

Cultural Capital and Higher Education Expectations: Insights from PISA 2018

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Abstract

This study examines the relationship between cultural capital and students' higher education (HE) expectations among six major origins of international students in U.S. HE institutions, using PISA 2018 data—the only cycle that measured global competence and related indicators of cultural capital. Through logistic regression analysis, it explores how non-financial assets like global awareness, interest in other cultures, and attitudes toward immigrants are associated with HE aspirations. The analysis reveals that cultural capital, such as home possessions and students' global awareness and interest in other cultures, positively correlates with students' HE expectations across these six origins. Conversely, parents' education levels and expectations for their child to complete HE show negative associations, suggesting a potential disconnect in the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital for international HE. This study highlights the complex dynamics between intergenerational cultural capital and global norms favoring the U.S. HE, offering insights into the inherently uneven global playing field.

Keywords: Cultural capital, higher education expectations, international student mobility, global inequality in higher education, logistic regression, social mobility, Western-centric global norm

Introduction

Parents' desire to provide the good, better, or best for their children often translates into their support for higher education (HE), perceived as a pathway to improved employment and income prospects (Kasnauskiene et al., 2024; Kurt & Gumus, 2021; Shin, 2020). Yet, the highly privatized and hierarchical nature of HE often perpetuates inequality, reinforcing an inherently uneven global playing field (De Wit & Altbach, 2021; Hubbard et al., 2021). To explore these dynamics, this study draws on Bourdieu's (2021) concept of cultural capital—non-financial assets such as global awareness, interests in other cultures, and attitudes toward immigrants. Using PISA 2018 data—an international assessment of 15-year-old students, the only cycle that measured these assets for both students and their parents—this study examines the relationship

between their cultural capital and HE expectations across six major origins of international students in the U.S. These six countries/economies were selected due to their consistent ranking among the top 30 origins of international students in the U.S. from 2018 to 2023 (Institute of International Education, 2023). By analyzing logistic regression results, this study examines how global norms favoring U.S. HE intersect with familial and individual cultural capital and HE aspirations, highlighting the strong presence of Western-centric notions of HE and valid knowledge (Cortina, 2019).

Literature Review

European Contexts

Studies conducted in European contexts highlight that factors beyond personal traits, such as socioeconomic status (SES) and cultural elements (e.g., family perceptions of education), play a significant role in shaping aspirations (Baillergeau & Duyvendak, 2022; Friesen & Purc-Stephenson, 2016; Hadjar et al., 2021; Schörner & Bittmann, 2023). Schörner and Bittmann (2023) further elaborate on the "mutually dependent processes of aspiration formations within families," indicating that both the child's perception of their parents' aspirations and the parents' actual aspirations are crucial in influencing the child's educational goals and aspirations.

Latin American Contexts

Research in Latin American contexts shows that HE aspirations are significantly shaped by family-related cultural and social factors (Fraga & Bagolin, 2023; Liñan Segura, 2020). In Mexico, the desire for social mobility and the responsibility to support one's family by "becoming somebody" are crucial in shaping HE aspirations (Liñan Segura, 2020). Fraga and Bagolin (2023) emphasize parents' education levels and students' motivations in achieving personal goals and meeting family expectations for better socioeconomic status.

Asian Contexts

Studies from China, India, and South Korea highlight that family expectations and societal pressures shape HE aspirations, while historical and political factors unique to each country also play a significant role (Buser De, 2023; Guan & Ploner, 2020; Lee, 2022). In China, the Cultural Revolution disrupted traditional educational paths and redefined societal values, embedding an emphasis on academic success and social prestige ('Mianzi') in family expectations, making HE crucial for restoring family honor (Guan & Ploner, 2020). In India, neoliberal reforms in the early 1990s led to the privatization of education, expanding access to HE for lower-income families and positioning it as a key factor for social mobility and improved marital prospects (Buser De, 2023). These contexts reflect broader societal transformations influencing HE aspirations. These historical and political contexts reflect broader societal transformations influencing HE aspirations.

Aspiration For International HE

Studies on international HE often highlight students' preference for studying in the Anglophone Global North countries (Díaz, 2018; Shin, 2020; Wang, 2022; Yu, 2024). The U.S., in particular, remains the top destination for international students, hosting over 1 million during the 2022-2023 academic year (Institute of International Education, 2023). Shin (2020) presents the concept of "exit rhetoric," suggesting how globalization motivates individuals with financial means to pursue quality education and resources abroad, which creates the power dynamics and hegemony driving international student mobility. Lee (2021) analyzes how class, gender, race/ethnicity, and cultural and historical contexts shape the decision-making process for international HE. Also, the concept of 'edugration' highlights the intersection of education and immigration, critiquing how HE institutions partake in global immigration systems (Brunner, 2021).

Influences On Educational Aspirations And Knowledge Perceptions

Scholars critique how international student mobility in HE perpetuates social inequalities and favors Western knowledge systems (Mendes, 2022; Pereira et al., 2018; Stein & Silva, 2020). Discussions on the colonial and cultural

dynamics affecting HE argue for recognizing diverse global knowledge systems often marginalized by dominant Western academic norms (Cortina, 2019; Rodríguez-Vargas & Collins, 2023; Santos, 2024; Takayama, 2020). However, these critiques have not fully exploited the potential of International Large-Scale Assessments (ILSAs) in this area. This study seeks to fill this gap by utilizing ILSA data to examine the relationship between cultural capital and students' HE expectations, thereby providing a more robust empirical foundation that bolsters critiques of HE's role in reinforcing global inequities.

Theoretical Framework

Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is instrumental in understanding how educational aspirations are shaped. It is non-financial social assets valued by society that enhance an individual's social mobility (Bourdieu, 2021) and exists in three forms: institutionalized (e.g., parents' level of education), objectified (e.g., home possessions, an indicator of family income in PISA), and embodied state (e.g., global awareness, interests in other cultures, and attitude toward immigrants). Bourdieu argues that cultural capital reproduces social structures through mechanisms like the education system, perpetuating social inequalities. This study examines the relationship between cultural capital and students' HE expectations, suggesting that the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital shapes students' HE expectations.

Methodology

Based on the literature on international HE, particularly international student mobility from non-Western countries to Western or Anglophone Global North countries (Díaz, 2018; Wang, 2022), this study examined whether the relationship between cultural capital and students' HE expectations varied among six major origins of international students in U.S. HE institutions: Brazil, Mexico, Hong Kong, South Korea, Germany, and Italy. These six countries/economies consistently ranked among the top 30 origins of international students in the U.S. from 2018 to 2023 (Institute of International Education, 2023). This study used PISA 2018 data, an international assessment of 15-year-old students, because it was the only cycle that measured their global competence and related cultural capital. It employed logistic regression analysis to analyze the relationship between multiple categorical and continuous independent variables and a binary dependent variable, using the International Database (IDB) Analyzer, a tool provided by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Appendix A provides detailed variable information (see Table 1).

Results

Logistic regression analysis across the six countries/economies revealed that home possessions had a statistically significant positive relationship with students' HE in all six origins. Students' awareness of global issues, interest in learning about other cultures, and attitudes toward immigrants also had a statistically significant positive relationship with HE expectations in all six origins, except that students' awareness of global issues in South Korea showed no significant association. In contrast, parents' expectations for their child to complete HE and parents' education levels were generally negatively associated with students' HE expectations in all six origins, though the statistical significance varied across the countries. Appendix B, C, and D provide detailed results by region (see Table 2A, 2B, and 2C).

Discussion

The findings reveal complex relationships between various cultural capitals and students' HE expectations across six countries/economies. Parents' expectations and education levels were predominantly negatively associated with students' HE expectations, diverging from studies in European, Latin American, and Asian contexts that emphasize parental influence as central to aspiration formation (Fraga & Bagolin, 2023; Guan & Ploner, 2020; Schörner and Bittmann, 2023). Conversely, home possessions and students' awareness of global issues, interest in other cultures, and attitudes toward immigrants were mostly positively associated, aligning with prior studies in European contexts that highlight the role of socioeconomic and

cultural factors (Baillergeau & Duyvendak, 2022; Friesen & Purc-Stephenson, 2016; Hadjar et al., 2021; Schörner & Bittmann, 2023).

These contrasting associations suggest a potential disconnect between familial cultural capital and students' HE expectations, highlighting the complex dynamics of intergenerational value transmission. Despite possible disconnects in 2018, by 2022 —when most students who took PISA 2018 had reached college age—these six countries/economies remained major origins of international students in the U.S. HE institutions from 2018 to 2023 (Institute of International Education, 2023). This sustained pattern points to factors beyond cultural capital that shape students' HE expectations. While intergenerational value transmission plays a role at the lower secondary level, the global norm favoring U.S. HE appears to override this intergenerational disconnect over time, reinforcing the Western-centric idea of valid knowledge and the dominance of U.S. HE institutions as a pathway to social mobility (De Wit & Altbach, 2021; Cortina, 2019; Shin, 2020).

Conclusion

This study explored the relationship between cultural capital and students' HE expectations across six major origins of international students in U.S. HE institutions using PISA 2018 data. The findings revealed that cultural capital, in the form of home possessions, global awareness, and attitudes toward other cultures, played a significant role in shaping HE aspirations. At the same time, parental expectations and education levels presented a potential disconnect, signaling the complexity of intergenerational value transmission regarding HE.

Despite diverse cultural and socioeconomic conditions, the consistent flow of students from these countries/economies to U.S. HE institutions reflects shared global expectations for pursuing international HE in the U.S. This suggests that students' HE aspirations are shaped not only by familial or individual cultural capital but also by broader structural forces that reinforce U.S. HE as a source of globally prestigious and socially mobile knowledge. However, access to this norm remains largely limited to students with the necessary financial resources, perpetuating global inequalities and reinforcing a Western-centric view of desirable educational outcomes. Future research should explore how these dynamics operate across a wider range of cultural and economic contexts to better inform policies that promote equitable access to HE.

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Appendix A

Table 1

Variables, definitions, and descriptive stats (N=28,785)

Variable	Definition and description	Mean	SD
<i>Dependent variable</i>			
Student's expectation to complete higher education	Do you expect to complete? <ISCED level 5A or 6> 0=No, 1=Yes	.61	.487
<i>Independent variables</i>			
<u><i>Institutionalized state</i></u>			
Mother's education	Level of education 0=None, 1=ISCED 1, 2=ISCED 2, 3=ISCED 3B, C, 4=ISCED 3A, ISCED 4, 5=ISCED 5B, 6=ISCED 5A, 6	3.83	1.812
Father's education	Level of education 0=None, 1=ISCED 1, 2=ISCED 2, 3=ISCED 3B, C, 4=ISCED 3A, ISCED 4, 5=ISCED 5B, 6=ISCED 5A, 6	3.80	1.849
<u><i>Objectified state</i></u>			
Home Possessions	Index home possessions (WLE)	-0.60	1.171
<u><i>Embodied state</i></u>			
Parent's expectation of the child to complete HE	Which of the following do you expect your child to complete? [ISCED level 5A or 6] 0=No, 1=Yes	.71	.455
Parent's awareness of global issues	Parents' awareness of global issues (WLE)	-0.17	0.978
Parent's interest in learning about other cultures	Parents' interest in learning about other cultures (WLE)	-0.08	0.978
Parent's attitude toward immigrants	Parents' attitudes towards immigrants (WLE)	-0.13	0.955
Student's awareness of global issues	Student's awareness of global issues (WLE)	-0.12	0.965
Student's interest in learning about other cultures	Student's interest in learning about other cultures (WLE)	-0.05	0.985
Student's attitude toward immigrants	Student's attitudes towards immigrants (WLE)	0.08	0.944

Note. ISCED = International Standard Classification of Education; level 5A = community colleges or vocational institutes leading to an associate's degree; level 6 = 4-year university or other education institution leading to a bachelor's degree

Appendix B

Table 2A

Logistic Regression Models for the Relationship between Cultural Capital and Student's Expectation for Higher Education in Brazil and Mexico

Source	Brazil (n=5,082)			Mexico (n=4,070)			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>	
<u><i>Objectified state</i></u>							
Home Possessions	0.308***	0.043	1.361	0.145**	0.042	1.156	
<u><i>Embodied state</i></u>							
Parent's expectation of the child to complete HE	-1.383***	0.117	0.251	-1.573***	0.124	0.207	
Student's awareness of global issues	0.338***	0.044	1.402	0.181***	0.052	1.199	
Parent's awareness of global issues	0.087*	0.043	1.091	0.047	0.040	1.048	
Student's interest in learning about other cultures	0.206***	0.049	1.229	0.198***	0.044	1.219	
Parent's interest in learning about other cultures	-0.014	0.037	0.986	-0.038	0.040	0.963	
Student's attitude toward immigrants	0.189**	0.057	1.208	0.165**	0.053	1.179	
Parent's attitude toward immigrants	-0.136**	0.047	0.873	-0.019	0.046	0.982	
<u><i>Institutionalized state</i></u>							
Mother's education	1	-0.376*	0.174	-0.918***	0.256	0.399	
	2	-0.385*	0.180	-0.475*	0.197	0.622	
	3	-0.422**	0.139	0.656	-0.394*	0.156	0.674
	4	-0.504	0.266	0.604	-0.370	0.297	0.690
	5	-0.414**	0.136	0.661	-0.164	0.165	0.849
	6	-0.375**	0.149	0.687	-0.196	0.170	0.822
Father's education	1	0.112	0.159	1.119	-0.275	0.211	0.760
	2	0.284	0.152	1.328	-0.380	0.203	0.684
	3	0.326*	0.157	1.386	-0.377**	0.143	0.686
	4	-0.102	0.264	0.903	-0.162	0.327	0.851
	5	0.065	0.132	1.067	-0.180	0.153	0.835
	6	-0.039	0.143	0.962	-0.189	0.145	0.828
Constant	2.393***	0.112	10.948	1.950	0.137	7.030	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix C

Table 2B

Logistic Regression Models for the Relationship between Cultural Capital and Student's Expectation for Higher Education in Hong Kong and South Korea

Source	Hong Kong (n=4,830)			South Korea (n=6,292)			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>	
<u><i>Objectified state</i></u>							
Home Possessions	0.240***	0.044	1.271	0.435***	0.070	1.545	
<u><i>Embodied state</i></u>							
Parent's expectation of the child to complete HE	-1.648***	0.087	0.192	-1.719***	0.103	0.179	
Student's awareness of global issues	0.218***	0.043	1.244	-0.005	0.051	0.995	
Parent's awareness of global issues	-0.080	0.045	0.923	-0.012	0.050	0.989	
Student's interest in learning about other cultures	0.245***	0.042	1.277	0.117**	0.037	1.125	
Parent's interest in learning about other cultures	-0.062	0.047	0.940	-0.018	0.050	0.982	
Student's attitude toward immigrants	0.112	0.047	1.119	0.155**	0.047	1.167	
Parent's attitude toward immigrants	-0.024	0.044	0.976	-0.025	0.046	0.976	
<u><i>Institutionalized state</i></u>							
Mother's education	1	-0.818***	0.220	0.441	-1.239	1.146	0.290
	2	-0.537**	0.186	0.585	-0.147	0.364	0.863
	3	-0.539**	0.173	0.583	-0.296	0.211	0.744
	4	-0.487**	0.165	0.615	-0.396**	0.160	0.673
	5	-0.499**	0.154	0.607	-0.463***	0.111	0.629
	6	-0.556**	0.193	0.574	-0.329**	0.151	0.720
Father's education	1	-1.077***	0.215	0.341	-0.841	0.743	0.431
	2	-0.787***	0.172	0.455	-0.456	0.347	0.634
	3	-0.714***	0.151	0.490	-0.663**	0.221	0.515
	4	-0.697***	0.138	0.498	-0.458**	0.146	0.633
	5	-0.840***	0.133	0.432	-0.356***	0.102	0.700
	6	-0.832***	0.162	0.435	-0.307	0.211	0.735
Constant		2.166***	0.153	8.720	2.198***	0.073	9.010

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix D

Table 2C

Logistic Regression Models for the Relationship between Cultural Capital and Student's Expectation for Higher Education in Germany and Italy

Source	Germany (n=1,307)			Italy (n=7,204)		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>
<u><i>Objectified state</i></u>						
Home Possessions	0.372***	0.100	1.451	0.600***	0.080	1.823
<u><i>Embodied state</i></u>						
Parent's expectation of the child to complete HE	-1.566***	0.159	0.209	-2.153***	0.106	0.116
Student's awareness of global issues	0.266***	0.073	1.305	0.242***	0.053	1.273
Parent's awareness of global issues	-0.047	0.083	0.954	-0.044	0.052	0.957
Student's interest in learning about other cultures	0.295**	0.098	1.344	0.278***	0.055	1.320
Parent's interest in learning about other cultures	-0.051	0.076	0.950	-0.019	0.050	0.981
Student's attitude toward immigrants	0.104	0.095	1.109	0.176***	0.050	1.193
Parent's attitude toward immigrants	0.059	0.068	1.061	-0.011	0.060	0.989
<u><i>Institutionalized state</i></u>						
Mother's education	1	-1.523*	0.689	-0.540	0.609	0.583
	2	-20.984***	0.233	0.000	-0.194	0.824
	3	-0.700**	0.216	0.497	-0.268	0.765
	4	0.074	0.431	1.077	-0.189	0.828
	5	-0.221	0.178	0.802	0.024	1.024
	6	-0.076	0.320	0.927	-0.218	0.804
Father's education	1	-0.795	0.772	0.451	0.493	1.638
	2	1.412***	0.270	4.103	-0.328	0.720
	3	-0.496*	0.213	0.609	-0.352*	0.703
	4	-0.717	0.367	0.488	-0.390	0.677
	5	-0.663***	0.177	0.515	-0.176	0.839
	6	-0.363*	0.183	0.696	-0.364	0.695
Constant	1.003***	0.213	2.728	1.549***	0.110	4.706

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$