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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract <p>This study aims to explore how family influences graduates in higher education and occupation markets, in the processes of opportunity, selection, purpose and motivation and performance in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland by applying the economic, cultural and social capitals introduced by Bourdieu and Coleman. Interviews (N=20) have been conducted to analyse the personal experiences of interviewees in both cities. However, results show that only cultural capital is the most influential resource provided by particularly parents in both Hong Kong and Helsinki. And the way of how parents in both cities contribute to and affect graduates is different from the claims of Bourdieu and Coleman. Thus, some sources of errors i.e. interview questions and interviewee's answers and limitations are identified to support why results are not strong enough when applying Bourdieu's and Coleman's ideas of capitals. Also, diploma disease (Dore, 1976) is identified as one of the key problems in the education system, specifically in Hong Kong, which will be discussed at the end of this study.</p>		
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**How higher education graduates
experience the family influence within
higher education and occupation
markets**

**A Comparative Study of Hong Kong
and Helsinki, Finland**

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Education is vital to everyone in the world regardless of the personal background and in a person's life that cannot be removed, including Helsinki, Finland, and Hong Kong, which are the main cities this study focuses on. Becker (1993, p.17) emphasized: "education and training are the most important investments in human capital." Human capital refers to "the knowledge, skills, and capabilities that enable an individual to act more effectively" (Dijkstra & Peschar, 2003, p.60). In other words, it means human capital belongs to a part of an individual that everyone should be educated undoubtedly. Through education and training, people can meliorate their knowledge and skills for better living. Becker (ibid, p.16) also claimed that "expenditures on education, training, medical care are investments in the capital but also produce human capital because you cannot separate a person from his or her knowledge, skills or values..." Hence, education and individual bond to each other, which influence social mobility and future career.

Mincer (1958) has developed a model which has examined the "nature and factors of personal incomes inequality" (p.281). In his model, he found that training and skill (human capitals) seriously influence personal income distributions on education performance.

This study has notified that Finland is famous for its education system undoubtedly with a flexible learning environment and individualized study plans which concerns student's individual development. In contrast, according to the findings from the Legislative Council Secretariat research office in Hong Kong (2017-2018), Hong Kong's education system leads to problems related to student's health and learning hours, that students feel stressed during their study.

Additionally, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2016) has examined the learning time of students in different countries, particularly focuses on Hong Kong and Finland for this study. The learning time of students in Hong Kong occupies 58% of their available time, excluding free time, which is more than Finland's 45.1%. Hong Kong's students spend about 46 hours per day for learning in schools and after school, while Finland's students spend ten hours less, which is around 36 hours.

During the education and career processes, family, especially parents within the family, is claimed to play a pivotal role to influence student's behaviours, attitudes and perceptions (e.g. Amani & Mkumbo, 2018; Ghosh, 2014; Ng, 2000; Oomen & Adriana, 2018; Römer-Paakkanen, 2009). Investigating the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's economic, cultural

and social capitals and the American sociologist James Coleman's social capital is a continuing concern within the impacts of family, parents in particular. Many scholars identified the relationship between the capitals and family involvement and influence in education and career markets (e.g. Fan, 2014; Flap & Völker, 2008; Georg, 2016; Kataoka, 2016; Ra, 2011; Tzanakis, 2011). Thus, it is important to note that the following capitals are applied to this study, whereas Bourdieu emphasized economic, cultural and social capitals and Coleman highlighted social capital.

It has previously been observed the differences between Hong Kong's and Finland's education system (Atjonen & Li, 2006). And OECD (2016) conducted PISA to test students aged 15-year-old and compared Hong Kong's and Finland's results indirectly, which was not OECD's purpose. So far, however, there has been little discussion about the comparison between Hong Kong's and Finland's education systems and family influences. Thus, it is still not known how family influences graduates in education and also career markets. To date, only one research related to higher education has been identified (Archer, et al, 2003). This indicates a need to understand the various perceptions of how family influences students in the higher education market.

In addition, Bourdieu has not specifically or directly emphasized how all three capitals influence graduates in the career market but merely has focused on education and its equality in the society. Also, Bourdieu merely mentioned the inheritance of three capitals occurred in the education market but also connected to the labour market (Swartz, 1997). However, he did not explain any further about the procedure and actors related to the career market. Thus, it is unique that this study applies these three capitals to analyse the impacts on graduates in the whole process of entering into the career market.

This study attempts to understand how higher education graduates experience the influence of family background within higher education and occupation processes, by comparing Hong Kong and Finland. In terms of family background influence, it varies depending on the graduate's personal experiences. Such influence is explained by applying Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capitals and Coleman's social capital, which are the resources provided by family, especially parents.

Through understanding the above relationship, it seems that family from Hong Kong and Finland can learn from each other, particularly for Hong Kong's parents because of student's unhealthy and stressed learning styles. On the governmental level, Hong Kong can rethink

the education system and its policies in order to provide a better learning environment for students.

Qualitative data for this study were collected by conducting interviews with ten interviewees per each city, which are Hong Kong and Helsinki, in order to examine how graduates experience their family's influences by providing three types of resources, understood as economic, cultural and social capitals introduced by Bourdieu and Coleman in higher education and occupation markets.

It is hoped that this research can contribute to a deeper understanding of the family's influences on graduates by applying the Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capitals and Coleman's social capital. The exploratory work presented here provides one of the first investigations into how such influence occurred in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland.

This study is unable to encompass the entire population in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland. The sample only covers graduates within the lower-middle class and working class. Thus, the reader should bear in mind that students belong to aristocracy, higher-middle or upper class is not the focus of this study.

This study has been divided into seven parts. The first part, in Chapter Two, provides a brief overview of the recent history of previous empirical researches. Following by Chapter Three, it lays out the theoretical dimensions of the research and looks at how the family uses resources in terms of Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capitals, and Coleman's social capital to affect graduates in higher education and career markets. The fourth chapter is concerned with the selection of and options of methodology for this study. The fifth section presents the findings of the research, focusing on the four key themes, which are the opportunity, selection, purpose and motivation, and performance within higher education and occupation markets. Chapter six analyses the results of interviews undertaken in Hong Kong and Helsinki. The last chapter concludes the content in each chapter.

Chapter 2: Literatures Review

This study has utilized previous useful researches which will be mentioned in the following of this chapter, can fulfil the mentioned knowledge gap in Chapter 1. There is a relatively small body of literature that is concerned with both Bourdieu's and Coleman's ideas of capitals and parents' impacts on graduates in higher education and occupation markets in Hong Kong and Finland. More details about Bourdieu's and Coleman's theoretical framework about economic, cultural and social capitals will be explained in Chapter 3. The following of this chapter explains what and how previous researches have been conducted are useful for this study as the backgrounds.

Most researchers have either focused on Hong Kong or Finland, whereas no comparative research was conducted. Atjonen and Li (2006) and OECD (2016) are so far the only kinds of literatures can be found to compare Finland and Hong Kong. However, the prior research only examined the education system but not parents' influences on students and the later one did not directly compare with Hong Kong and Finland. Thus, this study takes this opportunity to compare Hong Kong and Finland, Helsinki in particular.

The existing kinds of literature are extensive, which focus particularly on the family involvement with resources in the society (e.g. Smits, 2007). Meanwhile, the importance of family in education and occupation markets is highlighted in some researches, which is one of the major variables of this study. Moore and Asay (2013) have studied how the family manages its resources to fulfil the different needs of each family member. Such resources, in terms of economic, human, environmental and social, influence student's decision-making process, which is also the focus of this study. Shaw (1998) has particularly examined the family influences within the higher education market, which confirms this study's direction of focusing on the higher education market. In another study conducted by Li and Bray (2007), it was shown that student's socio-economic background plays a vital role to affect their opportunity to study degrees, social stratification, and mobility on higher education level in Hong Kong and Macau. This study is another significant research to support the idea of concentrating on the higher education market.

In a comprehensive study of the relationship between student's social or socio-economic background and educational system, Husen (1972) found that such background is based on family, which influences student's opportunities, selections, and grades of study, through reanalysing the surveys conducted by OECD in 1970 and in different countries, including

Britain, Canada, Australia, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. In the other Asian countries, like China, Chen, Kong, Gao and Mo (2018) have conducted huge quantitative research to scrutinize how parents' socio-economic background influences student's learning motivation on reading ability in middle school.

Especially in Hong Kong, which is the focus of this study, Chiu and Ho (2006) have examined the family useful resources within education market are affected because of unequal distribution of resources in Hong Kong's society, by reviewing PISA results in 2000. Chan and Wong (2010) have examined how parents contribute their knowledge and social network, behave and expect to and from students. Another study conducted by Ng (2000) is significant research to highlight the importance of cultural and social capital in Hong Kong. Such capitals are two of the focal points of this study. He has investigated how parents involve in Hong Kong by providing cultural and social capitals in school education, in terms of social class. These scholars outline the family role and function in the education market. In Finland, Poikolainen (2012) has investigated how the family uses their social and cultural resources to influence students in the education market through analysing 374 questionnaires.

On the other hand, there is a consensus among social scientists and massive reports that Bourdieu's economic, cultural and economic capitals, Coleman's social capital and concepts of these capitals are important resources to affect students in both education and occupation markets. (e.g. Archer, et al., 2003; Chiu & Ho, 2006; Guzman & Lippman, 2008; Hampden-Thompson, Hodkinson, 2001; Horvat, Weininger & Lareau, 2006; OECD, 1998; Reay, 2001, 2010)

In the education market, OECD (1998) has emphasized human capital investment is the vital strategy and factor in economic production to promote economic prosperity, higher employment rate, and social cohesion, by conducting a huge test from students on different education levels. It is also highlighted that upper-secondary and tertiary education become more common among the OECD countries; whereas the educational level of the workforce will increase unceasingly (ibid).

To follow up the idea of economic influences, OECD (2016) has also conducted significant research called Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2015, which can find data relevant to Hong Kong and Finland. Although this study only focused on the students aged 15 years old, who were not the targets of this study, such data instead allowed this study to compare and take a glance on how the socio-economic background of parents

affect students in the education market in both cities meanwhile. These data are vital in providing background information and illustrate the phenomenon and even the tendency of the student's performance and parental involvement in terms of school participation (ibid).

People may argue that the target group (15 years old students) in the PISA test offered by OECD is not as same as this research. However, Bourdieu's three capitals—economic, cultural and social capitals cannot be vanished but transmitted and even reproduced through the entire education system by pedagogic actions explained detailed below:

“In reality, because they (pedagogic actions, PAs) correspond to the material and symbolic interest of groups or classes differently situated within the power relations, these PAs always tend to reproduce the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these groups or classes, thereby contributing to the reproduction of the social structure.” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p.11)

Also, examinations and academic selections are found common within the education system but ‘dominate the university life’ (ibid, p.142). This indicates examinations and selections continue from early education to higher education. Meanwhile, students receive inherited family's resources in this enduring education process. Even though the target group's ages are different, PISA results can still support the degree of family influence on education may differ among diverse ages, but effects still exist.

OECD has used the idea of the socio-economic background of parents instead of directly referring to Bourdieu's or Coleman's ideas. It thus provides potential operationalization which shows similar indicators and results with other scholars which have not applied Bourdieu's concepts (Castillo, 2014; Kyui, 2010). Kyui's study (2010) is important for this study to confirm the importance of money provided by family bring impacts to students on tertiary education level. Particularly in Finland, Kosunen (2018) has examined the hidden privatization on the accessibility to higher education in terms of economic capital introduced by Bourdieu.

Rather than economic resources or capitals, many authors have mainly been interested in questions concerning family influences and Bourdieu's cultural capital (e.g. Georg, 2016; Keskiner, 2015; Pavic & Dukic, 2016; Tzanakis, 2011; Xu & Xu, 2015). Kosutic (2017) has adopted Bourdieu's cultural capital to examine social inequalities in school achievement and educational decision-making in Croatia. Such inequality has inspired the researcher of this study to examine the performance and selection processes of both higher education and

career markets. In Hong Kong, Wong (2011) has investigated how cultural capital is adopted by students in community college, which is on the higher education level. In Finland, Kosunen (2016) has illustrated how the family has adopted resources, explained align with Bourdieu's capitals to affect school choices in society. These two studies particularly were conducted based on Hong Kong and Finland have confirmed the significance of family influence on students in the education market.

Regarding the last idea—social capital introduced by Bourdieu and Coleman, a small number of kinds of literature can only be found. Rogosic and Baranovic (2016) have explained how social capital influences an individual's educational achievement. Chiu and Ho (2006) have specifically focused on how family's social capital brings impacts on student achievement in Hong Kong by applying the secondary dataset from PISA results in 2002. Results indicated that students from two-parental family perform better than those from single-parental family. These kinds of literature identified social capital is a vital element to influence students in the education market.

There are few researchers attempted to evaluate the impact of Bourdieu's all three capitals towards students in the education market. Ra (2011) has adopted the secondary data conducted by the Education Longitudinal Study in 2002 (ELS:2002) and the National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS) in 2004, and studied how economic, cultural and social capitals influence the student's selections on the upper-secondary level. Fan (2014) has concretely focused on China and has examined how all three capitals offered by family influence student's accessibility of educational resources on all education levels. This research has applied the secondary data collected from the China General Social Survey (CGSS) in 2008. The findings provide the background of family impacts, notably by contributing cultural resources, understood as cultural capital which suggested by Bourdieu, because of similar cultural background with Hong Kong.

In Hong Kong, Wu (2007) has conducted a significant study for this research, that has explored the level of influence of family resources, in terms of economic, cultural and social on students, especially social stratification on higher education level in 2001. This study did not apply or refer to Bourdieu's or Coleman's theories directly, but those three types of resources still exist and are mentioned.

On the other hand, numerous studies have attempted to explain how Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capital and Coleman's social capital influence individuals in the career

market (e.g. Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2010; Demirkıran & Gençer, 2017; Flap & Völker, 2008; Hodkinson, 2001; Spiliopoulou, Koustourakis & Asimaki, 2017). Particularly these scholars focused on career attainment, choices, and development. Hodkinson (2001) has claimed that Bourdieu's habitus, capital, and field can affect young people's career decision making, which is one of the focuses of this study.

Additionally, another kinds of numerous studies performed a similar idea introduced by Bourdieu and Coleman but did not refer to their works directly. Amani and Mkumbo (2018) have examined how family plays a significant to influence university student's career choices in Tanzania. Ghosh (2014) on the other hand has investigated how Asian and Asian American parents influence student's career interests, choices, values and maturity, and adaptability. Humayon, Raza, Khan, and Ansari (2018) have examined how family influences undergraduate student's personal interest and economic considerations on career choice in Pakistan. These articles have assured that not only students in the education market are affected by family but also in the career market. Therefore, it is necessary for this research to examine both markets.

Also, the number of literatures which have examined both higher education and occupation markets in the same research is low. Kataoka (2016) has examined how cultural capital introduced by Bourdieu affects status attainment in education and occupation markets. It is obvious to emphasize that researches related to economic, cultural and social capitals introduced by Bourdieu and Coleman are not enough to support this study. It is thus demanding to conduct this study to explore the theoretical framework in both higher education and occupation markets.

Researchers have used various approaches to apply Bourdieu's and Coleman's capitals as mentioned above, including conducting surveys and using secondary data such as PISA results. However, this study is going to concentrate on using the interviews to see how family uses their resources, understood as capitals mentioned by Bourdieu and Coleman in higher education and occupation markets. Not only single capital will be examined but all three capitals—economic, cultural and social capitals will be investigated by comparing interviewee's personal experiences in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland in this study.

All literatures which are found and mentioned above are vital and interesting for this study. Each scholar has identified the importance of the research's focus, including each capital, family influence or involvement, education, higher education market, occupation market,

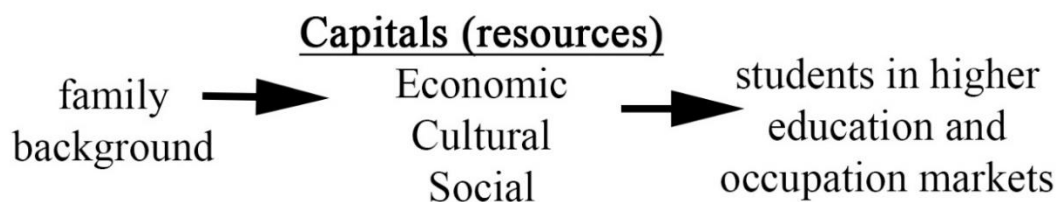
Hong Kong and Finland. This study can thus identify the significance of Bourdieu's and Coleman's economic, cultural and social capitals and the relationship between these capitals and family influence on students in higher education and occupation markets. In the next chapter, it will indicate how this study applies Bourdieu's and Coleman's capitals into family influences on graduates, which were used to be students before graduation in higher education and occupation markets.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Rather than focusing on the competencies of students themselves, Bourdieu's ideas sharply highlight how the economic, cultural and social capitals, which are the resources (de Graaf, 2007; Dijkstra & Peschar, 2003) supported by the family, especially parents, influence students within mainly the entire education system in the society. Such an idea is suggested by Pierre Bourdieu (Dijkstra & Peschar, 2003; Jenkins, 1992; Swartz, 1997). However, this study particularly focuses on the higher education system. In addition to social capital, Coleman's (1988, 1990) idea of social capital will also be applied for this study in order to provide further insights on seeing how social capital provided by family influences students, in terms of the level of closure and information transmission. Occupation market, on the other hand, is what this study has found its relevance to higher education market after graduation and thus, it is also important to examine it. However, Bourdieu has not specifically focused on this area.

These three capitals are the main resources of the family to support student's study and career. Bourdieu's emphasis on the economic, social and cultural capitals are vital and applicable for this study because these capitals enable this study to investigate more comprehensively how they have impacts on students in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland. All three capitals interrelate with each other. For example, the networks provided by social capital and monetary support from economic capital allows students to receive more cultural resources. Thus, this research investigates all three because of their complementary relationship.

This study adapts and modifies the findings of Dijkstra's and Peschar's study (2003) in order to provide further insights into the career market. Figure 1 denotes how the three resources given by family affect students in higher education and occupation markets.



Note: Adapted from Dijkstra & Peschar, 2003, p.61

Figure 1. How the family uses capitals to influence students in higher education and occupation markets.

A. Economic Capital

Economic capital is defined as “the economic resources as an individual’s income, wealth and property” (de Graaf, 2007; Swartz, 1997). And according to the original definition of Bourdieu (2006, p.106), economic capital is “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights”. In particular, economic resources are basically money, which are quantifiable.

Economic capital is important for contributing to the process of education, especially high education cost (de Graaf, 2007). Therefore, the intergenerational transmission of occupational status is determined by a family’s economic capital, particularly in business ownership and financial support. Regarding this study, it is important to highlight that graduate’s opportunity for accessing to higher education is influenced and even determined by family, which means mainly from parents.

The level of the economic capital of family affects graduates in the education market.

According to de Graaf (2007), while students are pursuing the educational and occupational opportunity and attainment, they are more advantaged because of their parents’ economic resources: the financial and material positions of an individual are vital for intergenerational transfers and career advancement.

Such amount of economic resources depends on the family income, invests for the student’s future. The fractions of the economic capital are usually inherited and has been unequally controlled (Bourdieu, 1977). Castillo (2014) has written that economic resources are accrued and applied by students in order to assure the endorsement of future profits. Such family resources reproduce and facilitate student’s access to well-known and performing schools, experienced and high-educated educators and supplemental learning chances, including books, technology, tutors and extracurricular activities. It is claimed that students from lower income family cannot afford the tuition fees and have to take loans (St. John, Asker & Hu, 2001). Hearn (2001) suggested financial support is the main obstacle towards the low-income family. It is thus affirmed that high-income families are more capable to afford the expenditures on further education of students.

Also, the amount of economic capital does not only shape the practices of the family in the education market but also the labour market. Becker (2006) highlighted the wage difference between typical college and high school graduates keeps enlarging within decades. The higher the education level, the higher the income. In other words, the occupation requires

higher-educated employees and offers a higher salary to them. It means that people need to invest and equip themselves as extensive and effective as they can in order to succeed to apply for the job they want and hope for.

Even though parents affect students a lot, however, the effect of parents is less while parents are poorer. The educational disadvantage preserves itself through generations. This educational under-attainment passes down from parent to the next generation (OECD, 1998). The richer family are capable to allow their children to study further while the poorer family can hardly afford the fees of studying. A family needs to take the number of children into accounts because of the education costs. It is the reason why parents need to think about how much money they are willing to or even able to spend on their children (Becker, 1993).

Also, the quantity and acceptance of economic and cultural capitals propel the classification of occupation levels. According to Flap and Völker (2008), Bourdieu contends the middle- and higher- level occupations can be distinguished regarding the popularity of the cultural and economic resources accessibility. The amount of these resources which individuals procure are calculated in a certain occupation.

Bourdieu did not take economic capital into deeper account because this capital does not encumber other capitals, while cultural and social capitals are considered more by other researches (McDonough & Calderone, 2006 as cited in Ra, 2011). For instance, Bourdieu (2006) did not divide the economic capital into a separate part to elaborate and express more specifically. Only cultural and social capitals are explained more detailed in separate sections. However, in this paper, economic capital is still applied as one of the significant factors towards students in labour and education markets.

To sum up, it is suggested that the economic resources understood as economic capital, which claimed by Bourdieu from family, in terms of property, wealth and income affect students in both occupation and education markets.

B. Cultural Capital

The origin of the term cultural capital or resources is from Bourdieu (2006). Cultural capital is defined as “cultural distinctions between status, groups, which are based on differences in education, occupation, and wealth” (de Graaf, 2007, p.383). Such cultural capital includes “knowledge, individual’s attributes, skills, culture and educational credentials” (Stowe, 2012, p.7; Swartz, 1997, p.137). The volume and quality of these cultural resources are distinguished in consideration of individuals’ education, income, and occupation levels. In

this case, family, especially parents are the individuals who construct the cultural capital for their children.

To be more concrete and specific when explaining cultural capital, the definitions of Bourdieu's original work (2006, p.106) will be claimed in three forms as below:

“1) The embodied state: in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body

2) The objectified state: in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.

3) The institutionalized state: a form of objectification which must be set apart.”

In the embodied state, investors (graduates in this study) invest their personal time (cost) for the acquisition of different knowledge during the process of cultivation. The embodied capital is converted into the internal part of a person and becomes *habitus* (will be explained in later paragraphs), which cannot be transmitted instantaneously.

The cultural goods in the objectified state can be transmitted. Economic capital is also classified as one of the cultural goods and properties. If the owners of the cultural goods are able to use the machines (cultural goods) appropriately, they must have access to the embodied cultural capital and thus, are classified among the dominant groups.

Education qualifications, in the institutional state, are presumed to be guaranteed as one of the original properties in the cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (2006, p.110), “with the academic qualifications, a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment in time”.

Different institutions or agencies recognize the significance of educational qualifications and thus, they compare qualification holders in terms of academic performances. Such education qualifications can converse from cultural capital to economic capital and vice versa. The qualification's monetary value is guaranteed, which depends on its scarcity and can be exchanged in the labour market.

In the latter part of this section, other terms will be applied in order to further explain the relationship between family and students in job and education markets, in terms of cultural capital.

Individuals and their family with different levels of status influence the quality of cultural resources. De Graaf (2007) suggested the students from higher-status groups can be trained better. The training content includes appropriate manners, proper use of language and respect of culture. During the family socialization of the above training practices, students have been indoctrinated the values of formal culture and acceptance of beaux arts and consider these things should be appreciated. DiMaggio (1982) claimed that students in high schools and higher education institutions are expected to adopt such culture.

The transformation of family cultural resources determines students' occupation destination. Egerton (1997) argued that occupational destination is affected by family cultural resources. The greater cultural capital from the family inheritance allows students to be involved in professional careers. Thus, the capitals provided by the family differ student's performance and opportunity in both career and education markets.

Parents' education level belongs to one kind of cultural resources. Dijkstra and Peschar (2003) identified parents' education background and level are the measurements towards students' educational attainment. Students deliberate (consider specifically) their parents' education background as a starting position, where they can participate successfully in their education pathway.

Habitus, another concept claimed by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986, 2000; Hodkinson, 2001; Jenkins, 1992; Olivier, 2017; Swartz, 1997) argued that individuals act as a way in order to reproduce the prevalent structure of life chances and status distinctions (Swartz, 1997). *Habitus* refers to "a set of relatively permanent and largely unconscious ideas about one's chances of success and how society works that are common to members of a social class or status group" (Swartz, 1997, p.197). Put differently, it means *habitus* is the knowledge, beliefs, and ideas individuals have learnt during the cultural resource transmission process. Such process prompts the future of individuals and society.

Bourdieu (1986, p.101) defined habitus as, "an objective relationship between two objectivities, enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and a situation, the meaning of which is produced by the habitus through categories of perception and appreciation that are themselves produced by an observable social condition".

In other words, people apply the perceptions which they have learnt from other people in different situations during their daily life.

Habitus is cultivated and formed into students during the transmission process of the cultural goods (cultural capital) “i.e. pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.” (Bourdieu, 2006, p.106) by different “family pedagogic actions” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000, p.30 as cited in Olivier, 2017, p.2). Such pedagogic activities include reading and visiting museums.

Pedagogic action is the backbone of the exercise of *symbolic violence*, which has two vital definitions as below:

“All pedagogic action (PA) is, objectively, symbolic violence first insofar the power relations between the groups or classes making up a social formation are the basis of the arbitrary power which is the precondition for the establishment of a relation of pedagogic communication, i.e. for the imposition and inculcation of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary mode of imposition and inculcation (education).”
(Bourdieu, 1977, p.6)

“the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (i.e. culture) upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate. This legitimacy obscures the power relations which permit that imposition to be successful.” (Jenkins, 1992, p.104)

The culture within this violence reacts towards the power relations in order to succeed. The process of misrecognition allows “power relations are perceived not for what they objectively are but in a form which renders them legitimate in the eyes of the beholder” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.xiii). Actors in different cultural groups and social classes show their power in social space. Through pedagogic actions, the dominant groups reproduce social structure and occupy certain ‘weight’ (Jenkins, 1992, p.105) within the power relations in order to secure a monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence. Such monopoly on the dominant cultural legitimacy is the object of competition between institutions or agents (Bourdieu, 1977). These competitions between the values and ideologies of different fractions of the dominant classes occur in society.

Through this transmission process of pedagogic actions, such habitus inside the individuals’ body mediates between their subjective world (attitude to the world) and the cultural world

(Jenkins, 1992; Olivier, 2017). Bourdieu believed the correlation between subjective hopes and objective chances is high (Swartz, 1997). In particular, students connect their beliefs and other cultural concepts, which they have learnt from their parents or other family members to the outside world.

To highlight more particularly about the procedure of habitus, Olivier (2017) claims that the habitus of the actors generates and structures social practices and the perceptions of those practices, following by classification. And consequently, they comprehend their 'cultural capital'. Students react to the event surrounding in the environment without even thinking (unconsciously) as they have internalised the valued behaviours (Stowe, 2012). Individuals, students, in this case, bring along their own capital to the field and augment capital meanwhile but without thoughtful consideration.

Students' quality of habitus and cultural capital are adjusted by family resources. Bourdieu claimed that social classes differ greatly in levels of academic accomplishment and patterns of cultural consumptions, which leads to unequal distribution of cultural capital (Swartz, 1997). Swartz (1997) has also consolidated his argument by suggesting that the perspectives on educational attainment and opportunities are different between working-class and upper-middle-class students. The students in the working class do not crave for high levels of educational attainment because they have internalized themselves that limited opportunities are available for them because of not much cultural capital. Inversely, the upper-middle-class students interiorize the mindset, which provides their social advantaged on academic achievement. It is thus indicated that students from lower social class backgrounds belong to disadvantaged groups of economy and culture.

Positioning also influences the degree of power of actors. Individuals who are in dominant positions in the field, can use their occupying power to decide what is valuable and maintain their prestige (Bourdieu, 2006). However, it is a barrier for the low-income or low-class students because of the difficulty of adopting new knowledge and skills (mostly related to privileges) which are not familiar to them. The distribution inequality of cultural resources carries on in society.

From the above explanations, it is indicated that Bourdieu has focused on the relationship between social class and culture, which is suggested as the main objective of Bourdieu's work (Swartz, 1997). He highlights "culture practices are markers of underlying class distinctions" (ibid, p.143). In other words, social classes are distinguished by cultural actions.

Bourdieu believes that social inequality is rooted due to the unequal distribution of different forms of capital in the hierarchically structured (stratified) social space (Swartz, 1997). He also considered a social class is classified in terms of power and privilege in society. Different actors within the social space receive different amounts of resources including power and class positions for their study and development in the career. Bourdieu focused on the class practices in micro level (“class-for-itself”, based on subjective factors) (Swartz, 1997 & Wilkes, 1990, p.112). Class practices include clothes, food tastes and other behaviours in everyday life. Bourdieu considered social differentiation can be viewed through these micro-interaction processes, which are the people’s interactions during daily life (Swartz, 1997).

Under such uneven social structure, Harker (1990) suggested Bourdieu’s ideas which have argued underprivileged classes are enclosed by schools to see through their inability towards the society. Schools classify students by taking the qualifications and certificates into account, which are seen as socially conditioned aptitudes. During the process, “it (the school) transforms de facto inequalities into de jure ones and economic and social differences into distinctions of quality and legitimates the transmission of the cultural heritage (the *élite habitus*)” (Bourdieu, 1974, p.42 as cited in Harker, 1990, p.94). Distribution of cultural capital from different family classes differentiates students’ ability by taking qualifications and certificates as granted.

Actors may be considered to practicing *symbolic power*, which is defined as “a power of constructing reality and an invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it” (Bourdieu, 1994, p.164 as cited in Geèieně, 2002, p.117). This power dominates the disadvantaged group in the society, that elite group has more advantaged because of their higher social class and resources.

Three qualitative categories of classes are distinguished by Bourdieu. The upper class is the “sense of distinction”, the middle class is seen as the “cultural goodwill” and the working class is the “choice of the necessary” (Wilkes, 1990, p.120). In simple words, the upper class owns to power to prevail the ‘weight’ of cultural capital, while the middle class exercises the adoption of cultural resources from the upper class. The working class just simply selects and endorses what they are able to afford.

This paper will examine how the cultural capital throughout the practices of habitus, process of pedagogic actions, social class and other cultural background offered by family influences students in labour and higher education markets.

C. Social Capital

Social capital refers to “aspects of social life – the existence of networks, norms and relationships – that enable people to act together, create synergies, and build partnerships” (OECD, 1998, p.10). Bourdieu (2006, p.110) asserted social capital is the “aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network with other institutions. Or in other words, to be the members provided backing of the collectivity-owned capital.” The networks are the resources which come from family members, neighbours, friends, acquaintances, and colleagues (Lin, 1982 as cited in de Graaf, 2007, p. 384). Such networking allows straight support and access to information from all three capitals. According to de Graaf (2007), the access numbers of resources within the network and the willingness to share the network affect the performance of social capital. It thus indicates that Bourdieu emphasized social capital can be determined into two aspects: “the social relationship itself that allows individuals to claim access to the resources possessed by their associates, and the amount and quality of those resources” (Portes, 1998, p.3). Family’s quality and volume from the networks affect what their children can receive and support for their studies and career. Dijkstra and Peschar (2003) stated that student’s family resources, particularly social capital is one of the factors towards the distribution of educational and career achievements.

Within this network and group, individuals exchange their resources practically, materially and/or symbolically through mutual recognition (Bourdieu, 2006). Groups and individuals exchange different aspects of knowledge and information with their members endlessly. Knowledge thus is established and maintained in such social and economic spaces. The volume of social capital depends on the size of the network of connections which is effectively mobilized on other capitals, economic and cultural in particular (ibid). Network and connections are not naturally given but formed by social groups through personal and group investments, which are useful sources for student’s education and career.

Even though this study focuses on how family influences graduates in higher education and career markets, however, it is impossible to omit the possibility of influences from peers, friends and other groups of people on the graduates.

Bourdieu's and Coleman's Social Capitals

In this paper, Coleman's social capital will also be applied because of its similar ideas with Bourdieu's. Both concepts of social capital based on the education within the society, which is the target area for this study.

Social capital, to Coleman (1988, p.98), "inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors". He also highlighted social capital is defined by its *function* of certain aspects of *social structure*, which is the value of the concept of social capital. Actors can use these valued functions of social capital to achieve their interests.

Coleman (1988) continued to explain the three forms of social capitals. The first form includes obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of social structures. The relationship starts with trust between each other. If A believes B will reciprocate in the future, A establishes an expectation towards B and B takes it as an obligation. The levels of obligations and trustworthiness should be as high as possible. Thus, the number of useful resources within that social structure can be amplified because of this positive and firm relationship.

The second form of social capital is information channels. The information within the channels inheres in social relations and facilitates action, according to Coleman (1988). Information transmission is important for people who are interested in some activities and thus, they can take actions.

Norms and effective sanctions are the last forms of social capital, as stated by Coleman (1988). A norm within a collectivity "reinforced by social support, status, honour, and other rewards is a social capital" (ibid, p.104). Actors are supposed to act selflessly in "the family's" interest, facilitate certain actions, mutually reward members and constrain others.

On the other hand, Coleman (1988) also identified *closure* is important within the social structure and social relations in order to facilitate social capital. Actors build up relations intentionally and continue for providing and receiving benefits. The level of closure between each actor should be high and is allowed to provide collective sanction or reward and effective norms. The closure between parents and children, called intergenerational closure provides a quantity of social resources for parents raising children. Within such closure, each actor should maintain a trustworthy relationship with each other.

Moreover, Coleman (1988) claimed that social capitals in both family and community are important in the creation of human capital in the rising generation. Within the family, family

background contains three capitals, including financial capital, human capital and social capital. In this case, it is similar to Bourdieu's all three capitals—economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Both financial and economic capitals suggest a family's wealth or income, which are the physical resources. Cultural and human capital include measuring parents' education levels. And social capital in the family means the relationship between parents, (and other family members if applicable) and children. Coleman (ibid) argued that social capital is the most significant among all three capitals, which aims for children's intellectual development. Maintaining strong relationships between children and parents encourages and enhances better outcomes and performances in schools.

The erosion of social capital occurs within the family and outside it, according to Coleman (1990). Within the family, children have declined to exchange academic, social, economic and personal matters with their parents at home physically. In the outside community, the erosion of social capital is even more serious primarily because of advanced individualism. It cultivates the significance of the idea— “one's own well-being” rather than “interest in others” (p.336). In other words, children tend to focus on self-development rather than the others.

It was difficult to analyse the data by only applying Bourdieu's social capital because the measurement was missing. This study could only understand the sources of networks of graduates and how the networks influence them without any theoretical justifications. It is impossible to calculate the amount and quality of the relationship between students, parents and other social networks. However, Coleman's ideas fit this study because it allows this research to examine the degrees of closure among relationships within and outside the family in all forms of social capital through analysing interviewee's answers. More than that, it also empowers this paper to understand how interviewees use the networks from family and society and how social capital functions. Even though this study is unable to analyse the entire procedure of networking specifically, all three forms of social capitals—1) obligations, expectations and trustworthiness, 2) information channels and 3) effective norms and sanctions are able to act as the standards to evaluate how social capital influences students, especially on the degree of closure.

Bourdieu's V.S. Putnam's Social Capitals

The focus of Putnam's social capital is different from Bourdieu's and Coleman's (Putnam, 2000; Pharr & Putnam, 2000). Putnam tended to concentrate on the trends in civic

engagement and other political incidents such as political, civic and religious participation. Social capital, mainly the social connections and networks are built within such political environment in regard to reciprocity, honesty, and trust (Putnam, 2000).

According to Putnam (2000, p.134), “social capital is the principle of generalized reciprocity” to civilized life. Even though “generalized reciprocity becomes hard to distinguish from altruism and cast as self-interest” (ibid, p.135), society still relies on it because of the efficiency. Honesty and trust are built within the generalized reciprocity smooth the ineluctable frictions of social life.

In this study, reciprocity, honesty, and trust between each other are not the focal points. It is because of the difficulty to measure these three elements between graduates and their family and this study does not tend to focus on the political environment but education and career environments instead. And this study alternatively examines how family networks, which are different forms of social capitals function and affect graduates claimed by Bourdieu and Coleman, which implies the career and higher education markets in this research.

Relationships between forms of capitals

Bourdieu (2006, p.113) revealed “different types of capital can be derived from economic capital.” and “economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capitals and their effects.” According to Bourdieu (ibid), the transformation of economic capital into social capital presumes labour investments, such as expenditure of time, attention, care and concern on the students. These investments are unnecessary towards economic capital but social exchanges. And hence, in the long run, profits will appear. Economic capital allows parents to pay their efforts and other monetary imports on networking with people from different classes and statuses.

On the other hand, Bourdieu (2006) extended his statement, that the transformation from economic capital to cultural capital concerns the amount of time. It is considered that cultural capital is not only dependent on the quantity of time but also the availability of time from the parents, i.e. father’s or mother’s free time.

Bourdieu’s social capital and other forms of capital accentuated “the unequal distribution and exclusionary and reproductive mechanisms implicated in their accumulation, preservation, and transfer across and among generations and different stratified segments of society” (Tlili, 2016, p.2). Actors can receive direct access to economic and cultural resources from social

capital, which acts as supporters. In other words, it is underlined that family involvement contributes to the students' educational and occupational attainment among generations.

More about the relationship between economic and cultural capitals

Bourdieu (1989c, p.373-385 as cited in Swartz, 1997, p.136) emphasized “how two major competing principles of social hierarchy (called “chiasmatic structure” by Bourdieu), the economic and cultural capitals shape the struggling power in the diploma in modern societies”.

Field, Bourdieu defined as

a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.97)

Actors, i.e. institutions, family, groups, and individuals compete and struggle in the arenas for valued forms of capital and power in the society. Each individual owns a position in different fields with a diverse amount of capitals. Those capitals indicate different characteristics of actors in several positions. Swartz (1997) intimated that cultural capital is the key property in the intellectual field while economic capital is in the business field. Different parties, including individuals and families, tend to pursue uneven distribution of cultural or economic resources in order to maintain and consolidate their social positions. Bourdieu (1989c, p.381 as cited in Swartz, 1997, p.137-138) claimed “the chiasmatic structure of economic and cultural capital distributes and ranks all other fields of struggle (i.e. economic, university, artistic and intellectual).” It means each field of struggle is affected by both capitals on different levels. This chiasmatic structure of economic and cultural capital functions is also vital and influencing in social stratification, including social class and status.

In the occupation market, Bourdieu (1989c, p.383 as cited in Swartz, 1997, p.140) and Bourdieu and de Saint Martin (1978 as cited in Swartz, 1997, p.140) identified “an essential opposition between two groups: 1) the training, careers, and firms of technocratic big business leaders are intimately connected to the public sector institutions, and 2) owners of large family firms that operate primarily in the private sphere”. Swartz (1997, p.140) claimed

that “the former group is the inheritors of cultural capital and the latter are the inheritors of primarily economic capital.” Alternatively stated, huge business leaders in the public sectors own the power and right to say for their own development. However, it is not the essence of this research. Nonetheless, owners of large family organizations indubitably furnish their children by their inheritance of economic capital but also their relationship with the huge business leaders in the public sector. Inequalities in positions thereby occur in the occupation field due to the existence of disproportionate classes.

Resources (capitals) from family	How to affect students in education and occupation markets
Economic capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual’s wealth and income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use money to seek for higher education and well-performed universities
Cultural Capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural goods (i.e. pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines) • Pedagogic actions from family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpreted by students and turn to habitus • Social class and education level affect the level of cultural performance
Social Capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Networks between family, and their friends and colleagues • The degree of closure between relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investment strategies that students exchange, establish and maintain resources within the network • Concerns about the quality and volume of network

Table 1 Key ideas of economic, cultural and social capitals

By suggesting economic, cultural and social capitals provided by family, this research will illustrate how these capitals affect graduates in occupation and higher education markets, in terms of opportunity, choice, purpose and motivation, and performance in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland. Table 1 has outlined the key ideas about Bourdieu’s economic, cultural and social capitals and Coleman’s social capital.

Chapter 4: Methodology of data collection and analysis

4.1 Research Question

How higher education graduates experience the family influence in higher education and occupation markets regarding Bourdieu's and Coleman's capitals in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland?

4.2 Data Collection Methods

In order to consolidate the diversity and credibility of this comparative research, solely primary data, which are the interviews with graduates in Hong Kong and Finland are adopted. Primary data are original which are collected by the researcher for a specific research goal (Hox & Boeije, 2005). In particular, the purpose of conducting interviews certainly is to apply the personal experiences of interviewees. Since there is no information of personal experiences of the targets in both cities can be found within the same research, the answers are unique and vital to becoming one of the evidence or insights to help explain the research question.

This study tends to evaluate the trend of how family influences students in higher education and career markets based on the personal experiences of the interviewees regardless of the quantity of interviewees or questionnaires.

Interviews benefit this research since interviewees provide further information through answering the researcher's questions more specifically. Personal semi-structured interviews (Kothari, 2004; Olsen, 2012) have been conducted in face to face and informal format. And each interview lasts for 30 to 45 minutes. Some close-ended questions were assigned for the interviewees to reply. However, other general questions have also been asked to probe for additional or even uncovered information in the unstructured interviews. Thus, it offers more possibilities to seek for more data by inquiring follow-up questions.

When asking questions in these informal interviews with participants from Hong Kong and Helsinki, this research did not mention Bourdieu, Coleman nor their ideas directly because of the understandability. Bourdieu's terms i.e. economic, cultural, social capitals, habitus, the field of power are abstract to interviewees, which is difficult to understand. Thus, this study did not use "capital" to ask questions.

In the dialogues, the researcher has divided into three aspects, which are economic, cultural and social resources and ask questions about graduate's personal experiences by asking questions with modified keywords. In the economic section, this study has used keywords

such as financial support, money, wealth and property to ask questions. Following by the cultural section, the researcher has applied different words to replace the keywords of Bourdieu's ideas. **Habitus** is replaced by asking whether they can remember their parents have been involved in or influence them in higher education and occupation markets. **Pedagogic action** is replaced by whether parents influence interviewees through information transmission process. That information includes parents' education level, social status, knowledge, social class, perceptions, attitudes, and skills. **Field**, in another way to ask interviewees, is replaced by asking who and how they assist or support interviewees in both markets. This question indicates the roles and positions of actors.

In the social section, **closure** mentioned by Coleman is interpreted by asking how close and intimate you are with your family, parents, peers, colleagues, classmates, teachers and so on. Social capital is replaced by asking key terms such as network, relationship, and connection. To be more detailed about what the **network** is, this study has asked what the network includes, such as relatives and friends.

During the interviews, the researcher asked whether their parents are involved in or influence participants in both markets. However, they cannot recognize whether it is an influence or not because what their parents have done to them have been lasting for years. It is inside their unconscious memory. This source of error will be explained more in Chapter 6. The researcher also tried to ask follow-up questions if she could not ensure the meanings and ideas of interviewee's answers.

Even though conducting interviews is time-consuming, it is still important to understand and identify more details about the individuals personally instead of solely using the evidence from the macro-environment. The response rate of interviews is higher than surveys, which is another advantage of conducting interviews. Interviewees can even ask back questions if anything is uncertain immediately during the interviews (Kothari, 2004).

However, the researcher may have some bias on the interpretation of interview's answers. In this case, it is hard to prove this problem but this study can ensure that the findings are gathered relying on the straightforward answers replied by the interviewees without providing personal comments or feedback.

Remark: The interview questions are attached in the appendix at the end of this paper for your reference.

During the data analysis process, this paper intended to apply the “electronic published” documents (Gillham, 2000, p.37) which were searched from university’s libraries and databases and official websites of the organizations, including results and relevant reports from OECD and other previous relevant empirical researches mainly from Hong Kong and Finland. However, at the end, **it failed** because the amount of the secondary data this study wished to apply is out of the expectation and the purpose of this research is not to revisit or reanalyse these secondary data, but merely by quoting them to approve the trend and phenomenon in both cities, which is the original purpose of this research.

It is time-consuming and even impracticable if this study would re-examine all secondary data such as OECD reports. Before analysing data, this study has notified the types of secondary data analysis are distinct from the original purpose of secondary data application. This study planned to apply one of the qualitative secondary data analysis methods suggested by Heaton (2004), which are supra analysis, supplementary analysis, re-analysis, amplified analysis, and assorted analysis. However, irrespective to the context of these analysis types, their objectives are the same, that use the previous (secondary) data to reanalyse, investigate more in-depth or transcend to the researcher’s ongoing study. An amplified analysis was found similar to what this study hoped to examine at the beginning because it combines multiple qualitative secondary data and makes comparisons. However, this study does not look into the findings specifically of each research, solely results instead.

4.3 Sampling and Samples

Interviews were conducted to provide further insights and more realistic experiences from the students. 20 interviews were conducted in total. In this study, stratified and convenience samplings are adopted. Stratified sampling suggests “sampling frame is divided into subsections comprising groups that are relatively homogeneous with respect to one or more characteristics and a random sample from each stratum is selected” (Collins, Onwuegbuzie & Jiao, 2006, p.84). And convenience sampling highlights that researchers “choosing settings, groups and/or individuals that are conveniently available and willing to participate in the study” (ibid, p.85). In this study, combining both sampling methods because of the willingness of the students and situations while approaching the students. Students are not always willing to spend 30 or even 45 minutes with the researcher, which is a stranger to them.

Thus, three-quarters of the interviewees are accessed by stratified and convenience sampling and the rest of them are reached by stratified sampling. All interviewees from Hong Kong and a half from Finland (Total: 15) are approached in the former sampling method. The interviewees basically are the researcher's friends and reached them through calls and communication applications such as WhatsApp for interviews. Even though they are the researcher's friends, they still have to meet the requirements of participating in the interviews. Participants have to be between 25 to 30 years old, who have studied for higher education level and now are working or have worked as full-time before.

Rest of the interviewees from Finland (Total: 5) are approached by stratified sampling. They are randomly selected in the university's cafes in Helsinki, Finland. Their interviews were conducted at the end of the interviews process because it is more difficult to ask further questions after physical interviews if needed, even through email. Hence, it is important to classify the types of questions and identify the necessity of adding or deleting the questions before carrying out interviews with the five students.

Stratified sampling allows this research to ensure the specific groups are represented, which is the advantage of this sampling method (Black, 1999). In particular, students can be easily reached because of the locations where the accessibility of looking for the target interviewees is higher.

Convenience sampling has a similar practice and selection process with one of the nonprobability sampling methods, which is called availability sampling (Daniel, 2012). Such sampling denotes "elements are selected from the target population on the basis of their availability, convenience of the researcher, and/or their self-selection" (ibid, p.82). In this study, the researcher has selected the interviewees regarding their availability, which means whether they have free time or not; whether the researcher is free to conduct the interview meanwhile; and whether the researcher thinks the interviewees are suitable.

According to the sampling procedure (Daniel, 2012), this study has defined the target population has to fulfil the requirement mentioned above. Then, the most convenient way to access to students regarding the requirement is sitting and hunting in the university's cafés because students who are sitting in the cafes seem to be less busy. Hence, the probability of accessibility is higher.

This sampling method requires fewer resources such as time and money to conduct. However, some weaknesses are identified when using this approach. According to Daniel

(2012), it is not reliable enough to support the arguments and difficult to ensure the interviewees selected are not the representatives of certain groups. Since this sample merely occupies limited portion within the population, the results may be even overrepresented to state the arguments.

While encountering these problems, this study is confident to ensure the level of validity and reliability. Answers of interviews cannot represent the phenomenon of entire population but can identify the key impacts of the family towards students in higher education and occupation markets instead.

There are 20 interviews conducted for this study. Interviewees are distributed evenly in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland, which mean ten for each city. As this study has limited resources, including money and time, only 20 interviews are thus conducted.

Reasons for selecting the interviewees

There are three reasons for selecting graduates from 25 to 30 years old. First, the graduates still have fresh memories about their experiences and perceptions to see how family influences them in higher education and occupation processes, including opportunity, selection, motivation and purpose, and performance.

The second reason is the unusualness of target interviewees. Many previous kinds of research merely focused on the students who are currently taking early childhood, primary or secondary educations because of more obvious influences from parents or other family members. However, students at an early age are hard or even unable to recall their memories and explain the purposes of education. The reality and personal experiences of students thus would be missing, which is not the ideal purpose of this research.

Finally, graduates who aged from 25 to 30 have more work experiences, which is also one of the purposes for this research to explore the family influences in the career market. They are mature and critical enough to explain their thoughts and reasons for patterns of behaviours about the entire process of seeking for jobs. This age range of the interviewees totally matches the old public examination system named HKCEE and HKALE in Hong Kong will be further explained in the section about both locations' education systems.

All interviewees preserve anonymity. Thus, interviewee codes are applied when quoting their ideas, comments, and experiences in this study. The following tables indicate the personal backgrounds (sex, education level, the field of study and occupation), parents socio-economic

backgrounds (occupation, education level, and income), numbers of family members, and tuition fees (applied to Hong Kong only).

Table 2 below highlights two interviewees FE and FF in Helsinki are from single-parent family so the income is mainly from one of their parents. Also, it is important to point out the income of each interviewee is from jobs with tax payment, that excludes the private jobs.

HELSINKI, FINLAND'S INTERVIEWEES								
Interviewees' codes	Sex	Education Level	Field of Study (Institutions)	Occupation	Parents' occupations (F: Father; M: Mother)	Parents' education level (F: Father; M: Mother)	Parents' Income (Estimations in Euro and after tax reduction)	Numbers of family members (including interviewees)
FA	M	Master	Entrepreneurship (Hanken)	Massager	F: CEO (retire) M: Housewife	F: primary and certificates M: Lower Secondary	80K per year	5
FB	F	Bachelor	Accounting (Haaga-Helia)	Accountant	F: Government M: Kindergarten worker	F/M: Primary but has been qualified with other studies	70K per year	6
FC	M	Master	Finance and economics (Haaga-Helia)	entrepreneur	F: Entrepreneur M: Entrepreneur	F: Upper Secondary M: Bachelor	90K per year	4
FD	F	Bachelor	Business (Haaga-Helia)	Business assistant	F: Business Manager M: Housewife	F/M: Lower Secondary	40K per year	3
FE	F	Bachelor	IT (Haaga-Helia)	IT assistant	F: Tourist Guide M: Restaurant Owner	F/M: Primary	25K per year (excluding father because of divorced)	4
FF	M	2 Masters	Politics (Haaga-Helia)	Embassy Trainee	F: NA M: Cleaner (almost retire)	F: NA M: Primary	20K per year	2
FG	M	Bachelor	Journalism (Haaga-Helia)	Freelancer	F: Fire Fighter M: Secretary	F: Primary M: Vocational school	60K per year	4
FH	F	Bachelor	Business (Aalto)	Business Assistant	F: Entrepreneur M: Housewife	F/M: Primary	70K per year	3
FI	M	Bachelor	Business (Aalto)	Business Assistant	F: Business Manager M: Assistant	F: Upper Secondary M: Primary	65K per year	3
FJ	F	Bachelor	Tourism (Haaga-Helia)	Hotel Assistant	F: Business Manager M: Business Assistant	F: Upper Secondary M: Lower Secondary	60K per year	4

Table 2 Helsinki's Interviewees' Personal Background

Table 3 and 4 below assemble the personal background of interviewees from Hong Kong.

Hong Kong's Interviewees									
Interviewees' codes	Sex	Education Level	Field of Study (Institutions)	Occupation	Parents' occupations (F: Father; M: Mother)	Parents' education level (F: Father; M: Mother)	Parents' Income (estimations in Euro and after tax reduction)	Numbers of family members (including interviewees)	Tuition fees (estimations in Euro)
HA	F	Sub-degree	Design and Business (IVE)	Clerk	F: Site worker M: part-time worker	F/M: Primary	33K per year	4	5,300€ per year (4 years)
HB	F	Bachelor	Environmental management (CityU)	Fishery Supervisor in Government	F: Worker M: Housewife	F/M: Lower Secondary	22K per year	4	4,700€ per year (3 years)
HC	F	Bachelor (study abroad)	Communication and Business (Liverpool, UK)	Business Assistant	F: Entrepreneur M: Housewife	F/M: Primary	170K per year	5	11,200€ per year (4 years)
HD	F	Sub-degree	Public Relations and Communication (CCCU)	Logistics Assistant	F: Site Worker M: House Cleaner	F/M: Primary	22K per year	4	5,000€ per year (3 years)
HE	F	Bachelor	English (HKSJU)	Legal Secretary	F: Repair worker M: Department Store Worker	F/M: Primary	28K per year	4	4,700€ per year (3 years)
HF	M	Bachelor in self-finance institution	Accounting (HSU)	Accountant	F: Store Owner M: Housewife	F/M: Primary	28K per year	4	7,300€- 8,200€ per year (4 years)
HG	M	Top-up degree	Public Relations, Business and Advertisement (PolyU Speed)	PR event organizer and helper	F/M: Manager	F/M: Bachelor	95K per year	3	Sub-degree: 4,700€ per year (3 years) Top-up Degree: 10,000€ (1 year)

Table 3 Hong Kong's Interviewees' Personal Background

Hong Kong's Interviewees (continued)									
Interviewees' codes	Sex	Education Level	Field of Study (Institutions)	Occupation	Parents' occupations (F: Father; M: Mother)	Parents' education level (F: Father; M: Mother)	Parents' Income (estimations in Euro and after tax reduction)	Numbers of family members (including interviewees)	Tuition fees (estimations in Euro)
HH	M	Master	Communication and Journalism (HKCU)	Assistant in NGO	F: Truck Driver M: Cleaner	F: Lower Secondary M: Primary	22K per year	4	Sub-degree: 4,700€ per year (3 years) Bachelor: 7,300€- 8,200€ per year (3 years) Master: 13,000€ per year (2 years)
HI	M	Master	Education and Communication (EdUHK)	Teacher	F: Worker M: Cleaner	F: Lower Secondary M: Primary	22K per year	4	Sub-degree: 4,700€ per year (3 years) Bachelor: 10,000€ (2 years) Master: 13,500€ (1 year)
HJ	M	Top-up degree	Business Management (Leeds Beckett University)	Flight Attendant	F: Site Worker M: Department store (branch) supervisor	F: Lower Secondary M: Primary	45K per year	4	Sub-degree: 4,700€ (3 years) Top-up Degree: 10,000€ (1 year)

Table 4 Hong Kong's Interviewees' Personal Background (Continued)

Hong Kong's and Finland's Education Systems

Table 3 and 4 above indicate interviewees' family background, the terms used in the columns of both parents' and interviewees' education levels will be defined according to the education systems in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland.

In Hong Kong, according to the Education Bureau of Hong Kong (2017), children start at about six enter the primary schools for six years. Another six years will be spent in secondary schools. Students continue their studies in the same secondary schools without taking any extra exams. At the age about 17 or 18, students take the public examinations called the Hong

Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE) Examination, which replaces the former Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) and Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKALE) since 2009.

However, this research focuses solely on the old public examinations system because Hong Kong's interviewees have graduated from this old system. After taking HKCEE, if the grades of students are not qualified to study for the HKALE, students can choose to study pre-associate degrees, foundation diploma, YiJin or higher diploma programmes offered by different Hong Kong local colleges or vocational institutions for a year (A group).

Nonetheless, if students are able to study in the upper-secondary school for Form 6 and 7, they need to take the HKALE at the end (B group).

Graduates from A group can apply for the sub-degree and vocational and training programmes. On the other hand, B group's graduates with good grades can apply for the university's bachelor's degrees; while those with worse grades can apply for the Associate Degree or Higher Diploma programmes.

These two pathways of both A and B groups will be explained more specifically in the following paragraphs. For the A group graduates, they can apply for the pre-associate degrees, foundation diploma, YiJin or higher diploma programmes depending on their grades in HKCEE, which are not eligible for studying the upper-secondary education level.

Pre-associate degree and higher diploma programmes require higher grades in HKCEE results while the applicants for YiJin and foundation diploma programmes have failed the major subjects in HKCEE. These programmes can be found in vocational institutions and local Hong Kong local colleges. Only higher diploma programmes allow students to continue their study for three years and the rest of them last for one year.

For the one-year programme's graduates, they can apply for studying associate degree and higher diploma programmes, which belong to sub-degree programmes offered by the same institutions mentioned above and last for two years. Upon graduation, students can pursue top-up degree programmes or undergraduate programmes offered by foreign education institutions, Hong Kong's local public-funded and self-financing degree-awarding institutions and thus, acquire bachelor's qualifications.

For the B group's graduates with better grades, bachelor's degree which is offered by the Hong Kong education institutions mentioned in the above paragraph, that nine institutions are

publicly-funded by the government and 12 are self-financing (students need to pay for higher tuition fees) and foreign education institutions meanwhile.

Other B group's graduates who cannot study for the bachelor's degree programmes directly, they can choose to study an associate degree or higher diploma programmes for two years, in the same vein with A group's graduates after one-year programmes.

On the other hand, in Finland, children start their basic education at 7 years old and last for nine years, according to Finnish Education in a Nutshell (2017), that without divisions of primary and lower-secondary education during the first six years, in terms of class teachers, schools and subjects. During the last three years in basic education, students are divided based on the subject's specialists.

After this nine-year basic education, students can select whether studying in upper-secondary schools or vocational institutions for three years. The former selection allows students to study their bachelor's degree at universities, which lasts for three years and the latter enables to study the bachelor's degree at universities of applied science with work experiences, that lasts for three and a half to four years.

Students who have graduated from a bachelor's degree at universities can continue their master's degrees for two more years. However, for the university of applied science graduates, they need to have three years of work experiences before entering the master's degree programme, which lasts from one to one and a half years.

Table 5 below indicates and compares the education systems and pathways in Hong Kong and Finland.

Ages	Hong Kong (old public exam system) graduated from upper-secondary schools	Ages	Hong Kong (old public exam system) graduated from other pathways	Ages	Finland
NA	NA	NA	Master's Degree (depending on the durations from 1-2 years)	NA	NA
22/ 22-23	Master's Degree (depending on the durations from 1-2 years)	20-21/ 20-22/ 20-23	Bachelor's Degree (depending on the durations from 2-4 years)	26-27	Master's Degree of the graduates at UAS
19-21	Bachelor's Degree (with good grades in HKALE)	17-19	Higher Diploma (straightaway after HKCEE)	21-22/ 23-25	Master's Degree at Universities/ 3 years work experiences (UAS)
19-20	Associate Degree/ Higher Diploma (with worse grades in HKALE)	18-19	Associate Degree/ Higher Diploma	19-21/ 19-22	Bachelor's Degree at Universities/ University of Applied Sciences (UAS)
17-18	Upper-secondary	17	Pre-Associate Degree / Foundation Diploma/ YiJin Programme	16-18	Upper-secondary
12-16	Lower-secondary (HKCEE)	12-16	Lower-secondary (HKCEE)	7-15	Basic Education
6-11	Primary Education	6-11	Primary Education	6	Pre-primary Education
3-5	Early childhood education (kindergarten)	3-5	Early childhood education (kindergarten)	0-5	Early childhood education and care

Table 5 Comparison of Hong Kong's and Finland's education systems

4.4 Data Analysis Methods

Qualitative data analysis methods are adopted in this study. According to Elswick (2016), qualitative techniques concentrate on the integrality of human experiences and take the meanings and essences of those experiences into account. Thus, the researcher can understand more about the part or entire relationship between the subject and object, which are students and family in this study.

The aim of using qualitative research is to “explore, describe, understand, explain, change, and/or evaluate the social phenomena and the meanings of social actors from everyday concepts/ meanings/ accounts” (Masue, Swai & Anasel, 2013, p.214). It is exactly the purpose of this research, which is to explore, describe, understand, explain and evaluate how family influences students in higher education and job markets in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland, by applying and connecting Bourdieu's and Coleman's capitals framework. In this qualitative research, textual, thematic and comparative analysis approaches are applied.

Textual Analysis

Textual analysis is the first data analysis method in this study. “It is a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world”, according to

McKee (2003, p.8). To be more concrete, researchers analyse and interpret the texts in the textual analysis process and thus, understand human behaviours and how they fit into the society with different cultural backgrounds, which reveals the reality. This study interprets primary data's answers and how these data suggest the correlation between family and students in higher education and career markets in Hong Kong and Finland.

Texts, defined and explained by Halliday (1978, 1994 as cited in Fairclough, 2003, pp.26-27) as:

“simultaneously have ‘ideational’, ‘interpersonal’ and ‘textual’ functions. That is, texts simultaneously represent aspects of the world (the physical world, the social world, the mental world); enact social relations between participants in social events and the attitudes, desires and values of participants; and coherently and cohesively connect parts of texts together, and connect texts with their situational contexts.”

Individuals practice the above behaviours in their daily life, which means in society. And thus, texts are produced through this process and become meaningful for the researchers. The meanings of texts are classified as “action, representation and identification” by Fairclough (2003, p.27). Action implies social relation with different individuals; representation suggests the relation between two entities; and identification is a judgment or commitment.

This study aims to understand how graduates respond to family's influence in positive or negative ways, in terms of Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capitals and Coleman's social capital in higher education and career markets. Through identifying interviewees thoughts and behaviours, this research hence aims to understand what and how attitudes, perceptions, motivations, ideas, etc. are formed and built through family impacts in higher education and career processes.

Thematic Analysis

Another data analysis method applied in this study is thematic analysis. Key themes are identified and present within the analysis procedure supported by theoretical framework and interpretations, which are Bourdieu's and Coleman's capitals of this study (Alhojailan, 2012; Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012). The researcher thus can connect each theme with the entire content of this study. Various concepts and interviewees' experiences can be linked and gathered for comparison through the researcher's interpretation. Those interviewee's answers, experiences, and clarifications are the only evidence in this research.

Textual analysis belongs to a part of the thematic analysis process. Interviewee's replies are generated and identified as the four themes in the higher education and career processes for graduates through analysing the texts and interviewees' individual experiences.

This study also adopts theoretical thematic analysis, in particular. The qualitative data, interviews are strongly related to the recognized themes (Javadi & Zarea, 2016). When the researcher in this paper set questions, it is based on the theoretical framework, which outlines the economic, cultural and social capitals. The researcher did not ask questions by using academic or theoretical languages but daily life instead and thus, the interviewees can understand the questions and reply more specifically.

Applying this thematic analysis approach is because of the readability. As this paper uses Bourdieu's three capitals to illustrate the family influences on graduates in higher education and career markets, it is vital to provide an easily intelligible outline for the readers to follow. Thus, five themes are identified after analysing the data of interviewees.

Comparative Case Study

As this paper compares Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland, it can be obviously identified is comparative research with two case studies. As stated in Corti and Thompson (2004, p.302), comparison "is most effective when there are sufficient data to enable convincing re-evaluations" and "brings greater power to answer scientific questions". In order to answer how family affects graduates in higher education and occupation markets in both cities, this paper hence evaluates the significant primary data, which are the 20 interviews. It would be difficult or even impossible to identify the differences of family impacts towards graduates in different society if merely one city would be performed in this paper.

These two cases, Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland are the main elements for this study. Gillham (2000, p.2) argues that "the naturalistic style of case study research makes it particularly appropriate to study human phenomena, and what it means to be human in the real world 'as it happens'". This study examines the real personal experiences of graduates from these two cities, which actually has happened before and are still happening in their life. These experiences are the 'evidences' (p.3) to support how family influence graduates in higher education and career markets.

Case study research is considered to be more subjective with phenomenological meaning (Gillham, 2000). However, it does not mean this research skips the objectivity but try to underly the reasons behind experiences. The qualitative data gathered from the interviewees'

answers provide the examples and suggest how people can understand themselves and their settings. During the process of these two cases analysis, it allows this research to distinguish what people 'believe' and what they actually do in real life (ibid). This research does not assume or expect the results would be as same as the beliefs of the researcher through applying Bourdieu's three capitals.

Two data analysis methods were planned to use but they did not work during the analysing process. The first one is a narrative analysis. In reliance on Newby (2014), the narrative analysis is for two purposes of research. These purposes for the researcher are 1) "to understand the subjects' experiences of life" and 2) "to test out the applicability of a concept or theory" (p.484). In this way, this paper has tried to understand students' experiences during the higher education and occupation process and these experiences were formed appertaining to the family. Indeed, regarding these *experiences*, it seems it could enable to test whether Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capital has impacts towards the correlation of family and students. But this approach had not succeeded even though this study has similar goals with what narrative analysis is for.

Continue to describe the abandoned narrative analysis, the researcher needs to take the statements and explanations by individuals into account (Newby, 2014). Individual perspectives which imply their priorities, concerns, values, and attitudes merely act as examples or supplements, which are not the central focus for this study. Also, these personal experiences cannot represent the entire population but at least the public can be aware of this problem. This research does not analyse the whole story of each interviewee but only highlight the key influences instead.

On the other hand, this research also has tried to apply content analysis at the beginning of data analysis. However, it did not work at the end when scrutinizing interviewees' answers. Such analysis is systematic to analyse the given information and infer meanings that are relevant to the research problem (Guthrie, 2010). Researchers use "classification" (Guthrie, 2010) to categorize different concepts and "quantification" (Kulatunga, Amaratunga & Haigh, 2007, p.501) It is unnecessary and meaningless to calculate the amount of the concepts about family influences which has been mentioned in the interviews because this research does not measure the degree of the family impacts towards students but merely describe the processes of higher education and occupation.

Reasons for choosing Hong Kong and Finland

Three reasons mainly focus on the education market are identified to support why this research has chosen Hong Kong and Finland for comparison. The first reason is the differences in the purpose and format of Hong Kong's and Finnish education systems. It is without a doubt that Finland is famous for its best education system in the world. Their education system emphasizes equity, flexible learning environment, and quality steering and encourages trust and responsibility between each role, according to Finnish in a nutshell (2017). On the other hand, Hong Kong is basically famous for its economic and financial development and freedom, but not education, which is one of the basic human rights for everyone. According to the Education Bureau's website in Hong Kong (2010), their vision and mission do not highlight any concepts about equity of education or other ideas related to student's or teacher's personal needs. But they emphasize only the results and quality of education.

Even though Hong Kong's upper secondary education system is equal and the 15-year-old students perform well among the top rankings in PISA in 2015, according to OECD (2016), the student's **learning time** is more than Finland, that Hong Kong students spend about 45 hours per week to revise while Finnish students only spend approximately 37 hours per week. The ratio of learning time and performance is not directly proportional. Thus, it is interesting to see how Hong Kong's family affects students' perceptions and other cultural capital interpretation during the education process.

The second reason is the different focus of society's development. Both countries have high Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the world. Hong Kong even has a higher GDP (341.45 US billion) than Finland (251.88 US billion) in 2017, as stated in Finland and Hong Kong GDPs (2019). However, it leads the researcher of this study considers the balance for social development. Taking people's basic needs and wants and economic development into accounts meanwhile, Finland provides better welfare system and thus, people do not worry about their daily life and become happy, especially Finland is known as the happiest country in the world, according to Helliwell, Layard, and Sachs (2018).

This balance development of Finland allows people to live happily. However, when looking into Hong Kong, it is ranked No. 76 in the World Happiness Report in 2018 (ibid). This result drives the researcher to think about student's happiness during their educational journey. Students are not happy or satisfied with their life mainly because of study pressure (Ho,

2016). The students from 15 to 18 years old feel the least happy, that 5.49 out of 10 Happiness Index. Other recent research also has found that the study pressure of students in Hong Kong primarily comes from academic performance, too many school works, extra-curricular activities and extra tutorial classes and **high self-expectations** (Chan, Poon & Tang, 2016; Cheung, 2017). The researcher of this study hence thinks of how family involves and affects a student's way of thinking in terms of cultural capital, whether the graduates satisfied with the previous education processes or not, and whether students in Hong Kong can be happier one day as same as current Finland or not.

The last reason is cultural differences between Hong Kong and Finland. Before 1 July 1997, Hong Kong was occupied by the United Kingdom (the U.K.). It is claimed that the combination of China's, Hong Kong's (Asian) and the U. K's cultures (Western) affect how people form their beliefs, behaviours, lifestyles, personalities and so on. Such a culture pattern is unique and special that cannot be found elsewhere in the world. Thus, it is interesting to see how various cultural backgrounds frame the parenting styles of family, relevant to social and economic resources as well.

Reasons for choosing Helsinki

To be more particular, there are two reasons to support why this study merely has chosen Helsinki. The first reason is because of money- and time-consuming regarding sample size. As Finland has many cities, it would cost a lot to conduct face-to-face interviews with students who are studying or living in each city because of the locations.

Also, Helsinki is the capital of Finland. This study assumes that the results would be the most representative when compared with Hong Kong, in terms of the population, population with an academic degree, economy and employment. According to the statistics of Helsinki Region (2018), Helsinki's people occupy one quarter among the entire population in Finland in 2017. And in 2015, about 47% of citizens between 25 to 64 years old from Helsinki holds an academic degree. Also, the gross domestic profit (GDP) of Helsinki is 52,021 in Euro per capita in 2015, which is even more than the entire Finland, which is 40,600 in Euro. More than that, the employment rate of the Helsinki region is approximately 73%, which is higher than the whole of Finland's 70%. From this statistical evidence, it highlights the high level of importance of Helsinki, especially the number of people who has an academic degree.

Table 6 below summarizes the data collection and sampling methods, sample and its size and data analysis methods that this study has applied.

Data Collection Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary data: interviews
Sampling Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stratified: random and students are eligible to participate the interviews (5 interviewees from Helsinki, Finland) • Convenience: friends of the researcher who are eligible to participate the interviews (10 Hong Kong interviewees and 5 Helsinki, Finland interviewees)
Sample and its size	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students who are from 25 to 30 years old, has graduated in higher education and currently working/ have worked as full-time before. • Size: 20 (10 Hong Kong, 10 Helsinki, Finland)
Data Analysis Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Textual, thematic and comparative analysis

Table 6 Summary of Methodology

Chapter 5: Findings

Before identifying the results, this study has found that it is vital to affirm family (mainly parents) influences the entire process within higher education and career markets after graduation. The process means before, during and after higher education and before and during work. The following Figure 2 is generated after results evaluation. Placing it here because it is easier to understand the concepts and process.

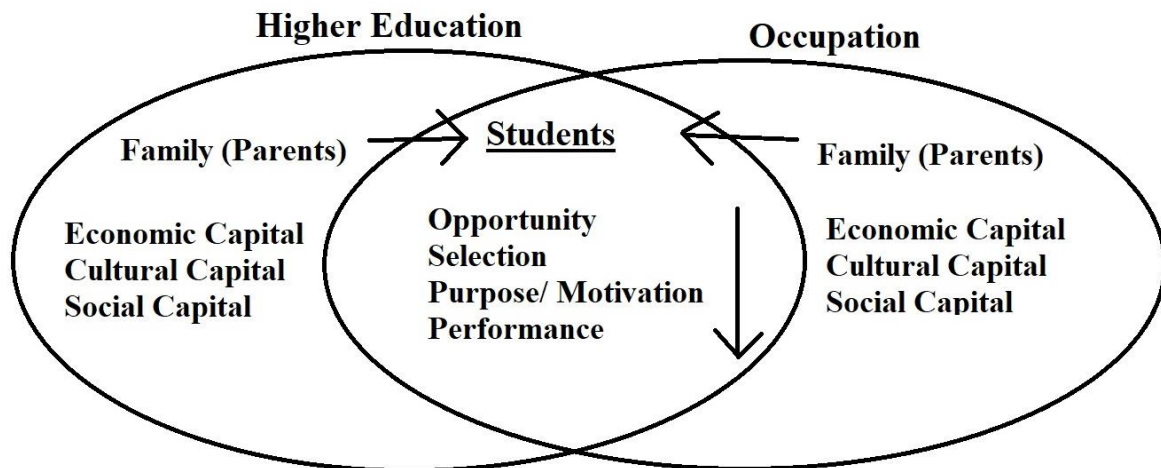


Figure 2 How parents affect students in the four aspects within higher education and occupation markets by capitals

In the process, students' opportunity, selection, purpose and learning motivation, and performance are influenced by parents ascendingly in higher education and occupation markets. Findings below indicate how economic, cultural and social capitals provided by parents affect students within the four themes as mentioned above. This study will discuss each theme with the theoretical framework, which are the three capitals claimed by Bourdieu and social capital highlighted by Coleman.

In the following section, before discussing the process, which includes four main themes of the findings, one finding must be explained first as it contributes significantly to this study.

1. Parents influence most on graduates within a family

The participants, on the whole, demonstrated that parents are the main resources who support for the entire higher education and career processes. Parent(s) are basically the vital members within the nuclear family and single-parent family. The nuclear family consists of two generations which are parents and children—family procreation, according to the Education

Bureau of Hong Kong, (n.d.) and City of Helsinki (2018). And single-parent family undoubtedly consists only a parent (mother or father) and his/her children (Education Bureau of Hong Kong, n.d.).

The extended family is not the main concern for this study. This family form consists of more than two generations within a household. It includes not only parents and children, but also grandparents, cousins, and other relatives (ibid). Almost all interviewees from Hong Kong and Helsinki also claim that their parents are the main characters to influence their study and occupation processes directly, in terms of economic, cultural and social resources.

Parents in this research are the key focus to see the degree of impacts and ways of influences on graduates in the procedures of seeking for higher education and jobs, even though Bourdieu did not particularly focus on the influences from parents but the entire education system, including students, parents, teachers, governments and education institutions (Swartz, 1997; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). In other words, Bourdieu merely emphasized parents as one of the actors within the education system in the society.

When asking about who or whether graduates are influenced by someone or not, the following quotations are expressed by some of the interviewees in order to support parents are the primary capital, both in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland.

“During my higher education and career processes, I have only received my parents’ support directly, in terms of physical and mental.” (HH, Hong Kong, 11 November 2018)

“No other family members have helped me but my parents, wholeheartedly. For example, money, perceptions towards higher education and networks in higher education and job markets.” (HI, Hong Kong, 20 November 2018)

“My parents suggest the ideas about the universities I should apply and what programmes I should choose. It helped me become more certain about my future study.” (HC, Hong Kong, 22 November 2018)

“My parents stand by me when I was looking for the university and job which suit me most.” (FA, Helsinki, 11 October 2018)

“It is totally enough that my parents back me up in the higher education and career processes because I trust them.” (FE, Helsinki, 9 January 2019)

“My grandparents or other relatives do not involve in my study or job because our relationship is not that close.” (FB, Helsinki, 11 October 2018)

One interesting quotation has highlighted the indirect relationship between the interviewee and her other family members.

“I don’t have the direct relationship with my relatives. If we need help, for instance, occupation, it’s my parents to ask my aunts or uncles. I would never ask them by myself.” (HE, Hong Kong, 25 December 2018)

When asking interview questions in both cities, interviewees claimed that their parents play the main roles to involve and support their studies in higher education and career markets. Merely one interviewee has mentioned the indirect influence of her relatives in Hong Kong. And there is no interviewees has mentioned about their other family members. Thus, the interview questions shift to focus on the parental involvement and impacts in career and higher education markets.

Four Themes (Stages or Processes) in Higher Education and Career Markets

After explaining the above finding, the following section is divided into four themes (stages or processes) which emerged through the data analysis process. In each theme, three capitals are explicated separately or synchronously, depending on the theme. The results of Hong Kong and Finland are illustrated simultaneously for clearer comparisons.

All participants’ answers and quotations are formulated after asking whether their parents have influenced them or not within each stage in higher education and occupation markets, including opportunity, selection, purpose and motivation, and performance, in terms of money, parents’ education level, social class, knowledge and perceptions, and network. This study did not ask questions during interviews by using any academic terms like capitals or pedagogic actions, which claimed by Bourdieu or Coleman because of the intelligibility. Reasons have been explained in Chapter 4.

Within the education system, researches have argued Bourdieu has primarily concentrated students’ performance, opportunity and choice influenced by capitals within different countries (e.g. Castillo, 2014; Chan & Wong, 2010; Fan, 2014; Kosunen, 2016, 2018; Kosutic, 2017; Poikolainen, 2012; Ra, 2011; Rogosic & Baranovic, 2016; Tzanakis, 2011; Swartz, 1997; Wong, 2011; Wu, 2007). However, after conducting interviews, this study has identified that purposes and motivations formulation processes are influenced by some of the

capitals. Archer (2003) explained the “value” of higher education, including personal development, class mobility and employment after graduation. In other words, purpose and motivation belong to part of the “value” of higher education and thus, it can be classified as one of the vital elements within the processes of higher education and occupation markets.

2.1. Opportunities in (Access to) the higher education market

The opportunity in this study means graduate’s chances in higher education and career markets and how parents influence their accessibility to both markets. Bourdieu and Coleman did not specifically define opportunity in their works. And Coleman (1990) only conducted a report and explained equality of educational opportunity. Thus, this study has used the definition of the Institute for Higher Education Policy (1999, p.3), “opportunity would be defined according to each student’s own interests and abilities ideally”, which suits this study most. Regarding parents’ economic, cultural and social resources, this study has examined how these resources affect graduate’s interests and abilities for receiving the opportunity.

Economic capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

Parents’ support in terms of money and other properties, as pointed out by Bourdieu (2006), seems to be **vital** for all graduates in **Hong Kong**, as evidenced by the interviewees. It affects whether graduates are able to participate in the higher education market or not because of the tuition fees system. Graduates have to take this system into account regarding their parents’ economic background. According to Swartz (1997), the unequal distribution of economic capital from parents affects the opportunity of graduates to study, which fits the interviewees’ personal experiences. Most of the interviewees agree that before the higher education applications, they have concerned whether their parents can afford the tuition fees. These answers were quoted after asking whether they have been influenced by parents’ monetary support.

“I am not from a rich family so I have to think about whether my parents are able to pay for my tuition fees and not only considering my own interests.” (HI, Hong Kong, 20 November 2018)

“Because of the complicated procedures of applying the subsidy programme and my parents cannot afford my tuition fees, so I have given up my study even though I had great GPA in my sub-degree education.” (HD, Hong Kong, 18 November 2018)

“If my parents were not able to afford my tuition fees and daily living expenses, I would never study abroad for my bachelor’s degree.” (HC, Hong Kong, 7 November 2018)

However, participants from **Finland** consider economic capital from their parents **does not affect** their accessibility of higher education because of the free education system is executed in Finland. In other words, it is unnecessary for Finnish citizens to pay tuition fees. Thus, all interviewees do not take their parents’ economic background into account.

“If this free education system did not exist, I could stop my studying in high schools already because my mother is unable to afford the high tuition fees.” (FF, Hong Kong, 5 December 2018)

“My parents do not need to worry about the money when I studied my bachelor and master programmes.” (FE, Helsinki, 9 January 2019)

Cultural Capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

Even though **both cities** have different cultural backgrounds related to parenting and teaching styles, in terms of Asian and Western ways, the majority of participants has argued that parents’ social background, including their social status, power, class and education level **does not affect** their opportunity within higher education market. Parents’ pedagogic actions mentioned by Bourdieu (1977) understood as one kind of the cultural capital do not influence the habitus and practices of graduates in the higher education market, according to most of the participants. The following two quotations of participants highlight the key ideas about the relationship between parents’ cultural resources and their opportunities when pursuing higher education.

“My parents are not highly-educated but I am still able to study my master programme. There is no direct relationship between education level and accessibility to higher education.” (HH, Hong Kong, 11 November 2018)

“It does not matter whether my parents are from middle class or have social power. It is fine and I feel it is equal that I am still able to study my bachelor’s and master’s degrees.” (FC, Hong Kong, 22 November 2018)

Social Capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

The networks from the parents in **Hong Kong and Helsinki** also **do not affect** the participants’ accessibility to higher education. Regardless of whether their parents have many

and high-qualified relationships between their friends, colleagues and other family members, all participants are able to pursue higher education. They do not have any networks working within the educational institutions. It thus does not fit Bourdieu's and Coleman's ideas of social capital, that volume and quality of networks offered by parents affect the accessibility of higher education of graduates. Below quotations are their spotted answers.

"The reason why I can study for higher education is my ability but not the relationships between my parents and their networks, such as parents, friends and their colleagues." (HA, Hong Kong, 18 October 2018)

"I have succeeded to apply and succeed in my higher education is because of my own efforts. My parents have only paid my tuitions but have not to ask for help from other people." (HB, Hong Kong, 20 December 2018)

"I have never heard about students in Finland need to rely on somebody for a degree. In my case, I can study the undergraduate programme because of my personal aptitudes." (FG, Helsinki, 13 October 2018)

2.2. Opportunities in (Access to) the career market

Economic, Cultural and Social capitals, Hong Kong and Helsinki

Money **does not influence** the opportunity of participants in the career market in **Hong Kong and Helsinki**. When asking questions about whether the participants have been influenced by their parents, most of them stated that even though their parents are rich, they are not able to reach the networks including relatives, colleagues or friends with higher education level. The reason is parents' low education level, social status, class, and power. Bourdieu's economic capital from parents thus does not provide any effects on graduates in the career market. Two quotations from interviewees are outlined as below:

"It is definitely important that my parents are rich for my daily living expenses but it cannot help when I look for jobs because they cannot use the money to buy the relationships or job positions for me." (HJ, Hong Kong, 21 December 2018)

"It is impossible for my parents to buy a job position or offer me a position because of their networks as every organization considers our individual experiences and abilities." (FG, Helsinki, 13 October 2018)

On the other hand, **cultural and social capitals** provided by parents **do not influence** the participant's accessibility in the job market *in Hong Kong and Helsinki*, according to the experiences of most of the participants. However, the majority of participants have mentioned their **personal social and cultural capitals** influence their opportunity in the job market. Some answers of the participants are highlighted as below:

"I don't want to rely on my parents and their relationship to get a job offer even though they are able to provide. I want to test my ability in a real working environment." (HC, Hong Kong, 7 November 2018)

"My parents did not help me to get a job because of their relationship or social class. I use my own efforts and ability to get accepted by the company." (FJ, Helsinki, 6 January 2019)

"I have gotten the job offer is because of my personal education level and attitudes towards the job. My parents support me mentally." (HG, Hong Kong, 19 December 2018)

"I have worked for different internships or traineeships. Thus, I have gained more career experiences, which become my advantages. My parents did not help me during this process." (FF, Hong Kong, 5 December 2018)

"Even though I can get the offer from the government, I still need to wait for a month. However, when I notified my boyfriend's father, who has worked in the same department with me at the top position, then I can work next week." (HE, Hong Kong, 25 December 2018)

"My friends I have met in universities or other career platforms have successfully helped me for my start-up company." (FC, Hong Kong, 22 November 2018)

As the majority of participants are from the typical family, which mainly in low-middle class and parents with low education level, it is difficult to find experiences related to more professional jobs such as lawyers and doctors or higher levels of job positions. Parents' education level, social status, power, and class affect what people can meet in their social circle. In this case, it seems that cultural and social capitals from lower-educated parents in lower social classes cannot provide any impacts on graduates in the career market.

3.1. Selections (Choices) in the higher education market

Economic and Social Capitals, Hong Kong and Helsinki

Corresponding to the answers of participants, all participants in **Hong Kong and Helsinki** agree that economic and social resources from parents **do not influence** their choices in the

higher education market. Put differently, money and networks, with reference to Bourdieu (2006), do not affect the selection process of graduates in this research. All interviewees have mentioned their parents do not know anyone who works in the educational institution where they studied their sub-, bachelor's or master's degree. The two following quotations underline the experiences of the interviewees.

“Parents’ money and networks cannot help me choose where and which I should study for my degree. I have made my decision personally.” (HF, Hong Kong, 23 December 2018)

“My parents do not disturb my decisions about my study but only support me. And I can’t see any relations between money, networks and my selections for my study. Money cannot buy my selection?” (FH, Helsinki, 10 January 2019)

However, according to the interviewees’ answers, in **Hong Kong and Helsinki**, it is possible to suggest that graduates are influenced by their **peers** during their selection process, including where and what programmes they have studied. Bourdieu’s and Coleman’s social capital work within graduate’s personal networks but not parents’. Two highlighted answers are shown as below:

“I have chosen the communication programme is because of my friends around me. I want to stay with them because I don’t want to make new friends at that time.” (HI, Hong Kong, 20 November 2018)

“When I was in high school, friends around have chosen Haaga-Helia, even though we studied different subjects, it was more convenient to hang out after class.” (FJ, Helsinki, 6 January 2019)

Cultural capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

The parents in **Hong Kong** has **produced great cultural influences** on the graduates, with the evidence of major interviewees. Bourdieu argued that youth from working class does not pursue high levels of educational attainment because they have already internalized the idea that, they have limited opportunity to study further (Swartz, 1997). However, cultural capital influences the participants in an alternative way. Graduates especially whose parents have lower education level and social class are telling to and have internalized that it is better to enter for higher education level and select well-known universities to study.

During the pedagogic actions process by parents, most of the interviewees has confirmed that parents have taught them the concepts about university rankings, abroad study and fields of study, which have turned into their habitus and affect their decisions of studying in Hong Kong. If so, Bourdieu's cultural capital appears to be applicable. Four quotations are expressed as below:

“Even though I was not able to study the professional subjects like doctors and lawyers, my parents still keep telling me it would be great to study these skilled programmes because of high salary and social class.” (HD, Hong Kong, 18 November 2018)

“My mum told me that it is a benefit to study and graduate abroad because of the more professional English skills. It would be easier to find a higher salary job.” (HC, Hong Kong, 7 November 2018)

“My parents really take the university rankings into account because it affects the opportunity of jobs after graduations. Despite the fact that I was not able to get into a high-ranked university for my bachelor, where I have graduated for my master is a well-known university in Hong Kong and even in the world. This is what my parents have told and expected from me.” (HH, Hong Kong, 11 November 2018)

“I could not get into the famous university in Hong Kong for my undergraduate but it would be a benefit that I have joined the student exchange programme in Finland for a semester, according to my parents.” (HF, Hong Kong, 23 December 2018)

Parents, in this case, do not force the graduates to study in a particular field, in a well-known university or abroad but they merely influence graduates' perceptions by recommending some good choices based on their previous experiences.

Besides, the majority of participants from **Helsinki, Finland** has stated that their parents **do not mention** about the field of study, university rankings, and advantages of study abroad. It means that participants **are not influenced** by parents' pedagogic actions. It seems that dominant power and classes do not exist in society, whereas Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital does not fit in this case. The following quotations support such argument:

“It is unnecessary for parents to mention the field of study, university rankings, and pros of study abroad because it all depends on my own decision and selection. As my parents understand that no matter what and where I have studied, the treatment is still the same.” (FI, Helsinki, 4 January 2019)

“I have never heard about such things (university rankings, the field of study and advantages of study abroad) from my parents. I just selected the subject based on my interest and willingness.” (FJ, Helsinki, 6 January 2019)

3.2. Selections (Choices) in the career market

Economic and Social capitals, Hong Kong and Helsinki

The economic and social resources given by participants’ parents **do not affect** their career options, according to interviewees’ answers, in both **Hong Kong and Helsinki**. Thus, in this case, Bourdieu’s economic and social capitals and Coleman’s social capital do not suit during the selection procedure in the career market. Most of the interviewees have suggested that money and network from parents or even themselves do not interrupt or influence their job preferences. The following direct quotes suggested by the participants accentuate the insignificance of properties and networks of interviewees.

“I don’t think the money or network from my parents influence my decision on my job categories and positions because I basically made my decision by myself.” (HD, Hong Kong, 18 November 2018)

“The network from my parents cannot affect my selection because I am not that close with them and my parents do not ask for their advice. My parents’ properties also do not have any impacts on my selection as in this case, money cannot buy my choices.” (FH, Helsinki, 10 January 2019)

Cultural Capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

From the evidence of **Hong Kong’s** interviewees, it seems that their parents **contribute** their cultural resources, especially their education level, knowledge and perceptions through pedagogic actions, according to Bourdieu’s ideas. It does not mean that interviewees are forced to select the jobs but transform those cultural resources provided by parents to habitus and turn into their ideas. They have considered these cultural ideas while selecting their jobs. The following two direct excerpts emphasize parents’ cultural impacts:

“I have considered my parents’ perceptions about job choices. For example, in which category and position I should apply, as they have more experiences than me.” (HG, Hong Kong, 19 December 2018)

“Even though my parents are with low education level, they have told me what job positions suit me most according to my study field. They have mentioned about it is important to work for jobs regarding the same or similar study fields because it seems I can have a better future. By a better future, it means it is easier to get promoted and increase the salary.” (HE, Hong Kong, 25 December 2018)

In contrast, it appears to be **Helsinki’s graduates are not affected** by their parents during the job selection process, according to the evidence of interviewees. Parents do not give any suggestions students directly or control their perceptions but provide them enough spaces and freedom to develop their creative ideas about their jobs and future. Thus, Bourdieu’s cultural capital cannot be applied in Helsinki’s situation. Parents do not use any symbolic or dominant power within the pedagogic action process, that all interviewees merely select jobs which they are interested in and suit for by their own selections. The job salary, position, and categories are not taken into accounts by parents from Helsinki. Below are the excerpts expressed by the interviewees:

“I studied business for both my bachelor’s and master’s degree but I am working as a massager. However, even though it is not related to my study at all, my parents still respect and support me.” (FA, Helsinki, 11 October 2018)

“My parents did not worry or give me any advice for my career selections because they trust my ability and decision making. They do not care about my salary or job categories as they believe experiences are more important than these requirements.” (FI, Helsinki, 4 January 2019)

To sum up, the cultural resources of parents are influential for graduates in Hong Kong but not in Helsinki. Parents in Hong Kong tend to educate their children about the benefits and ideas of a job with a high salary, better position, and fields even though they support their decisions at the end. However, parents in Helsinki do not recommend or teach their children to choose particular jobs but only support them.

4.1. Purposes and motivations in the higher education market

Economic and social capitals, Hong Kong and Helsinki

It seems that graduates **are not affected** by parents’ economic and social capitals in both **Hong Kong and Helsinki**, based on the factual data of all interviewees. Thus, it indicates that Bourdieu’s economic and social capitals and Coleman’s social capital do not apply to the

purpose and motivation formulation processes in the higher education market. Otherwise stated, parents' quality and quantity of money and connectivity with people do not interfere with graduates study goal and encouragement. Also, all interviewees have mentioned their parents do not know anyone who works or has any relations with the people within the educational institution where they completed their sub-, bachelor's or master's degree. The following four excerpts illustrate this result:

“Money itself or from parents cannot buy my way of thinking about study purposes and motivations. On the other hand, my parents do not ask for the advice from their friends or relatives because they think my purposes and motivations of studying are irrelevant to them.” (HA, Hong Kong, 18 October 2018)

*“I have decided and thought about my purposes of studying my sub-degree programme based on my experiences and what teachers have taught us during classes. Then, I understand the meanings of studying. And I was motivated to study by my own goals and **my own friends**. They have encouraged me to study harder in order to find a better job after graduation.”* (HJ, Hong Kong, 21 December 2018)

“My motivations come from my own thoughts which related to my purposes of studying. My parents cannot contribute their money or networks to influence my thoughts.” (FB, Helsinki 10 October 2018)

“To be honest, my parents do not use their money or networks to influence my motivations nor purposes of studying a master's degree. I just recognize the importance by myself and thus motivate myself through a different independent way of thinking and behaviours.” (FE, Helsinki, 9 January 2019)

It is also remarkable that graduates' **individual connections with friends** have impacts on their purposes and motivations of studying, according to the experiences of the majority of interviewees in **both cities**. It can be claimed that the social capital as stated by Bourdieu and Coleman suits for this process, but solely the social capital of graduates themselves. As the closure level between interviewees and their friends are relatively high, their willingness to share and exchange ideas about study goals turns higher meanwhile. Thus, they are motivated to study harder for their future jobs regarding such interdependence relationship. Below two quotations are expressed by participants from Hong Kong and Helsinki respectively.

“My best friends have encouraged each other to get good grades while studying the bachelor’s degree because we believed that the employer takes our grades into account and decide whether to hire us or not.” (HC, Hong Kong, 7 November 2018)

“If we (my friends and I) do not cheer each other, I cannot pass the exams or even get into this university. Thus, it is obvious to see that my motivation chiefly comes from my friends.” (FI, Helsinki, 4 January 2019)

Cultural capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

In accordance with the answers of interviewees in **Hong Kong and Helsinki**, in some sense, graduate’s purposes and motivations of higher education **are influenced** by their parents’ cultural resources, which utterly correspond to Bourdieu’s cultural capital. Parents from both cities also concern about graduate’s willingness and happiness. However, their **cultural resources are different** from the influence of graduate’s habitus and perceptions development.

Parents from Hong Kong emphasize the significance of credentials, good grades of studies for better occupation and social mobility during the process of pedagogic actions because of their low education level. Graduates have transmitted these ideas into habitus and thus, become their long-term memory, which belongs to the embodied state, according to Bourdieu (2006). The parents do not force graduates to follow their ideas but at least they have taught the graduates those three ideas mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph. Below two excerpts can express the influence of parents to Hong Kong’s interviewees:

“My parents have taught me about the implications of studying a bachelor’s degree. They highlight social mobility and credentials are important for my future career. I was motivated by them in order to get good grades for living better in the future. More educational qualifications allow me to find jobs with a higher salary and promotion opportunity easier.” (HB, Hong Kong, 20 December 2018)

“As my parents have told me many times that working for jobs like cleaner, waiter or other service industry does not have any prospects, I was motivated to enter the higher education market in order to find jobs with a higher salary. My parents do not want me to stay on the same education level or social class as them.” (HH, Hong Kong, 11 November 2018)

In contrast, parents from **Helsinki** highlight personal interest, feelings and development, which are the values of higher education, during while they execute pedagogic actions on the

interviewees. Thus, interviewees transform these ideas into habitus and unconscious long-term perceptions, which means the embodied state in Bourdieu's ideas (2006). Even though parents' education level is not high enough, they do not concern much about the social mobility because of the free education and subsidy of kids raising, according to the evidence of most of the interviewees. The following quotations explain interviewees' experiences:

"I was motivated by my parents to study the programme I am interested in regardless of the prospects of that programme. They don't care about my grades or the number of credentials I can receive because they trust my ability. And the government provides free education. Even though my purpose of getting a bachelor's degree would be just for fun, they still support me because they mainly care about my happiness and personal development." (FC, Hong Kong, 22 November 2018)

"My parents are easy-going. They have taught me to study higher education is for better future but more importantly, is my interest and feelings. Feeling supports from my parents, I was motivated to study better and try my best to discover my ability and talents. In fact, they don't care whether I can study a master programme because if I want to, I can study whenever I want. But this is not their expectation." (FG, Helsinki, 13 October 2018)

It can thus claim that parents living in cities with different culture and welfare systems differ the ways of thinking towards graduates. In Hong Kong, parents focus on the living standard because of social mobility, but parents in Helsinki concentrate on graduate's personal development, feelings, and interests. Parents in both cities fit Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital, which brings influences on graduates through pedagogic actions in the embodied state.

4.2. Purposes and motivations in the career market

Economic and social capitals, Hong Kong and Helsinki

The result in career market is found similar with the higher education market, that economic and social capitals of parents **do not influence** graduate's purposes and motivations of jobs, as explained by all interviewees from **both cities**. Bourdieu's concepts of economic and social capitals and Coleman's social capital thus do not suit this circumstance. It is vital to state that all interviewees consider parents' properties and networks support are **irrelevant** to their purposes and motivations of working. The four quotations below depict some of the interviewee's experiences.

“It is impossible to relate money itself with my purposes and motivations of working. But money can be one of my motivations and purposes to work for. My parents’ networks do not guide or help me to consider the purposes or motivations of my current jobs. It is unnecessary because I can do that personally or with my parents together.” (HI, Hong Kong, 20 November 2018)

“Just like I have said before, money itself cannot buy my mindset of purposes and motivations of working, no matter where the money is from. And I don’t think I would listen to my parents’ friends or colleagues have told me because they have less credibility.” (HA, Hong Kong, 18 October 2018)

“I don’t think my parents could contribute their money or networks for motivating me to work harder. Money cannot buy my way of thinking or attitudes in my work. And my parents are not that close with their friends or do not have any networks who are related to my current job.” (FG, Helsinki, 13 October 2018)

“Money and networks of my mum do not help me think about the purposes and motivations of working for the company at all.” (FF, Hong Kong, 5 December 2018)

Cultural Capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

In **Hong Kong and Helsinki**, parents **affect** graduate’s cogitations of working purposes and motivations with their cultural resources **but in different ways**, pursuant to interviewees’ answers. It means Bourdieu’s cultural resources fit in the purposes and motivations conductions process. But it is important to highlight that parents’ social class, power and status do not affect such process.

In Hong Kong, through the pedagogic actions, parents cultivate graduates by emphasizing **job salary, categories and promotions opportunities** are the main purposes and motivations of career. In other words, they expect graduates to increase social mobility. Parents continue to mention the above emphasis even though graduates have turned to adults and have been working for years. They prefer and expect their children to work in the offices and are still worried about graduates’ prospects. After this knowledge transformation, graduates turn such knowledge and perceptions into their long-term values and become habitus. Below excerpts are the key answers quoted from the interviewees:

“Since I was in secondary school, my parents say that it is important to graduate from a good or famous university. Thus, I can receive an acceptable salary, work in a company with

a better prospect and get promoted easier. Until they still continue to tell me these values of working. I understand why they keep telling me but I can interpret these ideas by myself because I am an independent adult now.” (HF, Hong Kong, 23 December 2018)

“To be realistic, I need to consider the job salary and the prospects before job application because my family is not that rich so they need to rely on my income. I also wanted to find some jobs related to my interest, but the salary is not as high as my current job.” (HB, Hong Kong, 20 December 2018)

“My parents would not support me if I worked as a waiter, cleaner or other jobs in the service industry because of the low salary and uncertain promotion opportunity. They expect me to work in the office because I have graduated after a master’s degree.” (HI, Hong Kong, 20 November 2018)

On the contrary, parents from Helsinki pass lightly over the concepts of parents from Hong Kong highlighted above. They tend to focus on **individual freedom and interest of graduates**, which are considered as the purposes and motivations of jobs, by the evidence of interviewees. Parents do not use the power to control mindsets of graduates but respect and support their ideas of their goals while taking pedagogic actions, as they believe graduates are able to think critically and judge what suits them most. Thus, graduates are influenced by parents’ independent teaching behaviours and build up their purposes and motivations on occupations. The following direct quotations are the underlined experiences of interviewees:

“The value of career is working in my interested aspect so I can be more productive and happier. My parents encourage me to do whatever I want. If I am not able to do that, just try and learn it through experiences. They do not consider job categories or salary are as important as my happiness or interest.” (FB, Helsinki 10 October 2018)

“When I was a kid, my mum has emphasized that she cannot guide me throughout my life so whatever I chose for my study or jobs, it has to be meaningful and suitable for myself. She does not care about the salary or opportunities unless I feel happy and I can find the purpose of working for this job. Thus, I don’t waste time doing something meaningless.” (FF, Hong Kong, 5 December 2018)

“I can’t work for that job position even though the salary is high or I can get promoted easily if I am not interested in that job. My parents really encourage me to select the jobs I like so I

can live happily and significantly. They don't care how much I can get or what kind of jobs I am working unless I feel happy.” (FJ, Helsinki, 6 January 2019)

From these results, it can be identified that parents from both cities affect graduates' way of thinking on the purposes and motivations of work. Interviewees from Hong Kong are influenced by parents with concepts of materialistic while parents from Helsinki highlight interviewees' freedom and interest.

5.1. Performance in the higher education market

Economic capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

It seems that economic resources contributed by **parents from Hong Kong and Helsinki do not have impacts** on graduates, according to most of the interviewees' points of views.

Bourdieu has highlighted the importance of economic capital for better performance and even attainment of students. However, it cannot be applied in both Hong Kong and Helsinki.

Money and other properties contributed by parents do not work for graduates in the higher education market.

In Hong Kong, even though some parents have paid a lot for different personal development such as sports, arts, music, languages and other skills, graduates' school performance still remain the same. It indicates that money cannot buy or confirm graduates can perform better. The following excerpts express some of the interviewees' experiences:

“My parents keep nurturing me through asking me to join different extra-curricular activities such as swimming, playing piano and drawing. However, it cannot help me perform better in my bachelor's degree because they are irrelevant to what I was studying.” (HH, Hong Kong, 11 November 2018)

“I have joined some private tutorial classes after lessons which my parents have paid me. They were expensive somehow but not really helpful because my grades were still on average and my skills did not improve a lot.” (HJ, Hong Kong, 21 December 2018)

On the other hand, in Helsinki, parents do not provide any extra monetary support to graduate's study for better performance because of free education and other subsidy programmes offered by the Finnish government. They believe that it is unnecessary to pay for extra tutorial classes at the higher education level as graduates are mature enough to solve their own obstacles. Below are some excerpts explained by Helsinki's participants:

“I have never been to tutorial classes or other extra-curricular activities lessons because not many people do this or not for my situation. We only basically learn skills from school. If I could not catch up with the lessons in my bachelor’s degree, I just studied by myself. My parents did not pay anything for me because they think I am able to handle it. Even though my grades were not good, my parents still think it is normal. Marks do not mean everything.” (FA, Helsinki, 11 October 2018)

“Because of the good education system in Finland, my parents basically do not need to pay for anything. Even though I learned some sports or art skills, the school has provided them. In fact, in the entire studying journey, my parents do not even concern about my grades because exams do not mean everything. Thus, they do not pay anything to make me perform better at school.” (FG, Helsinki, 13 October 2018)

By comparing results from two cities, it seems that the economic distribution is more equal in Helsinki because of the welfare system. Parents in Helsinki do not compete graduates between each other while Hong Kong’s parents definitely concern the grades and whether graduates are outstanding enough.

Cultural capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

According to the evidence of interviewees, it seems that parents in **Hong Kong and Helsinki do not influence** graduate’s school performance by cultural resources. Cultural capital, claimed by Bourdieu highlights the hierarchical education system within the society, that students receive uneven distribution regarding parents’ cultural resources in all states. These cultural resources emphasize the significance of social class, power and education level. However, such idea cannot apply to this study because all interviewees are from a similar social class and their parents are within similar education level. Below direct quotations are some of the interviewees’ answers:

“My parents have not helped me perform better because of their low education level or social class. I just learned my skills and adopt new knowledge by my own ability and interpretation. And thus my grades are just average.” (HA, Hong Kong, 18 October 2018)

“My answer is no for parents’ cultural resources contribution because of their low education level. My mum was not able to teach me the knowledge I have learned from schools. Therefore, I was not outstanding during my bachelor’s degree but I think it is quite common.” (FE, Helsinki, 9 January 2019)

Social capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

Parents' social connection **does not affect** graduate's performance in **Hong Kong and Helsinki**, but networks of graduates themselves do, according to the proofs of most of the interviewees. As the closure is not high enough between graduates and parents' friends or other networks, graduates do not accept the ideas or assistance from them. All interviewees have mentioned their parents do not have any connections with people who work in the educational institution where they studied their degrees. Thus, Bourdieu's and Coleman's social capital does not fit in parents' network but graduate's own network. Interviewees highlight the importance of their peers during revisions and project discussions. They collaborate and help each other to overcome many examinations and assignments together. The following excerpts underline some of the interviewee's perspectives:

"When talking about networks, I think only my friends and peers help me when I was studying my master programme because we need to do projects and assignments together. We help each other for better grades." (HC, Hong Kong, 7 November 2018)

"My friends and teachers have helped me a lot during both my bachelor's degree. Thus, I got better grades and I could study my master programme." (HH, Hong Kong, 11 November 2018)

"When I didn't know the new knowledge talking about during lessons, usually my classmates and friends help me because they are more familiar with the topics. Parents' friends are irrelevant to my study at all." (FB, Helsinki 10 October 2018)

"Just like during the previous processes, my parents' friends are not related to me so they don't give any advice or help my study." (FF, Hong Kong, 5 December 2018)

5.2. Performance in the career market

Economic and social capitals, Hong Kong and Helsinki

Parents' economic and social resources **do not bring any impacts** to graduates in **Hong Kong and Helsinki**, based on the evidence of interviewees. Money and networks are not effective to help graduates perform better. In other words, Bourdieu's economic and social capitals and Coleman's social capital do not fit in this situation. Interviewees have reviewed that they want to show their ability to work instead of the ability to build relationships with parents' friends. The following quotations explain some of the interviewees' personal experiences:

“I don’t want people to consider I have a relationship with my parents’ friends because I want others to focus on my ability. Therefore, I perform well is because of my ability but not maintaining good relationships with supervisors.” (HD, Hong Kong, 18 November 2018)

“My parents have not spent their money on work. Why would they do so? They believe I am capable to do my work and do not need to rely on them. Also, money cannot buy me to work so it would be meaningless to do so.” (FB, Helsinki 10 October 2018)

Cultural capital, Hong Kong and Helsinki

It seems that only the performance of graduates from **Hong Kong** on working **is influenced** by parents’ cultural resources but **not in Helsinki**, regarding most of the interviewees’ answers. In Hong Kong, graduates’ parents inculcate them respect, insistence, and attitudes of working during the pedagogic process because of the hierarchical working environment. Thus, graduates have interpreted these ideas and transform them into long term beliefs and values. And they try to perform better in terms of personal behaviour and working ability. Even though parents are not highly-educated or in upper social class, they still understand the fundamental principles of working. Therefore, Bourdieu’s cultural capital suits for Hong Kong’s situation. The following quotations identify the key interviewees’ experiences:

“Even though I was not out-performed at school, my parents have taught me I have to respect the supervisors and build good relationships with colleagues because this is the basic principle of being a human. Thus, I can work with less pressure.” (HH, Hong Kong, 11 November 2018)

“My parents are not highly-educated but they have educated me with their useful life experiences. Even though I am working in the lowest level within the company, they have taught me that I can get promoted because of my good attitudes to everyone.” (HI, Hong Kong, 20 November 2018)

In contrast, parents from Helsinki do not doctrine graduates about what Hong Kong’s parents do. They believe graduates are able to think independently and learn from real life experiences. It seems that Bourdieu’s cultural capital is not applicable in this situation. The following excerpts are some of the interviewees’ experiences:

“It would be troublesome if my parents taught me everything about working environment because situations differ depending on the organizations. Therefore, I just figure out what I

am supposed to be in the working place by myself so I can perform better. Parents do not involve in the process.” (FC, Hong Kong, 22 November 2018)

“It is not needed that my parents teach me how to work properly in an official way. They believed that I am mature enough to deal with situations and problems by myself or with my colleagues. I don’t need to overthink it because the situations are not too complicated.” (FJ, Helsinki, 6 January 2019)

To sum up, parents from Hong Kong teach graduates as much as they rely on their personal experiences while parents from Helsinki believe graduates own ability and give them chances to explore working environments autonomously.

Chapter 6: Summary of Findings and Discussions

The purpose of this research is to examine how family influences graduates in higher education and career markets. After analysing the qualitative data from 20 interviews within Hong Kong and Helsinki, it is possible to highlight how parents influence students in the four key processes in higher education and occupation markets examined within the findings.

Parents Influence		Hong Kong		Helsinki, Finland	
Process/ Capitals/ Markets		Higher education	Career	Higher education	Career
Opportunity	Economic	Yes	No	No	No
	Cultural	No	No	No	No
	Social	No	No (Peers)	No	No (Peers)
Selection	Economic	No	No	No	No
	Cultural	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Social	No (Peers)	No	No (Peers)	No
Purpose/ Motivation	Economic	No	No	No	No
	Cultural	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Social	No (Peers)	No	No (Peers)	No
Performance	Economic	Yes/No	No	No	No
	Cultural	No	Yes	No	Yes
	Social	No	No	No	No

Table 7 Summary of Results

Table 7 above indicates the findings of this study after analysing interviews. It shows that **social capital** provided by parents does not influence interviewees in both higher education and occupation markets. **Economic capital** is only effective in the higher education market within the opportunity and performance processes in Hong Kong. **Cultural capital** is the most influential among all three capitals. In Hong Kong, such capital influences selection, purpose and motivation in both markets, while performance is influenced only in the career market. In contrast, in Finland, cultural capital is only effective during the purpose and motivation building process in both markets and affects interviewee's performance in the occupation market.

The results are surprising in the sense that they indicate a disconnection between Bourdieu's and Coleman's theoretical framework and graduate's experiences in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland. Thus, this research has identified an important possible reason to explain why such disconnection occurred. In Bourdieu's work, he has emphasized the level of importance of how all three capitals interrelate with each other and bring impacts to students in the entire education system, particularly in the early, primary and secondary education level. Coleman also has highlighted how social capital works between people in society. However, the results of this research are merely based on examining the relationship between parents' influences and graduates on higher education level and within career market, which is not the entire education system—the focus of Bourdieu, including different actors including the government and educational institutions. Hence, it is possible to believe that Bourdieu's and Coleman's ideas are not applicable in higher education nor occupation markets but early, primary and secondary education market instead.

On the other hand, this study has taken the concreteness and operationalization of data collection process into account. However, five sources of errors from the interviewer and interviewees can be identified to explain the inconsistency between the conceptual framework and graduate's experiences, which are also some of the limitations of this study. Further limitations will be explained at the end of this chapter.

The **first** source of error is **face validity**, which is defined as “how indicators and questions are phrased or labelled” by the researcher and **content validity**, that means “how those labels reflect the question intents” (Nkwake, 2015, p.91). Put differently, these two kinds of validity highlight the importance of how the researcher has modified and rephrased the ideas of Bourdieu and Coleman. Thus, Bourdieu's and Coleman's ideas can be applied during interviews. In this case, it is also important to understand how participants interpret the interview questions. During the data collection process, this research has notified the consistency and intelligibility with Bourdieu's and Coleman's ideas and interview questions. Thus, this research has applied different words and terms to replace the ideas of the theoretical framework and more details were explained in Chapter 4. However, since the types and words of questions were modified because of the intelligibility of interviewees, it is possible to suggest that interviewees may interpret and even misunderstand the questions and thus, reply false answers. And the answers may not be aligning with nor even relevant to Bourdieu's and Coleman's conceptual framework.

Another source of errors is **discriminant validity**, defined as “how those questions or indicators are communicated in ways that will not be confused for other question intents” (Nkwake, 2015, p.91). In this research, this validity means the questioning methods during the informal interviews. The questioning methods were standardized in each interview in order to reach consistency. The researcher has tried to explain, illustrate and ask follow-up questions during each interview when the interviewees were not able to understand the questions. Also, the researcher did not rush any interviews because of time availability and the assurance of the answer’s quality. And the speed of interviewer speaking was normal. Even though the researcher has behaved in the above ways, there is still a possibility that interviewees may interpret the questions in the way that the researcher did not expect or contrast with the researcher’s purposes of this research. And meanwhile, it is impossible to ensure the researcher could perform or ask questions, in the same way, every time. Hence, in other words, under this systematic practice, the risk of dialogue’s implementation and interpretation still exists.

The fourth source of errors is the language difference. As the mother tongue of both Hong Kong’s and Finland’s interviewees is not English, it is conceivable to note that their interpretation of interview questions and their answers maybe not exactly what they think in their mindset and want to express. Thus, the answers may not be aligning with Bourdieu’s and Coleman’s conceptual framework.

Another source of error is whether interviewees **can recognize** the connection between parents influence and their behaviours or not because of the **unconsciousness of memory**. And they may also not realise the connection between all three capitals. It is possible to consider that students cannot recognize what their parents do to them during daily life is part of the influence processes in higher education and occupation markets. They have internalized these behaviours and perceptions so they are unaware of and do not distinguish whether these actions belong to parents’ influences or not. This unrecognition may thus lead to the inconsistency of the results between parents’ capitals involvement and graduate’s personal experiences.

The last source of error is related to **interviewee’s memory**. Even though this study has identified the degree of fresh graduates can remember their past experiences is high in Chapter 4, it is still conceivable that some of the respondents are not able to recall their memory. They may forget some of the memories in their life because those experiences may

not be important to them. Therefore, the findings illustrate the disconnection between Bourdieu's and Coleman's theory of capitals and parents' influences on graduates in higher education and occupation markets.

After emphasizing this study's sources of errors, nine key results and their implications can be identified and discussed in the following.

First, it seems that cultural capital does not work along with the ideas of Bourdieu, according to the evidence of interviewees. For Bourdieu, cultural capital mainly works within the whole education system, that people concern the hierarchical education level, social class, the field of power and even practices symbolic power. However, in this research, according to the results, cultural capital is only applicable to the mentioned aspects on the same level of social class because interviewee's parents in both cities have the similar education level and socio-economic background. Regardless of Bourdieu's main concern, parents are still able to influence graduates through the pedagogic process. Such process includes teaching graduates about different concepts, perceptions, way of thinking and attitudes related to higher education and career in four areas i.e. opportunity, selection, purpose and motivation, and performance.

Swartz (1997) claimed that Bourdieu highlighted how the field of power related to autonomy in the entire education system within society. Also, Bourdieu emphasized the significance of social class between students. He claimed that only a few students from lower class had similar marks with those from the upper-middle class. "Lower-class students are weak on questions requiring broad cultural knowledge as lack of the knowledge what the upper-middle-class students have" (p.201).

Some studies have argued that social class and status are no longer effective in the labour market because of individualization, in terms of educational background, mobility and competition (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2006). On certain degree, it seems that it is applicable for this study as the results indicate that social class, status or power provided by parents do not influence graduates in higher education occupation markets but the ideas about education level, social mobility, attitudes, and bargaining power, which were taught by parents mainly from Hong Kong.

Moreover, according to the results, the cultural capital of parents is the most significant in both higher education and career markets, while economic and social capitals are less important. This study has mentioned what terms have been used to replace and express

Bourdieu's and Coleman's ideas in another way during interviews in order to seek consistency and interviewee's intelligibility in Chapter 4. According to the interviews, respondents can easily understand the concepts and answer questions about economic and social capitals. It is unnecessary for the researcher to repeat or further explain the questions. For instance, interviewees can elaborate on whether their parents contribute their money or network to influence their study or occupation or not and explain how such process goes on. However, when asking questions related to cultural capital, it is somehow time-consuming to explain some of the ideas even though other easier terms were used, especially asking questions about habitus because the interviewees have already internalized what their parents taught them for years. Thus, they cannot realise and determine whether it is a kind of family influence in that case.

In Bourdieu's work, he has argued that cultural capital provided by parents is important and effective in terms of social class, power, status and education level in the society. However, according to the results of this research, it seems that cultural capital is not effective to align with Bourdieu's way. When asking questions about pedagogic actions by using the replaced terms mentioned in Chapter 4, most of the interviewees replied that social class, power and status and education level of their parents do not affect the four aspects, which are opportunity, selection, purpose and motivation, and performance in both higher education and occupation markets. Instead, participants considered parents' knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, and skills are the most important cultural resources to affect their way of thinking and decision-making processes in both markets.

Indeed, it is still important to use the replaced words and terms for Bourdieu's and Coleman's that this study has chosen because of the intelligibility if interviews and focus group will be conducted for further research.

To further explain the lower importance of economic capital, interviewees have suggested that economic capital offered by parents does not bring any influences because graduates believe that money cannot buy everything, including ability, skills, and attitudes. Bourdieu (2006) has notified the less importance of economic capital by comparing it with cultural and social capitals. After analysing the results, it can be suggested that economic capital does not bring any significant impacts to graduates, which supports Bourdieu's idea of the importance level of economic capital.

Also, social capital is seen as less important, regarding the interview's results. Interviewees suggest that the closure of parents' networks is not high enough to influence their opportunity, decision making, purposes, motivations and performance in higher education and career markets. Bourdieu (2006) and Coleman (1988) emphasized individuals exchange and transform information between inherited networks. But graduates do not practice such idea with parents' network because of the low degree of closure and negligibility, which were suggested by Coleman.

Furthermore, as stated in the results of interviewees' answers, it implies that parents' cultural resources are effective on graduates even though in societies with different cultures regarding **parenting styles**. These societies mean Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland for this research. In Hong Kong, Chan and Chan (2007) and Chen (2016) argued that Hong Kong's parents practice the authoritative parenting style. Baumrind (2003, p.891) suggested such style allows parents to "direct the child's activities in rational, issue-oriented manner with their encouragement." This parenting style fits the parents in Hong Kong, according to the interviewees' answers. Graduates listen and follow parents' ideas and perceptions during the pedagogic process under this powerful style. However, parents do not control graduates' thought but try to persuade and influence their ways of thinking. Graduates have created their personal behaviours throughout the pedagogic process and transform to their habitus by acquisitive learning method, that means to practice in "consumer driven (way) that learn what is necessary to pass examinations" (Brown, 2006, p.392). Graduates focus mainly on prospects and other daily life issues within their higher education and career processes but ignoring their own interests, feelings, and goals.

On the other hand, parents from Helsinki practice permissive parenting style, based on the evidence of participants. Baumrind (2003, p.889) stated parents "attempt to behave in a nonpunitive, acceptant and affirmative manner toward the child's impulses, desires and actions." This parenting style indicates parents from Helsinki do not cultivate graduates continuously in every aspect but highlight some importance perceptions during the pedagogic processes. Parents believe graduates are able to think and work independently by building up their personal experiences. The learning style of graduates belongs to inquisitive learning, that "is driven by an interest in knowledge and learning for its own sake" (Brown, 2006, p.392). They adopt new knowledge and skills concerning their interest and feelings.

Another unexpected finding is the influence of parents' cultural resources and background in terms of individualism and collectivism. These ideas assist to further explain the reasons and behaviours behind parenting styles in this study. Habitus, the key dynamic concept highlighted within the cultural capital by Bourdieu, interlaces individual's notions between past and present, individual and collective at the different level of society (Reay, 2010). This study does not explain individualistic and collectivistic practices in Bourdieu's idea, that "the subject is the individual trace of an entire collective history" (Bourdieu, 1990c, p.91 as cited in Reay, 2010, p.76). However, this research uses Hofstede's (2001) study to explain how parents apply the individualistic or collectivistic styles in Hong Kong and Helsinki to influence graduates in higher education and occupation markets.

Individualism and collectivism are defined as the following:

"individualism stands for a society in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him/herself and her/ his immediate family only.

Collectivism stands for a society in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty."

(Hofstede, 2001, p.225)

Hong Kong is identified as a city that practices collectivism while Finland is an individualistic society (Hofstede, 2001; House, 2004). In Hong Kong, power distance is large within a more hierarchical society. Parents, according to interviewees, give advice to graduates and guide them to find "good" pathways as parents expect and hope for themselves. They consider qualifications and training are important for jobs, which is one of the characteristics within a collectivistic society. Graduates do not always accept their parents' ideas but parents try to convince them since they are their children.

In Finland, the power distance between each person is small as in other Nordic countries or even in the world (Hofstede, 2001). Everyone has opportunities to speak for themselves because of freedom. In such an individualistic society, school qualifications are less important than the previous working experiences. It highlights why parents from Helsinki only consider student's ability, hedonism, interest, willingness and way of living but not the grades and quantity of qualifications. Also, students can control their life and support themselves independently. Parents thus do not tend to worry or concern the student's personal life and allow them to think and live autonomously.

Even though the studies of Hofstede (2001) and House (2004) notably focus on the individualism and collectivism on work organization level, it is still considered that such two concepts on organizational and societal levels interrelate with each other. The ways of how managers think, and act is related to the macro-environment, which is the individualistic or collectivistic culture.

Scholars have examined this finding regarding cultural backgrounds in different countries and aspects. LeFebvre and Franke (2013) explained whether individualistic and collectivistic cultures influence the decision-making process. Darwish and Huber (2003) compared both cultural backgrounds in Germany and Egypt; while Kinsky, Eguchi, Blue and Kapoor (1999-2000) compared with America, India, and Japan. In the education aspect, Carducci (2012) focused on how students experience the teaching modules within individualistic and collectivistic cultures. Musah (2011) explained how individualism and collectivism interplay with each other from the Islamic perspective within education. Cortina, Arel, and Smith-Darden (2017) on the other hand, only examined the effects of individualism and power distance towards school belonging, which is more likely part of psychological thinking. In the career market, Wesarat, Sharif, and Majid (2014) examined career selections based on the individualistic and collectivistic cultural background. Omar and Noordin (2016) suggested the career adaptability in the ICT industry within both cultures in Malaysia. From the previous empirical researches, they emphasized the high-level significance of individualism and collectivism which affect people in multi ways in the world.

To add on, Hofstede (2001) also identified the differences in terms of long- and short-term orientations between East and West cultures, based on the Chinese Value Survey conducted by Michael Harris Bond in Hong Kong in 1985. According to the survey, Hong Kong is more likely to be in the long-term orientations than Finland. In such, the relationships in Hong Kong society are ordered by status as an observation. Thus, parents from Hong Kong emphasize social mobility as one of the main purposes of studying degree.

Considering the way of thinking, parents from Finland tend to be more analytic, that they interpret different concepts before they believe (Hofstede, 2001); while parents from Hong Kong think in a synthetic way, that they simply follow and believe ideas in the society, without critical interpretation (ibid).

Besides, according to the interviewees' responses, diploma disease (Ronald Dore, 1976, p.8 as cited from Brown, 2003, p.392) and grading competition can be identified as issues in

Hong Kong's society. Credentials are highlighted as the most valuable concept. During the selection, and purposes and motivations constructions processes, it is highlighted that parents absolutely underline the importance of university rankings, prospects, job fields, and salary. Also, parents encourage graduates to perform better in the examinations and working environment because of social mobility. Even though parents tend to focus on the volume of credentials, they also consider the capability of graduates, that they can adopt skills and knowledge.

Bourdieu (1990, p.132) highlighted the functions and importance of credentials as part of the cultural capitals as below:

“Educational qualifications, like money, have a conventional, fixed value which, being guaranteed by law, is freed from local limitations (in contrast to academically uncertified cultural capital) and temporal fluctuations: the cultural capital which they in a sense guarantee once and for all does not constantly need to be proved. The objectification performed by certificates, diplomas and, more generally, all forms of 'credentials' ('a written proof of qualification that confers credit or authority') is inseparable from the objectification that law produces by defining permanent positions which are independent of the biological individuals they call for and which may be occupied by agents who are biologically different but interchangeable in respect of the qualifications they hold.”

The qualifications, in other words, are the official credible evidence to prove graduates' ability in higher education occupation markets. It is more convincing for organizations to hire graduates under law protection.

To consolidate the importance of educational qualifications. Beck and Beck-Gernshsim (2006) proposed that education turns to be universalistic, that everyone is expected to study. It provides individual credentials in order to succeed individually in the labour market. People encounter mobility in their career. They are forced to deal with the new arrangements in the job market by themselves. It is unnecessary to rely on their family inheritance anymore because of the ability to work independently. As more individuals have similar background among education level, experience, and knowledge, it is redundant for competitions.

Furthermore, it is denoted that the purpose of receiving more certificates is mainly for better work condition and prospects. “The pupil is concerned not with mastery, but with being certified as having mastered. The knowledge that he gains not for its own sake and not for

constant later use in real life situation—but for the once-and-for-all purpose of reproducing it in an examination. And the learning and reproducing is all just a means to an end—the end of getting a certificate which is a passport to a coveted job, a status, an income. If education is learning to do a job, qualification is a matter of learning in order to get a job.” (Ronald Dore, 1976, p.8 as cited from Brown, 2003, p.392) However, even though parents from Hong Kong also have similar goals with what has claimed here, that the purpose of getting good grades and jobs is to increase social mobility, parents still consider certificates are not the “passports” only. They also ensure whether graduates can adopt knowledge and skills to improve their ability.

Another finding is peers influence, which is **out of this study’s expectation**. In the beginning, this research particularly focused on how parents influence graduates. However, after analysing the results, peers tend to be another influencer towards graduates, which belong to social capital. Peers affect graduate’s opportunity in the occupation market, selection, purpose and motivation in the higher education market.

According to the interviewees, their peers and friends are **close** enough to assist their study and career and even influence their perceptions, purposes, and motivations during their higher education journey. These influences and assistance exist during the interaction and information exchange processes, which are the concepts highlighted by Bourdieu (2006) and Coleman (1988).

However, recent researchers have found that peers influence **mainly student educational achievement** (Hasan & Bagde, 2013; Huang, Damean & Cairns, 2015; Ryabov, 2009) but not the areas mentioned above. It could be interesting and useful to explore more about how peer’s social capital affect graduates during the decision-making processes within the entire education market. Not only Bourdieu’s social capital but also Putnam’s and Coleman’s can be applied to examine this in future papers.

Additionally, it seems that economic capital comes along with country and policy within the society, according to interviewees’ responses. Even though de Graaf (2007) emphasized economic capital can be replaced by cultural capital as the affordability of the education is easier to the public, it depends on the financial support of students in each family. Students and their family can afford the tuition fees and other educational expenditure, depending on the country’s policy and welfare systems. In this case, tuition fees are applicable in Hong Kong’s higher education level but not in Helsinki, Finland. Martin (2017) has argued that

public funding should be offered for students who are unable to pay or borrow in the society which introduces tuition fees because of the equality of opportunity.

The last finding is the disconnection between each capital, which differs from the interrelations highlighted by Bourdieu which has been mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter. Cultural capital is the main resource standing out among three. It seems that money and social class of parents are irrelevant to each other. The amount of money does not influence parents' perception, the way of thinking, mindset, and hope about education and career prospects. Such result indicates several limitations of this research.

The first limitation is the background of the dataset. Interviewee's parents merely cover the lower- middle or working class in both Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland. Therefore, this research is not able to discover and examine students from middle class and high class. Results may differ if further research can be done with students with diverse backgrounds. Also, parents' education level is low, and their jobs notably related to service or business industries, especially in Hong Kong. Hence, this research is unable to identify the influences of parents who have professional jobs, such as lawyers and doctors.

Another limitation is the sample size. Ten interviewees from each city cannot represent and cover all people's experiences and thought. It may contain bias regarding interviewee's personal interpretation and experiences.

To summarise, cultural capital is the main resource provided by parents among all three capitals. It influences the parenting styles within individualistic and collectivistic societies. Diploma disease and credential competition thus arise by identifying the influences of parents' cultural capitals. Three capitals do not interrelate with each other in this study. Peers influence graduates in higher education and career markets can be identified as a personal social capital.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The aim of the present research was to examine how the family uses Bourdieu's and Coleman's economic, cultural and social capitals to influence graduates within higher education and occupation markets, in terms of opportunity, choices, purposes and motivations and performance of students. The most obvious finding emerging from this study is that cultural capital is the most influential resource from parents, but not the entire family. Parents from Hong Kong practice authoritative parenting style and Helsinki practice permissive parenting style within collectivistic and individualistic societies respectively. Diploma disease can also be identified within Hong Kong's society as one of the cultural concepts which Hong Kong's parents own. Rather than parents, graduates' peers and friends are also one of the important influencers within their higher education and career markets in both Hong Kong and Helsinki.

After discussing the results, it is surprising that economic capital is not that influential as expected by Bourdieu. At the beginning stage, this research anticipated that economic capital was effective because education institutions also have paid attention on the economic resources, as Harker (1990, p.87) emphasized "our dominant economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to favour those who already possess cultural capital, in the form of the habitus of the dominant cultural fraction." In other words, this statement does not suit for this study because of the low degree of influence of economic capital. Perhaps interviewees do not realise the effects of economic capital that is "behind" the cultural capital, which considered as one of the sources of errors in Chapter 6.

The findings from this study make **five** contributions to the current literature. **First**, this research appears to be the first study to compare the experiences of graduates from Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland in higher education and occupation markets.

Also, Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capitals and Coleman's social capital that this study has not been used in comparing Hong Kong and Helsinki. It, therefore, contributes to developing the understanding of the role of parents in both higher education and occupation markets. This suggests the importance of cultural resources provided by parents and how such resources affect graduates. Looking into different cultural backgrounds between two cities enables this study to compare the parenting styles within individualistic and collectivistic societies.

Moreover, this study provides a comprehensive assessment of the purpose and motivation building process within higher education and occupation markets. This allows parents and students to rethink the true purposes and motivations of study and work regarding students' willingness.

To add on, this study has strengthened the concept that parents are also one of the influencers to bring up the phenomenon of diploma disease. According to Swartz (1997, p.190), "Bourdieu contends how cultural resources—especially educational credentials, selection mechanisms, and cognitive classifications—can be used by individuals and groups to perpetuate their positions of privilege and power." Thus, parents' cultural resources, in terms of perceptions, knowledge, and attitudes, affect graduates' behaviours and thoughts of study and career.

Finally, this study has confirmed the idea of Swartz (1997) that cultural capital is the most important resource to affect students in the education market. More significantly, Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977, 1985, 1990 & 2000; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Harker, Mahar & Wilkes, 1990; Jenkins, 1992; Johnson, 1993) factually concentrated his works on cultural capital even though he also took economic and social capitals into account. He emphasized how the key ideas—habitus, status and field of power function in the social space, whereas different actors work in the entire education system.

Indeed, many scholars (Desmarchelier, 2001; Ehrensall, 2001; Hampden-Thompson, Guzman & Lippman, 2008; Hodkinson, 2001; Kelly, 2001; Naidoo, 2001; Reay, 2001 & 2010) also only conducted researches related to mainly cultural capital with different target groups in several markets in the society, such as education, occupation and politics. Their findings indicated cultural capital's high level of significance in the community. Field, habitus, power, and status cooperate together, depending on the theme of the empirical research, and influence an individual's behaviour, the way of thinking and perception.

Empirical researches related to social class, classified as one of the cultural resources claimed by Bourdieu, can also be found in recent years. Feinstein (2006) identified the effects of parental background on children's life chances (opportunity) on education level in the U.K. Power and Whitty (2006) examined how people perceive and pursue middle-class by education. In Archer, et al.'s (2003) work, they highlighted the importance of social class and how it affects the accessibility and participation of, particularly higher education. The problem of equality of educational opportunity was also identified.

These researches have confirmed that cultural capital provided by parents or any actors in the society, is important for students in education, career, and political markets. Cultural capital, i.e. habitus, pedagogic actions, field, social class, explains the relationship between economic and social capital and how they work in society.

As the sample size is not massive to cover most of the population of Hong Kong and Finland, it could be significant to conduct quantitative research through questionnaires but still rely on the interviews which were conducted in this research. Also, considerably more work will need to be done to determine and compare the parental involvement in Hong Kong and Helsinki, Finland. If the debate is to be moved forward, a better understanding of the relationship between cultural capital and parental involvement needs to be developed. More than that, further research should be undertaken to explore how peers influence on students by Bourdieu's and Coleman's social capital. A greater focus on the "value" of higher education (Archer, 2003, p.119) could produce interesting findings that account more for the significance of real meaning and purposes of education towards parents, educational institutions and students.

It is important to note that there is a challenge to carry out interviews. Due to some potential operational problems about interviews mentioned in Chapter 4, results are inconsistent with Bourdieu's and Coleman's theoretical framework. Thus, five types of sources of errors can be identified related to interviews, including questioning methods, key terms applied during interviews and participant's interpretation, interviewee's probability of memory recalling and their ability of experiences recognition. More details have been explained and can be found in Chapter 6.

Such evaluation of sources of errors illustrates the problems and limitations of this study and notice what and how the future researches should be implemented. A key policy is thus suggested after data analysis, which is the long-term concern of diploma disease and competition in both cities, especially in Hong Kong.

In recent decades, societies tend to focus on the knowledge-based economy, which only emphasizes the significance of rewards, grades and credentials, and institutions of high reputation within education and job markets. The higher the credentials you can get from the schools, the higher opportunity you can get the job offer. In this case, masses of people strive for higher education in order to increase career opportunities. Under such competition, the middle-class acts as the advantaged group as they have more resources for their children. One

important idea highlighted by Brown (2003, p.384) can describe how the society behaves nowadays, that “employment increasingly focuses less on filling predetermined work roles, and more on cultivating and using skills and capabilities.”

Dijkstra & Peschar (2003, p.58) noted the high level of importance of education, that “education is at least as important- if not more- than before, because those who have not received an education are much worse off than those who have.” And they further explained the individual and collective point of views. “From an individual perspective, it is quite rational to aim for the highest possible level of training in order to secure the best possible employment. From a societal point of views, however, the usefulness of this “rat race” may be questioned in situations where education is costly, and jobs are scarce.” In other words, the purpose of education is competition. Marginson (2006) highlighted university ranking and its hierarchy in the world, which has become the trend and standard for university choices in national and global markets.

Under such credential competition, family plays an important role to influence student’s perception, opportunity, selection, purpose, motivation, and performance of their studies and career. However, Brown (2003, p.384) identified that “competition in the sense that all should be given an opportunity to express their innate potential in comparison with others, rather than a power struggle over access to education, credentials, and jobs.” Thus, the government in Hong Kong needs to concern the “real” implementation of the education system. It does not only include the courses that students can learn skills and knowledge from books and in the classrooms but beyond that, student’s personal development is also important, inter alia personality, attitudes, social skills, and interest. It would be interesting for Hong Kong’s government to adopt the education system and policy from Finland as references.

To conclude, parents contribute student’s resources, especially the cultural capitals for students and influence the four processes—opportunity, selection, purpose, motivation, and performance, within higher education and career markets. Different parenting styles within collectivistic Hong Kong and individualistic Helsinki shape graduate’s way of thinking, perception and behaviours and thus, the issues related to diploma disease and credential competition occur and even enlarge.

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Appendix: Interview questions

Remarks: In “Will ask in every aspect”, every aspect includes economic, cultural and social capitals

Personal Background

Age

Education Level

Field of study

Occupation

Parents' background

Parents' occupation

Parents' education level

Number of Family members

Higher education

1. Can you remember who supports or assists you most? If yes, who? Parents/ friends/ other family members like grandparents/ other relatives?

2. How do they involve in your education process? Or do you think they are influencing you? i.e. money, social class, status, education, perceptions, knowledge, skills, education level, profession, network

Remarks: Information transmission with parents

3. Why do you choose to study at this school? Is it your own choice or parents influence? Or because of reputation, university rankings? In terms of money, their perceptions, education level, social class and status, occupation and their networking.

- Will ask in every aspect

Remarks: when asking about the network, should ask where the network is from, how close with your family or you, and do your parents or you trust them?

4. Why do you choose to study this programme? Is it your own choice or parents influence? Or because of your interests or future of career? In terms of money, their perceptions, education level, social class and status, occupation and their networking.

- Will ask in every aspect

Remarks: when asking about the network, should ask where the network is from, how close with your family or you, and do your parents or you trust them?

5. Do you think your parents affect your study opportunities? In what level from 1 lowest-10 highest? In terms of money, their perceptions, education level, social class and status, occupation and their networking.

- Will ask in every aspect

Remarks: when asking about the network, should ask where the network is from, how close with your family or you, and do your parents or you trust them?

6. Do you know what's your purpose of studying? Is it your own thought or your parents thought?

7. Do you have any motivation during your education process? From where?

8. Did you perform well in your education? Why?

- How did you develop your ability when you were in the secondary school? Where do the resources come from? Parents? In terms of money, their perceptions, education level, social class and status, occupation and their networking.
- Will ask in every aspect

9. Do your parents have any friends or relatives working in the educational institution where you studied?

(For students study abroad)

10. Why did you study abroad? Is it because of parents or your choice?

Career

1. Can you remember who supports or assists you most? If yes, who? Parents/ friends/ other family members like grandparents/ other relatives?

2. How do they influence you? i.e. money, social class, status, education, perceptions, knowledge, skills, education level, profession, network

3. Why did you choose to work for this company? Is it your own choice or parents influence? Parents influence in terms of network, cultural resources and perceptions.

Note to myself: not relevant to money in this case

4. Why did you choose to work in your field? Is it your own choice or parents influence? Parents influence in terms of network, cultural resources and perceptions.

Note to myself: not relevant to money in this case

5. Do you think your parents influence your career opportunities? In what level from 1 lowest-10 highest? In terms of their perceptions, education level, social class and status, occupation and their networking.

- Will ask in every aspect

Remarks: when asking about the network, should ask where the network is from, how close with your family or you, and do your parents or you trust them?

5.1 If not no influence from parents, who influences your opportunity?

6. Do you know what's your purpose of doing this job? Is it your own thought or your parents thought?

7. Do you have any motivation during your career process, i.e. looking for jobs, selecting jobs, doing your job? From where?

8. Do you rely on any connections to get this job offer? If yes, from where?

Remarks: when ask about the network, should ask where the network is from, how close with your family or you, and do your parents or you trust them?

9. Do you think you perform well in your career? Why?

- How did you develop your ability when you were studying your bachelor programme? Where do the resources come from? Parents? In terms of money, their perceptions, education level, social class and status, occupation and their networking.
- Will ask in every aspect
- Remarks: when asking about the network, should ask where the network is from, how close with your family or you, and do your parents or you trust them?

(For students study abroad)

10. Do you think it is an advantage to study abroad for seeking for a job? Why?

11. Do your parents think it is an advantage to study abroad for seeking for a job? Why?