Socio-Cultural Factors Influencing Young People’s Access to Higher Education: Study of Young People from Kogi State, Nigeria

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ABSTRACT
This paper discusses the socio-cultural factors influencing young people’s access into higher education, particularly as it has to do with young people from Kogi State, Nigeria. Previous studies have centred predominantly on literatures. This paper is able to extend study to the young people themselves, particularly in hearing the young people’s voices and experiences. This paper combines both rural and urban youth to seeing what inhibit or constrain their access to formal education and particularly higher educational level at the appropriate age. The total sample used for this study is 60 participants, with the use of both descriptive and exploratory methods, i.e., the quantitative and qualitative. The paper concluded by suggesting the different ways in which government and non-government policy making bodies could facilitate more young people into the higher educational institutions.

Keywords: Higher Education, Socio-culture, Rural, Urban, Young people

INTRODUCTION
Significantly, it has been observed that higher education serves as instrumental force to achieving social, cultural, intellectual, economic, and political development of any nation (Republic of South Africa, 1997). For instance, a recent report asserts that Africa records the highest level of return to investments in higher education with about 21% (State of Education in Africa Report, 2015). It has further been argued that higher education holds the potentials for nurturing the less developed economies and attainment of equitable level of development for the marginalized and socially disadvantaged groups (State of Education in Africa Report, 2015).

Accordingly, the specific objective of this paper includes identifying the different socio-cultural factors that influence young people’s access to higher education. Based on the above objective, this paper is guided by the following research: what are the different socio-cultural contexts influencing young people’s access to higher education?

What should be known?
Very limited studies have focused on the socio-cultural context and other relational social factors like poverty in unfolding multiple realities on how young people’s access to higher education are or influenced in Kogi State. This study therefore is significant as it sets out to unravel the challenges facing young people with regards to achieving their higher educational goals. It is necessary to document the various norms, beliefs and ideas in their socio-cultural milieu that impact on young people within their local context.

What this study will add
Since several studies have used quantitative methods in examining learner’s enrolment and dropping out of school, this study extends the focus to wider different social contexts such as traditions, culture,
norms, values and beliefs and other relational factors which may influence young people’s access to higher education.

Implications

This research incorporates both the rural and urban scholars in terms of those factors that may be facilitating or inhibiting their access to formal education and particularly higher educational level at the appropriate age. The findings of this study will provide innovative insights into those factors that are influential on young people’s access to higher education and also provide reliable data for positive policies and educational responses to be made. The voices of young people with focus on gaining access or entry into higher education are chiefly absent from existing literature and this thesis seeks to address this identified gap.

Apart from contributing to existing knowledge, the findings of this study will also assist the government, opinion leaders and other stakeholders in planning and implementing intervention programmes which will mitigate the effect of poverty and socio-cultural impediments among young people particularly in Nigeria and especially, Kogi State. Additionally, findings from this study will provide relevant information that could serve as a tool for further research inquiring into the factors that limit Nigerian young people's access in terms of gaining entry and completion of studies at higher educational level.

Socio-cultural Factors and Access to Higher Education

The development of sociological discourse and research have focused attention on social issues from one that is primarily concerned with individual rationality to an explanation of cultural norms, values, religious beliefs and practices that places individuals within their social context. Evidence from this study suggests that the capacity for securing access and retaining their enrolment in higher educational institutions is not entirely determined by the rational considerations of individuals, but principally depends on the socio-cultural context in which certain beliefs, norms and values take place.

Most research studies on young people’s access to education dealt primarily with the statistical reports of the proportion of learners mostly, young people who are either in-school, out of school or those dropping out of school. There has not been any extensive study through the voices of young people themselves on the effects of socio-cultural context on their access to school especially to higher institutions of learning.

However, some of the existing studies have identified some determinant factors that may facilitate or discourage access to formal education among different age groups in their specific contexts (Nakpodia, 2010; Olaniyan 2011; Abdurkarim and Ali, 2012; Dichaba, 2013; Aliyu, 2015). For instance, culture has been identified as a major component which may impede access to education. In a Tanzanian study, Ngoitiko (2008) assessed the multi-facet factors that impacted on girls’ education among the marginalized group of Massai. In spite of the various efforts by the Tanzanian government to promote Massai girls’ education notably with the development of MED, that is ‘Massai Education Discovery’ which offers free education to girls in the region, gender disparity was found to exist as male education were prioritised over their female counterparts. One of the factors that were found to have accounted for the unequal access to education among the Massai was the dominant patriarchal culture which encourages male dominance and subjugation of women as inferiors with marginalised positions observable by forced marriages, heavy workloads and other physical constraints that limit girls’ access to formal education.

In a study that reveals the perceptions of parents on factors that determine girl-child’ access to formal education in the northern part of Nigeria, Eweniyi and Usman (2013) found that, one of the major social factors that shape access to education for a girl-child is parental religious orientation. Most parents expressed their fulfilment in adhering to their religious obligation which entails denying their female children access to western education. Similar findings have also been reported in a study by Bagudo (2007) on assessment of girl-child education in Sokoto State, also in northern Nigeria. Due to parental religious beliefs and love for Qu’ranic education for their children, Bagudo observed that female children were restrained from attending formal schools. This was coupled with the trepidation that formal education may expose their children to other religious orientations, western values and teenage pregnancy (Bagudo, 2007; Eweniyi and Usman, 2013).
Additionally, studies have found that there is a close link between economic status and access to school. For instance, in a study conducted in the Eastern part of Nigeria, Onyeka (2013) observes that a number of young men were dropping out of school in pursuance of prosperous businesses. As this study observes, a number of young men could not complete their secondary school education while some who could do not attempt to seek entry into higher degree education due to the notion that they would find it easier to accumulate wealth as young businessmen than undergoing rigorous pathway of higher education. However, as Onyeka (2013) concludes, many of the young men in this setting do not become successful business men due to lack of adequate skills and literacy level that higher education would have imbued on them.

In a related study that examined key determinant of school drop-out in Uganda, Mike et al. (2008) identifies parental educational status as key determinant to young people’s access to school. The study observes that parents with high academic attainment are most likely to facilitate access for their young adults and prevent them from dropping out of school than the non-educated parents.

A similar study was conducted in Nigeria to reveal the socio-economic and educational attainment of parents as instrumental to their children’s access to formal education. Through a critical review of existing literature, Kainuwa and Yusuf (2013) reported that parents’ level of education, occupation and income act as dominant influence on their attitudes towards their child’s education which also determines the level of support they provide for their children. It was observed in the review that parents with relatively high socio-economic status and educational attainment often facilitate their children’s access to school, and encourage achievement of higher educational goals.

In a Kenyan study, Mucee et al., (2014) examined the socio-cultural factors that influenced students’ access to secondary school in Tharaka south sub-county of Kenya. Through an opinion survey of teachers, principals, and head teachers in this region, the study found that family size, gender preference, parental educational attainment and social class are major influences that deter the young people’s access to school in the region. It was revealed that majority of parents in this setting are from large families (with 5-8 children) with limited economic resources. This led to preference for male children’s enrolment in secondary school with a number of parents involving their children in income generating activities. Also, given that only 1% of parents in this region had higher educational attainment, they lacked the capacity and social status to ensure the retention of their children’s enrolment in school or to facilitate their entry into higher education.

Taken together, the above studies highlights different ways in which certain factors such as socio-economic situation, parental religious and educational background and how certain practices may constrain young people’s access to school. However, a major criticism of this literature is that most of the studies were conducted among stakeholders in relation to young people attending primary, secondary schools and tertiary institutions. There is a need to reach out of school young people in order to explore the disparities and similarities in their experiences and factors that impacted on their educational attainment.

Having explored the various social and cultural factors that shape young people’s access to education, it is pertinent to expand this review to examine existing studies on the influence of gender disparity on young people’s access to formal education, which the next subsection does.

In another relevant study, Amadi (2014) examines the effect of socio-cultural factors on the girl-child’s access to formal education in Ihiala local government of Anambra State, (Nigeria). The study argues that family socio-economic background, parental attitudes towards girl-child, effects of early marriages all combine to influence females from gaining access to formal education. This concurs with Adedokun (2012) who observes that women’s participation in the political sphere has continued to be hindered due to gender norms and for cultural reasons. The above studies further corroborate the assertion of Sutherland-Addy (2005) stating that:

“Socio-cultural factors place a premium on the productive and domestic roles of girls and women. The girl-child is made to assist mother or female relatives in playing their domestic roles, and to make transition into adulthood role of wife, mother or producers of food and other economic goods and services. Her chances of completing secondary education are lost. Thus, girls have less incentive to persist through secondary education because of the gender roles associated with them and are not deemed to require high level skills or academic background” (p53).
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Bourdieu’s Social and Cultural Capital

Pierrie Bourdieu, a renowned scholar in the field of sociology was especially prominent in the area of education, culture and political sociology. He was an author of almost 40 books and about 400 articles (Calhoun and Wacquant, 2002; Reed-Danahey, 2005). It is not surprising therefore that in Africa and Nigeria as a focus, the work of Bourdieu is taking a gradual diffusion, even though his core concepts have recently been pronounced interdisciplinary. To date, sociologists have become inclined to the work of Bourdieu, whether in chronological or reversed order.

The French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), is popularly recognized as one of the most preeminent sociologists of the late twentieth century (Coulhoun and Waquant, 2002). His theoretical contributions (in social theory) and methodological works have been of global influence and remained prominent in different academic fields of social sciences including political science, economics, educational research and essentially relevant to sociological analysis of the contemporary society (Reed-Danahey, 2004). Basically, there are two versions of Bourdieuan theory. The first is his theory of society generally termed as “practical theory” in which he emphasizes the significant role of social interaction and specific context of study objects in more accurate and complete sense. The second strand is Bourdieu’s concepts of *habitus* alongside with other concepts of different forms of capital which are linked in complex ways to his theory and together deepens understanding of the workings of power relations in human society as a whole (Bourdieu, 1984).

Bourdieu’s social and cultural capital and its roles have generated considerable attention or interests. He uses his theory of social reproduction to explain his cultural capital. The inequalities experienced in young people’s higher education are traceable to cultural capital. The focus of social reproduction is on family, education and social class. He opined education to play a supportive role in the reproduction of social class within society, increasing social inequalities and social exclusion. Bourdieu’s cultural capital can be viewed from the educational perspective. His argument includes that young people who have educational cultural capital are being rewarded in terms of educational qualifications and a better future life while those young people without educational capital have penalties in the future (Bourdieu, 1977). Schools, where these young people acquire their educational qualifications are therefore referred to as the agents of social exclusion (for non-cultural capitalists) and reproduction for cultural capitalists (Bourdieu, 1977).

According to Bourdieu, (1980), in attaining cultural capital and educational attainment, the roles of family cannot be underestimated as an agent of socialization for transferring cultural capital from parents to offspring, in a relatively vicious circle. Reflecting the class position, the concept of his ‘*habitus*’ introduced a form of cultural inheritance making only the elite’s capital to be valued and recognized in society (Bourdieu, 1984). Young people from the elite family are therefore exposed to elite culture and are generally at an advantage. Once the differences between the two classes are created, it could lead to “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990:5). It depicts that parental cultural capital is the background required for cultural capital to be transmitted from one generation to another generation.

The conditions for cultural capital to be transmitted from one generation to another include the following: Strong inference between parents and the young people’s cultural capital; association must be persistence; parental cultural capital must have significant effects on young people’s initial occupational achievement and young people’s cultural capital must be inclined by parental cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990:5).

Although there are a number of theoretical positions that analyze Bourdieu’s theories in the field of sociology, they share similarities with respect to their ways of situating/viewing some of his key concepts (for example, different forms of capital) within the networks of social relationships. According to Bourdieu, there are different forms of capital, and social capital is considered as one of them. Bourdieu (1986) expresses social capital as one form of capital in comparison to other types of capital, particularly economic capital which on its own, is referred to as the momentary income and other financial resources and assets, and finds its institutional expression...
in poverty rights. Cultural capital exists in various forms including long-standing dispositions and habits acquired in the process of socialization, formal educational qualifications (like the higher education) and training, and the accumulation of valued cultural objects. Social capital is therefore the sum of actual and potential resources that can be mobilized through membership in social networks of individual actors and organizations. However, the social capital is also viewed from the perspective of human capital as suggested by Coleman (1988). In the main, one type of capital does not exist in isolation, but are considered to be influential to each other.

As it concerns this study, the researcher turns to Bourdieu’s concept of habitus to provide understanding of human society as a structure of social domination and oppression. This explains the various contexts that produce power relations within which young people’s access to higher education are constituted. For instance, Bourdieu (1984) in his book Distinction, discusses the habitus as “a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices” (Bourdieu, 1984: 170) or as “an internalized embodied social structures” (Bourdieu, 1989a:18). From this perspective, habitus consists of individuals’ deeply embedded or acquired habits, skills, thoughts, beliefs, interest, even tastes (for clothing, food, art, cultural objects) and understanding of the social world. That is to say in Bourdieuian’s terms, human habits and dispositions in the social world such as class consciousness are products of some internalized values, ideas, beliefs and norms that are inculcated in individuals through socialization – parental upbringing and some external forces operating within the local context of individuals. This may further include certain situations or conditions in one’s social environment in terms of the resources available to achieving/acquiring education. While habitus may generally be viewed as an internalized structure, Bourdieu argues that habitus is not an internal force (or based on natural drive) that determines our thoughts and actions. He argues instead that habitus only possesses the capacity to limit, maximize or regulate our thoughts/life styles within a range of structural or symbolic constraints. From this perspective, habitus is a sensibility acquired through one’s life-time which often determines our values and the ways in which individuals understood, thought of, and lived lives within specific social and cultural contexts. It could therefore be argued that individuals’ habitus can be produced, and modified by virtue of age, location, orientation, social class and experiences of the social context or field of social interactions. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1973, 1986) conceptualizes the concept of capital as the value given to material and non-material assets by everyone across different societies. Bourdieu’s notion provides a way of viewing the contemporary world in connection with class conflicts. He conceived capital as a form of power which could emerge in different forms. Essentially, Bourdieu (1987) describes capital as accumulated material and financial resources or assets which forms the basis of social life or what determines the placement of individuals in different social class in contemporary society. Thus, Bourdieu viewed economic capital to imply accumulated material and financial wealth or individuals capacities to acquire/gain access to wealth in a given context. He extended his analysis of capital beyond economic capacities to include the social, cultural and symbolic realms (or forms of capitals). As Bourdieu (1986; 1973) further postulates: social capital refers to valuable individual’s social networks and connections with social and formal groups such as friends, play groups, and membership of various organizations which may be based on acquaintances or at high level of recognition. Cultural capital is the embodied high status of cultural knowledge or resources like music, arts and practices that can serve as access to power for an individual. Lastly, there is symbolic capital which is conceived as the social placement, honour and prestigious status accorded to individuals that possess the different forms of capital once they are recognized as being legitimate. Having highlighted the four dimensions of capital as postulated by Bourdieu, this study specifically pays attention to his theoretical arguments of social and cultural forms of capital to seek understanding of the social context or interactional field that could be influential to young people’s access to higher education.

**Implications of Bourdieu’s Social and Cultural Capital Theories**

In his conception of social and cultural capital theories, Bourdieu’s (1973) argument is centered on the existence of class struggle and the ways in which societal structures are produced and reproduced in ways that are instrumental to the existence and reinforcement of social inequalities
across different social classes. As Bourdieu argues, modern societies are structured in the field of class relations, that is, an exercise of power through which the dominant class gain control over the less powerful class by placing recognition or legitimizing their values like the educational system, cultural goods and anything achievable to them (that is, the dominant class) as the bases of social life.

For instance, Bourdieu’s notion of social capital is explicitly focused on the social contexts that produce and reproduce dominant class in the capitalist societies. Social capital is explained in terms of individuals’ ability to sustain and utilize one’s social networks as resources to move up to a higher social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1986). Here, the emphasis is on values, socially negotiated ties (relationships) and resources. By way of implication, social capital becomes a resource or an investment in the social struggles and those with more social resources, (which in this context serve as a powerful tool for moving up to higher social hierarchy) use their valuable connections to accumulate more capital resources in order to maintain their dominant positions (Bourdieu, 1986, 1987). To put it succinctly, the higher the level of social networks or valuable connections an individual can mobilize, the higher the resources or social capital that individual is able to acquire. Thus, an important implication of Bourdieu’s analysis of social capital is that the type of social relations or groups that one belongs to, potentially determines the amount of social capital individuals can acquire. In furtherance to Bourdieu’s perspective, it has also been argued that habitus forms a powerful medium through which cultural capital are constructed, shaped and reproduced. In this sense, cultural capital is described in the form of non-monetary assets, a particular stock of knowledge and competencies acquired through educational knowledge/credentials, familiarity with cultural history or specific cultural practices which are found expressed in one’s behaviours, thoughts, class relations and practices (Bourdieu, 1986; Bennett and Silva, 2006).

In short, Bourdieu views culture as playing a determinant factor in the ways people respond to their surroundings. For instance, the working and lower class young people (students) are more likely to attend government universities and it is probably impossible for them to attend esteemed or relatively private institutions as may be compared to their upper class counterparts (Hearn, 1990; Goldrick-Rab and Pfeffer, 2009; Rosenbaum, 2004). As he (Bourdieu, 1990) further argues, there are three states of cultural capital: the first is the embodied cultural capital which explains the way individuals display their educational attainment through language, dispositions, and communication of knowledge, lifestyles and thus develop their characters and relationships. A typical example of cultural capital as Bourdieu discussed is linguistic capital which is the “mastery of, and relation to language” (Bourdieu 1990:114). This suggests language as constituting the major medium for expressing cultural norms, values, and beliefs that are critical for learning within formal settings (educational institutions) across different societies. The second is the objectified cultural capital which takes the form of cultural goods that are acquired by individuals. This consists of physical objects such as works of arts (paintings), books, dictionaries, and machines/instruments that can be transmitted in exchange for monetary benefits or acquisition of highly prestigious status which can further enable/facilitate individuals in possessing symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1979, 1990). Thirdly, the institutional form of cultural capital as discussed by Bourdieu (1990) explains the different patterns of institutional recognition and educational qualifications acquired by the individuals. These include academic success, certificates of competencies, diplomas and so on. In sum, the major argument behind cultural capital is the fact that it embodies or generates practices that establishes social hierarchies in a given context (field) across societies.

Critics of Pierre Bourdieu’s Concept of Social and Culture Capital

Bourdieu’s analysis has influenced recent works within the social theorists’ framework, particularly those adopting Bourdieu’s theories on young people and in educational research. Despite this, his ideas concerning some distinguishing features of his contexts have also attracted a number of criticisms which can be highlighted in what follows. Bourdieu concentrated on education as a major phenomenon or system that is responsible for cultural capital accumulation. Bourdieu sees the educational system in an urban industrialized society to be the legitimacy for class inequalities. His argument on educational systems is the basis for cultural value, that is,
education as a structured system is viewed as a field of struggle (Bourdieu, 1993:30) between power relations and between social classes which often forms the basis for domination, subordination or equivalent. Also, Bourdieu assumes that young people have equal opportunities and access to elite cultural capital. His idea of class inequality is a directional educational inequality. Additionally, the assertion that educational systems play a “pedagogic action” in cultural reproduction is arbitrary (Bourdieu 1990:23). The family is the first group that the young people associates with and as an agent of socialization, plays a significant role in terms of pedagogic activity rather than just schools. As Bourdieu puts it, that the schools role is “to conserve, transmit and inculcate the cultural canons of a society” (Bourdieu 1969:110). In this sense, educational systems are viewed as an agent for cultural reproduction. The idea of an educational system being a basis for social groups has therefore been over-flogged (Robinson and Garnier, 1985) and his theory lacks sufficient evidence (DiMaggio, 1979; Jenkins, 2002).

According to Honneth (1990), Bourdieu’s analysis of cultural capital is ambiguous in the way he conceived the dominant class as cultivating distinction for their own life-style in contrast to those in lower class. Wacquant (2005) posits that Bourdieu tends to institutionalize his concepts. For instance, social capital is invariably used like cognomen of those young people from the upper class and cultural capital as elite academic credentials.

The over representation of students from the dominant class household among prestigious disciplines, such as mathematics, literature and philosophy is paramount to his analysis. Bourdieu’s analysis has also been criticized in the sense that his work is not only basically “complex”, but difficult and confusing (Jenkins 2002:162). He fails to analyze the possibilities of class mobility, which is the possibility of individuals moving from one class to another through a significant change in economic capital leading to social and cultural capital. His analysis is confusing in that he argued against himself that the distribution of cultural capital did not correspond to the distribution of economic capital (Bourdieu 1973a: 87-94). No matter the closely knitted relationship between cultural capital and economic capital, cultural capital is not necessarily shaped by economic capital. For instance, due to the complex nature of Bourdieu’s objectivism and subjectivism, he introduced the concept of \textit{habitus} to recapitulate meanings of individuals to be of social action only. Critics hold that the concept of \textit{habitus} relates only to objectivism which Bourdieu disagrees with (Brubaker, 1985:746; Jenkins, 1992:18). Also, his concepts of social capital has been criticized for being a theoretically loose concept, and attributable to a number of tautological statements in his theory (such as the successful succeed, structuring of the structured/structured structure, and so on). One of the major criticisms of the Bourdieuan’s perspective is that it overwhelmingly focuses on economic and class conflicts and ignores the possible absence of class struggle/power relations in social relationships. Critics suggest the need to consider social networks beyond exploitation or economic interactions.

Another important limitation identified is the fact that Bourdieu’s theory is viewed as elastic. For instance only young people with rightful connections (such as those from wealthy background) are viewed as those who can access more social capitals. It flouts the possibilities that the less privilege may also benefit from their social ties. Finally, Bourdieu’s theories have further been criticized for seeing all actions as interest-oriented. Despite the above criticisms, however, Bourdieu’s view of \textit{habitus} in its social, economic, cultural and symbolic forms as instrumental to acquisition of capital offers a useful contribution. Such an understanding is essential to this study, as it focuses on the social and cultural systems that shape young people’s access to higher education. In addition, fundamental to this study is the importance of context, such as social, family background, religious and cultural viewpoints. Adopting a Bourdieuan perspective provides ways of thinking of various contexts that go beyond individual agency or personal decision making to explain the complexities of socio-cultural contexts and other relational positions (such as poverty) which influence young people’s higher educational attainment in African and particularly in the Nigerian context.
Relevance of Bourdieu to this study

Pierre Bourdieu’s theoretical/conceptual arguments of social and cultural capital to explore young people’s access to formal education as shaped within their socio-cultural factor. For instance, as it relates to this study, Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* is utilized to provide an understanding of human society as a structure of social domination and oppression. This explains the various contexts that produce power relations within which young people’s access to education are constituted. For instance, Bourdieu (1984) in his book, *Distinction*, discusses the *habitus* as “*a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices*” (Bourdieu, 1984: 170) or as “*an internalized embodied social structures*” (Bourdieu, 1989b:18). From this perspective, *habitus* consists of individuals’ deeply embedded or acquired habits, skills, thoughts, beliefs, interest, even taste (for clothing, food, art, cultural objects) and understanding of the social world. That is to say in Bourdieuan’s terms, human habits and dispositions in the social world such as class consciousness are products of some internalized values, ideas, beliefs and norms that are inculcated in individuals through socialization – parental upbringing and some external forces operating within the local context of individuals such as formal education. This may further include certain situations or conditions (such as poverty considering this in the present study) in one’s social environment in terms of the resources available to achieving/acquiring education. For instance, Bourdieu’s notion of social capital is explicitly focused on the social contexts that produce and reproduce the dominant class in capitalist societies. Social capital is explained in terms of individuals’ ability to sustain and utilize one’s social networks as resources to move up to higher social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1986). Here, the emphasis is on values, socially negotiated ties (relationships) and resources. In furtherance to Bourdieu’s perspective, it has also been argued that *habitus* forms a powerful medium through which cultural capital are constructed, shaped and reproduced. In this sense, cultural capital is described in the form of non-monetary assets, a particular stock of cultural knowledge and competencies acquired through educational knowledge/credentials, familiarity with cultural history and specific cultural practices which are expressed in one’s behaviours, thoughts, class relations and practices (Bourdieu, 1986; Bennett and Silva, 2006). In short, Bourdieu views culture as playing a determinant factor in the ways people respond to their surroundings. Bourdieu’s view of *habitus* in its social, economic, cultural and symbolic forms are instrumental to the acquisition of capital offers a useful contribution. This study supports the arguments of Bourdieu’s theory of social and cultural capital. Essentially, this study is presented as an effort to build upon and extend earlier quantitative applications of Bourdieu’s ideas, and to provide a more detailed knowledge of Bourdieu’s theoretical bedrocks. As revealed in the literature, the conventional approach in the quantitative research literature has been to focus on both in-school and out-of school young people who provide narrow analysis on what applies to Bourdieu’s idea of social and cultural capital. Consequently, the application of Bourdieu’s theory in understanding social inequality in the African context, especially as it affects Nigerian young people remains unclear. Thus, the aim of this study is to clarify Bourdieu’s concepts and to incorporate a Bourdieuan framework within the Nigerian context of the various ways the individual *habitus* have affected their choices of institutions and general access to higher education. Over the past ten decades, Africa and Nigeria in particular has experienced a tremendous increase in the numbers of higher education or higher institutions, or what is otherwise called the tertiary institutions. This experience has not changed the class division that has existed within the Nigerian society. The tremendous increase in higher education institutions in Nigeria has brought about different social opportunities and increase in upward mobility. To some, they have come to conclude that a diploma or even a degree is a meal ticket for an individual (Atwell and Lavin, 2007). Therefore attainment of a higher degree determines a greater future earning and occupational mobility (Gerber and Cheung, 2008). One can draw a summary from Bourdieu’s argument that social inequality drawn from higher education performs a social function of rewarding in terms of cultural capital through the acquisition of qualifications or results through meritocratic principles. Bourdieu postulates that the educational system is a major “pedagogic action” (Bourdieu 1990: 23).
As discussed earlier, the focus of this study is centered on socio-cultural factors on young people’s access to higher education. This is somewhat similar to Bourdieu’s empirical work. Comparing the different categories of students, Bourdieu observed that students from the upper class have over two-thirds enrollment in higher education. The present status “inherited cultural capital” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979:20-23) for these young people is achieved through an unconscious process of socialization. Not only that young people from industrialized society households have only about 2% enrollment in the university, they also lack “inherited cultural capital” to be engaged in academic curriculum or be part of the “scholastic market” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979:82). This is because academic discourse is distant for them from their family of orientation (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979). Those who pursue cultural capital accumulation are motivated to devote their support towards their children’s elitist cultural accomplishment, while those that pursue economic capital accumulation are more concerned with financial engagements. Others who are professionals engage in objective cultural and social connections (Bourdieu 1973a: 92-93).

In a related disposition, Bourdieu (1979), in dealing with his notion of cultural capital, studied students in different categories; the working student; elitist class or upper class students and the gender based (male and female test scores) differences. In his analysis of the academic performance of both male and female students, he described the performance of the female to be lower than their male counterparts; this is due to the different and unequal selection into their respective disciplines. It was found that females are unlikely to attend reputable or prestigious higher education or elite schools. Not surprising therefore, in the 1960s, “girls are condemned to enrolling in [in the less prestigious] arts faculties twice as often as boys” (Bourdieu et al., 1994:44).

Bourdieu’s framework is found relevant in providing perspective for this research despite the various limitations.

**METHODOLOGY**

This section focuses on the methodological approach used in addressing socio-cultural factors as a causal factor on young people’s access to higher education. Research methodology is viewed as a strategy, plan of action, process, or design lying behind the choice and the use of particular methods and linking the choice and desiring an achievable goal (Crotty 1998). It would identify the various steps that would be followed in the process of collecting and analyzing the data.

Given that the present study focuses on exploring young people’s access to higher education in relation to some underpinning factors, such as socio-cultural factors, this study adopts both exploratory and descriptive research design. One feature that led to the decision for these approaches is that exploratory research has the potential of providing explanation on a particular problem or a phenomenon which has not been clearly defined (Blaikie, 2006). In this context, the exploratory approach is in line with the qualitative research strategy which is the most suitable option for a study of this nature as it aims to produce what Mason (2002:3) describes as “rounded and contextual understanding on the basis of rich, nuanced and detailed data”.

Most empirical research on the effects of socio-cultural factors on education, particularly in African countries, has emphasized causal explanations and the frequent occurrence of young people dropping out of school or not attending school. Such findings provide little understanding of the various contexts and absence of the voices of young people themselves on what might be influencing their informed choices. Moreover, it is pertinent to this study to employ a method that would enhance a rich data in understanding the effects of social norms among young people in relation to their access to higher education.

Meanwhile, the descriptive aspect of the research would involve the use of questionnaire survey to gain general knowledge of the respondents on their biographical data, and their knowledge on factors that facilitate or limit young people’s access to higher education.

Furthermore, achieving this overall aim would provide a significant insight into the buttressing factors that shape young people’s access to higher education in this setting. In addition, the results of this study, aside from others will provide useful information for policy formulation and effective intervention strategies for young people in the study area, especially in relation to socio-cultural
factors as it facilitates or limits the young people’s access to higher education. Also, it will form a baseline data (secondary data) for subsequent research on young people’s access to higher education in Nigeria and Africa.

In line with the purpose of this study, the research sought transformative ways by adopting suitable methods of generating data that could maximize or provide in-depth understanding of socio-cultural factors which either facilitates or constrains young people’s encounter in achieving higher education. In this study, both data and methodological triangulation were adopted. Data collections included: the use of questionnaire (quantitative approach) and the use of individual in-depth interview (IDIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs) (qualitative approach). The use of triangulation in this study provided an in-depth understanding (qualitative) and current status (quantitative) of the intricacies of poverty, culture and traditional beliefs of the young people and the extent to which these have been associated with their access to higher education.

**Negotiating Access and Recruitment of Participants**

For both the in-school and out of school, the participants comprise equal numbers of females and males aged 18-28 who were selected for the administration of questionnaires, in-depth interviews and FGDs. The decision for this composition was to examine whether there would be differences or similarities in poverty and socio-cultural factors on young people’s access to higher education based on their gender. In addition, it is important to establish an approximate gender balance in the sample, in order to observe the influence of the various social contexts on both genders. One major reason that led to the decision of participants’ age restriction (18-28) was an attempt to ensure that they would be relatively independent in deciding on their own whether to participate in the study or not, without the need for the researcher to further seek parental approval.

In sum, non-probability sampling techniques was adopted for FGDs and in-depth interviews in order to reach the target sample quickly while probability sampling was adopted for the survey (questionnaire administration) in order to enhance more objectivity in the selection process.

The section that follows discusses the considerations given to sampling, the criteria, sampling frame, sampling size and sampling methods.

**ANALYSIS OF DATA**

Table 1 and participants’ comments from IDIs and FGDs present the influence of some existing norms on young people in relation to their negotiation or non-negotiation of access to higher education in the research setting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Strongly Agree (%)</th>
<th>Disagree (%)</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree (%)</th>
<th>Agree (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Young people in your community generally want to pursue higher education?</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Achieving higher education accords some respect among friends and community members</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Did somebody influence your decision to pursue (or not to pursue) higher education</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Do you think that people with higher education qualification are likely to become more successful in life?</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Are there traditional practices within your family or community that discourage people to pursue higher education?</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated by the on campus respondents, a high percentage (85%) of them strongly agreed that young people generally want to pursue higher education in their communities. It was also confirmed
by a significant majority of (91.7%) who having achieved higher education are accorded some respect among friends and community members. As revealed earlier, a number of on campus young people in an FGD session also attest to the fact that education was a priority for most young people and it was giving them reasons to be proud among peers, representing their hope to securing a brighter future. The following FGD data illustrates their comments starting with the on campus females:

Facilitator: Let’s talk about individual hopes and aspirations...
...well, now that I made it to higher institution I want to pass all my exams so that I can become someone of high reputation in life... it’s good to be well educated, apart from the fact that it is highly prestigious in our place, I will also be able to get a good job and excel above those that didn’t go to school... [others nodding in agreement]
...yes, it’s prestigious to be highly educated, especially in our town here...nobody will look down on you when you’re educated...people will just have to respect you when you talk in public...that’s why even if your parents cannot afford to pay your school fees, you will want to do anything to get money on your own to go to school...so that in future you will have opportunities to get good job, good life and so many other good things...

...in fact as a woman, men of high caliber cannot ask you for marriage if you’re not educated... (How?)...ah because generally men want educated women even when they’re not educated...so if you’re not educated as woman, only lower cadre men will be after you...[others nodding in agreement]

And for the male in-school participants in one of the FGDs:
...it is only after completing your higher institution you can get good jobs, and live quality life...it will also make your parents proud...
...nothing good is easy to come by, so most of us try hard to do all that is possible to do well in school...just because of the future benefits...

In another FGDs with males:
...anything you want to do in life requires education... with your certificate life is easier...I went to Lagos to visit my elder brother during our last holiday...he has a car, beautiful rented apartment, and doing a nice job...and I just love it...

Yeah....like my father would say, if you don’t want to end up a farmer like me then you have to be studious and get all the marks....personally I love to do sophisticated jobs...you know, good office work...and I hate to be the odd one out of my peers...

As mentioned earlier, many respondents in the study appeared to have been socialized or highly sensitized towards western education as a gateway to a brighter future and psychological well-being. Thus, acquiring higher education is of key importance among young people in this setting. As revealed in the above quotations, both young males and females consistently noted the importance of achieving higher education as a concept of success and prestigious social status within their social circle. Even among the out of campus respondents in the in-depth interviews, higher education was viewed as admirable. One female interviewee currently out of campus said:

“...my dream is to be a lawyer. We’re two girls and two boys in my family... my elderly ones are all in higher institutions, and one had just finished... so I don’t want to be left out, I’m praying hard to pass my JAMB this time around so that I can achieve my dream by going back to school...” [IDI, out of school: female, aged 22]

And another (male):
...well, I thank God because my business is growing bigger and bigger, I have money to spend and care for my family... so I’m not losing both sides... (Interviewer: How do you mean?) ...ah you know in our area people always mock or look down on people that didn’t go to school...even educated girls will tell you they can’t marry you if you don’t go to school like them...they think they have many advantages over you...but I have money that some of them that are well educated did not have now...I have about 5 people working under me now...am even planning to go back to school soon...I want to start a part-time study for ND certificate... [IDI, out of school: male, aged 26]

...em [ ]...I’m an apprentice at the moment...I’m just doing it to avoid being idle...I plan to further my education...but I need to retake my WAEC exam and Jamb...the whole thing look impossible to me but I pray for God to help me pass my Maths and English...even when I become fashion designer I still want to go school...I don’t want my secondary school mates to start seeing me as inferior to them...then people don’t really respect you when you speak in public like the educated ones...then going back to school will make my parents proud...[IDI, out of school: female, aged 18]

Another out of campus respondent commented that:

Umm.. I’ve failed the entering exam three times now and I’ve given up furthering my education...even though my father kept encouraging me... my mom also kept pestering me that my sister is now ahead of me that I should keep trying...you know, they both kept asking people to talk to me...my friends and other people around would not let me be...so I’ve decided to go for another trial... [IDI, out of school: male aged 21]

From the data information, it became clear that even when the young people have no stable financial income or are relatively buoyant, they still prefer to pursue higher education to ‘build’ their self-esteem or personalities which accords respect in their societies. A typical example is the young man (aged 26) who was ready to negotiate access to campus by enrolling in a part-time study to obtain a higher degree certificate. Also, a good number of participants regardless of gender made reference to their religion or some of their religious groups as a motivating factor for their decisions to further their study at a higher educational level. The following comments allude to the Christian religion being a dominant influence on young people’s interest in pursuing higher education:

....well, I already know the importance of education...then everything is changed now...you need your certificate to do many things...even before you can go to seminary school to be a Reverend father, you must first complete your higher institution...[IDI, in-school: male, aged 27]

Ah, we pray daily for God’s provision ...about 4 of my home cell1 members in my church are now working in Abuja after their service year (NYSC)2... no body want to be the left out...our pastor is also helping people to raise money especially if you are known as serious member of the church.... [FGD, in-school: female, aged 23]

...our pastor encourage us a lot...they inform us during church announcement whenever the Jamb form is out/open...they encourage us to pass Jamb and gain

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1 Home Cell: Members of same church living within same area performing some religious functions outside church hour and vicinities.
2 NYSC: National Youth Service Corp
admission to higher institution... we have been made to understand that we cannot even spread of our Lord’s gospel if we’re not educated...to evangelize, do soul winning works requires high level of education this days... [IDI, in-school: female, aged 24]

And another:
...like our pastor used to say in our youth group...that without education, how can we get a good job or money to serve God better?...then we have been made to realize that education will provide us gainful employment for us if we can serve God, and help the less privilege...[FGD, in-school: male]

....then if we look at the Bible some of the disciples of Jesus was well learned...Luke is Doctor even Paul is a lawyer... {all laughed} [FGD, in-school: male]

...one of my source of encouragement is my youth leader in church...many times they organize extra moral classes for us as youth in the church...whenever we’re writing exams the pastor calls for group intercessory prayer to pray for us so that we can have remarkable success...honestly, our churches encourage every one of us to do well in school...they also pray for our parents’ businesses to prosper so that they can have sufficient money to pay our school fees... [IDI, in-school: female, aged 20]

From these quotations, a major reason drawn in favour of western education is the domination of Christianity in the region. Most of the participants in this study are Christians; hence a number of them mentioned their religion as an important factor that encourages them to go school. References were made to their pastors, church group leaders, and peers in church who have influenced them in different ways to further their education. Essentially, one of the empirical studies that utilized nationally representative data to study educational achievement in Nigeria have observed that young people belonging to Christian households are five times more likely to embrace formal education and attend school than children from Muslim households (Kazeem et al., 2010). This corroborates existing literatures which argues that some cultures might be academically advantageous to formal education than others (Thernstrom, and Thernstrom, 2003).

Another related study conducted in North-East and North-Western Nigeria have also affirmed that the majority of young members from Islamic households in these regions have negative perceptions about western education and are least likely to attend formal education (Lincove, 2009). In addition, it could also be observed that the spread of western education came with the British colonial domination in most parts of Nigeria. With the exception of the Northeast and North-western region where the use of indirect rule gave power to Northern religious leaders to prohibit western education in their regions, Christian missionaries exploited the colonial period to spread western education in other parts of the country (Aguolu, 1979, Aluede, 2006).

As revealed earlier in this study, the research area was formally a geopolitical unit and province under the British administration during the period of colonial government in Nigeria. During the colonial epoch, only a few people had attained formal education and educational credentials were used as instruments to confer power and dominance (Smythe, 1958). Several missionary schools were established in their geographical locations throughout the colonial era and early periods after colonialism哪 which added a dimension to the studied communities in terms of their exposure to formal education. Similar to some Nigerian communities, education is generally valued and viewed as a tool to success in human capital and economic advancement. Thus, apart from their centeredness on religious and other traditional values (such as music, diet, dress, songs, rituals, dances, folklore, beliefs

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3Nigerian government built upon after independence with the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) across the nation (Bray 1981).
which are entirely strictly bounded by their cultural and historical contexts), the study locality is also known for their strong interest in formal education. Families with a large number of well-educated members are highly respected in the study setting.

At a theoretical level, the present findings corroborate Bourdieu’s arguments on *habitus* in explaining the interplay of the social and cultural values that shape young people’s access to higher education. In line with his analysis, this study found family as primary agent of socialization that inculcates the young members with cultural values and religious beliefs which construct educational systems as a valuable or desirable ‘asset’ for a brighter future. Thus, despite the limited economic conditions of most families and the low literacy level of many parents, they were able to transmit the idea of formal education as an acceptable value to their younger generations.

Meanwhile, analysis of ‘*habitus*’ emphasized in the work of Bourdieu, (1984) as a form of cultural inheritance which makes only the elite’s capital to be valued and recognized in society is also significant to the findings. In this study, the elites represent the British government who colonized Nigeria society at a particular epoch while the valued capital is the western educational system that was introduced to the colonies. Such educational culture was highly valued and individuals that acquired the elite culture (education) were generally at an advantage (such as to be employed for white collar jobs and other accruing benefits). As this study has revealed, the research communities were exposed to western educational culture as a form of elitist capital which attracted more prestige or value above their long existing farming activities. Hence, the introduction of western education appeared to have transformed their local culture from one previously without formal education and basically an agrarian society to a society where western education has become a desirable capital. Thus, despite the fact that the older generations (such as participants’ parents) lacked western education, their consciousness of the essentials or highly valued elitist capital (formal education which places some individuals over others who are non-literate) normalized formal education as an essential capital to be desired for their children and younger members of their society. This provides understanding to one of the narratives by a male out of school interviewee illustrating how his father continuously advised him to keep writing JAMB exams to be able to secure access to higher education even though he could not pass (make) the required grade on three previous attempts.

Meanwhile, respondents were asked in the survey whether there are existing traditional practices within family or community that discourage people from pursuing higher education, a considerable number of them (52%) indicated that there are no traditional practices that discourage their access to school while about 48% believed that some traditional practices discourage young people’s access to higher education. Given the structured nature of the questionnaire, it was unclear in the survey as to what aspect of their culture is a barrier to young people’s access to higher education. However, a further probe on similar questions in the various IDIs sessions and FGDs revealed the existence of gendered ideologies which often act as barriers for many young females in gaining access to higher education was one of such. This shall be discussed in the section that follows on gender discrimination and access to higher education.

**RECOMMENDATION**

As this paper has shown, the factors that are known to contribute to limited access to higher education are embedded within the local context of the young people and the Nigerian context as a whole. Therefore, the recommendations are for strategies that could be adopted by local bodies such as religious groups, policy makers and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). While this paper does not claim that these recommendations is definitive or exhaustive, adopting the them will enhance young people to gain better access to higher educational level attainment in Nigeria.

There is need for programmes that deal realistically with the economic constrain which limit young people’s access to higher education. Given the significance of economic difficulties among young people in the study, it will be of great importance for policy makers and local NGOs to design strategic economic empowerment programmes for parents in order to improve their economic conditions. Exploring a broad range of economic empowerment strategies for young people’s parents particularly at community level will reduce the poverty stricken conditions and increase parents’ level of financial involvement in their children’s higher educational attainment. Essentially, improving parental economic power will also reduce the burden of young people from being major contributors.
to the economic survival of their families as well as increase their concentration on their academic pursuit. This will further enhance their academic performance at secondary school examinations and increase their capacity to obtain the required scores (or grades) in JAMB which is a major criterion to qualify them for admission into their desired higher educational institution.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, socio-cultural and economic factors including social norms, religion, as well as gender-based expectations remained a major influence on young people’s access to higher education in the research locality. In the next chapter, this study considers more in-depth how such influences and other social contexts are mediated on young people’s capacities in negotiating access to higher education. The young people were surrounded by discourses that view formal education as socially approved way to attaining a brighter future. For instance, a number of them illustrated how they were encouraged by their religious groups which often emphasized their need to pursue formal education up to tertiary level. Their societal norms and cultural values were also found to have been dominantly influenced with the introduction of missionary schools during the British colonial administration in the region. The findings revealed that the research setting is Christian dominated areas and coupled with the introduction of white collar jobs for the few educated individuals during the colonial era normalized formal education as prestigious and elite capital which many desired to pursue.

REFERENCES


