful in life. If you do not have a good education, you do not have value in society. We want them to have a job through education; we do not want anything else.” Another participant, with a monthly income of ₺2,600, expressed their opinion as “I want my children to have a job and to work in a regular job; I want them to be a civil servant so that they can afford to take care of their family.” On the other hand, a participant with a monthly income of ₺4,000 said, “I want them to study as much as they can and to be an individual who can afford their life.” Some examples of other opinions were as follows: “*I want them to be an optimistic person. They must have a high position in society and a respectable job.*” “*I expect them to be an individual who*

values science, can plan their future and reflect their religious values to their life.” “I want them to finish school and have a profession.” “I want my children to serve their country and nation and to earn their living.” “I want my child to be rich. They must have a very good profession to achieve it.”

Discussion and Conclusions

This study aimed to analyze the expectations of parents regarding education in terms of income groups. The results of the study revealed that the expectations of parents regarding education could be classified into (i) social, (ii) individual, (iii) professional, and (iv) academic categories, respectively. These expectations were shown to vary by income groups. Accordingly, as stated by Teachman and Paasch (1998), the way in which families saw education was found to be associated with the social environment and economic resources, which have an impact on expectations. It is seen that these themes, which emerged as a result of examining the expectations of the families, are similar to the functions of education. At this point, it can be interpreted that family expectations and existing functions do not actually differ much.

When the results or gains such as being healthy, being educated, having a profession, being a part of a family, being a good person come together as expectations and defined as functions by Sen (1992) in the study, they make a person capable. Therefore, it can be emphasized that these expectations should be balanced and holistic. However, it is seen that the income situation changes the balance here.

The high-income group in the study was found to have individual expectations most. They expected their children to be successful, to respect art, and to have traits such as honesty and faithfulness. Their lowest expectations were in the professional expectations category. In the literature, the children of families with high socioeconomic levels were reported to prefer higher-income careers, whereas the children of families with low socio-economic levels tended to prefer a lower-income career with job security (Delaney, Harmon, and Redmond, 2011; Caner and Okten, 2010). It can be interpreted that when there is a certain welfare level where basic needs can be met, expectations from education become individual. In terms of the human capabilities approach, it can be emphasized here that income is a factor in increasing capabilities, but only income is not sufficient to ensure prosperity.

On the other hand, the highest expectations among the middle-income group were found to belong to the social expectations category. These parents expected their children to have functions such as serving their homeland and nation, being respectful of others, being beneficial to society, and being compassionate. The lowest expectations of this group were in the professional expectations category, though it was higher than that of the high-income group. Social functions are the socially indispensable function of education. In other words, it is a situation that

draws attention to the importance of values in increasing capability. It can be said that the expectations of the middle income group are more social. Education can change the differences in income distribution with the skills it will bring to the whole society rather than a means of individual benefit or being rich.

The highest expectations among low-income families were found to belong to the professional category. These parents expected their children to have traits such as having a good job, being a civil servant, and being an entrepreneur. The lowest expectations in this group were in the academic expectations category. This finding showed that low-income parents tended to have lower educational expectations of their children as compared to higher-income parents (Crosnoe, Mistry, and Elder, 2002; Davies-Kean, 2005; Zhan and Sherraden, 2003). On the other hand, De Civita, Pagani, Vitaro, and Tremblay (2004) stated that high parental expectations in low-income families might play a critical role in increasing educational success and reducing the risk of failure in the following school years. In this study, some high-income parents were observed to have low expectations. This result clearly shows the relationship between income and expectation. The economic part of the functions to be developed with education comes to the fore for someone when the level of welfare is unable or less able to meet basic needs. Therefore, it can be said that more humane living conditions and values should be given importance in the policies to be created.

Income generally changes the type and frequency of expectations. In terms of capabilities, income is an important factor in increasing capabilities. Capability is a factor for income, too. The role of education, on the other hand, is to expand opportunities (Saito, 2003). Individuals' ability to have more than one function is related to the choice of alternative functions (Chiappero-Martinetti and Sabadash, 2014). From this perspective, regardless of income, what matters is that parents have higher expectations of their children. Some studies claim that this situation will positively affect children and increase their beliefs in school education (Flouri and Hawkes, 2008; Lazarides, Viljaranta, Aunola, Pesu, and Nurmi, 2016; Wentzel, 1998; Zhang, 2012). Parents with low expectations of their children regarding school and socialization will be less likely to provide better conditions and to convey to their children the importance of getting along well with teachers and peers as compared to those who have high expectations (Zhan, 2006). Thus, the highest expectations among the families regarding education were, overall, found to belong to the social category, regardless of income groups. In other words, for families, being educated was associated with having internal values such as being more benevolent, having responsibility, and being beneficial to society. These findings coincide with the statement of Unterhalter (2003), who defines education as "the right of the person to use their knowledge, thinking, and understanding capacities to express what is done and things valuable to human beings."

The fact that a parent can have expectations in more than one category is actually about the existence of multiple functions. The basic idea stated by Sen (1992) here is that "the aim is to be able to turn what matters to people into real

functions.” Therefore, considering what people can do and need to do must be more important than resources and preferences in human development (Berges, 2007). However, the most frequently expressed expectations in the present study were “having a good profession,” “serving the nation and homeland,” and “being benevolent.” This finding was important in terms of showing that families expected their children to be functional for their own lives, others’ lives, and their countries. This may indicate the strong link between education and the capabilities approach. As Robeyns (2006) states, when expectations from education—that is, functions—come together, they make human beings capable and life valuable.

Implications and Suggestions

This study emphasized that although it is not related to income, education is important in terms of developing other capabilities. Also, the study focused on which functions of human beings should be developed because the capabilities approach implies that income is important but cannot be the only criterion. Additionally, it proposes that social policies should be created and analyzed with this in mind. Finally, it provides a small example that can be useful in terms of going beyond the quantitative analysis of income-academic success between education and capabilities.

Especially for low-income individuals, education was considered a way of finding jobs and generating high income. In this case, the low-income group can be said to be at a disadvantageous position in terms of benefiting from opportunities in education and finding a job after completing education. Here, the support provided by the state to economically disadvantaged individuals will reveal the capabilities of society as well as the individual and turn them into productivity. It is important to develop alternative policies and practices to ensure equality. However, it should be accepted that it is not easy to establish systems that will enable education to eliminate inequality in income distribution and to impart basic skills to all individuals. Perhaps what must be done is not the evaluation of students with only more education in terms of individual attitudes, behaviors, and abilities. At the same time, a meaningful and feasible future should be designed and secured in terms of the resources of the education received by these students and learning experiences. To achieve this, basic education must be compulsory and free (Karip, 2011) and factors other than official access to this education must be controlled. The academic difference between students in two different income groups who receive basic education may be related to social and economic conditions. Indeed, in this study, similar expressions were remarkably encountered in two different income groups. On the other hand, one of two students in different schools/regions in the same income group may benefit less from education and may not have the opportunity to expand the range of options. Education may not be a tool for becoming rich, but it could be related to the quality of the skills that are imparted to all students regardless of social background. For this reason, various data related to students, including personal and educational resources, sho-

uld be analyzed so that educational policymakers and practitioners can expand the range of options—i.e., opportunities—for students, as in the statements of Sen (1992), to enable them to better understand the differences in their abilities related to the application. In this sense, income can be said to be one of the basic variables requiring analysis.

In this context, this study can indicate that the capabilities approach can make a significant contribution to the field of education. However, considering it as comprehensive and interdisciplinary will increase its benefits for policymakers, researchers, and education beneficiaries. In the study, questions were based on expectations regarding education, but at the same time, the results revealed the importance of expanding and discussing the topic in sociological, psychological, and economic fields. Based on these data, it may be suggested that capabilities studies should be carried out to determine inputs and outputs of education and to increase and evaluate the quality of practices in the process. Education is an area related to many disciplines, with many interested parties, and also interacting with culture. Therefore, the expectations of all parties can be addressed. Observations about these expectations can be made in social institutions.

Limitations

This study was designed within the framework of the qualitative research method. An interview form with open-ended questions was used. Future studies on this subject can carry out a general review related to the topic by using quantitative or mixed methods, and studies that will obtain rich findings can be designed. Therefore, a measurement tool that will allow for more effective data collection can be developed in other studies. On the other hand, a more comprehensive comparison can be made by determining the expectations of different parties. The comparisons to be made in this way may allow family income status and the scope of expectation theory to be expanded and structured.

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