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Relationship between Cultural Capital and Level of Parental Participation in Primary Education in Migori County, Kenya

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Abstract:

This paper is part of a larger doctoral study to explore the relationship between the community capitals and level of parental participation in primary education in Migori County, Kenya. The paper focuses on the cultural capital, which is one of the community capitals. A questionnaire was used to collect the data from 436 parents of children learning in 16 primary schools. The reliability and the construct validity of the questionnaire was ascertained through the Cronbach's Alpha test and Exploratory Factor Analysis, respectively. The study showed that there was a statistically significant correlation between cultural capital and the level of parental participation in primary education ($r = .328$). The aspect of cultural capital that was found to contribute most ($r = .395$) to the correlation was the attitude towards early marriage.

Keywords: Cultural capital, parental participation, primary education

1. Introduction

Parental participation has been recognized as an invaluable input in the education of their children because education does not only take place in school but also at home and in the community at large (Ngwaru & Oluga, 2015). The parents' role of up-bringing their children is incomplete without supporting the education of the children. UNESCO (2017) observes that parents are the first educators of their children and that the support they provide affects their children's learning and development. Mahuro and Hungi (2016) observes that if children are to reap maximum benefits in their education then they must enjoy parental support. They add that evidence from research has shown that parental participation in their children's schooling gives a positive effect on their learning outcomes. Due to importance of parental participation in achieving desired education outcomes, a lot of research and policy guidelines continue to focus on it (Domina, 2005). A demonstration of the importance of parental participation has been witnessed in England where a policy intervention was put in place to offer parenting classes through a trial initiative from 2012 to 2014, called CANParent, which laid emphasis on the importance of a conducive home environment (Vincent, 2017).

Carolan-Silva (2011) also observes that in countries with universal education, researchers and policy makers have focused on parental participation in children's education as a means to promote higher academic achievement. For example, one of the guiding principles in its approach to the competency-based education in Kenya is parental participation. In this principle, it is noted that parents play a very important role in determining the success of a child's education and that they have as shared responsibility with schools to provide an enabling environment that is conducive to learning and which motivates the children to achieve their full potential (Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development [KICD], 2017).

A review of literature shows that there are two directions taken by research on parental participation in education. One direction focuses on the parental participation in relation to the achievement of education outcomes, such as in Loomis and Akkari (2012), Gonzalez (2002) and Jeynes (2005). In taking this direction, it should be noted that parental participation occurs within the wider contexts situated in the community (Mahuro & Hungi, 2016; Ziersch, A, Osborne, K. & Baum, 2011). Barton, Drake, Perez, St. Louis and George (2004) note that parental participation in education is a set of relationships and actions that are produced and bounded by the context in which that participation takes place. For that reason, the second direction focuses on the community contexts underlying the parental participation in education, such as in Smrekar and Cohen-Vogel (2001). According to Smrekar and Cohen-Vogel, more studies have focused on the outcomes of parental participation than on the contexts affecting the participation. This is a gap that needs to be addressed. This study is therefore motivated by the need to address the gap. One of community contexts that impact on development activities, such as parental participation, are the community capitals. Flora, Flora, Fey and Emery (2007), observe that the communities that realized sustainable development, such as in education, were effectively utilizing all the categories of the community capitals. According to Flora et al (2007), there are seven categories of community capitals, namely, natural

(environmental) capital, produced (physical) capital, human capital, social capital, cultural capital, political capital and financial capital. This paper focuses on the cultural capital, which are the actions, attitudes and values that make a group of people have a shared identity.

A study done by Driessen, Smit and Slegers (2005) to examine the effect of parental participation and the academic achievement in Dutch primary education implied a relationship between parental participation and cultural capital, which they captured under socio-economic status and ethnic background. In their paper on the insights from Israeli Jewish parental participation in the primary education of their children, Erdreich and Golden (2017) noted that the participation is shaped by culture. In another study in California, Smrekar and Cohen-Vogel (2001) found out that culture is one of the factors which contribute to parental participation education.

In a public forum to collate views to guide the development plan for Migori County, Kenya, it was observed that the negative attitude of parents toward education in general, child labour and early marriages constitute the main problems in education in the County (Republic of Kenya, 2013). The attitudes of the parents are shaped by the cultural capital of the community. In the forum, it was also observed that access to education for girls is impacted on negatively by certain cultural orientations that encourage or condone early marriages and early pregnancies. About 17% of women aged between 15 and 49 years are married before the age of 15 years, thus compromising their transition to secondary education. The observations of the forum suggest an influence of cultural capital of a community on the parental participation in the education. This study therefore sought to investigate the relationship between the cultural capital and the level of parental participation in primary education in Migori County, Kenya.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Cultural Capital and Parental Participation in Education

Flora, Flora, Fey and Emery (2007), describe cultural capital as the traditional ways of doing things, comprising the habits and attitudes. Common habits and attitudes among a group of people gives them an identity. Green and Haines (2008), describe cultural capital as the actions, beliefs, attitudes, and values that make people have a shared identity as a community. The 'actions' are both forms of cultural capital and also the results of cultural capital in a given context. In this study, the actions would be such as the facilitation of enrolment and transition from primary to secondary education by the parents. Sullivan (2001), views cultural capital simply as the ability to understand and use 'educated' language. This view fits well in the context of education. The 'educated' language comprises the attitudes, values and language of the parents. For example, a parent should have positive attitude towards education and inculcate values in their children which promote education. Cultural capital influences what voices are heard and listened to within a community, which voices have influence in what areas (Emery, Fey & Flora, 2006). Ways of knowing, ways of acting, what people value, what people take for granted, local talents, spirituality are examples of cultural capital.

The concept of cultural capital has much of its roots on the theoretical and empirical work of Pierre Bourdieu, a social theorist. Bourdieu (1986), is a strong advocate of incorporating the cultural capital as one of the means of production and hence, an important aspect of development, which includes education. Munk and Krarup (2011), note that culture determines and influences the good manners in the educational system and the extent to which parents and children strive to obtain the recognition in meeting education outcomes. Maschall (2004), observes that culture influences how people utilize the other capitals. This observation implies that culture plays a pivotal role in the parental participation in education. Zabihi and Pordel (2011), seem to concur with this observation and add that culture is a variable which has proved to be effective in identifying the factors to which individuals ascribe their success or failure. For example, certain parents may have adequate financial capital to enroll their children in school and maintain them to completion, yet they fail to do that because of a cultural orientation. Erdreich and Golden (2017) note that the cultural capital that parent use in the upbringing of their children is shaped and informed by the cultural capital of the whole community.

There are studies which have been carried out on the relationship between cultural capital and parental participation. A study in Guatemala to find out the determinants of participation in community projects showed that cultural capital is one of the major determinants of the participation (Wiebe, 2000). In another study in Netherlands to investigate the effect of parental participation on student performance, Cabus and Ariës (2017) found out that the performance depends a home climate that is supportive of what goes on in school. They particularly observe that the language that the parents use in discussing the homework given at school has the greatest positive influence on language skills. In a study done in America to establish whether there is a relationship between religiosity and participation in community affairs, Park and Smith (2002), found out that there is a positive relationship between religiosity, a cultural capital, and participation not only in religious activities, but in 'non-religious' activities such as education. In America, a study to find out the relationship between cultural capital and parental involvement in the learning of their children, Ringenberg, McElwee and Israel (2009), showed that there is a relationship between cultural capital and parental participation in improving the quality of education. In the study by Park and Smith, parental participation is correlated with only one aspect of cultural capital, that is, religiosity, while the one by Ringenberg et al, it is correlated to the various aspects of cultural capital as captured in the Bourdieu's conceptualization of cultural capital.

Although many studies have established a relationship between parental participation and culture, Smith and Moore (2013) observe that this relationship is not generalisable across cultures. They argue that a cultural practice may influence parental participation positively in one community and a negatively in another community. They continue to point out that certain parental behaviours are viewed as inappropriate in one community, but may be considered nurturing in another. The observation by Smith therefore raises the necessity of more studies on the relationship between cultural capital and the parental participation in education within a community. The observation also resonates with that of Fan and Chen (2001) that there are a number of unsettled issues related to research on

parental participation and that research findings in this area have been somewhat inconsistent. This study, therefore, is intended to make a contribution to the findings on the relationship between the cultural capital and parental participation.

The measurement of cultural capital, as captured in various literature, are based on identifying the aspects which constitute it. In a conference paper on measuring cultural capital, Eames (2012), holds the view that the measurement should be based on the ideologies and values of the local community. Eames suggests that these ideologies and values can be captured from individual members of the community, without specifying the categories of individuals to be involved. In a study on the influence of family systems on the gender education gap in developing countries, Vleuten (2016) observes that, as much as community cultural capital is important for education, it is elusive to measure at the community level. She, however, noted that the family is a measurable cultural institution, which provides information about the underlying rules, norms and preferences in the community. In a study to construct and validate a questionnaire to measure cultural capital in the context of Iran, Pishghadam, Noghani, and Zabihi (2011) concur with Eames that the aspects of cultural capital can be captured from the individuals. In the study by Pishghadam et al. (2011), however, the measurement of cultural capital was based on a specific category of the individuals, the university students. In this study, the measurement of cultural capital will be also be based on specific members of the community, the parents who have children in primary schools. The aspects of cultural capital that were measured in this study were the parents' attitudes in relation to education in general, their attitude towards education of girls and boys, attitude towards early marriages and child labour. The measurement were used in the study to find out how the extent to which the cultural capital is related to the level of parental participation in primary education outcomes.

2.2. A Model of Measuring Parental Participation

In this study empirical data was gathered on the level of parental participation in primary education. Before gathering the data, it was necessary to model parental participation in a way that renders it objectively measurable. Fan and Chen (2001) observes that parental participation is not a simple uni-dimensional entity but is multi-faceted since it involves a wide variety of parental behavioural patterns and parenting practices. They continue to observe that some of these behavioural patterns and practices have more noticeable effects than others. The implication of this is that the aspects of parental participation should be carefully identified in any study. Carolan-Silva (2011) suggests two categories of parental participation from which some aspects can be derived for its measurement. The first category focuses on the roles of the parents in the education of their own children, which are 'parents as responsible for child rearing' and 'parents as co-teachers'. The second category focuses on the roles in the work of the school as an institution, which are 'parents as providers of support for the school' and 'parents as decision makers'. Domina (2005) and Seginer (2006) suggest that aspects of parental participation should be categorized as school-based and home-based practices. By noting that parents are partners in the formal and informal education, Loomis seem to support Domina and Seginer since informal education comprises what takes place both in school and at home. In their qualitative study, Smrekar and Cohen-Vogel (2001) conceptualized parental participation as comprising the experiences and activities located in both the home and school.

In an empirical analysis of a survey data from Detroit on citizens' participation in education, Marschall (2004) identified parental participation along the following aspects; talking to friends about the school, contacting officials about the school, and attending school meetings. Although Marchall captures the school and the community contexts, it is silent on the home context. According to the World Bank (1999), community participation in education, and by extension, parental participation in education, should be modelled as; establishing suitable environments that support children's learning, helping the children at home with curriculum-related homework, participating in decision-making in school meetings, and collaborating with the community to strengthen school programmes. Marschall converges with the World Bank on the school and community contexts, but the World Bank includes the home context.

In a paper to explore the notion of parental participation, based on data obtained from a study in Uganda, Suzuki (2002) observes that parental participation is should be viewed from the individual and collective perspectives. The individual and collective perspectives in this notion cover the home and school contexts of parental participation. In the paper, Suzuki points out that parents should participate in the education individually and collectively, and also noting that the participation is an important means of assuring accountability in the management of schools. The parenting, helping children with homework, and communicating with the school are examples of participation at individual level, while participating in meetings collaborating with the community are collective participation. On the communication aspect of parental participation, CFS (2005), emphasizes that it is important since some problems in the child's life may go unnoticed by the school and will not be addressed if parents don't communicate promptly and effective with the schools. Parental participation should, therefore, capture the home and school contexts.

In the measurement of parental participation in education, it is important to note that the participation is not just for the sake, but to achieve the desirable education outcomes. The international community has identified certain education outcomes, which have guided studies, policies and actions, among others. These outcomes are about equitable access to education (across age, region and gender) and quality (UNESCO, 2005). The desirable education outcomes should be an equitable access to quality education, as captured in Goal Four of the SDGs. Parental participation can then be viewed with respect to the 'access' and 'quality' aspects of education outcomes. Some of the conventional indicators of education outcomes are; gross enrolment rate, net enrolment rate, completion rate, gender parity, attendance rate, transition rate and academic achievements. The enrolment, attendance, completion and transition rates are determinants of the level of access. The role of the parents in the access to education is important since they influence whether the children enroll in a school (enrolment rate), how frequently the children go to school (attendance rate), for how long they stay in school (completion rate), whether or not they proceed to the next level (transition rate) and on the academic achievements (Ngwaru & Oluga, 2015; UNESCO, 2002). The quality of education is determined by the knowledge, skills and values which the children acquire through education. The parents are also expected to play a significant role in the quality of education of

their children, for example, by providing them with learning materials, helping them in their assignments and instilling positive values in them.

Parental participation in this study was therefore modeled along three considerations. The first was that parental participation comprises the roles of parents in the education of their own children and in the work of the school as an institution (Carolan-Silva, 2011). The second consideration was that the parental practices are both school-based and home-based (Seniger, 2006; Domina, 2005; Maschall, 2004; Suzuki, 2002; Smrekar & Cohen-Vogel, 2001). The third consideration was that parental participation should be responsive (supportive) to the access, gender parity and quality aspects of education. This third consideration led to identifying three important aspects of parental participation in education as ‘access-responsive participation’, ‘gender-responsive participation’ and ‘quality-responsive participation’. The three aspects of parental participation factored in the home, school and community contexts.

3. Methodology

The study was cross-sectional survey targeting the parents who have children in the primary schools in Migori County, Kenya. The county is subdivided into eight administrative regions, called sub-counties. Two primary schools, one private and the other public, from each of the sub-counties, giving a total of 16 schools, were purposively sampled to represent the different types of schools and the diversity in the study area. A sample of 436 parents of children in the 16 schools was obtained by random sampling. A questionnaire was used to collect data on the human capital, social capital, cultural capital and financial capital of the parents and their level of participation in primary education of their children. This article reports on the cultural capital and its relationship with the level of parental participation. The data on cultural capital was obtained through five items (see Table 1), each measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, in which 5 was the highest. The measure of the cultural capital was the sum of the scores for each item. The data on the level of parental participation was obtained through eighteen items (see Table 2), each measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, in which 5 was the highest.

The construct validity of the questionnaire was ascertained by Exploratory Factor Analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 20. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), and Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) recommend Factor Analysis as a suitable tool for checking the construct validity of the items in an instrument. Binks-Cantrelland, Joshi and Washburn (2012) and Ang (2005) employed Exploratory Factor Analysis to check construct validity of instruments used in their studies. The Factor Analysis groups variables together under one factor depending on how much they are inter-correlated to the factor. To carry out the Exploratory Factor Analysis, the data was first analysed using the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) Measure of Sampling Adequacy. A sample is considered adequate if its KMO measure is at least .5 (Field, 2009). The scale for measuring the four community capitals, which included the cultural capital, and that of the level of parental participation both returned a KMO measure of .70, showing that the sample was adequate for Factor Analysis. Principal Component Analysis with Kaiser Normalization was then done for the two scales in the questionnaire. Varimax orthogonal rotation method was used because the factors were considered to be independent of each other. Table 1 shows that the five items designed to measure cultural can be reduced to only two factors, or groups. Each of the three decimal-place number shown in the table is a factor loading, which represents how strongly a variable contributes to each factor (Binks-Cantrell, Joshi & Washburn, 2012). The factor loadings range from -1 to 1. According to Binks-Cantrell et al., the threshold factor loading for a variable to be included in a given factor is .3. All the items (representing variables) had factor loadings of at least .3 for the factors under which they fall, showing that the scale for measuring the cultural capital had a construct validity. The underlined factor loadings in the column of a factor correspond to the items which were included in the factor.

Item in the questionnaire for measuring cultural capital	Factor	
	1	2
Importance of education of a child	<u>.703</u>	.119
Importance of educating a girl-child	<u>.891</u>	-.012
Importance of educating a boy-child	<u>.904</u>	.020
A child leaving primary school for employment to earn money	.005	<u>.867</u>
A girl leaving primary school for marriage	.109	<u>.852</u>

Table 1: Exploratory Factor Analysis for Cultural capital

Source: Adapted from Odhiambo J. (2017).

The factors were then assigned titles as follows.

Factor 1: Value attached to education of children

- Importance of education of a child
- Importance of educating a girl-child
- Importance of educating a boy-child

Factor 2: Attitude towards child labour and early marriage

- A child leaving primary school for employment to earn money
- A girl leaving primary school for marriage

The Exploratory Factor Analysis also reduced the eighteen items designed for measuring the level of parental participation to six factors as shown in Table 2. The grouping shows that the scale for measuring the level of parental participation in primary education had a construct validity since all the variables have factor loadings of at least .3 for the factors under which they fall. The underlined factor loadings in the column of a factor corresponds to the items which were included in the factor.

Item in the questionnaire	Factor					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Age of child at Standard Seven .....	.228	.015	-.079	.257	.307	.067
School attendance of child .....	.068	-.040	-.024	.096	.029	.840
Would like child to complete primary school	.037	.078	.052	.872	.122	-.025
Would like child to proceed to secondary education	.065	.109	.159	.865	.010	.040
Care about punctuality of child at school ...	-.058	.024	.022	-.064	.010	.834
Girl favoured for secondary education	-.041	.041	.124	-.006	.837	.057
Boy favoured for secondary education	-.027	.276	.153	.117	.735	-.058
Alright for a girl to leave school for marriage	.043	.905	.161	.145	.156	.016
Alright for a boy to leave school for marriage	.017	.911	.223	.062	.132	-.033
Alright for a girl even without education ...	.076	.225	.851	.070	.122	-.023
Alright for a boy even without education ...	.074	.161	.876	.130	.099	.027
Checks homework of child .....	.664	-.093	.259	-.063	.099	-.035
Helps child with homework .....	.561	-.143	.200	-.006	.154	-.092
Discuss with teachers about child .....	.626	-.104	-.004	.039	.030	-.013
Buy books for child by own judgment ....	.654	.096	.069	-.006	-.156	-.036
Buy books for child when told by teachers	.738	.108	.015	.080	-.121	.033
Encourage child to work hard .....	.741	.193	-.058	.059	.087	.050
Advises children of other people to work hard	.650	.027	-.130	.121	.014	.091

Table 2: Exploratory Factor Analysis for parental participation
Source: Odhiambo J. (2017)

The factors of parental participation were assigned titles as follows.

➤ *Access-responsive participation*

Factor 4: Enrolment, completion and transition

- Age of child at Standard Seven
- Would like child to complete primary school
- Would like child to proceed to secondary education

Factor 6: Attendance of school programmes

- School attendance of child
- Care about punctuality of child at school

➤ *Gender-responsive participation*

Factor 2: Attitude towards early marriage and child labour by gender

- Alright for a girl to leave school for marriage or job
- Alright for a boy to leave school for marriage or job

Factor 3: Attitude towards doing well in education by gender

- Alright for a girl even without doing well in education
- Alright for a boy even without doing well in education

Factor 5: Attitude towards transition from primary to secondary by gender

- Girl favoured for secondary education
- Boy favoured for secondary education

➤ *Quality-responsive participation (Factor 1)*

- Checks homework of child
- Helps child with homework
- Discuss with teachers about child
- Buy books for child by own judgment
- Buy books for child when told by teachers
- Encourage child to work hard
- Advises children of other people to work hard

The level of reliability of the items in the questionnaire used to measure cultural capital together with those used to measure the level of parental participation returned a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .769, which is a high reliability. The data collected by the instruments were therefore valid and reliable for making conclusions and recommendation from the findings.

4. Findings

4.1. The Level of Cultural Capital of the Parents

Cultural capital comprise the attitudes and values (Green and Haines, 2008). To measure the attitude and values in the context of primary education, the parents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with given statements. Table 3 shows the findings. Statements 1 to 3 in the table represent a culture that is responsive to primary education. The extent to which a respondent agrees to the statements, therefore indicates the extent of cultural capital of the respondent. Statements 4 and 5 in the same table represent a culture that is not responsive to primary education. The extent to which a respondent disagrees with the statements, therefore, indicates the extent of cultural capital of the respondent.

Statement	Attitude or value attached					Average on scale 1 to 5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree	
1. Education of a child is important	1%	1%	1%	16%	81%	4.74
2. Educating a girl-child is important	3%	2%	1%	19%	75%	4.65
3. Educating a boy-child is important	2%	2%	4%	23%	69%	4.56
Mean of importance of education						4.65
4. Alright if child leaves primary school for employment (Child labour).	73%	11%	4%	4%	8%	4.38
5. Alright if a girl leaves primary school for marriage (Early marriage).	86%	7%	3%	2%	2%	4.74
Overall						4.61

Table 3: Attitude and value attached to education

Source: Odhiambo, J. (2017)

It was found out that 98% of the parents agree that education of a child is important, 94% agree that education of a girl-child is important and 92% of them agree that education of a boy-child is important. This shows that a very high proportion of the parents attach value to the education of the children, which translates into a high level of cultural capital. It was also found out that 84% of the parents do not support (disagree with) child labour and 93% do not support early marriage. This is a high level of cultural capital in terms of these aspects. However, it should be noted that 12% of the parents still support (agree with) child labour. This is a significant proportion for a non-responsive practice. The proportion most likely include parents who have employed children under the age of 18 years or have released their children to be employed. From the economic perspective, the proportion include both the poor and the relatively rich parents. The proportion is therefore within expectation since the poor release their children for child labour and the richer ones employ the children.

In a study to examine how children in domestic labour in Kenya access and participate in education, Munene and Ruto (2010) observed that one of the expanding forms of child labour is carried out within the private residences, hence difficult to detect and eradicate. The parents who are culprits of child labour would normally not be expected to admit that they have released their children for employment to earn money or have employed children. In this study, therefore, a proxy indicator was used to detect the existence of child labour. The parents were just required to indicate the level of their approval of child labour, which was the proxy indicator.

Concerning early marriages, only 4% of the parents support (agree with) it. The percentage is small but the finding means that such people are there in the community. This percentage, however, does not purport to represent the rate of early marriage in Migori County. The proportion may represent the parents who have facilitated early marriage or have not done that but just see nothing wrong with it.

The level of community cultural capital was analysed in terms of the means on the scale of 1 to 5 as shown in Table 3. The mean level of the importance to which the parents attach to education of children was found to be 4.65. The mean level of attitude against child labour was 4.38 and that of the level of attitude against early marriage was higher, at 4.74.

In overall, the level of cultural capital that support parental participation in primary education in the study area was high at an overall mean of 4.61 on the scale of 1 to 5. This equivalent to a level of 3.61 on a scale of 0 to 4, which translates into a 90% level of cultural capital. The community still has 10% of its cultural practices that do not support parental participation in primary education.

4.2. Relationship between Cultural Capital and the Level of Parental Participation

The objective of the study was to examine the relationship between the cultural capital and the level of parental participation in primary education in Migori County. Using the Pearson product moment correlation, a statistically significant correlation was found between social capital and the level of parental participation in primary education ($r = .395$, $p = .000$). The finding is similar to that in a study in Guatemala to find out the determinants of participation in community projects which showed that cultural capital is one of the major determinants of the participation (Wiebe, 2000). Although the participation in Wiebe's study covered a wide range of

community development activities it has a lot of parallel with parental participation in education. Wiebe, for example, notes that some members of the community could not participate adequately because, in their cultural thinking, certain development projects are associated with other societies, especially the developed countries which sponsor such projects. In the context of education, such people would associate formal education with the alien cultures and hence not take it seriously. Wiebe goes ahead to use the Roger's and Burdige's diffusion of innovation model to illustrate the relationship between cultural capital and participation. The pioneers of the model suggest that in a given population 13.5% are very early adopters, 34% are early adopters, 34% are late adopters and 16% are very late adopters. Culture plays an important role in all this, according to Wiebe. It can then be observed that the extent to which the parents adopt the idea of participation in education of their children depends significantly on their cultural capital.

It was considered important in this study to also analyse the relationships between the aspects of cultural capital and those of the parental participation. Three aspects of cultural capital were used in this analysis. The first aspect comprised the three variables that were grouped as Factor 1 in the Exploratory Factor Analysis. The second aspect was the attitude towards child labour and the third aspect was the attitude towards early marriage. Table 4 shows the correlation between each of the three aspects of cultural capital with the aspects of parental participation in primary education.

Aspect of cultural capital	Correlation, significant at $p < .05$			
	Access-responsive participation	Gender-responsive participation	Quality-responsive participation	Level of parental participation
Value attached to education of children (Factor 1)	.116	.114	.210	.240
Attitude towards child labour	.203	.305	.113	.296
Attitude toward early marriage	.138	.341	.154	.328

Table 4: Correlation between aspects of cultural capital and level of parental participation
Source: Odhiambo J. (2017)

Table 4 shows that all the aspects of cultural capital have statistically significant positive correlation with all the three aspects of parental participation and with the parental participation as a whole. This finding shows that cultural capital has a significant influence on the parental participation. The finding supports that of Erdreich and Golden (2017) that the cultural capitals in a community shapes the upbringing of children in the whole community. Parental participation in education is one of the important ways of upbringing children.

The findings shown in Table 4 shows that the value to which parents attach to the education of their children has positive correlations with all the aspects of parental participation. The correlations are, however, very small for the access-responsive participation ($r = .116$) and gender-responsive participation ($r = .114$). The correlation is higher for the quality-responsive participation ($r = .210$) and for the overall parental participation ($r = .240$). This shows that the value to which parents attach to education has more influence on the quality-responsive participation than on the access-responsive and gender-responsive participation. Blimpo, Evans and Lahire (2015), in a study in Gambia on parental human capital and participation, found out that over 90% of the parents had high aspirations for their children. They observed that the parents want their children to study to the highest level and enter careers with high social esteem. The observation, according to them, indicate that these parents care about and value the education of their children. It is therefore clear that most parents recognize the importance of the education of their children.

The attitude of parents towards child labour has greatest correlation with the gender-responsive participation. Since child labour is a non-responsive outcome, this finding means that a parent who does not condone or practice child labour has a more gender-responsive participation than the one who condones or practices child labour. The finding also shows that attitude towards child labour also influences the access-responsive participation level. The attitude of the parents towards early marriages also has a greater correlation with gender-responsive participation than the other two aspects of parental participation. Again, early marriage is an undesirable outcome, hence the less supportive the attitude towards early marriage is, the higher is the level of gender-responsive participation.

Child labour and early marriages have been identified as issues that impact negatively on primary education in Migori County, according to observations made at the deliberations at a development planning forum (Republic of Kenya. (2013). The observations are supported by that of Munene and Ruto (2010) in their study on the child labour and access to education in Kenya. Although the correlations found in this study are just moderate, the fact that they are positive shows that the two issues have at least some influence on the primary education as allude at the forum.

4.3. Conclusions

The level of cultural capital among the parents was found to be very high, at a rating of 90% out of 100% on the scale used in the study for measuring cultural capital. Viewed differently, this finding showed that the parents, as a community, still has 10% of its cultural practices that do not support parental participation in primary education. There was a statistically significant moderate relationship ($r = .328$) between the cultural capital and the level of parental participation in primary education in Migori County. The attitude towards early marriage was found to be an outstanding aspect of cultural capital since it had a greater level of relationship ($r = .395$) with the parental participation, compared to the other aspects considered in the study.

5. References

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