The Effect of Cultural Capital on Status Attainment: Educational, Occupational and Marriage Market Returns

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Notice: This is a translation of my original paper published in 1998 in Japan. The original paper is as follows:

Kataoka, Emi. 1998. “Chii Keisei ni Oyobosu Dokusho Bunka to Geijyutsu Bunka no Kōka: Kyōiku Shokugyō Kekkon ni okeru Bunka Shihon no Tenkan-kōka to Shūeki.”(The Effect of Cultural Capital on Status Attainment: Educational, Occupational, and Marriage Market Returns).Pp.171-190 in *1995 nen SSM Chōsa Series 18: Bunka to Shakai Kaisō*. edited by E. Kataoka. Osaka and Tokyo: 1995 nen SSM Chōsa Kenkyūkai.
http://srdq.hus.osaka-u.ac.jp/PDF/SMM1995_r18_10.pdf

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine the hypothesis that cultural capital affects educational success, occupational success and marital success. Cultural capital in childhood is measured by two concepts: reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital. The artistic culture scale consists of two items: attending classical music concerts and visiting art museums/exhibits with the family. Reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital have no effect on men’s success in school, and only weakly affect their status attainment in the labor market. Neither have an effect on entry to elite occupations for men. However, cultural capital has a strong influence on women’s

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careers. Reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital increase women's academic achievement. Artistic cultural capital expands their probability of entry to an elite high school as well as educational attainment. Women's reading cultural capital affects their occupational success. Moreover, women's artistic cultural capital is converted to high economic status on the part of their husbands. Women with more artistic cultural capital are more likely to marry men with more economic capital. In Japan, women's artistic cultural capital equates with status culture, but this is not the case for men.

Keywords: cultural capital, educational attainment, occupational attainment, marital selection, reading cultural capital, artistic cultural capital

1. The Rewards of Cultural Capital and Cultural Selection

Pierre Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theory, Collins' conflict theory and Neo-Weberian cultural selection theory based on status culture suggest family culture plays an important role in social reproduction even in a credential society (Bourdieu 1979, Collins 1979, DiMaggio 1982, De Graaf 1986). In other words, the dominant class can achieve social mobility and maintain its social status by embodying the dominant cultural code. Cultural capital and cultural resources become the currency for social mobility, creating class disparities and reproducing social inequalities.

Bourdieu put forward the cultural reproduction theory, in which he pointed out the importance of the inheritance of cultural capital from generation to generation, this being a stratification process hidden in meritocratic selection through the education system. DiMaggio also developed a model for cultural mobility (DiMaggio 1982).

De Graaf (1988) asserted that failure at school is caused by the mismatch of family culture and school culture. Because school culture reflects the culture of the dominant class, children who inherit the family cultural capital of the dominant class are rewarded in the education system. In addition, by converting cultural capital to social

capital and economic capital, the dominant culture receives various benefits in society (Bourdieu 1979).

Do the conversion effects of cultural capital and the cultural selection processes exist in Japan? Does cultural capital create class disparities and reproduce social inequalities? More specifically, is Japan a society that requires a person to have cultural capital to become part of the elite class? Or is it a meritocratic society whereby social status is determined simply by academic performance? Is it a society where the cultural education of one's parents comes into play in aiding entry to high schools that have high rates of students going on to attend university? Or can one become part of the educational elite because of a high IQ and hard work? Does the cultural capital inherited from one's parents in childhood have the effect of bolstering various chances later in life? In other words, does the possession of cultural capital lead to better chances of finding a "better" marriage partner or a "better" job? Does cultural capital in childhood bring lasting rewards, ones with lifelong impact?

This paper focuses on the existence of cultural selection through cultural capital and the effects of converting cultural capital into other forms of capital to clarify how cultural capital improves one's life chances in the education, labor and marriage markets. It then looks into the impact of cultural capital on status attainment.

Japan is often regarded as a society where there are few cultural differences. However, it is instead a society that is sensitive to cultural differences. Below we examine how the influence of cultural capital and family culture in Japanese society extends to people's life chances and social life.

2. Previous Studies and Hypotheses

Kataoka used random sample data from the Kobe area in Japan to show that cultural capital in childhood (before age 12) improves one's educational attainment and cultural status (Kataoka 1992). Cultural capital in childhood also leads to rewards in the social status of women, after marriage in particular. To be specific, a woman's cultural capital

in childhood is converted through marriage into the strong economic capital of her spouse. The study showed that, despite the same educational background, women with more cultural capital in childhood, that is, with more cultural capital inherited from their family, marry men in higher economic strata, and that cultural capital leads to rewards for women in the marriage market (Kataoka 1996b).

In the United States, the academic rewards of cultural capital for high school students differed between males and females (DiMaggio 1982). DiMaggio suggested that, "High cultural involvements may have been part of an identity kit that academically successful, high-status girls, but not similar boys, possessed." Cultural capital is an important factor for girls in America. In Australia, cultural capital has less effect on entry to elite status; this is an open society where employment is determined through selection according to educational background[1)] (Crook 1997).

In this paper, embodied cultural capital in childhood is classified into two types, reading cultural capital and artistic (fine arts) cultural capital (De Graaf 1988). Using these concepts, I examine the separate effects of each on males and females in their conversion into status formation and other forms of capital in Japan. This will be done because, as Kataoka has already shown, the structures of cultural consumption are quite different between men and women in Japan (Kataoka 1992, 1997b). Furthermore, it is shown that in Japan the transmission of high culture through generations occurs mainly through women, from mother to daughter (Kataoka 199l, 1996b, 1997a). Thus, the inheritance of cultural capital and the effects of its conversion differ for men and women, and it can be concluded that Japan is a society where the significance of "high culture" for one's life differs significantly by gender.

In dividing and studying cultural capital in the two categories of reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital, we can grasp that the introverted culture of reading and the extroverted culture of attending classical music concerts and visiting museums each have different effects (De Graaf 1988).

Using the data of the 1995 Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) survey, the author has already devised indicators for measuring cultural capital in childhood and

clarified the effects of these on status attainment and educational attainment (Kataoka 1997b, 1998c). This paper will build from this previous study according to the hypotheses below to delve into the rewards and effects of the conversion of cultural capital. It will verify the following hypotheses, which examine the three different markets, i.e., education, labor and marriage:

Hypothesis 1: Reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital acquired in the home during childhood reap rewards in the education system.

Hypothesis 2: Reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital acquired in the home during childhood reap rewards in the labor market.

Hypothesis 3: Reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital acquired in the home during childhood reap rewards in the marriage market.

I provide a brief explanation of rewards and conversion effects. If, for example, cultural capital leads to higher grades in school, this means that family cultural capital leads to rewards in the education system. If there is a link between economic capital as an adult and cultural capital acquired in childhood, given that other variables are controlled, cultural capital can be interpreted as being converted into another form of capital – economic capital. Or perhaps we can say that cultural capital leads to economic rewards. Thus, rewards and conversions are not the same, though they do overlap in part.

3. Data, Variables and Methods

Data from the 1995 SSM survey on both men and women (1,248 and 1,405, respectively) and multiple regression analysis and logistic regression as well as path analysis were used for this study.

To ascertain the effects of cultural capital on the above three markets, Table 1 presents the dependent variables taken as rewards of cultural capital in childhood and the kinds of variables used as conversions into other capital.

Table 1. The Three Markets and Dependent Variables

Education System	**Academic performance at grade nine (five-rank self- reporting)** **Attendance/non-attendance at elite high schools (high school where almost all students go on to university or junior college)** **Educational Attainment (total years of respondent's education)**
Labor Market	**Occupational prestige of first job (1995 prestige score in Japan)** **Current occupational prestige (1995 prestige score in Japan)** **Entry into elite occupations (ranked in top 5% of prestigious occupations)**
Marriage Market	**Spouse's current occupational prestige** **Spouse's occupational prestige in first job** **Spouse's economic capital (annual income and household assets)**

3.1 Cultural Capital in Childhood: Main Independent Variables

Cultural capital in childhood is the cultural capital received from one's parents during early childhood and elementary school, or that results from participating in high cultural activities with one's family. It is an indicator of how much cultural capital the respondent accumulated early in life. In this paper, cultural capital in childhood is divided into reading culture capital and artistic cultural capital. The specific indicators are as follow:

Reading cultural capital:

"When you were a child, how often did a family member read aloud to you?"

Artistic cultural capital:

"When you were an elementary school student, how often did you listen to classical music at home or go to classical concerts with your family?"

"When you were an elementary school student, how often did your family take you to a museum or art gallery?"

The answers to each question were assigned a score according to frequency in four ranks, with 0 points for "never," 1 point for "seldom," 2 for "sometimes," and 3 for "often." The score for artistic cultural capital was the total sum from the two above questions.

Both reading culture and artistic culture demonstrate the cultural environment of the family. Artistic cultural capital, in particular, indicates high culture that is well regarded in terms of cultural prestige (Kataoka 1996c). Classical music and fine arts are "institutionalized" through music and art groups, as well as school curricula, and are established artistic cultural capital, such that artistic culture can be regarded as part of Japan's orthodox culture.

3.2 Other Independent Variables

Three variables are used to measure family background: the father's occupational prestige score for his main job and his number of years of education, and the mother's number of years of education. For the father's occupation, the respondent's father's birth cohort is taken into consideration, the 1975 occupational prestige scores are used, but otherwise, respondents' occupational prestige scores come from the 1995 SSM survey. Also, the total number of years of education is employed when using the father's and mother's educational background in the multiple regression analyses. The variable of city size means the population of the place where the respondent completed compulsory education, which came from the census data. City size is used to measure the effect of the respondent's hometown, this being the regional variable as the control variable. For experience in shadow education, an indicator is created that is the sum of a barometer from 0 to 1 points for elementary/junior high school experience in 1) Juku (cram schools) or Yobiko (exam-preparation schools), 2) private tutoring and 3) correspondence courses. Thus, the values of the experienced categories are totaled and a shadow education index is created as a scale in the range of 0 to 3.

4. Rewards in the Education System

Does cultural capital acquired through the family's cultural socialization in childhood lead to rewards in the education system? Figure 1 below chronologically shows the causal chain from family background to educational outcome. Three indicators for

educational outcome are employed: academic performance in grade nine (third year of junior high school), high school ranking based on the number of students going on to attend university, and educational attainment. Cultural capital in childhood and shadow education experience connect family background to educational outcomes. The significance of cultural capital in childhood leading to rewards is that, even with controls on family background and shadow education experience, as well as control variables such as age, there are cases in which cultural capital has direct positive effects on educational outcomes. There is thus a need to investigate what stage of one's academic career is affected by the cultural capital acquired in the family up until elementary school. This study will measure the effects of cultural capital inherited from one's family in childhood on three indicators of educational outcomes: academic performance in grade nine, attendance/non-attendance at elite high schools, and number of years of education.

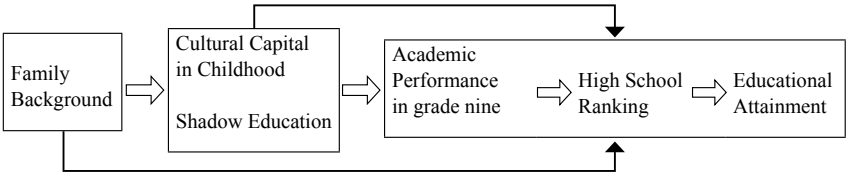

Figure 1: Concept Model for Educational Attainment
(not including control variables)

4.1 Rewards in Grades

Table 2 indicates the results of the regression analysis of academic performance in grade nine. Academic performance is measured by rating grades on a scale from high (5) to low (1) as a dependent variable, and multiple regression analyses were conducted on the variable sets shown in Table 2. Separate analyses were undertaken for men and women because of the major differences for them in the role of cultural capital as an educational attainment mechanism.[2)]

As can be seen in Table 2, family background determines academic performance in

grade nine. The somewhat low coefficient of determination, R^2 in Model 1, at around 10%, may be due to the grading being via self-reporting. Furthermore, if we look at Model 2, which includes the scores for reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital in childhood as well as experience with shadow education, the effects of cultural capital in childhood on academic performance are different for males and females. For females, both reading and artistic cultural capital variables have direct positive effects on academic performance in grade nine, but for males, it is only artistic cultural capital that has an effect, which is weak. Also, shadow education has a strong effect for males, but has none at all for females. That is to say, the factors influencing academic performance differ between males and females.

Contrasting Model 1 and Model 2, Model 1 shows the parents' educational background affecting academic performance for both males and females, but this effect is not significant in Model 2, and instead reading and artistic cultural capital as well as shadow education are significant in Model 2. That is, it can be seen that the cultural

Table 2. Determinants of Academic Performance at Grade Nine

	Male		Female	
	Model 1 β	Model 2 β	Model 1 β	Model 2 β
Age	0.131*	0.178*	0.246*	0.261*
Father's Occupational Prestige	0.173*	0.159*	0.132*	0.110*
Father's Education	0.102*	0.066	0.149*	0.084
Mother's Education	0.114*	0.086	0.101*	0.061
City Size	-0.034	-0.056	0.001	-0.009
Reading Cultural Capital	–	0.049	–	0.105*
Artistic Cultural Capital	–	0.070	–	0.129*
Shadow Education	–	0.113*	–	0.020
R^2	.099	.117	.107	.136
Adjusted R^2	.092	.107	.101	.127
F test	p<.0001	p<.0001	p<.0001	p<.0001

* p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

standards and cultural capital of the family, represented by the parents' education, are inherited in the form of cultural capital and shadow education. Reading culture and artistic culture are the very family cultural capital inherited from one's parents in childhood. In short, in Model 2, we can not see the effect of the father's and mother's education on academic performance at grade nine, but this parental cultural capital is converted to reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital in childhood as embodied cultural capital, or converted to investment in shadow education.

Table 2 shows that the effects of cultural capital in childhood differ by gender. Cultural investment as reading culture and artistic culture from parent to daughter has the effect of improving her performance in the educational system. For females, two types of cultural capital acquired in childhood lead to rewards in the form of grades in school. What about males? Reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital have no effect on academic performance at grade nine for males.

The effect of shadow education on academic performance in grade nine is different between males and females. The more the shadow education, the higher the males' academic performance at grade nine, but this is not true for females. Investment in shadow education is a more effective educational strategy for males.[3)]

In general, the more educated the parents are in Japan, the greater their enthusiasm to invest in shadow education for their sons, and this means that investing in shadow education increases the possibility of entry into selective high schools for men. Parents' educational capital is important for academic performance in different ways for males and females.

4.2 Final Educational Attainment

I examined the effect of cultural capital in childhood on final educational attainment using a multiple regression analysis. The index of final educational attainment is measured by the total years of the respondent's education. In Table 3, Model 1 shows the baseline model based on family background, and Model 2 uses family background variables as control variables, and the two variables of cultural capital in childhood and

shadow education, as well as academic performance in grade nine, are added.

First, a lot about educational attainment is explained by the family background variables in Model 1. The coefficients of determination, R^2, which show the likelihood of the model, are 0.365 for men and 0.429 for women. One could argue that social class differences in the educational attainment process are robust in Japan and family backgrounds affect educational attainment inequalities. Model 2 shows that academic performance in grade nine has a great impact on later education for both males and females. As seen above, however, such academic performance is affected by the family's educational and cultural strategies.

So does cultural capital in childhood affect final educational attainment even with controls of academic performance in grade nine and family background variables? If so, this means that one's family environment in childhood continues to influence educational attainment over a very long period of time.

Table 3 shows that for men, investment in shadow education has a strong positive

Table 3. Determinants of Final Educational Attainment

	Male		Female	
	Model 1 β	Model 2 β	Model 1 β	Model 2 β
Age	-0.280*	-0.137*	-0.390*	-0.219*
Father's Occupational Prestige	0.260*	0.160*	0.203*	0.173*
Father's Education	0.173*	0.091*	0.112*	0.041
Mother's Education	0.071	0.066	0.152*	0.154*
Reading Cultural Capital	–	0.059	–	0.007
Artistic Cultural Capital	–	0.028	–	0.088*
Shadow Education	–	0.140*	–	0.069*
Academic performance	–	0.362*	–	0.311*
R^2	.365	.437	.429	.417
Adjusted R^2	.362	.430	.426	.410
F test	p<.0001	p<.0001	p<.0001	p<.0001

* p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

direct effect on educational attainment. For women, artistic cultural capital and investment in shadow education have positive direct effects on educational attainment. In the case of women, the effect of reading cultural capital, which can be seen in their academic performance in grade nine, ceased, and artistic cultural capital and shadow education have significant effects on educational attainment. Classical music and fine arts continue to produce results in the education system for women. This result suggests that classical music and fine arts are a status culture for women. Females in Japan with more cultural capital can get educational rewards in the educational system, but not men. Female's cultural capital is important to understand family cultural capital.

It could be explained that there is strong continuity between school culture as hidden in school curricula and high culture transmitted by the family as manifested in artistic cultural capital as Bourdieu indicated. In other words, families with a liking for orthodox culture such as classical music and fine arts can be regarded as strongly valuing both educational attainment and high culture, and they are a social stratum with a strong understanding of the effectiveness of cultural capital and educational capital in society.

4.3 Entry to Elite High Schools

I now focused on the influence of family cultural factors on the quality of the respondent's high school. If cultural capital in childhood affects high school quality even with family background and academic performance in grade nine controlled, this suggests that cultural selection is at play. Logistic regression analysis presents the odds of attending highly selective high schools (vs any other high schools) in order to predict whether or not cultural capital in childhood had an influence on attendance/non-attendance at elite high schools, i.e., selective high schools where many students go on to attend university or college.

The dependent variable is a 0-1 dummy variable regarding attendance at an elite high school, with respondents responding to "A high school where almost everyone in the same year goes on to attend junior college or university," with a score of 1 for

an elite high school and 0 for other schools.[4] Those attending elite high schools who were under the age of 65 accounted for 212 of the total, with those attending other high schools numbering 1,534. Approximately 1 out of 8 respondents attended an elite high school. This ratio was the same for both men and women.

Table 4 shows the results of logistic regression analysis predicting the determinants of the high school quality attended by the male respondent. Model 1 is a basic model

Table 4. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Analyses of Male Attendance/ Non-attendance at Elite High Schools

Variables	Model 1 Parameter estimate	Model 2 Parameter estimate	Model 3 Parameter estimate
Intercept	-5.006** (0.76)	-7.561** (0.95)	-8.852** (1.22)
Age	-0.018* (0.01)	-0.033** (0.01)	0.010 (0.01)
Father's Education	0.091* (0.05)	0.072 (0.05)	0.027 (0.06)
Mother's Education	0.119* (0.07)	0.103 (0.07)	0.084 (0.08)
Father's Main Occupational Prestige	0.033** (0.01)	0.020* (0.01)	0.016 (0.01)
Academic performance		1.118** (0.14)	1.062** (0.15)
Household Assets at age 15			0.179** (0.07)
Number of Siblings			-0.327** (0.11)
Embodied Cultural Capital			
Reading Cultural Capital			-0.079 (0.13)
Artistic Cultural Capital			0.086 (0.09)
Shadow Education Index			0.396** (0.197)
df	4	5	10
N	821	750	731
Goodness of fit [1]	0.197	0.357	0.405

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.
1) Goodness of fit is measured by Max-rescaled R^2 equivalent.
* p< .05 ; ** p<.01

using a family background variable set for whether the respondent did or did not attend an elite high school. The goodness of fit of the model is measured by Max-rescaled R^2 equivalent. The likelihood of Model 1 was 0.197. Model 1 shows, with age as the control variable, that the father's occupation, the father's education and the mother's education all have a significant effect on entry to an elite high school.

Next, Model 2, which adds academic performance in grade nine, fits the data significantly better than does Model 1. The father's education and the mother's education are no longer significant, and these effects are converted into academic performance in grade nine. In other words, the effects of academic performance have a significant effect on men's elite high school attendance substituting part of the effects of family background.

Model 3 of Table 4 adds further variables to Model 2 to establish a comprehensive model, such as family economic assets when the respondent was 15 years old, which demonstrate the family's financial condition; number of siblings; reading and artistic cultural capital in childhood; as well as experience in shadow education during elementary and junior high school. The effect of the number of siblings follows the theory that the distribution of family's economic resources to each child is dependent on the number of siblings (Becker 1981, De Graaf 1988).

Model 3 shows that the number of siblings has a negative effect on the attendance at elite high school for males, indicating that, if a boy has a large number of siblings, it is difficult for him to attend an elite high school. This supports Becker's human capital theory (Becker 1981). Also, males with greater shadow education experience have the advantage in going on to attend elite high schools. Academic performance is, of course, the strongest determinant. Model 3 fits the data significantly better than does Model 2, at 0.405. The family background variables that had an impact in Model 1 all lose significance, and instead the newer variables prove meaningful. To put it another way, we can conclude that family background changes form and continues to have an impact in Model 3 as academic performance in grade nine, household economic assets when the respondent was 15 years old, number of siblings and shadow education for men.

For studies following this, see Kataoka (1998a, 2001) as well as their translation into English (Kataoka 2001=2015).

What must be noted here is that for men, the effects of cultural capital in childhood, that is, reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital, did not reap any rewards in terms of their attendance at an elite high school. For men, rather than family cultural capital, investment in shadow education has a significant effect on their high school

Table 5. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Analyses of Female Attendance / Non-attendance at Elite High Schools

Variables	Model 1 Parameter estimate	Model 2 Parameter estimate	Model 3 Parameter estimate
Intercept	-5.018** (0.85)	-7.126** (0.99)	-8.059** (1.24)
Age	-0.041** (0.01)	-0.065** (0.01)	-0.038** (0.02)
Father's Education	0.178** (0.05)	0.143** (0.05)	0.093 (0.06)
Mother's Education	0.178** (0.07)	0.165** (0.07)	0.102 (0.07)
Father's Main Occupational Prestige	0.019* (0.01)	0.014 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)
Academic performance		1.031** (0.15)	1.031** (0.16)
Household Assets at age 15			0.246** (0.07)
Number of Siblings			-0.271** (0.12)
Embodied Cultural Capital			
Reading Cultural Capital			-0.199 (0.15)
Artistic Cultural Capital			0.249** (0.09)
Shadow Education Index			0.055 (0.19)
df	4	5	10
N	925	830	817
Goodness of fit [1)]	0.299	0.390	0.455

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.
1) Goodness of fit is measured by Max-rescaled R^2 equivalent.
* p< .05 ; ** p<.01 (two-tailed tests)

attendance.

Next I examine elite high school attendance for women. Table 5 shows female attendance/non-attendance at elite high schools with analyses using the same three models used for males. Model 1 of Table 5 using family background variables shows a good fit with a Max-rescaled R^2 of 0.299.

The result of Model 2 in Table 5 that differs from males is that even if academic performance in grade nine is added, the direct effect of the parents' education remains, and instead, the effect of the father's occupation disappears. Also, the likelihood of Model 3 for women scored highly at 0.455 to surpass the same score for men. It is worth noting that artistic cultural capital shows a significant direct effect on female attendance at elite high schools, and that shadow education has no effect.

In addition to being an education strategy, encouraging children to listen to classical music and taking them to museums before and while they are in elementary school can be regarded as a reflection of the parents' lifestyle and taste, or cultural capital. Joining a status group by participating in high culture can be regarded as reaping rewards for girls in school.

5. Rewards in the Labor Market and Conversion Effects

Does cultural capital lead to occupational rewards? As the analyses above apparently show, even controlling for family background and other education strategies, cultural capital directly affects academic performance in grade nine and educational attainment, especially for females. Cultural capital acquired in childhood leads to rewards in the education system for Japanese women. How about its impact on one's first job upon entering the labor market? I first measure how cultural capital affects the occupational prestige of one's first job and then examine how it influences current occupational prestige and entry to elite occupations.

5.1 Conversion Effects of Cultural Capital on Occupational Prestige of First Job

The baseline model using family background variables, father's occupation and educational background, is widely recognized to explain the occupational prestige of the respondent's first job (Blau and Duncan 1967). Three models were compared, with Model 1 as the basic model, Model 2 substituting reading and artistic cultural capital for parents' education, and Model 3 further inputting all the variables together. The data for jobs including part-time workers are analyzed in Table 6.

Table 6 shows the results of multiple regression analyses to predict the occupational prestige of the respondent's first job, in order to examine the direct effects of reading and artistic cultural capital. Model 1 shows that family background variables and the number of years of education can explain some 20-25% of the total variance for the first job attained by both men and women. Respondents' education has a significant and strong effect on the dependent variable, which suggests that Japan is a society that values academic credentials in the labor market. Model 2 substitutes the parents' education with the two variables of cultural capital because cultural capital in childhood

Table 6. Determinants of Occupational Prestige of First Job (Regression Analyses)

	Male			Female		
	Model 1 β	Model 2 β	Model 3 β	Model 1 β	Model 2 β	Model 3 β
Age	–	0.096*	0.120*	–	0.024	0.070*
Father's Occupation	0.180*	0.137*	0.135*	0.076*	0.083*	0.051
Father's Education	-0.011	–	-0.025	-0.038	–	-0.045
Mother's Education	-0.037	–	-0.019	0.112*	–	0.133*
Reading Cultural Capital	–	0.037	0.034	–	0.066*	0.046
Artistic Cultural Capital	–	0.013	0.009	–	0.030	0.012
Educational Attainment	0.374*	0.389*	0.405*	0.419*	0.432*	0.440*
R^2	.205	.205	.214	.247	.247	.255
Adjusted R^2	.201	.201	.208	.245	.244	.249
N	879	1059	856	938	1146	922

* p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

can be greatly explained by the educational background of the parents. In Model 2 of Table 6 for males, however, neither reading cultural capital nor artistic cultural capital has a direct significant effect on first job attainment. Men's cultural capital that is inherited from one's parents in childhood is not converted into occupational prestige in a man's first job. Interestingly, for females, reading cultural capital has a significant effect on the occupational prestige of their first job. As the father's occupation is controlled in Model 2, this can be regarded as the conversion effect of cultural capital into their first job. In other words, given the same educational attainment, family cultural capital has a significant effect in improving a woman's first job. In Model 3, however, the direct effect of cultural capital disappears and the impact of the mother's educational background can be seen. Because the analyses above show that the effects of parents' education are to a great extent converted into cultural capital in childhood and the respondents' educational attainment, the effects of cultural capital are included in parents' educational background. In the case of women in particular, the correlation coefficient of the mother's education and reading cultural capital is strong. In other words, cultural capital is transmitted from well-educated mothers to their daughters.

Figure 2 shows the results of pass analysis for women's data. It displays the causal

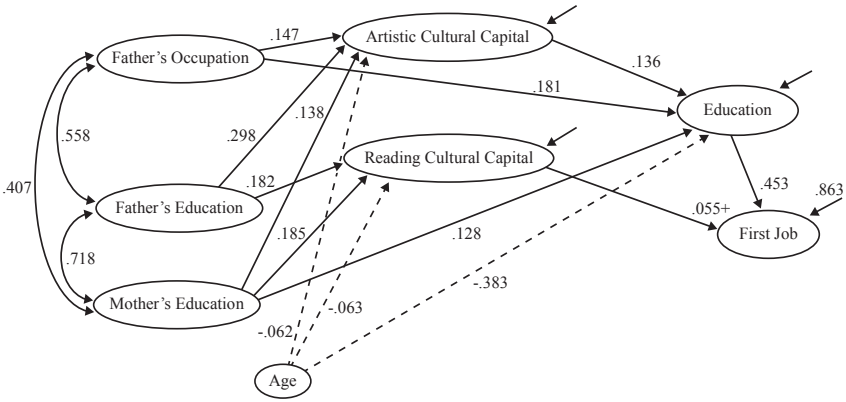

Figure 2. Pass Analysis of First Occupational Attainment: Female Data
path coefficient values, no mark p<.05, + p<.10

model of factors to estimate women's first job attainment. This model includes two cultural capital variables as mediating variables to predict the first job's occupational prestige. As cultural capital has no direct impact on the first job of men, male data are not analyzed.

Figure 2 shows that family background variables have significant effects on artistic cultural capital and reading cultural capital at the .05 level. Reading and artistic cultural capital in childhood also serve as a medium to attain a woman's first job. Artistic culture, in particular, converts into educational attainment and then women's education significantly affects their first job. In other words, the artistic culture that is strongly prescribed by one's family is connected to one's first job in the form of rewards in the education system.

Figure 2 shows that reading cultural capital has more of a direct effect on the attainment of the first job than the effect of artistic cultural capital. Reading culture creates an advantageous situation in occupation selection directly without going by way of the school. This might mean that reading cultural capital for women predicting good jobs in their later careers has its origin in family status culture in Japan, and not in human capital acquired in the school system.

These findings support my hypothesis, which posits that reading and artistic cultural capital in childhood are rooted in family background and that those two variables are significantly converted into women's educational attainment and first job.

To put it another way, for women, the influences of family background are converted into cultural capital in childhood and are effective in school and the labor market over quite a long span of time. Cultural capital has significant effects on status attainment processes for women, and cultural selection is at play from the early stages of their education until they land their first job. This result is applicable only to women, however, and such cultural selection is not at play in the case of men. For Japanese men, their parents' cultural capital is converted into investment in shadow education. This suggests that parental cultural capital like educational background is more likely to be converted to human capital for Japanese men (Kataoka 1998a, 2001=2015).

Table 7. Determinants of Current Occupational Prestige (Regression Analyses)

	Male		Female	
	Model 1 β	Model 2 β	Model 1 β	Model 2 β
Age	0.142*	0.166*	0.039	0.001
Father's Occupation	0.205*	0.227*	0.130*	0.148*
Father's Education	–	-0.056	–	-0.042
Mother's Education	–	-0.000	–	0.089
Reading Cultural Capital	0.017	0.019	0.039*	0.032
Artistic Cultural Capital	0.042	0.049	0.094	0.057
Educational Attainment	0.361*	0.378*	0.315**	0.361*
R^2	.230	.244	.227	.264
Adjusted R^2	.226	.238	.221	.254

* $p<.05$ (two-tailed tests)

5. 2 Conversion Effects on Current Occupational Prestige

How does family cultural capital affect current occupational prestige? I investigate these conversion effects.

Table 7 shows two models to predict current occupational prestige by age, family background, education, and reading and artistic cultural capital. Job holders, including part-time workers, are analyzed in these models. I applied separate multiple regression analyses for men and women to test hypothesis 3.

The results show that reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital have no effect on occupational prestige for men, which was the result expected. For women, however, Model 1 of Table 7 shows that reading cultural capital has a significant effect on current occupational prestige, the same as the results regarding women's first job in Part 5.1.

5.3 Entry to Elite Occupations

Does cultural capital inherited from one's family affect entry into an elite occupation? I defined "elite occupation" as those scoring in the top 5% for current occupational

Table 8. Entry into Elite Occupations for Males: Logistic Regression Analyses

	Top 5% Elite Occupations vs Others			
	Model 1		Model 2	
	Parameter Estimates	SD	Parameter Estimates	SD
Intercept	-0.924*	1.02	-9.377*	1.08
Age	0.047*	0.01	0.038*	0.01
Education	0.308*	0.05	0.249*	0.06
Reading Cultural Capital	0.110	0.11	0.081	0.12
Artistic Cultural Capital	0.109	0.08	0.005	0.09
Household Assets	0.008	0.02	0.003	0.06
Father's Occupation	–	–	0.032*	0.01
Max-rescaled R^2	0.137		0.151	

* p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

Note: Household assets indicate total numbers of items that the respondent's family owned when the respondent was 15 years old.

prestige.[5)] I develop logistic regression models to predict a dependent variable that is the dummy score of 1 for entry to a highly prestigious occupation and the score of 0 for non-entry. Most of the respondents in elite occupations in the top 5% are men. As there are only ten women in this category – not enough for analysis – only men are analyzed. In Table 8, 91 men are in elite occupations and 1,011 men in non-elite occupations.

The results in Table 8 indicate that the respondent's education has the strongest effect on the entry of males to elite occupations, and that reading and artistic cultural capital in childhood have no significant effects at all. Men are exempt from the influence of family culture on the path to becoming part of the elite class.

This is related to the fact that, for Japanese men, educational attainment is not influenced by cultural capital. This means that Japan can be regarded as a society with strong meritocratic selection through the educational system. As De Graaf (1988) also indicated in Dutch, cultural capital is not a currency for social mobility for men, even in Japan.

6. Rewards in the Marriage Market

In traditional societies, cultural education has been considered to be beneficial for females in the marriage market. In Japan as well, lessons in flower arrangement, tea ceremony and piano have been regarded as conditions for a desirable woman. How do high cultural experiences work to improve the status of women in the marriage market? In Table 9, I test the effects of cultural capital in childhood on the partner's social status for men and women in the marriage market.

Previous studies on marital selection in Japan have pointed out that education has an important role and educational homogamy can be seen (Watanabe & Kondo 1990, Shimizu 1990). In the United States, DiMaggio & Mohr (1985) indicated that cultural capital has a significant effect on marital selection.

An analysis of data from a survey conducted in Kobe in 1992 by Kataoka showed that, among women with the same educational level, the more inherited cultural capital they have, the more likely they are to marry men with higher economic capital. In other words, it is clear that a woman's cultural capital in childhood converts to her spouse's economic capital (Kataoka 1996b). Table 9 tests Kataoka's theory that women's cultural capital converts to her partner's economic capital and social status through marriage using nationwide data.

6.1 Conversion Effects on Spouse's Occupational Prestige

Even with the same educational level, do people with more cultural capital gain better chances in the marriage market and are they able to meet partners with higher social status? First, as seen in Table 9, a multiple regression analysis was carried out with two models using the dependent variables of the spouse's occupational prestige both at the time of marriage and the time of taking the survey.

Table 9. Conversion Effects of Cultural capital into Spouse's Occupational Prestige: Regression Analyses

	Spouse's Occupation at Marriage		Spouse's Current Occupation	
	Males β	Females β	Males β	Females β
Age	0.007	0.149	-0.014	0.167
Education	0.384*	0.373*	0.282*	0.423*
Reading Cultural Capital	0.020	-0.001	0.048	-0.007
Artistic Cultural Capital	0.029	0.074*	0.046	0.095*
R^2	0.158	0.122	0.105	0.163
Adjusted R^2	0.152	0.119	0.100	0.160
F test	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001

* p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

The independent variables in Table 9 are age, educational attainment and reading and artistic cultural capital. Even if education is controlled, the two indicators of reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital in childhood have a significant direct effect on the spouse's occupational prestige, and "embodied cultural capital" – which is another dimension from the institutionalized cultural capital of educational attainment – seems to play an important role in marital selection. Can it be said that embodied cultural capital converts into the occupational prestige of one's spouse? I test this hypothesis for both men and women.

Table 9 simply shows that there is a strong linkage for men between education and their wife's occupational prestige. This supports the traditional view that education plays a mediating role in the process of marital selection. For women, however, her education and artistic cultural capital are linked to her husband's occupational prestige at both the time of marriage and the time of the survey. In other words, controlling the variables of age and education, females with embodied artistic cultural capital (classical music and fine arts) are more likely to marry men in highly prestigious occupations. For women, artistic cultural capital acquired through her parents' socialization of high culture in childhood significantly gains rewards in marital selection.

6.2 Relationship between Cultural Capital and Economic Capital in the Marriage Market

Social mobility through marriage often accompanies economic status mobility. Does cultural capital in childhood lead to economic rewards in marital selection by its conversion into the spouse's economic capital? In particular, given the same educational attainment, do people with more embodied cultural capital gain advantages in the marriage market? I now explore the conversion effects of cultural capital using the indicators of the spouse's annual income and current property index.

Model 1 of Table 10 shows the results of a multiple regression analysis for both men and women using the spouse's annual income as the dependent variable. Not only does this simple model identify the determinants, but it also examines the conversion effects. Even under the same model 1, there are large differences between men and women in R^2. For men, R^2 of model 1 is very low. For women, age, education and artistic cultural capital show significant effects on the spouse's annual income.

Table 10. Regression Analyses of the Relationship between Cultural Capital and Economic Capital in the Marriage Market

	Model 1 Spouse's Annual Income		Model 2 Household Assets [a]	
	Males β	Females β	Males β	Females β
Age	-0.013	0.105*	-0.300*	0.231*
Education	0.032	0.365*	0.334*	0.344*
Reading Cultural Capital	0.043	-0.013	0.064*	0.038
Artistic Cultural Capital	-0.105*	0.071*	0.022	0.066*
R^2	0.010	0.123	0.130	0.105
Adjusted R^2	0.005	0.119	0.128	0.102
F test	p<.0001	p<.0001	p<.0001	p<.0001
N	883	918	1201	1363

* p<.05 (two-tailed tests)

a) The score of Household Assets indicates the total number of scarce assets the respondent has, each of which is possessed by under 50% of the respondents in the 1995 SSM survey. Eight items are applicable and the range of this score is 0-8.

We can see that women raised in families that are rich in artistic culture are more likely to marry men with higher incomes than women not raised in such families. As educational attainment and age are controlled, the effects of artistic cultural capital can be regarded as converted into the spouse's income. On the other hand, artistic cultural capital of men has a significant effect on reducing their spouse's income. This may be because there is a stronger likelihood of the woman becoming a housewife if her husband has strong artistic cultural capital.

Furthermore, we can see from the results of model 2 in Table 10 analyzing the number of household assets that there is a link between having considerable household property for men and the wife's higher reading cultural capital, as controlled by age and education. For women, the more artistic cultural capital she has, the more household assets her husband has. This might mean that men with more education and property tend to marry women with more reading cultural capital. For women, artistic cultural capital leads to an increase in the chance to marry men with more property.

6.3 The Conversion Effects of Women's Cultural Capital and Linkage between Different Capitals by Marriage

I focus on the conversion effects for women on her spouse's status using variance analysis. In Japan, women have a bypass of aiming for high status or upward social mobility through marriage, rather than aiming to attain status in the labor market by themselves. In this section, the effect of cultural capital on economic status is measured focusing on the mean value of the husband's annual income and household property score using variance analysis.

In Table 11, female respondents are divided into nine categories according to their education and cultural capital in childhood to examine the mean values of the spouse's economic status. To divide them into nine categories, first, female respondents are divided into three categories according to education level. Then, the scores of artistic cultural capital acquired in childhood are sorted into three groups by rank, and divided into high, medium and low. The proportion of artistic cultural capital scores is shown

as a percentage. We can see the differences among the nine categories for women in terms of the profitability in the marriage market for women.

Do differences in cultural capital lead to the differences of other capital in the marriage market? Asked differently, do the habitus of parents for transmitting cultural capital to their child convert into that child's economic capital or other forms of capital?

Table 11 shows that the spouse's annual income differs according to the woman's educational level and the amount of their artistic cultural capital. For example, among women who have graduated from university or junior college, the higher their artistic cultural capital score, the higher their husband's annual income. University graduates with the top 17.2% scores of artistic cultural capital have husbands with a mean annual income of ¥7.01 million, and those with bottom 57.3% scores of artistic cultural capital have husbands with a mean income of ¥5.41 million. There is quite a difference of ¥1.6 million in the husband's annual income, comparing the top and the bottom groups of artistic cultural capital among university or junior college graduates. Even among women who are junior and senior high school graduates, those with similarly high-ranking cultural capital have spouses with high incomes. Controlled by the husband's age at under 60 years, the level of the wife's artistic cultural capital creates a significant average income gap. Even among women with the same educational attainment, those who have embodied high culture such as classical music and fine arts in childhood are married to men with higher economic status than women who do not have much cultural capital. We can interpret this as women's cultural capital in childhood being converted into their spouse's economic capital in the marriage market.

Table 11. Spouse's Economic Status by Women's Education and Artistic Cultural Capital

Nine Groups of Wives divided by Education and Artistic Cultural Capital	Spouse's Economic Status			
	N	Annual Income (¥10,000)	N	Household Assets
① University Graduates i) with top 17.2% of Artistic Cultural Capital	64	701	116	2.33
② University Graduates i) with the middle range of Artistic Cultural Capital	55	693	90	2.38
③ University Graduates i) with bottom 57.3% of Artistic Cultural Capital	44	541	67	1.67
④ High School Graduates with top 17.2% of Artistic Cultural Capital	82	627	117	1.82
⑤ High School Graduates with the middle range of Artistic Cultural Capital	137	588	218	1.59
⑥ High School Graduates with bottom 57.3% of Artistic Cultural Capital	332	570	443	1.52
⑦ Junior High School Graduates with top 17.2% of Artistic Cultural Capital	(2)	(350)	6	0.17
⑧ Junior High School Graduates with the middle range of Artistic Cultural Capital	25	416	45	1.16
⑨ Junior High School Graduates with bottom 57.3% of Artistic Cultural Capital	191	362	284	0.89
F Test	p<.0001		p<.0001	

All the results in Table 11 using variance analyses show significant p<.01 for education and artistic cultural capital. There is no interaction effect between education and artistic cultural capital on the spouse's annual income.
i) University Graduates include people who graduated four-year Universities and Colleges and two-year Junior Colleges.

The results shown above suggest Bourdieu's capital conversion effects. This signifies that marriage combines women's cultural capital and men's economic capital and makes a new capital linkage as a family (Kataoka 1996a). In other words, Japanese women use artistic cultural capital as gendered capital, i.e., as a favorable marriage strategy in marital selection (Kataoka 1996b). It can be said that different forms of capital – women's gendered capital (cultural capital) and men's gendered capital

(occupational prestige and strong economic capital) – are exchanged in the marriage market for both men and women.

7. Conclusion

This paper discussed the effects of cultural capital on status formation in the education, occupation and marriage markets. Table 12 summarizes the results of the analyses shown in this article. By examining the effects of reading cultural capital and artistic cultural capital in childhood separately, it can be seen that each type of cultural capital leads to different rewards in different markets.

As a whole, cultural capital has a weak effect on the status formation of men. There were hardly any effects in the education, labor and marriage markets.

For women's status attainment process, however, cultural capital leads to rewards in all markets and is converted into other forms of capital. For example, within the education system, artistic cultural capital leads to rewards of academic performance, elite high school attendance and total years of education. Cultural inheritance in classical music and art from the family has a positive effect on the success of academic performance for women.

In becoming part of the school curriculum, artistic culture of classical music and fine arts is accepted as legitimate culture. The cultural investment strategy of parents in exposing their child at a young age to formal culture leads to academic rewards and school success for girls.

The effect of women's artistic cultural capital is not significant in the labor market, but appears significantly in the marriage market. In other words, women who experienced classical music and artistic fine arts at an early stage are more likely to have spouses with high occupational prestige and high economic capital. As women's education is controled, women with more cultural capital have a better chance of marrying men with higher social status than others. Artistic cultural capital can be

said to play an important role for women in improving educational status as well as obtaining better opportunities in marital selection.

Table 12. Summary of Direct Effects of Reading Cultural Capital and Artistic Cultural Capital on Each Dependent Variable

○ : significant p<.05,　× : ns

Dependent Variables	Male		Female	
	Reading Cultural Capital	Artistic Cultural Capital	Reading Cultural Capital	Artistic Cultural Capital
Academic Performance in Grade Nine	×	×	○	○
Elite High Schools	×	×	×	○
Educational Attainment	×	×	×	○
Occupational Prestige of First Job	×	×	○	×
Current Occupational Prestige	×	×	×	×
Elite Occupational Status	×	×	—	—
Spouse's Occupational Prestige at Marriage	×	×	×	○
Spouse's Current Occupational Prestige	×	×	×	○
Spouse's Annual Income	×	○	×	○
Household Assets	○	×	×	○

In Japan, women's social status has been determined by their spouse's social status for a long time. Therefore cultural capital is required for women as an important factor in marital selection. It has been thought that cultural capital for women leads to their upward social mobility and status formation through marriage. In this way, artistic cultural capital can be positioned as a status culture for women. Japanese women use cultural capital as gendered capital in the gendered market (Kataoka 1996b). Habitus preferring classical music and fine arts has an advantage for women in cultural selection even if meritocratic selection goes on at the same time in society, and raises women's educational status and social status.

Regarding women's occupational attainment, however, reading cultural capital shows a positive and significant effect, yet artistic culture has none. As Collins (l971, 1979) has pointed out, it is not strange that, in a society that works under technical functionalism, reading cultural capital, which is based on the habitus of the knowledge-collecting type, i.e., human capital, affects employment and occupational selection. It is interesting that only reading cultural capital has a significant effect on women's occupational attainment.

Notes

1. In meritocratic societies that tend to determine status based on educational attainment, it has come to be treated as a barometer of progress. Japan has come under fire for this same phenomenon (Kariya 1995). Many Japanese scholars have debated the ossification of social selection standards in Japan in the form of rankings based on academic achievement (OECD Education Investigation Committee 1972).
2. For information on the different educational attainment mechanisms for men and women in Japan, see Kataoka (1998a, 2001=2015).
3. See Kataoka (1998a, 2001=2015) for more.
4. Samples who graduated from junior and senior high schools under the pre-war education system are not included in the analyses of this section.
5. Occupations ranked within the top 5% are those with an occupational prestige score of over 66.5 (1995 SSM Survey). This includes lawyers, professors, doctors, company executives, certified public accountants/licensed tax accountants, local politician, other people working in legal affairs, writers, and ship captains/mates.

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Notice: Advanced Analyses of this paper is conducted as follows. See the following papers.

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