Effectiveness of School and Family on Enculturation: Perceptions of Students

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ABSTRACT

Culture is essential because culture is the root of society. Thus, transferring the culture to the new generations is important. This study aims to find out how effective families and schools are with enculturation in Turkey. The primary objective of the study is to determine the effectiveness of families and schools on enculturation; other aims of the study were to determine 1) the effectiveness of enculturation on secondary school students in Turkey, and 2) the knowledge and perception of students on cultural objects. This study used semi-structured interviews to acquire data. According to the semi-structured interviews, eight main themes emerged. These themes were as follows; cultural elements, holiday visits, handicrafts, cultural trips with teachers, cultural trips with family, an analogy of enculturation, the importance of culture, and presentation of cultural elements to tourists.

A society should have shared values, viewpoints, attitudes, and behaviours within itself. All of these can be provided by a common culture. This culture is the most important provider of harmony within society. To be able to live in a society smoothly, at least one should have knowledge of that society or accommodate himself/herself to it. Adaptation to their own culture, struggling for the continuity of culture, possessing a cultural identity is essential for the welfare of people who live in that society and society itself. However, having the bond of cultural values and attitudes can occur if only the existing culture is transferred.

Culture is crucial to society's continuity. What is culture? English anthropologist Taylor developed the most common definition of culture. According to him, culture comprises the entirety of knowledge, belief, art, law, custom, tradition, abilities, and attitudes that a person gained by experience as a member of that society (Berray, 2019; Haviland, 2002). Erkal (2006) stated that moral factors form culture and these factors are beliefs, values, symbols, norms, customs and traditions, and laws.

One of the most important features of culture is that it is not either hereditary or innate, but learned over in time. Culture maintains its continuity and existence by being transferred from individual to individual and from society to society. Culture is formed and continued by people, and people choose to live in an existent culture of their preference. However, when people live together, they must accommodate themselves to the culture in which they live. By accommodating that culture, people develop a cultural identity. Cultural identity is the identity that someone gains by living in the culture to which that individual belongs. Each cultural identity is intentional and is different from other nations, societies, or communities. Mora (2008) defined cultural identity as "culture which is formed by joint association toward future and joint history, within a joint place, and gathered around joint ideals, is the cultural identity

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of that nation" (p. 6). Individual firs ask himself/herself as "who I am?" Later, he/she tries to find out the answer to "who he/she is." The answer is that identity derives from the culture.

Cultural identities are essential for the continuity of nations. However, some risk factors are threatening the cultural identities of nations. The most crucial factor threatening cultural identity is globalisation. Globalisation is a phenomenon that consists of many concepts and diverse political, social, and technological notions (Darchininan & Magnan, 2020). This study considers socio-cultural globalisation. Socio-cultural globalisation can be defined as a process of acceleration of interchanges among cultures, social and cultural symbols across cross borders, including food and entertainment. Globalisation can be defined as an interactive process among cultures, whose contact with each other is accelerating while removing borders physically, informatically, and virtually.

As a result of the irresistible effects of globalisation, the question of what will happen to local cultures is raised. With the help of globalisation, global culture spreads to the structure of nations and countries. Nowadays, it is impossible to avoid the effects of globalisation and prevent global culture because of the rapid improvements in communication technologies. Researchers argued that a unification has around the world via national economies, and cultural and social values approach due to technological developments and the spread of knowledge and information around a world without boundaries, and social and finances are being shared due to technological developments (Papadopoulou, Theodosiadou, & Palaiologou, 2020; Yeldan, 2005).

Of course, cultures will be affected by each other. There is a transaction among cultures. However, this should be like salt added to a meal, which will not adversely affect the national structure and cause alienation (Özgüleç, 2007). Thus, culture and cultural identity should be kept alive against the ravages that globalisation can cause. Therefore, culture and cultural identity must be transferred to the new generation effectively. This being so, what is the cultural transmission? Who should do that? Whose responsibility?

In general terms, cultural transmission is the adaptation and the transmission of all material and moral, cultural values, such as lifestyle, beliefs, perceptions, attitudes, customs, traditions, and perspective on life, to new generations. By transferring cultural values that of general society to the younger generation, society creates an idealised human type. This new type of human coherent to society starts to fulfil the duty of socialisation by learning, adapting, and applying the cultural values of society.

There are two basic steps to cultural transmission. One is socialisation, and the other one is enculturation. Socialisation is the adaptation and adjustment of an individual to the society that s/he lives in. "Socialisation is a total of a series of processes of generation of an individual to a social creation from psychological creation. Socialisation is a transforming the "I" thought into "we" (Celkan, 2005, p. 10). Enculturation includes socialisation, and, during enculturation, socialisation brings individuals the necessities of coexistence and provides adaptation to the society during enculturation. Enculturation is "a process of enabling social peace and comfort by transmitting and gaining a specific culture to the people who form the society, creating a type of people desired by the society, providing cultural unity and solidarity by controlling over individuals" (Güvenç, 1997, p. 85).

A child's socialisation starts within the family and inner circle but later it continues at school. Schools are the most effective socialisation place for children. According to Celkan (2005), "School, a work of recreation of social reality in case of families' power and capacity is insufficient, effectuates. Thus, the school tries to develop some political, economic, moral, and aesthetic value judgments on young and adult people. The aim of schools should be protecting cultural heritage and richness developed over from the past, introducing original features of culture to new generations, providing an opening to the outer world with its new dimensions without moving away from the core culture (Berkay, 1990).

Because enculturation and socialisation occur best at schools, the responsibility of transmission of culture falls into the governments. To transfer their culture, nation-states have resorted to nationalisation necessitating the inspection of the noninstitutionalised educational establishment (Özyurt, 2008). As governments have noticed the importance of enculturation, they have charged this duty to education because conscious and systematic enculturation is created at schools.

Considering the effects of culture on social integration, the importance of enculturation is increasing. The gaps within societies or communities who have lost their cultures are as problematic as instances of misidentification. To raise individuals who will be able to integrate this era's values self-confidently with an identity shaped by cultural accumulation brought from the past to the future will enrich them with needed values and attitudes (State Planning Organization, 2006). Besides the conservation of cultural identity, generalising and improving the existent cultural identity by synthesising it with different cultures within a developing, changing and converging rapidly world and to raise individuals who have this consciousness is an issue that governments have emphasised.

Enculturation can occur in different ways. An individual's family, social environment, peer group, and school are the places in which this process occurs. In this respect, the correct course is an education policy that governments pursue, which gives importance to enculturation. Thus, the addition of enculturation to education policy should be shaped in these environments. In Turkey, the enculturation policy is pursued with different content, and learning outcomes in the education curriculum and elements of enculturation are present in most primary, secondary, and high school curriculums. Nonetheless, special attention is placed on knowledge, ability, attitude in specific education curricula, which are Social Sciences, Turkish Philology, Turkish and History courses (Ünlü, 2012; Varış, 1990).

Social science education is viewed as the most effective course for students to learn and adopt their cultural elements and recognise and promote their own culture in the best manner. Aykaç (2007) viewed "Social sciences courses are one of the basic courses that students can gain knowledge about society and problems of society, learn their responsibilities as a citizen, understand human relations and comprehend national and universal features and values" (p. 48).

If the social sciences courses are viewed as a way of enculturation, how effective have they been in substantiating cultural for students?

Some studies have done on social science courses and culture. According to Sertkaya's (2010) study on cultural transfer and cultural identity development in secondary school social studies education, it is possible to transfer culture; however, it is challenging to realise cultural identity development. She also revealed that very few studies have been conducted on the relationship between social studies and culture. Kula (2017) conducted the most recent study on this issue in his thesis called "School administrators' teachers' students' and parents' expectations, opinions and suggestions regarding the cultural transfer and developing cultural identity". The results of his study showed that "the administrators think that cultural transfer and developing cultural identity could be possible by giving tangible studies, exercises to the students. Teachers think cultural transfer and developing cultural identity is necessary in growing individuals who are beneficial for society and emerging generations who are loyal to their values and give importance to their cultural heritage. According to students' opinions, cultural and historical travels are the most significant factors in cultural transfer and developing cultural identity. Parents want their children to deal with traditional handicrafts".

Methodology

The objective of this current study was to investigate the effectiveness of families and schools on enculturation, the effectiveness of enculturation on secondary school students in

Turkey, and the knowledge and perception of students on cultural objects. The study was based on a qualitative research design to gain a deeper understanding. Silverman (2016) noted that qualitative research plays a significant role in settings to obtain open-ended data. A qualitative method is highly effective for assessing thoughts, views, and perspectives to present information collectively. As Merriam (2018) stated, researchers conducting a basic qualitative deal with how people interpret their own lives, how they structure the world they in which they live and give meaning to their experiences. Interviews are conducted to determine someone's opinions and combine stories that people articulate with the help of their own experiences (Patton, 2014). In this current study, semi-structured interviews were conducted to acquire data (Seidman, 2006).

Setting and Participants

The setting of the study was a private school in Denizli, Turkey. The school is located in the centre of the city. Because the curriculum of the schools in Turkey is the same, no differences exist between a state school and a private school. The reason for choosing this private school was that the researcher could easily access the school due to its location.

The study's samples comprised the whole 7th and 8th grades of the school. A total of 50 students were studying in 7th and 8th grades; however, 32 students volunteered to participate in the study. The demographic features of 32 students are as follows; 17 of the participants were boys, while 15 were girls. The ages of the participants were as follows: six students were twelve years old, ten students were thirteen years old, thirteen students were fourteen years old, and three students were fifteen years old.

Data Collection and Analysis

This study was conducted during the fall semester of the 2019-2020 academic year. Necessary permission was received from the Ministry of National Education. The participants signed an informed consent form, in which they were assured that their names will be anonymous and that they could withdraw at any time. The study used semi-structured interviews, which were conducted during the free time of the students and lasted 15-20 minutes in an empty class of the school. Interviews were audiotaped with the permission of the participants. For trustworthiness and reliability, after the researcher transcribed interviews, member checking was used. Participants were asked if there were any changes or additions that they would like. Also, they were asked if they misunderstood any question.

The data analysis used coding. That was because "The process of grouping interviewees' responses into categories that bring together similar ideas, concepts, or categories that [the researcher has] discovered or steps or stages in a process of discovery" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 238). Coding includes free coding and then focuses on more precise coding. The researcher identified free coding by reading and rereading data twice or three times. After free coding emerged, focused coding was done. These focused codes formed themes and categories.

Findings

This section presents the themes of the interviews. According to the semi-structured interviews, eight main themes have emerged. These themes were: cultural elements, holiday visits, handicrafts, cultural trips with teachers, cultural trips with family, an analogy of enculturation, the importance of culture, and presentation of cultural elements to tourists.

When students asked to identify cultural elements of Turkish society, they articulated various elements. Their answers and the number of students were as follows; clothes (2 students), dishes (7 students), religious and national holidays (20 students), ceremonies-

wedding, Islamic memorial service, henna night- (16 students), traditions (5 students), language (3 students), folk songs (2 students), traditional games (3 students), religion (2 students), historical places (5 students), flag and anthem (4 students), symbols (7 students), school-education (2 students), lifestyle (1 student), architecture (1 student) and art (1 student). Because culture is a complex construct and students had a broad perspective of culture, it is customary to identify various cultural elements.

The second theme that emerged from the interviews was holiday visits to elders. The results were as follows. All students stated that they visit their elders during religious holidays. When they asked they did during these visits, they said kiss elder's hands (20 students), chatted (10 students), ate baklava (2 students), collected money (8 students), collected candy (4 students), told stories (1 student), and helped elders (1 student). Kissing elders' hands was the most common thing that students did while visiting elders during holidays, which is one of the most common cultural traditions in Turkish culture.

Another theme of the study was Turkish handicrafts. Students were asked if they had engaged in any Turkish handicrafts and if they liked it or not. Handicrafts are one of the determinant objects of cultures, and it is crucial to transfer handicrafts to new generations. Ten students had never tried any of Turkish handicrafts while 16 students said they did marbling art, 2 students said they did carpet weaving, and 2 students said they did pottery. Most students who tried any kind of Turkish handicrafts expressed that it was enjoyable, entertaining, restful, and they felt happy. Only one student stated that s/he felt nothing at all. In Turkey, marbling, which is painting in water and then transferring it to paper, is a longstanding tradition dating back to at least the 16th century.

Another interview question was related to cultural and historical trips with school and parents. Most students stated that they made historical and cultural trips in school and with parents, and they found them effective. In detail, students stated that they went on trips with school, and 22 found it effective, and 7 of them found it ineffective. 3 students stated that they did not go on any trip with school. Concerning trips with parents, 30 students stated that they went to historical and cultural trips with their parents, and they found these trips more effective, enjoyable, and educational than school trips. Two students stated that they did not go on any trips with their parents. Thus, almost all the students went to a historical or cultural trip either with their families or school.

The fifth theme that emerged from the study was cultural objects that can be introduced to tourists. Students were asked how they would introduce Turkish culture to a tourist if they were assigned to a task. They stated that they would introduce Turkish food (12 students), cultural and historical places of Turkey (20 students), Turkish hospitality (3 students), Atatürk (2 students), and Turkish folk dance (4 students) to a tourist if they were assigned to a task of introducing Turkish culture to a stranger. Because they thought that they were the most effective, students said that they would introduce Turkish culture to strangers by taking them to historical and cultural places of Turkey. Additionally, many students would introduce strangers to Turkish culture by serving them food.

Another theme was about social sciences courses. Thirty students stated that they learned most of the culture at school with the help of a social sciences course; only 2 students said that they learned culture from their parents. Almost all students agreed that they learned culture at school by the help of a social sciences course. Thus, the participants confirmed that social science courses were effective in teaching culture to new generations, demonstrating the value of these courses.

The last theme of the study was the simulation of enculturation. Students were asked to compare enculturation to something else. Their answers were hose, genes, moral heritage, disguise, education, radio, and cargo. One student compared enculturation to a hose and said "it is like a hose transfer from generation to generation. A hose transfers water and enculturation transfers culture. Two students answered as "genes." They also said, "like genes, culture passes

down." Four students said it is like a moral heritage. One student said, "like relegating something to someone," and another student said, "like a moral heritage from our ancestors." Another student said that enculturation was is a disguise. S/he stated that "like a disguise. Mmm. Eluding from old habits and gaining new habits." One student compared enculturation to the radio. S/he said that "if you modulate the frequency well you raise a qualified generation who adopts his/her culture; however, if you cannot modulate the frequency well, an illiterate, regarding culture, generation grows." Lastly, one student said, "it is like cargo since both transfers things from someone to another."

Discussion and Conclusion

Culture is the root of society, and if a society loses its roots, then that society will perish. Thus, it is critical to preserve the existing culture and transfer it to new generations. Besides conserving a cultural identity, generalising and improving the existing cultural identity by synthesising with different cultures within developing, changing and converging rapidly world and to raise individuals who have this consciousness is an issue that governments should emphasise.

Socialisation and enculturation are the two ways of transferring culture to new generations. Parents and schools have equal responsibility for the enculturation of children. Gürel (2018) emphasised that family and school take on a key role in producing cultural values, sustaining social unity and an individual's socialisation. The social sciences curriculum is seen as an essential enculturation tool, and social sciences courses fulfil social needs, social life, and the socialisation of individuals.

The results of the study showed that almost all the students had good knowledge of Turkish culture. This indicates that enculturation is being done well. Students know cultural objects and cultural and historical places both with school and family. They are aware that they should protect the culture to be able to have a good future. They agreed that the social sciences courses were helpful in enculturation.

As cultural objects, students identified religious and national holidays and ceremonies and the first and most common things that they think regarding culture are religious and national holidays and ceremonies. Dishes and symbols were the other most mentioned cultural object by the students. Because the study was done in Denizli, students said roosters because the rooster is the symbol of the city. Although lifestyle, folk songs, art, and architecture are also one of the cultural objects, only one student each mentioned them. This shows that as a society, Turkey does not give sufficient importance to folk songs, architecture, and art. The results showed that the most known cultural objects by the students were the material culture, and students do not know moral, cultural objects sufficiently. Ünlü's (2012) study also showed that students know the material culture more than moral culture.

Most students identified the religious and national holidays as cultural objects. They mentioned their visits to their elders during these holidays and what they did during these visits. In these visits, they do traditional things like eating baklava, collecting candy, kissing elder's hands, and collecting money. This result showed that holidays are celebrated traditionally, and this can be transferred to the new generations well. Students learned about holidays mostly in the family environment, which shows the lack of effectiveness of schools in transferring holidays as cultural objects. Selanik Ay and Güllü's (2020)'s study also showed that teachers are not satisfied with celebrating national holidays at schools, and teachers stated that the procedure of celebrating holidays at school should change.

Another cultural object is the handicrafts of a society. More than half of the students engaged in a kind of handicraft, while almost half of them did not. Interestingly, almost all of the students did marbling. This leads to the question: "is only marbling a Turkish handicraft? Why do all students do marbling?

Cultural and historical trips with school and family results were also interesting. Most students stated that they went on trips, both school and family, and they found these trips effective, enjoyable, and interesting. However, the results showed that students liked the trips with parents more than those with schools. This indicates that trips with the school are not as effective as expected. Indeed, this result is opposite to the results of Kula's study. Kula (2017) found that school trips were more informative and helpful than trips with family.

When introducing the Turkish culture to tourists, students identified cultural and historical places and Turkish dishes. Students gave different answers concerning the cultural objects of Turkish culture. While students gave ceremonies and holidays as cultural objects of Turkish culture, they did not choose to introduce culture to strangers with different objects. Students did not identify Turkish food as cultural objects, but they would use them to introduce Turkish culture.

One aim of this study was to determine the effectiveness of social sciences courses on enculturation. The results of the study are similar to those of Ünlü's (2012). The results showed that social sciences course, based on teaching Turkish culture, was particularly successful, but this success was not up to the mark (p.112). According to the participants of the current study, they learned Turkish culture mostly from school. This shows that the social science course is effective in enculturation. Conversely, some studies did not have similar results. For example, Baki's (2019) study, which analysed the transfer of universal values in secondary school Turkish textbooks, showed that values such as modesty, tolerance, and freedom, was low. Thus, this shows that the enculturation of cultural values is not enough in secondary school Turkish books.

The results of cultural and historical trips show that students learn more from family trips than form school trips. Additionally, religious and national holidays are the most repeated cultural object by the students, and they explained what they did during holiday visits. This also shows that students engage in cultural activities with family and learn more by practising them. In sum, social science courses are effective in the enculturation of Turkish culture to the new generations. However, it is obvious that because social sciences courses are abstract and do not have much application, students learn and enjoy cultural activities via the family.

Lastly, students had several similes for enculturation. They compared enculturation to a hose, genes, moral heritage, disguise, education, radio, and cargo. Most answers were related to transferring something to another thing, such as cargo, hose, genes, education, and moral heritage. The radio simulation was particularly interesting because if you cannot modulate and transfer the culture accurately, you will have a problematic society and generations. Disguise was also interesting because if you adopt a culture, you need to take off your own identity and wear the social identity. These answers also show that students know the cultural objects and are aware of the importance of enculturation for the continuity of society. Ünal et al.'s (2019) study support this result by stating that "traditional units such as holidays, weddings, folk songs, and proverbs represent societies' identity and strengthen relations among people and emotion of cohabiting; thus, these values should be sustained" (p. 164).

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