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Ideology Of Education: The Relationship between Cultural Capital and Academic
Achievement in Liberal Studies in Hong Kong Secondary Schools

by

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Abstract

This study is devoted to examine the relationship between cultural capital and the performance in Liberal Studies (LS) of Hong Kong students. It is discovered that the socio- economic status (SES) of the family positively correlates with the accumulation of cultural capital. Using the data from two classes in one local school, it indicates that there is cultural inheritance for students from families with higher SES in terms of economic resources, social class values imposed towards their children and the cultivation of learning habits. For those who deprived in cultural capital, they are more disadvantaged in studying LS owing to the limited economic resources for them to develop proficient language skills, lower educational expectation from parents and inadequate cultural activities. Definitely, it is not saying students from lower class have no chance to succeed in LS, it is found that there are external forces, such as personal effort, adoption of online resources and peer discussion. This study can offer insights on the transmission of class advantage across generations and reflection on *cultural reproduction* and *social mobility*.

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Introduction

It is widely perceived that all students are equal in the education system in Hong Kong. Thanks to the government policy in Hong Kong, students are able to enjoy the 13- year compulsory education. There is seemingly equal opportunity for students to be admitted by the government-funded universities through the public examination (i.e. Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE) examination). However, numerous literature claims that inequality exists in education in Hong Kong and other countries and this inequality is accounted by the *Cultural Capital Theory* (Barone, 2006). Students from families with higher social- economic status are more likely to enjoy more cultural capital and eventually have higher academic achievement.

The relationship between family background and students' academic achievement has increasingly attracted the attention of the Hong Kong society and people's awareness in the education inequality is raised. In Hong Kong, Liberal studies (LS) has just been implemented as a core subject in the HKDSE examination in 2012. LS is a multi- disciplinary subject which students are required to apply their critical thinking towards current issues. The issues can be analysed with the general categorization of six modules, including Self and Personal Development, Hong Kong Today, Modern China, Globalization, Public Health and Science, Technology and the Environment. Students with wider exposure are expected to be more capable to analyse the issues from multiple perspectives. This widened horizon is one of the

elements of the cultural capital that is cultivated by family and thus it is worthwhile to conduct a research revealing the relationship between cultural capital and academic achievement in LS.

The objective of this research is to understand the relationship between cultural capital and students' LS achievement. It will address two research questions as follows:

1. How does average income of parents correlate with students' LS achievement?
2. What factors constitute to the discrepancy in students' LS achievement?

Both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed in this study.

Questionnaires were delivered to two classes in a local school which aims to depict the general picture. Three students from both classes were picked on voluntary basis to conduct the personal interview sessions. Detail data about students' past experience in family education can be obtained.

It is found that students' performance in LS is positively correlated with the average income of their parents owing to different level possession of cultural capital. Regarding the financial power, they travel different countries and hence their horizon can be broadened. More importantly, the middle- class value imposed by their family does matter. They are told that education is important which will affect their entire life. Hence, they are willing to put effort in their studies. For learning habits, their habits developed and cultivated by their parents allow them to enjoy advantage in LS. Their reading habit is developed in their childhood. They watched news instead of cartoon in television. Even during their dinning, they talked about current issues

with their parents. Even though their parents are not likely to explicitly teach students the LS knowledge, skills related to LS are unexpectedly developed, namely the logical thinking skills, language proficiency, interests towards social affairs, etc.

All in all, it is hopefully that this research will provide an insight to the ideology of education and act as a reference for the Education Bureau to implement better policies to support students' learning in Liberal Studies.

Literature review

1. Definition of cultural capital

It is proposed by Pierre Bourdieu that cultural capital is obtained primarily at students' childhood in their family since particular "linguistic and cultural competencies" and "familiarity with culture" can be cultivated to the children (Bourdieu 1973:494, cited in Roksa and Potter, 2011). Cultural capital is the advantage for academic success, children from families with higher SES who possess sufficient cultural resources will perform well and take advantage of educational opportunities. This is regarded as the cultural reproduction, which describes the reproduction of cultural capital and class from the parents to the next generation.

Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has been widely studied by scholars. It is suggested that there are educational disparities between students from different class backgrounds (Drummey, 2008). It can be accounted by their different acquisition of cultural capital from families with varied socio-economic status (SES). Cultural capital can be defined as forms of knowledge, skills, and advantages that a person gained within the family environment. It can be categorized into three states, namely the *embodied state*, *objectified state* and *institutionalized state*, which will be explained in later paragraphs. Parents provide their children with cultural capital by transmitting the attitudes and knowledge which are necessary for the success in the current educational system (Bourdieu, 1986; cited in Giddens, 2009). Cultural capital was initially employed by Bourdieu and his colleagues to account for the higher

academic success rates for the students of educated parents. Their initiate familiarity with highbrow culture (or high- status cultural activities coined by Lereau and Weininger, 2003), which is cultivated by their parents, such as fine arts, classical music, opera, appreciate of literature, played a vital role for academic success (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979; Lereau and Weininger, 2003). But the highbrow culture was criticized as too narrow and disregarded by a number of scholars (e.g, Prieur, Rosenlund and Larsen, 2008; Kingston 2001). Instead of referring to the highbrow culture, cultural capital in this research goes along with the interpretation as follow.

George Farkas and his collaborators (1990) provided a different interpretation of cultural capital which emphasized on the specific sets of skills and habits. It can be defined as the “informal academic standards” and the general skills, habits, and styles which are more rewarded by the teachers (Farkas et al.1990:127). Students’ school behaviors and academic habits would be influenced by cultural capital and it is discovered that reading, but not highbrow cultural activities, enhances students’ educational outcomes (Crook 1997; De Graaf et al. 2000; Sullivan2001, cited in Roksa and Potter, 2011). Cultural capital can be conceptualized into a collection of *cultural disposition (habitus)*. It is a sort of deep- structuring cultural matrix of personal characteristics; values and attitudes which are developed from social training and past experience (Swartz, 1997; Brubaker, 2004; Lareau, 2001; Reed-Danahay, 2005). It is the disposition of the way of acting, grasp experience and thinking (Grenfell & James, 1998).

Bourdieu (1986) further divided cultural capital into three states and the first state is the *embodied state*. It is regarded as the “long lasting dispositions of the mind and the body” (Bourdieu, 1986:243). In other words, it is the habitus which refers to the attitudes, preferences and competences inherited from students’ upbringing (Priour, Rosenlund and Larsen, 2008), especially their perception towards studying. The second one is *objectified state* which is embodied in “the form of cultural goods” (ibid.) and resources enjoyed by the students, particularly book collections or musical instruments. The economic capital of the family can be converted into cultural capital. *Institutionalized state* is the final state which mainly considers the educational certificates and educational level (ibid). With the embodied state and objectified state of capital, students can ultimately exchange for the institutionalized state of capital.

Different categorizations of cultural capital were suggested by various scholars which included personal characteristics; values and attitudes; knowledge gained from experience, *education- related resources* (e.g. books, computers, academic credentials) and *education- related institutions* (e.g. schools, exchange tours, libraries) (Grenfell & James, 1998, cited in Lee and Bowen, 2006). It is developed by the parenting and socialization process experienced at students’ upbringing (Roksa and Potter, 2011). Students from family with higher social- economic status are more likely to enjoy more cultural capital and eventually have higher academic achievement.

According to Lee and Bowen (2006), the middle-class possess the advantage of cultural capital since the educated European American parents are able

to cultivate their children from knowing, preferring, experiencing and adapting a lifestyle which is consistent with the dominant culture in most American schools. Advantage also emerges for more parental involvement at school (Lee and Bowen, 2006). Middle- class parents will make school visit, participating in school conference and being a volunteering in the classroom. Then they can develop desirable *social capital* to obtain lots of school information, especially the teaching quality of different teachers, the learning atmosphere of their children's class, the teaching schedule of their class, the best approach to help them with their homework, what school related topics to discuss with children, etc. As a result, better assistance can be provided to their children and higher academic success rate of students can be predicted. There are couples of researches pointing the importance of social capital and parental involvement at school towards students' academic performance (e.g. Lee and Bowen, 2006; Lareau, 1987), but in order to confine the scope of this research, this paper is going to emphasize more about students' upbringing and cultivation at home.

In short, creating a home environment that fosters academic motivation and skills is the key for students' academic success (e.g., Teachman 1987). However, the home environment of working and middle class families tend to differ which cause the discrepancy of academic performance. Families with different SES adopt the distinctive parenting styles which equip their children with various levels of cultural capital.

2. Parenting styles and practices for middle or upper class families

2.1 Styles

The middle-class parents engage in the “*concerted cultivation*” parenting style. It refers to the “deliberate cultivation of children’s skills and talents” (Lareau, 2002, 2003). More than that, independent thinking and critical thinking are more likely being cultivated for upper or middle class children (Cheadle and Amato, 2011) as their parents tend to negotiate with them. Instead of addressing their children with direct commands, upper or middle class parents have in- depth communication with their children.

2.2 Expectation

Families with varied SES will possess different cultural capital and habitus, which specifically means that different set of attitudes, values and perceptions is indoctrinated to their children. The parental educational involvement at home for middle- class parents is conveying high educational expectations to their children. Raty, Leinonen and Snellman (2002) also pointed out that 92% of the academically educated parents expected their children can be enrolled by gymnasium (secondary schools which provide advanced academic courses for higher possibility of university entrance) compared with 61% of the vocationally educated parents.

2.3 Practices

Based upon this expectation, they will have intensive parental involvement at home in order to cultivate their children in particular ways, particular the parent-

children academic discussion, conveying parent educational expectations. The students will eventually have serious studying habits and equipped with the generic skills which are valued by the school examinations.

Hence, The parents tend to enroll their children in diversified leisure activities (like learning musical instrument, writing class), engage them in discussion, reasoning with them, and intervening in institutions (e.g., schools) on their behalf. This concerted cultivation is proved to be positively correlated with children's academic performance (Bodovski and Farkas 2008; Cheadle 2008, cited in Roksa and Potter, 2011).

A cognitive environment was created. Middle class (especially upper middle class) households present more intellectual stimulation and fewer anti-intellectual distractions than working class households (Gabrenya, 2003). Stimulation is in the form of magazines, newspapers, educational devices (computers, sort of), original art, and what is playing on radio. Anti-intellectual stimulation is filtered, especially the television.

3. Parenting styles and practices for working class families

3.1 Style

Compared with the families with higher SES, working-class parents believe in an '*accomplishment of natural growth*' style of parenting (Lareau, 2002, 2003). In other words, those working-class parents believe that their responsibility is fulfilled when comfort, food, shelter and other basic support are provided to their children.

Hence, high degree of autonomy is allowed for their children and the schools are empowered for the primary responsibility for developing children's cognitive skills.

3.2 Expectation

A number of classical researches of cultural capital have also taken educational and occupational expectations into consideration (Dumais 2002, 2006; McClelland 1990, cited in Roksa and Potter, 2011). These are the elements of habitus which deeply penetrate in dispositions that generate “thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and actions” and this will direct the parenting styles adapted (Bourdieu, 1990).

Cited in Weinberg (2009), Willis (1981) asked why working class boys come to accept working class jobs through what appears to be their own choice. He found that working class parents believed that diplomas and certificates were a waste of time and were unlikely to change their kids' future. This expectation imposed on their children and this “oppositional culture” will negatively affect the lower class students' educational ambition and reproduces class differences in education.

4.3 Practices

Working-class children did not receive a lot of guidance in their development and their parents seldom encourage (or force) them to read academic or scientific books in leisure time and participate in extra-curricular activities.

Different home involvement strategies are implemented in families with lower SES. This can be explained by the limited financial resources for providing

educational materials (reference books, private tutors, computers) and opportunities (exchange tours in foreign countries, enrolling in high banding schools, study abroad for tertiary education). The working class parents will consequently adjust their educational expectations for their children (De Civita et al., 2004, cited in Lee and Bowen, 2006). Those parents may not attain sufficient educational level to assist their children with homework and they may pay limited attention to the educational resources available in the society. This consistent with the argument of Bourdieu's theory that the less cultural capital possessed by the working class parents will hinder the academic success rate of their children.

4. Association between parents' income and students' LS results

Liberal Studies was newly implemented in the HKDSE Examination in 2012, which is a public examination upon the completion of the six-year secondary education for university admission in Hong Kong (HKEAA, 2013). Lai (2013) interviewed 102 secondary schools. Half of them is composed of students study the HKALE (without LS) and HKDSE (with LS). She found that the students who always paid attention to social issues performed better in LS than those did not pay attention to social issues. The higher the family's SES, the more the parents discussed current affairs with their children. She finally drew the conclusion that students' achievement in LS is positively related to family economic level. This result makes sense that LS emphasizes on students' thinking ability in multiple perspectives, critical thinking and organization skills. Habit of reading newspaper can provide subject knowledge,

enhance language ability and organization skills (Ko, 2012). Travelling can open up students' learning experience and enable them to compare the experience of foreign country with Hong Kong to think out of the box (Chau, 2009). All of these activities are more assessable in families with higher SES.

Methodology

Students from 2 different S. 5 classes in the same school will be studied.

The students from both classes are having similar distribution of family background, gender and academic results. This research is consisted of the quantitative method and qualitative method.

1. Quantitative method

The questionnaire was delivered to both classes at the same time during the lesson time. The sample size is 51. There was 20 minutes allowed for completing the questionnaire. The aim is to offer a general picture of the relationship between cultural capital and LS performance. The questionnaire consisted of two parts based on key five independent variables: *average parents' income, parents' educational attainment, parent's education expectation towards their children, parenting style and cultivation of learning habits*; and a dependent variable, students' performance in the designed LS quiz. For the data analysis, *Spearman's correlation* was adopted and it was performed by IBM SPSS Statistics 22.

1.1 Students' family background

There are several independent variables constitute to the SES of student's family, including average monthly income of parents and parents' educational attainment (Lee and Bowen, 2006). Although there are other possible indicators, such as race and occupation of the parents (Lee and Bowen, 2006), or even the education

level of their grandparents (Roksa and Potter, 2011), the chosen indicators are more direct and more quantifiable.

For average monthly income of parents, there is a 6-point ordinal scale with reference to the population by-census conducted by the Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong (2011). The median monthly income of employment is \$11,000. Only the income of their parents (or guardians) instead of their siblings was calculated, hence the students were asked the average monthly income of their parents (the sum of the monthly income of father and mother or guardian, divided by the number of parents). Different income groups are arranged as follows: \$8,000 or below, \$8,001-\$11,000, \$11,001-\$15,000, \$15,001-\$20,000, \$20,001-\$25,000, \$25,001-\$30,000, \$30,001 or above.

Families with higher economic status refers to those with income substantially higher than the median. Thus, the groups with average monthly income \$25,001 or above are regarded as better off families in this study. While the groups ranged from \$11,000 to \$20,000 are treated as middle level of income and the groups \$11,000 or below are regarded as lower income level.

Based upon Lee and Bowen's study (2006), the educational attainment of the caregiver who had completed the highest level of education was assessed. A 7-point ordinal scale was introduced with the following response options: did not received any education, primary school, junior secondary, senior secondary, post-secondary (higher diploma, associate degree, vocational training or equivalent), completed a graduate degree, completed a postgraduate degree or above.

1.2 Parents' educational involvement at home

In terms of parent's educational expectation on their children, analysis similar to Lee and Bowen (2006) was conducted. The options range from no expectation to above undergraduate degree.

With regard to parenting styles, four main parenting styles are differentiated with some modifications to the psychological differentiation: *authoritative, authoritarian, accomplishment of natural growth and no particular parenting* (Kopko, 2007). The percentage of various styles adopted in families with different SES was examined.

Finally, cultivation of learning habits and activities of the students was assessed. As mentioned in the literature review, parents' cultivation involves various activities or learning habits. The students were asked which activities their parents encouraged or accompanied them to conduct when they were aged 6 to 12. This represented the upbringing of students. More than that, their present learning habits were also asked which aims to examine the influence of the family education when they were young on their present learning habits.

1.3 Students' LS performance

Students was asked to complete the short quiz which was a MC quiz consisted of basic questions of different modules in LS and one analytical question about a current issue, the debate on the issue of licence of HKTV in 2011. This current issue was not taught and it could ensure that students' reading habits and their

ability to associate their common sense (build up in their daily life) to LS questions was assessed. In this way, teachers' influence towards students' LS performance was minimized. Afterwards, same set of rubrics was applied to assess students' performance in terms of *content* (ability of applying different concepts in LS, perceiving one issue from multi- perspectives, elaborating the ideas with empirical examples), *language* (ability of expressing ideas in words effectively) and *organization* (framing each argument in each paragraph with counter- argument). The question and rubrics were set with accordance to the standard of the public examination. Students' ranking in the LS examination was also collected in order to test whether the result of the quiz is significant. A correlation graph was generated to illustrate the correlation between parents' average monthly income level and students' performance in LS.

2. Qualitative analysis

The general picture can be patterned by the quantitative analysis. However, the reasons underlying the disparity of LS performance, students' and their parents' attitude towards learning; and students' reflection are not possible to be thoroughly unveiled in the questionnaires. Hence, personal interviews were conducted with three students from both classes in order to get a profound idea about how they are brought up. The interviews were conducted in Cantonese and open questions were asked. The questions were still consisted of three main parts, family background, parents' educational involvement at home and students' LS performance. Those questions

were the follow up questions of the questionnaire. Here are some sample questions:

“How your parents influence on your perception towards academic performance?”,

“Do your parents give you guidance for your studies? For example, they assign you to attend the writing workshop, buy you science magazines, ask you to read newspaper,

or employ tutors to assist your learning?”, “How do you think about your

performance in LS?” “Are you able to structure your argument? If yes, what do you

think the most helpful for you to make it? If no, what difficulties do you face?”

Quantitative Data Analysis

Strong correlation is found between the parents' average income and students' achievement in the LS quiz. It can be accounted by the difference in parents' expectation put forward to the students, parenting style and family cultivation. It is found that the habits at the students' young age will extend to their teenage years.

1. Parents' average income

Figure 1 is the graphical representation of the correlation between average monthly income of parents and performance in the provided LS quiz and Table 1 is the Spearman correlation between these two variables. Both of the sources reveal the positive correlation between the parents' average income and the students' achievement in the provided LS quiz. That means students' scores in the quiz increase with the increasing parents' average income.

Figure 1 Correlation of Average Monthly Income of Parents and Students' Score in LS quiz (N= 51)

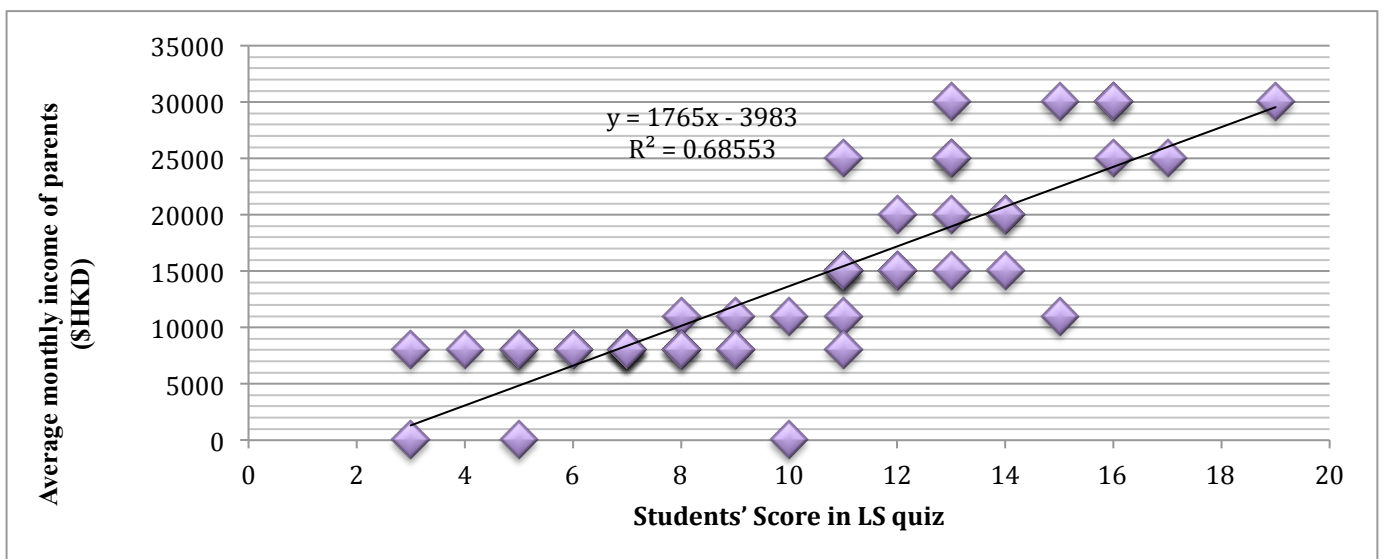


Table 1 Correlation of Average Monthly Income of Parents and Students' Score in LS quiz (N= 51)

			Income	Score
Spearman's rho	Income	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.870**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	51	51
	Score	Correlation Coefficient	.870**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	51	51

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

2. Parents' education attainment

Table 2 indicated the associate of students' LS performance in the provided LS quiz and parents' education attainment. No obvious relationship is observed. No matter the parents are highly educated or attain lower education level, their children can score either higher or lower results.

Table 2 Correlation between Parents' Education Level and Students' Score in the LS quiz

			Parent_ Education_ Level	Score
Spearman's rho	Parent_Education_Level	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.404**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.003
		N	51	51
	Score	Correlation Coefficient	.404**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.
		N	51	51

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

3. Parents' expectation

Table 3 conveyed the relationship between parents' income level, expectation and students' performance in the provided LS quiz. Positive correlation is found between these three variables. The correlation coefficient for average monthly income of parents and students' score in LS quiz is 0.870, which is higher than 0.50, correlation between these two variables is implied and the correlation is strong. As shown above, students' LS score increased with average monthly income of parents. Besides, the correlation coefficient for average monthly income of parents and parents' expectation is higher than 0.5 as well, which is 0.571, indicating a positive correlation. Parents' educational expectation towards their kids increased with their income.

Yet, it is found that parents' education attainment is not correlated with their expectation or students' score in LS.

Table 3 Summarized Correlation Table using Spearman Rank Correlation

	Parents' expectation	Students' score in LS quiz
Average Monthly Income of Parents (\$HKD)	*0.571 (0.000)	*0.870 (0.000)
Parents' education level	*0.08 (0.579)	*0.404 (0.003)

* Numbers represent the correlation coefficient

*Numbers in blanket represent the p- value (the significance), $P < 0.05$

4. Parenting style

Table 4 illustrates the percentage of parenting styles adopted by parents with different level of income. Majority of the parents from income group \$15,000 or below adopted accomplishment of natural growth, specifically, there are 50%, 47%, and 43% for parents with income \$8,000 or below, \$8,001 to \$11,000 and \$11,001 to \$15,000 respectively, carried this approach to raise their children.

Notably, *authoritarian* approach accounted a considerable proportion for the parents with income groups \$8,001 to \$11,000, \$11,001 to \$15,000 and \$20,001 to \$25,000. Nearly half, 43% precisely, of the parents with \$11,000 to \$15,000 and half of the parents with \$20,001 to \$25,000 used this parenting method.

As hypothesized, parents with higher income tended to adopt *authoritative* style of parenting. In particular, a substantial proportion (i.e. 75%) of the parents with \$30,001 or above were more likely to reason with their children.

Surprisingly, table 4 reveals that half of the parents with income \$20,001 to \$25,000 take the authoritarian approach to discipline their children. This can be probably accounted by the phenomenon of “*tiger mothers* (or fathers)”.

Table 4 The relationship between Average Monthly Income of Parents and Performance in LS quiz and parenting style (%)

Income (SHKD)	Accomplishment of Natural Growth			No Particular Parenting
		Authoritarian	Authoritative	
0-8,000	50	25	0	25
8,001-11,000	47	35	6	12
11,001-15,000	43	43	0	15
15,001-20,000	0	22	56	22
20,001-25,000	25	50	25	0
25,001-30,000	25	25	50	0
>30,001	0	25	75	0

5. Parent involvement and students' current learning habits

Table 5 reveals the cultivation received by the students when they were in primary school and current learning habit across various parents' income level. There are couple of parent involvement or cultivation activities and they can be categorized as follows:

- Homework help (Lee and Bowen, 2006) (including revision and enrolling in tutorial classes, language classes, writing courses, phonics classes or other academic training) which can directly develop generic skills for academic success
- Reading (including academic magazines, reference books and newspaper) which can arouse general cultural awareness and elegant style of writing (Swartz, 1997)

- Parent- child discussion (discuss about daily life and social issues), which can initiate learning motivation and critical thinking; and
- Exposure (travel abroad, participating exchange tours, attending music instrument, painting and ballet courses, or other extra- curricular activities) which can open up students' horizon for thinking in multiple perspectives

There is one more category for their habits, that is entertainment (like playing computer games and watching TV series and cartoon).

Referring to Table 5, there is a relatively strong tendency of students from higher income group (\$25,001 to \$30,000 and \$30001 or above) to engage in the four types of cultural activities. In terms of financial support, the income group \$15,001 to \$20,000 or above, at least 50% of the students received homework assistance from their parents when they aged 6 to 12, including attending tutorial classed. For those receive \$25,001 or above, their parents can afford to purchase reference book and academic magazines for their 6 to 12 year-old kids and at least 50% of their kids were urged to read those references. With the economic capital, generic skills for better learning are developed, like vocabulary bank, comprehension, information literacy and organization skills. Comparing with the income group \$8,001 to \$11,000, only 6% of the students reported they were encouraged to read or provided with the resources when they were young. For exposure which also requires lots of economic capital, all students from income group \$30,000 or above claimed that they were supported to either participate in extra- curricular activities or go travelling. This will broaden their horizon. Surprisingly, there was 50% of students from income group \$0

to \$8,000 mentioned that they had exposure when they aged 6 to 12. This can be explained by the subsidy from the government that enables them to learn musical instrument and participate in a foreign exchange tour (mainly in cities in China).

Regarding parent- children discussion, there are 18% and 25% of students from \$8,001 to \$11,000 and below \$8,000 respectively, reported that their parent would initiate the news discussion when they aged 6 to 12. Meanwhile, 75%, 25% and 50% of the students from \$30,000 or above, \$25,001 to \$30,000 and \$20,001 to \$25,000 respectively, mentioned that their parents discussed news with them when they were young. Continuous trend is found with 25% of students from income below \$8,000 had frequent news discussion with parents in the last 3 months while 50% of students from income \$2,001 or above had such practice.

Interestingly, all students from different income group reported the keen interest in entertainment nowadays. It takes at least 75% of students claim that they have entertainment everyday. This can be accounted by the prevalence of smart phones in Hong Kong. Students can listen to music, watch videos and play mobile games at anytime at anywhere.

Table 5 The relationship between parents' average monthly income and student's learning habits and activities (%) (students can choose more than one options)

Income/ \$HKD	Homework help	Reading	Discuss with parents	Exposure	Entertainment
0-8,000	25 (0)	25 (25)	25 (25)	0 (50)	75 (50)
8,001-11,000	47 (18)	18 (6)	47 (18)	6 (18)	88 (53)
11,001-15,000	43 (43)	14 (0.00)	43 (0)	57 (29)	86 (14)
15,001-20,000	44 (56)	89 (22)	22 (11)	11 (44)	89 (11)
20,001-25,000	50 (50)	100 (25)	50 (50)	00 (25)	100 (25)
25,001-30,000	50 (50)	100 (50)	50 (25)	50 (50)	100 (25)
>30,000	100 (100)	75 (75)	50 (75)	100 (100)	75 (75)

* Numbers without blankets refer to the percentage of students in that income group, in the past 3 months, conducted those activities

* Numbers in blankets refer to the percentage of students in that income group, when they aged 6 to 12, encouraged by their parents to conduct those activities

Qualitative Data Analysis and Discussion

The discrepancy of students' LS performance can be accounted by the *stratified cultural capital* possessed by students from different class origins. This is generally agreed that students from families with higher SES acquire more cultural capital and they can perform better in LS due to the *economic capital* they enjoy. This economic advantage can be converted into cultural capital, which can equip students with generic skills for academic success. However, other than the economic advantage, cultural capital also includes the mentality level.

There will be profound interpretation of the qualitative data in this session. The general picture was depicted by the quantitative data in last session while the genuine voice from students in this session can provide a holistically explanation to the phenomenon. There were six interviewees, namely Lau, Leung, Lam, Ko, Yan and Yip. Only their family name, parents' income level and the percentile of their score in the provided LS quiz were shown owing to the privacy issue.

1. Objectified state of cultural capital: economic resources for cultural activities

Parents' with higher level of income possess high financial power which is capable of providing more resources for their children's learning. It is generally regarded as the economic capital.

"I attended all kinds of academic courses primary school years, like Chinese and English writing classes, comprehension classes, phonics class. My mum hoped I can study well, so she bought lots of books, magazines and CDs, such

as the Disney. Hence, I have good language foundation and this helps me to answer LS question in an organized way.”

---Lau, upper income level, scored at upper quartile (the highest 25%)

Lau's comments indicate that families with higher economic power is able to invest to develop their children's generic skills and this will unintentionally benefit students' learning in LS. As examined by Swartz (1997), *general cultural awareness* and a *refined and elegant style of language* are required for the academic success in humanities. The students from upper class possess "*educationally profitable linguistic capital*" of "*bourgeois language*" (a sociological term refers to the language of the upper class or the capitalists). Specifically, that language proficiency is constituted of the capability of "abstraction, formalism, intellectualism and euphemism (a mild expression substituted for harsh words causing unpleasant feeling)". Such linguistic skill is essential for HKDSE which emphasizes on essay writing. This bourgeois language makes those students excel in the curriculum when comparing with the "expressiveness or expressionism of working-class language", which is an ill-structured and emotional expression (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 116). Those privileged in cultural capital can handle the conventional oral and essay examinations. Since those examinations tend to measure ability in linguistic expression as much as the knowledge in the subject matter.

Rich economic capital can also enable students to gain extensive *exposure*. This can be converted into cultural capital. The quantitative data supports that majority of students from upper class either enrolled in extra- curricular activities or travelling abroad. This goes along with the personal interviews with particular

students.

“I took part in many ECAs, like dancing competition (Chinese dance and Waltz), piano, English speech competition and choir in my years in primary school. I have sang in the radio programme with Candy Chea- Shuk Mui (a popular DJ in Hong Kong)...I even joined the popular children TV programme, named as ‘After School’. I love performing as I was praised and admired by teachers... those experiences arouse my curiosity and learning motivation.”

---Lau, upper income level, scored at upper quartile

Learning motivation is one of the important elements of LS. Rather than spoon-feeding by teachers, students’ self- learning and positive learning attitude are crucial in LS. They are supposed to expose to various information and experience on their own in order to develop content knowledge. Notwithstanding the experience in the dancing competition may not directly relate to academic, Lau has developed positive learning attitude and high learning incentive. A great variety of experience in performance and competition enabled her to develop her self- esteem as well.

The students’ from higher income level portray similar pattern in foreign country exposure:

“I have participated in exchange tour in Beijing last year... my family loves traveling and we usually go backpacking once a year, since my father wants us to see more and experience more the local culture. We can directly interact with the local people as well!”

---Lau, upper income level, scored at upper quartile

“I have traveled in Australia last year and this trip cost me nearly \$20,000. The scenery there is really wonderful! I chatted with the local people, hung round, made friend with the ABC students...we still keep contact now. I visited

the chocolate factory there as well. This trip has broadened my horizon! I compared our lives with the local students and the living standard of Australian is good.”

---Leung, upper income level, ranked the first in LS in last semester

The travel experience seems to be irrelevant to LS. But indeed, traveling will arouse students' *cultural awareness* and induce students' reflection upon their life in their country. Lau and Leung expressed their confidence in LS, Leung even commented that LS is common sense for him. This is reasonable as the exposure, the books and newspaper they read contribute to the subject knowledge of LS.

It is generally focus on the objectified states of cultural capital that the higher income groups possess and hence better learning environment can be provided. More than that, the values and habitus imposed in different families also take a main role to shape students' attitude towards studying and hence their LS results.

2. Embodied state of cultural capital: stratified social class values imposed in different class origins

2.1 Parents' expectation towards students (values imposed in families with different SES)

Quantitative data shows that parents' expectation on children's education attainment is positively associated with their average monthly income. Distinctive social values can be identified in different social classes. The following are the speeches from students of lower and higher income families.

“When I was young, my parents passed away. Hence, I am taken cared by my

grandma. She always says that my happiness is the most important. The marks are not the most important so she doesn't urge me to study. She expects me to pursue my own dream... I want to be a chef hence I am not really stressful on my studies"

"My grandma is a cleaner and she is responsible to clean the garbage...But she is proud of herself, as she can raise five of us, hence she always tells us, all jobs are equally significant to the society and there are no jobs more superior than others, We should show respect for people from all walks of life"

---Lam, lower income level, scored slightly lower than median (50%)

"Although my parents don't make it clearly, I can feel that they do not expect me to attain post-secondary education. As they think that I do not have the potential to study and it would be a waste of time and money if I keep studying... It will be better if I work at early ages... I can gain work experience and hence offer financial support to my family"

---Yan, lower income level, scored at lower quartile (the lowest 25%)

"My parents always niggled that if I couldn't study well, you would be a beggar or I had to sweep the street in the future! ... Actually I am quite stressful! My uncle is a school principal in a Guangzhou school and my aunt is a teacher. They all expect me to enter university. Hence I must do so, either in Hong Kong, or in Australia! They really care about my results and use whatever resources to send me to university"

---Leung, upper income level, scored the upper quartile

Diverse habitus can be discovered in these two classes. Habitus is a sort of deep- structuring *cultural matrix* that generates *self-fulfilling prophecy* according to different class opportunities (Swartz, 1997; Merton, 1948). With reference to Bourdieu (cited in Swartz, 1997), there is generally a high correlation between subjective hopes and objective chances. Children's educational ambitions and

expectations are the structurally determined products of parental education experience and cultural life. Parents from lower income group do not tend to put much more focus on their children's education. This can be accounted by the fact that the working class parents lack of personal experience in higher education and they are less certain their children can have good academic achievement (Raty, Leinonen and Snellman, 2002). Eventually, the working class students do not aspire to high educational attainment since they have internalized and resigned themselves to the limited opportunities for school success. They may not put studying in their first priority and their motivation for revision will be deteriorated. Ultimately, their academic performance will be adversely affected and this will satisfy their own prophecy.

Comparative speaking, parents from higher income group pay more attention to education and they have more concept about *hierarchy*, *social status* and *social class*. They hope their children can enjoy certain level of superiority, in terms of living standard and privilege. Hence, they will utilize their resources to help their children strike for the best academic performance and cultivate their children with desirable perception for academic success. Those upper and middle-class youth will internalize their social advantages and hence they aspire for academic success. Bourdieu, thus, insightfully demonstrates how much *educational selection* actually caused by the *self-selection and aspiration* (Swartz, 1997).

Yet, not all working class parents put low expectation on the education attainment of their children (Weinberg, 2009).

“My father also force me to study and hope that I can enter university... As he said that he didn't want me to be like him, having a harsh work and living environment”

---Ko, lower income level, scored at lower quartile (the lowest 25%)

Those parents hope their kids to climb up the social ladder and this aspiration may work for some students, but it is not the case for Ko. The parenting style may reveal part of the reason.

2.2 Parenting style

Quantitative data indicates that parents with lower income tend to adopted *accomplishment of natural growth* style. This is aligned with Lareau's (2002, 2003) findings about working class parents' belief in child rearing strategy. Their responsibility is fulfilled once they satisfy the basic needs of their children: food and shelter. Room and autonomy are given to their children for their self- development. The quantitative data match with the data in personal interview.

“They did not give so much guidance for my growth. They seldom scold me or give me any comments...They trust I can made my own decisions. Although sometimes I am quite lost, I am glad that I can do whatever I want!”

---Yan, lower income level, scored at lower quartile

Besides, it is discovered that a number of the parents with lower income will take the *authoritarian* approach. They give direct instruction and ask for obedience rather than reasoning with the students.

“In my primary school years, I was punished to copy the editorials twice a week, but my father didn't explain why he did so. I just made no sense of the

words and copied the words without digestion. So I think it is meaningless and time wasting! I hate reading those boring words, even now.”

---Ko, lower income level, scored at lower quartile

In Ko's case, there is limited parent- child communication and this authoritarian approach is not likely lead to an effective learning. Even Ko's father imposed high educational expectation to her, her learning interest was ultimately dampened and her academic result was negatively influenced.

On the other hand, parents with middle- or upper- level of income mainly adopt *authoritative* style which means they will reason with their kids and try to ensure their denial of children' permission make sense (Kopko, 2007). This probably will help to develop their children's independent and critical thinking. Since their children will think twice before their request and they can challenge their parents' explanation when necessary (Cheadle and Amato, 2011).

2.3 Cultivation of learning habits and generic skills

Different learning habits are generalized in students from different income groups. Social issue discussion was proved to be beneficial for students' LS performance since they would pay more attention to the news and hence subject knowledge for LS was accumulated (Lai, 2013). With more parent- children discussion, positive learning habits can be cultivated and students can be equipped with generic skills as well.

“When I back home, my father already switched to the news channel. He always discusses politics with me, such as his comments towards President Xi Jinping, but it just like a kind of chit chat. Sometimes my father discuss the international

affairs with his friend and relatives, I will sit next to them to listen and raise my opinion if I have any.” ---Leung, upper income level, scored at upper quartile

“I will discuss the news with parents during dinner, sometimes involve the political issues, like the recent Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement controversy in Taiwan. Sometimes there is a little debate in my family, my father and mother always hold different stance and it allows me to view the same incident from different angles.”

---Lau, upper income level, scored at upper quartile

The experience from Leung and Lau conveys that the news discussion can develop skills for critical thinking and argumentative expression apart from subject knowledge. A cognitive learning environment was established in their families. There are more intellectual stimulations presented as well (Gabrenya, 2003), especially the news programmes and knowledgeable guests. In contrast, fewer students from working class families have developed reading habits and discussed current issues with parents.

“I seldom read newspaper and words. Even though my father and brother always read newspaper, they don’t make me to read. So, sometimes I ask them about politics. But I am still weak at current affairs, like today’s LS lesson was about the social movement in Hong Kong. But actually I cannot make sense of it as I am unclear about what the teacher has mentioned about the ... pan... what parties...? (pan- democratic party and pro- Beijing party). Even I have watched TV news sometimes, I hear but not listen, the images will fade away... I don’t want to be like this! But I just cannot make myself concentrate!... maybe because I just started to watch news this year?... I used to play computer games all the time...I am very worse at answering the LS questions as I take a long time to digest the information provided by the questions, after that, use lots of time to digest the questions. I need to read the same question repeatedly, say four times! ...For organization, it’s a mess and I cannot split the points.

Although my teacher keeps telling me to open a new paragraph for each point, I just mess up all the points in one paragraph.”

---Yan, lower income level, scored at lower quartile

“In the past, I thought TV news was the nightmare! How come my cartoon programmes were replaced by the news programme?! But now I try to pay attention to the news... .. I only discuss the gossip news with my grandma, like the missing plane in Malaysia... she hates politics and how can she discuss social issues with me? Haha! Sometimes I mixed up two paragraphs in one. Or I spit the same point into two paragraphs. This causes me losing many marks as I thought I have written enough points but in fact I haven't! In terms of content, I usually copy the information provided by the questions, sometimes I have no idea of the issue, I just skip it.”

---Lam, lower income level, scored slightly lower than median

As Yan and Lam had mentioned, although they had conversation with their parents, it is either one- way communication or communication with less knowledge input. More anti-intellectual stimulations were present, such as computer games and cartoon programmes. There is undeniable influence towards their content knowledge and generic skills (reading ability and organization skills), which will eventually lead to the unsatisfactory results in LS exams.

3. Other factors

Yet, the above class determinism cannot be applied to all cases. There are some exceptional cases, particularly Yip, who ranks first in S.5 at that school and ranks top 5 in LS, is not from the most wealthy family with the most resources and the best cultivation. There are other factors are revealed for contributing to students'

academic success.

3.1 Expectation from the school

Expectation from school initiates Yip to strike for the best of his results. Teachers' comment on his performance will enhance his motivation to study. Roksa and Potter (2011) pointed out that the teacher's judgment of students' work is a crucial predictor of academic success.

“My parents did not put pressure on me, but my teachers and peers do! As I rank first in my form, all the teachers and classmates all look up on me! (Comment from his friend: he is the greatest hope in our school!)... .. But I do not have much confident on entering university. Even some elite school students cannot get good result in DSE or LS, As my family background cannot guarantee me to study abroad/ alternative”

---Yip, lower- middle income level, top 3 in the LS quiz

3.2 Internet resources and peer discussion

Other than the resources provided by the parents and the interaction with parents, Yip gave credits to the online source and his fellows.

“It is convenient to get to information in the Internet and the online articles can strengthen my knowledge base. I try to extract the others argument and read through the examples provided. I even have one notebook to jotting notes. Unintentionally I will use the exact wordings and arguments from those authors... ..Other than discuss news with parents, I usually discuss interesting news with classmates. Although I share my views most of the time, its an opportunity for me to digest the news. Sometimes, I debate or argue with my peers along the road to the bus stop.”

---Yip, lower- middle income level, top 3 in the LS quiz

In the past, students could only rely on the black and write texts and the

teachers. Thanks to the technology advancement, Internet is prevailing in students' learning and they can get access to the information easily. Current issues are usually involved in LS and internet is an essential tool for students to update the latest information. More than that, social networking sites, especially Facebook, Weibo, Twitter, provide a desirable platform for users to share their opinion or make a discourse. This is the critical literacy, which is the ability to juxtapose discourses, constructing discourses framework and reframing trivial pieces of information (Lankshear, 1997). No matter which social class the students from, once they are accessible to the internet, it is possible for them to be exposed to diverse discussions and critical dialogues.

In terms of peer discussion, it fits the *Constructivism*, a pedagogy mostly adopted in LS lessons, encourages students to construct their knowledge after the collaborative learning with their groupmates (Brooks and Brooks, 1999). Through the critical dialogue among each other, challenging and controversial questions are asked, higher-order thinking will be initiated. Different perspectives can be considered as well. This is exactly the basic requirement for answering LS questions and this peer learning is helpful for students to polish up their arguments in the papers.

3.3 Extra effort

People from more inferior families still have a chance for academic success. There are some examples reported by the media, which are about poor students from public housing being admitted by the prestigious universities. This "*Hong Kong*

Dream” for climbing up for the *social leader* through the public examination and admission of university can come true for some of the students, but they work much more dedicate than any of their “competitors”.

“... Maybe the HKDSE is a fair means for students to enter university, but I think the underlying mechanism is unfair. I do not have much confident on entering university. Even some elite school students cannot get good result in DSE or LS, let alone the students in this lower banding school...? In order to score high, I have to pay extra cost: I spend all my time on my studies. I always struggle on whether I should go out and relax a bit... (his friend comment: “haha...I will go out and play without a thought! It’s difficult to date him! He really thinks too much!”). Although it sounds like I am like a nerd, but I will feel guilty if I play...feeling like if I play, I will lost some marks in my exam... my revision is never finish...”

---Yip, lower- middle income level, top 3 in the LS quiz

As Swartz (1997) has examined, some student from lower SES has the advantage to answer questions involving academic concepts. Their initial lack of capital can be compensated by their “exceptional intellectual ability, individual effort, and unusual home or social circumstances” (Swartz, 1997: 201). These qualities, strategies and practices can be observed in Yip’s case. Nevertheless, Swartz (1997) further pointed out that those lower class students would suffer when dealing with the questions require broad cultural knowledge. Since they acquire comparatively less cultivation and exposure than their upper class classmates. Yip has his strategy to compensate for this inadequacy. As mentioned in the previous point, he is capable of utilize the online resources. But this attributes to his information literacy to pick the

more structured and refined statements from the abundant sources containing biased views. It can be concluded that, despite those lower class students achieve academic success, they have to pay extensive cost to cover their *initial cultural disadvantage* and they might be labeled or even stigmatized to be too “scholastic”.

Conclusion

The result in this study reveals that students' various LS performance can be attributed to their different levels of possession of cultural capital. *Economic capital* is indispensable to the accumulation of cultural capital. When parents can afford their children to attend writing classes, dancing courses, and provide them with reference books, magazines and international traveling experiences, students' generic skills for academic success in LS will be unintentionally developed, especially the *positive learning incentive, general cultural awareness* and *refined linguistic skill*. Students from lower income family deprive of economic resources and hence they have limited development in generic skills and cultural exposure.

More than that, in terms of *embodied state of cultural capital*, stratified social values constitute to this achievement gap. Students have various socialization experiences corresponding to their class origin and stratified habitus (distinctive perceptions, aspirations and practices) are generated (Swartz, 1997). In this study, parents' educational aspirations, parenting style and cultivation of learning practice are examined. As hypothesized, families with higher SES tend to have higher aspiration on children's education attainment. The students internalize this aspiration and *self-fulfilling prophecy* takes place when their desirable performance incorporate with their high expectation and regular studying habits. For parenting practice, instead of asking for absolute obedience, communication and negotiation are ordinary when parents with higher SES raise their children. This will contribute to the students'

independent and critical thinking. While the working class parents generally either adopt *accomplishment of natural growth* style and *authoritarian* approach, which will lessen the learning motivation of their children.

With regard to the cultivation of learning habits, upper and middle class families are more likely to conduct intensive cultural activities when their children were young, particularly parent- child news discussion. Those habits are beneficial for students' critical thinking and they will be maintained in students' senior secondary year.

Exceptional cases can be discovered. There are various factors contribute to the academic success of students from inferior family, namely the school expectation, information literacy, peer discussion and extra effort. Yet, those cases are unusual.

The primary function of education is the *transmission of technical knowledge* and *socialization* (Bourdieu, 1971, cited in Swartz, 1997). It also performs a *cultural reproduction* function, which reinforces rather than redistributes the unequal distribution of cultural capital (ibid.). The formal meritocratic practices actually enhance social inequalities rather than attenuate them (ibid.). The teachers, parents and students generally lack of the *social conscious* to aware of this inequality. Even worse, they may *legitimate* and *internalize* this inequality and take the blame-the- victim mentality, which blame the students' academic failure on their inadequate personal effort. The disadvantaged students seem come to the dead- end and they seldom realize why they are always inferior in examinations even they think they are dedicated. This is the *ideology of education*.

Cultural capital is not only crucial to students' LS performance and the results in HKDSE, it also affects students' *life chances*. Once the students achieve high marks in DSE and enter prestigious universities, they are prepared for leadership roles in government and the economy. More importantly, their *social capital* can be accumulated as the universities can provide them with valued alumni networks that help advance their careers (Swartz, 1997). Ultimately, possession of cultural capital has high tendency lead to the *reproduction of social class*.

Limitations

This study is conducted in a few months and a longitudinal study is absent. Despite the scope of the study will be more concentrated, the accuracy of the research may be affected as students' LS performance may differ over time. This study is only able to measure students' performance at that moment.

Another potential limitation is other factors on students' performance in LS cannot be ruled out which may diminish the accuracy of the results. Other than cultural capital leading to the academic gap, the study atmosphere of the school, teachers' quality and the study habits of students' companions are vital for the LS performance. But it has attempted to keep other factors constant by interviewing students from the same school and same form who are studying in similar social milieu.

Implications for Research and Practice

For future research, longitudinal studies over schools from different bandings can enhance the significance of this study. Students' LS performance can be observed over a longer period of time, which can eliminate their fluctuation of performance. Also, more obvious comparison among students from various banding schools can be conducted. It is because there will be a larger disparity in parent's income, social values imposed, cultural activities and students' LS performance.

The study implies the significance of developing students' cultural capital. Even though parents' income is unchangeable, parent involvement at school should be encouraged in order to build up more cultural capital for students. Increasing amount of parent- teacher communication can acknowledge the parents about appropriate parenting style and ways to help their children making positive progress in their studies. Parents can also keep a closer eye on the teaching schedule and have better monitor on students' learning progress at home.

It is welcomed if the government can accumulate more cultural capital for working class students by carrying out various measures. In particular, the current School-based Fund for Cross Boundary Learning Activities, which is allocated from the Community Care Fund, subsidizes students from low-income families to participate in cross-boundary learning activities (EDB, 2013). Their horizons and learning experiences are widened. It is understandable that resources are scarce and cost- effective programmes, such as an online system for circulation of second- hand

reference books, can be established.

Although in Bourdieu's view, education is an *institution* for reinforcing the inequalities and power struggle in different classes, it is still hopefully that more assistances can be provided to the working class students to narrow the gap of cultural capital and make education as a proper means for upward social mobility.

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Appendix: Assessment rubrics for the analytical question in the quiz

Please analyze the influences brought to Hong Kong society *in multiple perspectives* after the Hong Kong Television Networks (HKTV) was denied of a free-to-air TV license.

Requirement	marks
<p><u>Suggested answer</u></p> <p>Negative influences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Rule of Law: the criteria of issuing the TV license are not made transparent to the public. The government solely stated that HKTV was denied after considering “a basket of factors”. It is harmful to the spirit of rule of law, as the government’s decision is made based on personal/ political factors rather than the objective criteria. ● Freedom of speech: HKTV is another channel for the media to voice different opinions, the denial of its establishment means the less opportunity for the exposure of diverse views. ● Public entertainment: the public have less choice on the TV shows ● Creative industry: the livelihood of the scriptwriters, directors, actors and other staff are affected and people’s motivation to devote in this TV industry is discouraged. <p>Positive influences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The governance from the central government towards Hong Kong: the central government can control the speech of Hong Kong more easily with less TV channel. <p>Content:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fully articulate the issue by perceiving the influence from multiple perspectives ● The ideas are sufficiently elaborate with empirical examples ● Shows good understanding of the issue with clear concepts ● Provide a sound counter- argument (e.g. after claiming all the negative influences, positive effects brought to Hong Kong are considered) 	<p>8 -6</p>

<p>Organization:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Provides a well- structured, in-depth discussion which is clearly presented <p>Language:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Good articulation of language to present the ideas ● Express the ideas with effective use of words 	
<p>Content:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Able to analyze the issue with more than one perspective ● The ideas with relevant elaborations ● Shows fairly good understanding of the issue with appropriate use of concepts <p>Organization:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Provides a reasonably in-depth, well-structured discussion which is fairly clearly presented <p>Language:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The ideas is easily understood ● Reasonable use of words 	5- 3
<p>Content:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Only able to identify a single perspective ● The ideas are with limited attempt of elaborations ● Shows some understanding of the issue but marred with many misconceptions <p>Organization:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Gives a rather shallow discussion with little organization; express his/her ideas vaguely <p>Language:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The ideas can be barely understood ● Use of fragment words or sentences contains a number of grammatical mistakes 	2- 1
<p>Gives an answer which is not relevant to the questions</p>	0