

“Helpless” or “feckless”: Perspectives of Chinese higher vocational college students on their working-class parents’ educational involvement

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Abstract

The education involvement of parents plays an important role in the student’s learning and development. Based on Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital, this study explores Chinese higher vocational college students’ perspectives of their working-class parents’ education involvement. A multiple-case study approach was adopted and eight students from two higher vocational colleges in mainland China have been included. The findings of this study indicate that laissez-faire, reliance on others, and in-person styles are the three main styles that Chinese working-class parents are involved in the education of their children. Furthermore, it was found that working-class parents’ educational involvement is mainly related to the higher vocational college students’ academic learning, academic choices, interest and hobby cultivation, and cultural leisure activities. This study contributes to the use of cultural capital theory to understand working-class parents’ education involvement in Chinese contexts. This study provides new insights to reconsider the influence of parental education at different levels among Chinese parents in their child’s development. It also offers an insight into the perceptions of higher vocational college students, which could prove invaluable in enhancing their higher education learning outcomes, fostering school-family collaboration, improving educational quality in vocational schools, and mitigating educational disparities between general universities and higher vocational education in China.

Key words: working-class parents, education involvement, cultural capital, vocational college students.

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Introduction

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has been used in many previous studies to analyse parents' involvement in their child's educational attainments and outcomes. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital can be divided into three forms: embodied capital (long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body), objectified capital (cultural goods), and institutionalised capital (educational qualifications) (Bourdieu, 2018). Based on this concept, the parents' cultural capital (e.g., educational background, knowledge, and skills) may impact their involvement in their child's education, while their possession of art and participation in cultural activities may also influence their child's educational performance (De Graaf et al., 2000; Sullivan, 2001; Weininger et al., 2015). Meanwhile, although children may share similar sociological origins, but their parents' social class differs due to variations in cultural capital (Swartz, 2012), and this distinction categorizes parents into the middle and working classes (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). To a great extent, middle-class parents tend to have more cultural capital than working-class parents (Lareau & Calarco, 2012). Parents from different social classes also have varying levels of involvement in their children's education based on their cultural resources. For example, middle-class parents prefer to activate their cultural resources and gain education advantages through interactions with institutions and teachers, while working-class parents rely more heavily on schools and teachers rather than interacting with them (Lareau & Calarco, 2012).

Previous studies have shown that parents with different cultural capital backgrounds in different social classes play distinct roles in their children's development, particularly regarding their higher education (Jæger, 2009; Sheng, 2012). China's higher education system has two main types of institutions: general universities and higher vocational colleges. Compared to higher vocational colleges, general universities usually require higher academic scores for admission, especially for the Chinese college entrance exam (Wang & Guo, 2019). Thus, in Chinese society, higher vocational college students are widely perceived to have poor academic performance (Wang & Guo, 2019). Furthermore, because they hold lower academic qualifications compared to university students, higher college students can experience less working and development opportunities (Keng & Lo, 2011). In recent years, even though some higher vocational colleges have been upgraded to general universities, vocational colleges remain the mainstay of higher education institutions in China. Consequently, increasing attention has been given to the development of higher vocational college students.

Considering the significant role that parents play in their children's higher education, it is necessary to further clarify the forms and impacts of their involvement in their child's education. However, most of the previous research has focused on

middle-class parents, while neglecting the involvement or influence of working-class parents in their children's education. Furthermore, studies have tended to focus on university students rather than higher vocational college students, while adopting Bourdieu's cultural capital theory to explain the parents' influence on their child's educational involvement in China (Hu & Wu, 2019; Sheng, 2012; Xu & Montgomery, 2021). Additionally, research in this area has tended to focus on the parents' perceptions rather than the perceptions of their children (Barglowski, 2019). Therefore, this study will focus on the perspectives of higher vocational college school students. In particular, it aims to explore how working-class parents are involved in their child's education and the influence they exert. This study aims to explore the perspectives of Chinese higher vocational college students on their working-class parents' educational involvement. Understanding the unique dynamics of parental involvement in China is crucial, as cultural contexts significantly shape the ways in which parents engage with their children's education. In particular, the findings of this study reflect the distinct cultural values and expectations prevalent in Chinese society, which may differ from those observed in other regions, such as Europe.

In many Western contexts, discussions around parental involvement often emphasize the development of children's independence and autonomy. For example, the concept of "autonomy-supportive parenting" is widely discussed in Western literature (Benito-Gomez et.al., 2020). This approach, grounded in self-determination theory, focuses on nurturing a child's sense of independence, promoting self-motivation, and fostering confidence. Studies have shown that supporting children's autonomy is critical for their well-being and psychological development (Smeyne et.al., 2024). In contrast, our interviews with Chinese students revealed that they rarely mentioned their need for independence or how their parents fostered it. The unique Chinese cultural emphasis on collectivism and strong family ties means that parental involvement in China often takes the form of direct academic supervision rather than fostering independence (Xia, 2024).

Literature review

Parents' cultural capital and social class

Parents' cultural capital can be understood based on Bourdieu's theory from three aspects: embodied capital (long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body), objectified capital (cultural goods), and institutionalised capital (educational qualifications) (Bourdieu, 2018). More specifically, parents' embodied capital is reflected in their language (a positive attitude towards higher academic education), highbrow activities (visiting museums or theatres), and taste (elite culture), which are transmitted to children through daily interactions. This helps the children to develop a

taste for elite school-related norms (Kraaykamp & Notten, 2016). The parents' objectified cultural capital, such as books, is transferred to the children through the daily reading environment. Given that reading is highly valued for developing children's cognitive skills and aligns well with school culture, the parents' involvement in daily reading activities may contribute to their child's educational attainment (Kraaykamp & Notten, 2016). Parents' institutionalised cultural capital, such as educational qualifications, enables them to have more information about the institution's rules and intervene more effectively in their child's educational choices (Lareau & Cox, 2011). Moreover, a higher education degree symbolizes formal recognition of cognitive skills and competence. These advantages are considered key factors in helping individuals achieve success in the future labour market and maintain or improve their socioeconomic status (Sin, 2013). Thus, parents' varying levels of cultural capital may shape their educational involvement, which in turn influences their child's educational attainment and choices.

Previous research has often classified the parents' social class based on their occupation (Weininger & Lareau, 2003) because occupation can be seen as a mirror of the individual's cultural capital (Sheng, 2017). Parents with managerial authority and higher credential skills are categorised as middle-class, while those without either are placed in the working-class group (Weininger & Lareau, 2003). This study follows previous research and defines the social classes of Chinese parents based on their occupational classifications. Parents who work as party and government officials, enterprise managers, private entrepreneurs, professionals, technocrats, or academics are classified as middle-class, whereas those employed as farmers, blue-collar workers, or self-employed peddlers are classified as working-class (Sheng, 2017).

Therefore, it seems that middle-class parents should typically possess good cultural capital, such as a strong educational background or effective communication skills with schools and teachers (Lareau & Calarco, 2012). In contrast, working-class parents often lack cultural capital, such as higher education certificates, stable careers, or more embodied cultural capital (Weininger et al., 2015).

The concept of educational involvement

In the existing literature on parental participation in education, several key concepts have been widely discussed, including "parental involvement," "parental engagement," "home-school cooperation," and "parent-school partnership" (Bæck, 2010; Goodall & Montgomery, 2023). These terms, while related, each emphasize different aspects of parental participation. For instance, "parental involvement" often refers to the general ways parents participate in school activities, while "parental

engagement” suggests a deeper level of interaction and commitment (Kelly, 2009). Other terms like “home-school cooperation” and “parent-school partnership” highlight collaborative efforts between parents and educational institutions, focusing on structured interactions and shared responsibilities (Lareau, 2011).

In this study, we adopt the term “educational involvement” to provide a more comprehensive and context-specific understanding of how parents, particularly those from working-class backgrounds, participate in their children’s education. This term is chosen for its broader scope, which encompasses both direct and indirect forms of parental participation, such as helping with homework, attending school events, and fostering a supportive learning environment at home (Fan & Chen, 2001).

Additionally, the concept of “educational involvement style” is introduced to capture the diverse approaches and attitudes that parents adopt in their interactions with their children’s education. By using these terms, this study aims to contribute to the ongoing discussion on parental participation by providing a nuanced perspective that is particularly relevant to the context of working-class families in Chinese higher vocational colleges. This approach allows for a focused examination of the unique dynamics within this population while situating the study within the broader literature on parental participation in education.

The involvement of parents from different social classes with varying levels of cultural capital in their child’s education

Bourdieu’s theory has been applied by many scholars to explain parents’ education involvement (De Graaf et al., 2000; Sheng, 2012; Weininger & Lareau, 2003). Parents from different social classes with varying levels of cultural capital may use different ways to participate in their child’s education (De Graaf et al. 2000; Sheng, 2012; Weininger & Lareau, 2003).

It has been found that compared to middle-class parents, working-class parents tend to have less embodied cultural capital, leading to lower confidence and greater deference to teachers’ authority without questioning them (Lareau & Calarco, 2012). Regarding objectified cultural capital, working-class parents generally prioritize necessities related to survival over works of art (Lareau & Cox, 2011). In terms of institutional cultural capital, middle-class parents often hold higher education degrees, enabling them to participate more actively in their child’s educational experience. In contrast, working-class parents often lack educational information and rely heavily on the teachers’ involvement in their children’s educational activities (Weininger & Lareau, 2003). Consequently, middle-class parents may have a more effective influence on their child’s educational involvement than working-class parents.

Furthermore, two types of parental education involvement, depending on parents' different social classes, have been generated based on Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital: concerted cultivation and accomplishment of natural growth (Lareau, 2017).

Middle-class parents often engage in concerted cultivation, and they attend school activities and communicate with teachers more positively. However, working-class parents may invest less effort in their child's upbringing and education. They typically allocate more of their attention or resources towards food, lodging, and transportation due to their lower cultural resources (Lareau & Cox, 2011). Therefore, in the long run, the children of parents who practice concerted cultivation tend to achieve better outcomes in higher education than those of other parental types (Carolan, 2016). In China, it has also been noted that the actions of parents with limited cultural capital are hindered during the child-rearing process and they are more likely to use verbal encouragement to motivate their children to learn rather than engaging in practical activities (Xu & Montgomery, 2021). Based on these studies, certain key characteristics have emerged regarding working-class parents' involvement in their children's education: (1) they have insufficient confidence in their own educational experiences and rely on the teacher's authority (Lareau & Calarco, 2012); (2) they lack educational information (Weininger & Lareau, 2003); (3) they rarely interact with teachers and schools (Lareau & Cox, 2011), and (4) they use verbal expression to motivate their children in education rather than practical activities (Xu & Montgomery, 2021).

Although working-class parents face many challenges when participating in their child's education, studies in this area are still limited in China. The few studies that have been conducted in this area have focused on middle-class parents rather than working-class parents, such as exploring gender differences and education involvement among middle-class parents (Sheng, 2012; Sheng, 2015; Sheng, 2017). Therefore, it is necessary to pay more attention to working-class parents in this regard. Furthermore, higher vocational colleges students often struggle with weak academic performance and limited development opportunities. Therefore, more attention and care should be provided for the learning and development of vocational college students. Additionally, considering that parents play a significant role in their child's development, it is important to further explore the forms and impacts of their involvement in their child's education.

Based on these considerations, this study will explore the following research question:

From the perspective of Chinese higher vocational students whose parents belong to the working-class, how do their parents participate in their education?

Methodology

This research adopts a multiple-case study approach. According to Yin (2009), case studies can be used to gain an in-depth understanding of the particularity and complexity of a research subject in a confined context with an approach that focuses on discovery rather than confirmation. Therefore, the aims of this study fit well with the scope of case study research because we aim to understand working-class parents' education involvement and their impacts on children's choices of learning in higher vocational college, which is a complex issue that requires in-depth investigation.

Setting and participants

This study was based on two higher vocational colleges in Chuzhou and Nanjing, mainland China, with which the authors are familiar. A purposive sampling method was used for participant selection, following these criteria: 1) all students were selected from higher vocational colleges; 2) both male and female students were included; 3) none of these students' parents had a strong educational background; 4) all of these students' parents had a relatively low social status, and their job positions generally include farmers, workers, and self-employed peddlers (working as freelancers or small business owners rather than employees). Finally, eight students aged between 17 to 20 years responded and were willing to participate. Each student represents a case, forming a multiple-case research design.

Table 1 presents the students' demographic information.

Name	Gender	Age	Education background of parents (father-1/mother-2)	Career of parents
Student-1	Male	20	1 Middle school, 2 Middle school	Self-employed
Student-2	Female	18	1 Middle school, 2 Middle school	Workers
Student-3	Male	18	1 Middle school, 2 Middle school	Workers
Student-4	Male	19	1 Primary school, 2 High school	Workers

Name	Gender	Age	Education background of parents (father-1/mother-2)	Career of parents
Student-5	Female	17	1 Secondary technical diploma, 2 High school	Self-employed and worker
Student-6	Female	19	1 Secondary technical diploma, 2 College degree	Self-employed
Student-7	Male	18	1 Middle school, 2 Middle school	Self-employed and worker
Student-8	Female	19	1 Secondary technical diploma, 2 Middle school	Self-employed and worker

Data collection

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect the data. This approach enabled the interviewer to adjust the questions based on participants' responses (Galletta, 2013).

As this study was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, all interviews were conducted online. Online interviews can provide a timely interaction, which helped overcome pandemic-imposed mobility restrictions and served as a substitute for traditional onsite interviews (Gray et al., 2020; Janghorban et al., 2014). Furthermore, to ensure timely interactions that were almost equivalent to face-to-face interactions and to observe the participants' reflections, all interviewees were required to turn on their cameras. Each interview lasted about 45 to 60 minutes. All of the interview questions are closely aligned with the research questions for this study. For example, "What role do you think your parents played in your educational development process?", "In what ways did they participate in your education activities?" and "In what ways did your parents influence your learning experience?". Additionally, this research was approved by the ethics review committee of the author's institution and informed consent forms were sent to participants before the interviews, outlining the study's purpose and explaining how their anonymity and confidentiality would be protected. Finally, all interviews were audio-recorded, conducted, and transcribed in Mandarin.

Data analysis

Inductive content analysis was employed to address the two research questions of this study. The inductive approach can be used when former knowledge about the phenomenon is limited or if this knowledge is fragmented (Lauri & Kyngas, 2005).

According to Thomas (2003), inductive content analysis approaches are intended to aid understanding of meaning in complex data through the development of summary themes or categories from the raw data. Therefore, this study organised the raw data collected from the eight students' answers. Through open coding, category formation, and abstraction (Chinn & Kramer, 1999), key themes emerged to answer the research questions. The sample of theme formulation during the data analysis process can be seen in the following table.

Abstraction (theme)	Category	Open coding	Data description
Laissez-faire style of education involvement	Parents believe their children should learn independently, and at the same time, they lack the competence to provide supervision and support.	No support	My parents did not give me any practical support for my academic learning, nor did they encourage me to study. They didn't care whether I played computer games or got into fights at school. They told me that if I wanted to learn, I should stay in school, and if I didn't want to learn, then I was up to me to find a way out. They even thought this should be a kind of freedom for me. (Student-3)
		No care	
		Learning is a Freedom for children	
		Lack knowledge to support children in learning	I used to ask my mother how to solve some math problems, but she didn't know how to do it. So, I started finding answers online. After I moved
			to high school, all of my studies depend on myself and my parents no longer supervise me. (Student-6)

Findings

From the vocational higher college students' perceptions, their working-class parents' educational involvement can be reflected in three forms: laissez-faire, reliance on others, and in-person involvement styles.

Laissez-faire style of education involvement

First, in terms of parents' laissez-faire approach to academic involvement, students in this study reported that their parents instilled in them the belief that they should learn independently rather than rely on external support or supervision. For example, Student-3 said:

My parents did not give me any practical support for my academic learning, nor did they encourage me to study. They didn't care whether I played computer games or got into fights at school. They told me that if I wanted to learn, I should stay in school, and if I didn't want to learn, then I was up to me to find a way out. They even thought this should be a kind of freedom for me. (Student-3)

However, some students recognized that their parents' laissez-faire approach to academic involvement may stem from limitations in knowledge, time, and energy required for supervision. For instance, Student-1 explained that:

My parents never helped me with my studies because they didn't know the answers to my questions when I asked for clarification. (Student-1)

In addition to limited academic knowledge, Student-2 and Student-5 emphasized that a lack of time, energy, and financial resources also contributed to their parents' laissez-faire approach to educational involvement.

My mother is always very busy, so she has no time to support or monitor my studies ... I was too young to discipline myself, so I often stayed up late playing after school and rushed through my homework. (Student-2)

My mother never encouraged my interests or hobbies, such as dance or playing musical instruments. She simply didn't want to spend money on them, thinking they wouldn't be meaningful for my development. (Student-5)

Interestingly, although working-class parents' limited knowledge, time, and energy may result in a laissez-faire approach to educational involvement, this approach develops dynamically over time. This laissez-faire approach is more common during their child's high school years. However, when parents feel confident in their

knowledge and competence, particularly during their child's primary or middle school years, they are more likely to provide academic support and supervision. As Student-5 said:

*My dad is good at science subjects, so when I was in primary school, he spent a lot of time helping me with math, even though I struggled with it ...
He gave me the most support and supervision; every day after finishing my homework, he would check it for me. (Student-5)*

Reliance on others' style of education involvement

Another key aspect of working-class parents' educational involvement is their reliance on others. Findings indicate that these parents often delegate their responsibility for supporting their child's academic learning to teachers or other relatives. Some parents place significant trust in teachers' guidance and authority, relying heavily on their recommendations and support. For instance, Student-6 said:

My mother asked the teacher what kind of tutorial class would be suitable for me to learn based on my English level. The teacher recommended the new concept course, and my mother immediately sent me to take this course. (Student-6)

However, despite their reliance on teachers' authority, these parents often fail to maintain regular communication with them. For instance, Student-6 admitted that her parents almost have no connection with her teachers. Student-1 also noted that his parents communicated with his teachers only twice over the course of three academic years. In some cases, teachers struggle to reach parents, as they remain unresponsive even during home visits. For example, Student-3 recounted:

My teacher visited my home four or five times to communicate with my parents, but she was never successful... neither my mother nor my father was ever at home. (Student-3)

Beyond relying on teachers, some parents delegated their child's supervision to other relatives, particularly those with higher levels of education. However, the outcomes were often less effective than anticipated. For instance, Student-7 shared:

When I transferred to a new school in Zhejiang, my mother did not accompany me. Instead, she arranged for me to stay with my uncle. After six months, my uncle was transferred to another school, and I had to move again... To help me adjust, my mother asked my uncle to find a tutor who could help me catch up on the lessons I had missed. However, I felt deeply unhappy living in my uncle's home. I had no freedom, and I

lacked self-confidence because my uncle never praised or encouraged me. Even when I made academic progress, he never acknowledged it... I even became somewhat afraid of him. (Student-7)

In-person style of education involvement

This study found that despite sometimes using a laissez-faire approach or relying on others when participating in their children's education, working-class parents still demonstrate some level of in-person involvement. This kind of educational involvement can mainly be reflected in three aspects: changing the external learning environment, providing material support, and offering motivation and encouragement. For instance, Student-6 and Student-7 indicated that their parents had made a lot of effort to change the external learning environment for them, such as helping them study in a good school. As Student-6 said:

When I was studying in primary school, what impressed me the most was that my parents tried their best to send me to a good primary school in our city. After I graduated from my primary school, I couldn't get into a good middle school because my examination score wasn't so good... but my parents still found their friends to help me get into the best middle school in my hometown. (Student-6)

Some other students mentioned that providing material support is another way for their parents to support their academic learning. For instance, Student-2 indicated that her parents had invested a lot of money to support her in taking many extra academic tutorial lessons since she was in middle school, which was quite a big expense for her family every year. Similarly, Student-6 also stated that her parents would be willing to pay for and support her as long as she desires to learn. However, some students complained that using material support to compensate for limited education involvement did not seem wise. For example, Student-7 said that:

I chose to study art, and my parents didn't object... for my education, they did nothing except give me money. They believe that by spending money, they can compensate for their limited participation in my education. (Student-7)

Regarding the motivation and encouragement that working-class parents provide for their child's academic learning, it is often based on providing negative examples or peer comparisons. For instance, Student-5 said:

By giving some negative examples, my parents encouraged me not to be like those young workers in my father's factory who didn't study hard at school and had to face many difficulties in society. (Student-5)

In addition to giving negative examples, Student-8 mentioned that her parents motivated her to study hard through peer comparison. She recalled that:

My parents used to compare me with a classmate of mine who studies very well. They said that you two should be at the same level because you both studied in the same primary school, and your academic performance was good when you first entered middle school. Therefore, it is reasonable for you to attend the best high school like her. (Student-8)

Discussion and conclusion

This study has found that laissez-faire, reliance on others, and in-person styles are the three main ways in which working-class parents participate in higher vocational college students' educational involvement.

Regarding the education involvement approaches, some previous researchers have found that working-class parents may adopt a natural way to participate in their children's education. They view their child's development as an "accomplishment of natural growth," which, to some extent, reflects working-class parents' positive inclination to educate their children through their own cultural lens (Weininger et al., 2015). However, for the Chinese working-class parents in this study, their laissez-faire style in their child's educational involvement is more closely related to their limited knowledge, time, and energy during their child's higher education. For example, some parents are occupied with their livelihood, while others lack sufficient knowledge to guide their children in academic learning or to offer advice on educational choices.

This laissez-faire style in their child's education is more of a helpless choice for Chinese working-class parents. This study also noted that when parents possess the necessary competence to support their children in the primary or middle school stages, they are more willing to participate in their child's educational activities.

This study found that reliance on others is also an important way for Chinese working-class parents to be involved in their child's education. Whether teachers or relatives, some parents prefer to delegate the responsibility of their children's education to those who are better educated. This finding is similar to previous research on Chinese working-class parents, which found that they sometimes transfer their educational responsibility to others, such as teachers (Yu, 2020; Kong, 2016).

The reason for this may be related to other people who possess more cultural capital than working-class parents. According to Bourdieu's cultural capital theory (Bourdieu, 2018), parents with less cultural capital may have less privilege in helping their children achieve academic success. These parents are often unfamiliar with

educational institutions and lack education information (Weininger & Lareau, 2003), so they rely on the teacher's authority (Lareau & Calarco, 2012). Meanwhile, Chinese working-class parents may also transfer their education responsibility to others due to their lack of confidence, stemming from their own lower educational background (Xu & Montgomery, 2021; Lareau & Calarco, 2012). Bourdieu's cultural capital theory considered individuals' education background as a kind of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2018) and to some extent parents' institutionalised cultural capital can impact their confidence in their children's education involvement. Therefore, working-class parents with poor educational background may feel unconfident and may even believe that they could not educate or support their children by themselves (Xu & Montgomery, 2021).

Although working-class parents have shown a tendency to transfer education responsibility to others, this study found that some still tried to participate in their children's education in-person. They have made efforts such as changing the external learning environment, providing material support, and offering motivation and encouragement through negative examples or peer comparisons for their child's academic learning. However, these working-class parents' education involvement seems to focus more on adjusting the influence of external factors (learning environment or material support) on their child's education, rather than providing sufficient communication, companionship, or suitable encouragement to stimulate their child's intrinsic learning motivation. This could provide evidence to explain why working-class parents may lack awareness of, and fail to prevent their children's educational problems, and why they have the tendency to solve problems only as they arise (Lareau & Cox, 2011), such as to change the learning environment when they find that their child's academic performance suffers. Additionally, although some working-class parents tried to use their own experiences to help their children make academic decisions, it seems that their advice often contradict their child's own educational preferences. On the one hand, this problem may be related to working-class parents' insufficient participation in their children's education process, meaning that they lack adequate communication to understand their child's real learning and development needs. On the other hand, it may also related to the difference in cultural capital between working-class parents and their children, because most of the parents in this study have weaker educational backgrounds than their children. In contrast from previous studies about working-class parents' education involvement, this study has added more detail and content about how these parents are involved in their child's education in China. Previous studies from the perspective of cultural capital theory consider that working-class parents may lack of cultural capital and have less involvement or privilege in supporting their child's

To a great degree, this study contributes to the use of cultural capital theory to understand working-class parents' education involvement in the Chinese context. It also provides new insights that are meaningful for reconsidering the influence of parental education at different levels among Chinese parents on their child's development. Furthermore, this study also provides a deeper understanding of higher vocational college students' perceptions of their parents' education involvement, which might enhance their higher education learning outcomes, enhance school-family cooperation, improve education quality in vocational school, and reduce education inequalities between general university and higher vocational education.

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