

**Cultural Prestige and Classificatory Systems as Class Habitus:
Gendered “View” of Culture and Effect of Intergenerational Social Mobility**

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Abstract

Referring to the theories of Pierre Bourdieu, this study investigates the classificatory systems underlying the assessment of cultural activities and measures cultural prestige that is constituted from the rating scores when people assess various cultural activities. I clarified how individuals and groups assess cultural activities according to their cultural classificatory systems. The main findings are as follows: (1) Measuring the prestige scores given to cultural activities, the rank order of assessment of various cultural activities has a high commonality among different social groups. A dominant taxonomy seems to be shared. (2) The degree of cultural distinction, however, differs among social classes. The higher the social status, the stronger the index of cultural distinction. In other words, individuals and groups in higher social classes assess the legitimate culture higher than those in the working class. (3) Social hierarchy corresponds to the socially recognized hierarchy of cultural activities. (4) Each class has a different length of the scale of classification that is shown by the class differences of the values of the cultural distinction index, though a common rank order of cultural activities is maintained in each scale. (5) The structures of cultural assessment indicate that class status has an effect on cultural assessment; the members of each class highly assess the cultures favorable to the group to which they belong and give a low assessment to the culture characteristics of different classes to which they do not belong. This cognitive mechanism can be seen in cultural assessment. Each class adopts a classification system most favorable to them and gives an advantageous attribution for each class, because, as Bourdieu said, classification is at stake for social identity. And the differences of classificatory systems indicate the differences of class habitus constructed by social conditions. (6) The effects of intergenerational social mobility on cultural assessment differ among men and women; the cultural assimilation hypothesis can be applied to men, whereas women maintain the cultural assessment patterns of their class origin and are not affected by downward mobility because of marital transitions. In this gendered mechanism, women’s greater preference for

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high culture than men in Japan is maintained from generation to generation.

Keywords:

Distinction, Habitus, Cultural Prestige, Intergenerational Social Mobility, Social Class, Cultural Assessment, Pierre Bourdieu, Japan

1. Social Class and Assessment of Cultural Activities

The objectives of this study are to analyze how people assess various cultural activities and to clarify the sociological and collective characteristics of classification systems. That is, the study clarifies the extent to which people's "views" are the construction of the social world when assessing various cultural activities or whether these constructions are embodied social structures. I also clarify distinctions and differentiation through cultural activities and show how cultural tastes function as indices of social status in Japan.

In the cultural assessment standards, there are various dichotomous adjectives such as "superior/inferior," "refined/unrefined," "beautiful/ugly," and "artistic/crude" as Bourdieu said. People often use these to rank the pros and cons of tastes and lifestyles. In this study, the assessments of the prestige of various cultural activities are referred to as "cultural assessment" or "cultural prestige."

"Cultural assessment" can be defined as a cognitive perception in which a subject classifies various cultures within society and makes an assessment, corresponding to the judgment of taste, as stated by Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu, "taste is an acquired disposition to 'differentiate' and 'appreciate,' as Kant says -- in other words, to establish and mark differences by a process of distinction, which is not (or not necessarily) a distinct knowledge, in Leibniz's sense, since it ensures recognition (in the ordinary sense) of the object without implying knowledge of the distinctive features which define it (Bourdieu 1979). Distinction includes the dual meaning of differentiation and distinction that is the establishment of superiority. The subject does not necessarily need to be aware of the process of distinction as it is embodied by the habitus¹⁾.

The sense of distinction can be represented as a scale of differences that assess various cultural activities. For example, some people assess a music genre on a scale of 10–90 points, and others use a scale of 50–60 points. The former are the people sensitive to the differences in various cultural activities, whereas the latter are the people who view different genres as similar and frequently cluster them together. In the classificatory systems that categorize cultural activities, there are differences among social classes, which form the class habitus regulated by such social

structures.

This article indicates subjective judgments such as cultural assessments that are strongly connected to social structures and, regarding the connection between class and the process of classification (as stated by Bourdieu), a contribution is made to the progress of empirical research that surpasses mere theory and supporting evidence. The study also measures subjective variables regarding social class research and considers the significance of subjective judgments for social class theories.

2. Hypotheses

A consideration of the sociological characteristics of classificatory systems that support subjective judgement of taste clarifies the extent to which personal and group preferences, that is, the subject, are socially constructed. In this paper, the following analytical theses are explored using random sample data on a cultural prestige assessment conducted by the author in 1992 in Kobe, Japan.

(1) Is there a ranking for assessments of various cultural activities? Is there a common cognitive scheme that is a dominant taxonomy for cultural rankings among different groups? (**Dominant cultural ranking hypothesis²⁾**)

(2) What kinds of people can make strong distinctions about various cultural activities? Considering the ability of cultural distinctions, or the ability to distinguish the value of the prestige of various cultural activities, I clarify what is the effect of the social status of the respondents on the sensitivity to cultural differences. (**Class-based cultural distinction hypothesis**)

(3) Does cultural consumption form a social class indicator? Which cultural activities form a social status indicator and fulfill the role of a differentiation function? (**Hypothesis of correspondence theory on cultural hierarchy and social hierarchy**)

(4) If a cultural hierarchy exists, do the members of each group adopt the classification system advantageous to themselves in the positioning of various cultural activities? As a result, do the different cultural assessment schemes of each class form the habitus of the class constructed by the judgment arising from the social position of the group? (**Recognition model of systems of classification**)

(5) Does the respondent's experience of social mobility change his or her classificatory system based on social origin? If social mobility transforms the "view" of the culture being assessed, people would simply assimilate the culture of the post-mobility group (**Cultural assimilation hypothesis**). If the assessing "view" does not change, the culture based on social origin would remain despite status mobility,

which may be passed through generations like an inheritance (**Cultural inheritance hypothesis**). This study compares movers and stayers according to the two hypotheses above, and examines the effect of intergenerational social mobility on cultural classification systems.

Various hypotheses and analytical models related to the above are shown below and are tested using the data from random samples.

3. Data and Method

3.1 Data and Measurements on Cultural Assessments and Cultural Prestige

My analyses are based on a data set of a random sample survey I conducted in the city of Kobe in Hyogo Prefecture, Japan in 1992 to examine the above hypotheses.³⁾

There are 41 types of cultural activities as listed in Table 1, including art consumption, entertainment, music, sports, cooking, reading and media use. Even within the same fields, the activities have been subdivided as far as possible.

The population of this survey comprised men and women between the ages of 20 and 69 residing, and the sample was chosen using two-stage stratified sampling from the electoral register. The return rate on a questionnaire survey via mail was 40.3%, from which 13 faulty ballots were removed; therefore, 535 respondents (231 men and 304 women) were used in the analysis.

In the investigation, with the objective of calculating the cultural assessment score, the respondents used a 5-stage scale to rate the 41 types of cultural activities, where “Extremely high = 5” and “Extremely low = 1”⁴⁾. The score is calculated by assigning a maximum 100 points to “5” in the 5-stage rating, 75 points to “4”, 50 points to “3”, 25 points to “2”, and a minimum 0 points to “1”⁵⁾. Accordingly, the value of the total assessment score for each cultural activity divided by the total number of respondents (average value) defined the “**cultural prestige score**”. In addition, the average rating value for each cultural activity calculated for each group of respondents is distinguished by the name “**cultural assessment score**.”

3.2 The Meaning of the Cultural Prestige Score

The objective of calculating the cultural prestige score and the cultural assessment score is certainly not to determine which cultural activities are legitimate within a culture. It is operationally possible to define the boundaries of higher and lower cultures, but we must be aware that making such an operational definition in advance is an extremely arbitrary act.

There are classes within cultures, but from a relativist viewpoint, the superiority of culture itself, that is, cultural legitimacy, is arbitrary as Bourdieu indicated. The

statement that the “culture of the ruling class is the dominant (legitimate) culture” is the most direct expression of the arbitrary nature of such cultural assessments. That is, the notion that the cultural assessment scheme of the ruling class itself is “correct” or “legitimate” is based on the fact that such people have the power to impose their taste on others. Based on the ruling/non-ruling power relationship, cultural taste functions as a marker of the distinct characteristics of class. And the socially recognized hierarchy of cultural genres corresponds to the social hierarchy of consumers (Bourdieu 1979).

According to Bourdieu, the definition of cultural legitimacy is at stake in symbolic struggles to appropriate distinctive signs. Symbolic struggles arise over the definition of legitimacy.

4. Single Dimensionality of Cultural Assessments and Absence of Counter Cultures

4.1 Cultural Hierarchy

People rank various cultural activities from “high to low.” Table 1 shows the results of the cultural prestige scores, which are the average values of each cultural assessment score. The cultural activity with the highest prestige is “Visiting art galleries/museums” (67.4 points), and the lowest is “Betting on horse, bicycle, and boat racing” (21.3 points).

Cultural activities with high prestige included many activities related to traditional arts of the West and Japan, including visiting art galleries/museums, attending classical music concerts, engaging in social welfare activities, reading history and art books, attending kabuki and noh plays, painting, playing the piano, attending tea ceremonies or arranging flowers, and writing tanka or haiku poetry. These were followed by activities related to modern knowledge and technology, and the top 10 included using a PC or word processor and reading scientific journals.

Activities of medium prestige included playing tennis and golf, attending jazz concerts, watching foreign movies, and working on DIY projects. Conversely, activities with low prestige had elements of popular entertainment and gambling, such as in the above-mentioned betting on horse, bicycle and boat racing; playing pachinko (Japanese pinball); playing mah-jong; reading and studying horoscopes or fortune-telling; going to bars and pubs; and buying lottery tickets.

Hereafter, in line with the analytical framework of Bourdieu, cultural activities are categorized into three groups for the sake of convenience. “High culture” is given to cultural activities with superior cultural prestige, “Middle culture” to medium activities, and “Popular culture” to lower activities, depending on the value of the

cultural prestige score. The standard deviation for the scores for each cultural activity in Table 1 is between 18 and 30, and the majority had values in the lower twenties. Compared with the results of a 1975 SSM (Social Stratification and Social Mobility) survey on occupational prestige, the standard deviation in this study was somewhat greater in these cultural activities. The large variance in cultural assessment scores suggests that people utilize different methods of assessment⁶⁾.

Table 1. Cultural Prestige Scores and Cultural Assessment Scores

		Cultural Prestige		Cultural Assessment Scores								
		Mean (N=535)	SD	Gender		Education			Current Occupation			
				Male (N=231)	Female (N=304)	Higher Education (N=197)	High School (N=237)	Compulsory Education (N=84)	Professional or Managerial (N=99)	Office or Sales (N=111)	Blue Collar (N=131)	
High Culture	1 Visiting art galleries/museums	67.41	26.6	67.3	67.5	* 75.9	65.7	53.9	* 75.3	73.0	62.4	
	2 Attending classical music concerts	63.28	29.4	62.2	64.1	* 71.4	60.8	53.2	* 71.1	69.3	57.7	
	3 Engaging in social welfare activities	63.28	30.7	62.9	63.6	* 70.8	61.0	52.0	* 70.4	69.8	58.7	
	4 Reading history and art books	62.08	25.1	63.2	61.2	* 69.0	61.0	50.3	* 68.2	66.1	56.7	
	5 Attending kabuki and noh plays	61.57	29.6	59.5	63.1	* 68.4	60.5	49.0	* 69.1	67.4	56.7	
	6 Painting (Japanese/Western)	60.76	30.3	61.7	60.1	* 71.2	57.1	50.0	* 70.4	66.6	55.6	
	7 Playing the piano	60.31	29.7	58.9	61.4	* 68.8	57.9	49.7	* 66.2	65.9	57.9	
	8 Attending tea ceremonies or arranging flowers	58.79	25.2	56.6	60.4	* 63.8	57.7	51.7	* 62.2	64.8	55.1	
	9 Using a PC or word processor	58.55	26.9	58.6	54.0	* 63.2	57.5	53.0	* 63.1	63.2	58.3	
	10 Reading scientific journals	56.02	26.6	58.1	58.9	* 65.0	52.9	44.9	* 65.6	58.2	53.1	
Middle Culture	11 Writing tanka or haiku poetry	54.50	28.3	54.1	54.8	* 63.0	51.2	45.0	* 65.2	58.4	49.0	
	12 Making Japanese/Western clothing	53.56	25.3	51.3	55.3	56.9	51.8	41.7	55.9	58.4	51.2	
	13 Handicrafts/knitting	52.82	22.2	* 48.2	56.3	54.9	52.0	50.0	53.1	55.9	52.3	
	14 Reading general interest magazines	51.68	18.5	* 53.9	50.0	* 55.9	51.3	44.4	* 55.7	54.5	51.0	
	15 Baking	51.14	24.0	* 48.5	53.1	* 55.8	49.3	45.6	* 55.4	55.9	49.2	
	16 Making French food	50.99	26.1	48.4	53.0	* 56.1	48.7	46.0	* 55.2	56.4	48.6	
	17 Doing calligraphy	50.15	22.8	49.9	50.4	* 53.4	49.5	45.0	52.3	54.1	49.2	
	18 Playing tennis	49.90	24.0	49.3	50.4	* 52.8	50.2	43.8	* 53.3	55.0	49.8	
	19 Attending jazz concerts	49.16	24.4	48.0	50.1	* 54.9	47.7	42.1	* 52.8	55.7	47.4	
	20 Playing golf	48.92	25.0	46.6	50.7	* 51.2	49.7	42.3	* 51.5	54.1	48.6	
Popular Culture	21 Watching pro baseball	48.67	20.2	48.7	48.7	* 49.7	50.0	42.8	* 48.2	52.3	51.2	
	22 Watching foreign movies	48.48	19.6	48.5	48.4	* 52.4	48.9	39.5	* 51.8	53.6	47.5	
	23 Working on DIY projects	48.33	21.4	* 51.0	46.3	* 53.2	47.6	40.1	* 54.4	50.0	47.5	
	24 Eating at French restaurant	47.54	21.6	* 44.7	49.7	* 50.8	46.0	44.3	49.7	49.8	46.5	
	25 Singing old folk songs (min'yo)	47.34	23.6	46.3	48.2	50.5	46.3	44.3	49.7	50.7	47.9	
	26 Playing <i>Go/shogi</i> (Japanese chess)	47.00	24.4	48.4	45.9	* 51.9	46.0	39.3	* 52.8	51.1	46.3	
	27 Watching Japanese movies	46.83	18.5	47.0	46.7	* 50.4	46.3	41.2	* 48.5	50.7	46.3	
	28 Reading mystery or detective novels	45.53	18.5	45.8	45.3	* 49.6	44.7	39.1	* 49.5	49.8	43.8	
	29 Reading sports newspapers	45.39	20.6	46.4	44.6	43.8	47.0	45.4	* 43.0	46.8	49.4	
	30 Attending comedy show	45.12	18.7	45.5	44.9	* 47.2	45.0	39.9	46.1	48.4	44.9	
Popular Culture	31 Attending rock music concerts	43.80	22.7	41.6	45.5	* 46.4	44.3	37.3	43.8	48.6	42.1	
	32 Performing karaoke	42.61	22.8	41.3	43.6	40.3	44.8	41.6	* 36.3	43.9	48.8	
	33 Attending popular plays	41.75	20.8	42.2	41.4	43.4	41.8	37.3	44.4	42.7	42.6	
	34 Attending a performance or show of a Japanese ballad singer	41.40	20.1	41.4	41.4	41.3	41.7	41.2	38.9	42.0	44.8	
	35 Reading romance novels	41.25	20.2	41.3	41.2	* 44.6	40.6	36.1	* 44.6	46.6	40.7	
	36 Buying lottery tickets	39.41	22.6	38.2	40.4	37.0	41.2	39.3	* 32.0	42.3	42.9	
	37 Going to bars and pubs	38.89	22.5	* 41.2	37.1	* 41.4	39.4	33.0	* 39.4	42.0	43.3	
	38 Reading and studying horoscopes or fortune-telling	34.01	21.7	* 31.3	36.1	* 33.2	36.2	28.3	34.3	37.7	34.1	
	39 Playing mah-jong	26.33	22.7	26.6	26.1	26.2	28.3	21.7	27.1	28.2	26.8	
	40 Playing pachinko	24.80	25.2	24.8	24.8	22.8	27.5	22.4	22.9	22.7	29.1	
	41 Betting on horse, bicycle, and boat racing	21.31	23.7	22.1	20.7	19.9	23.6	19.7	* 18.6	21.8	26.6	

Note: Refer to Note 7 for educational categories and to Note 8 for occupational categories. * p<0.05

4.2 Dominant System of Classification on Culture

Do different social groups have the same classificatory system regarding cultural activities? Gender, education, and occupation are the factors that distinguish social groups (see Table 1). The ranked data of cultural assessment scores show a high correlation of 0.926 ($p < 0.0001$) among men and women using Spearman's correlation coefficient. The rank-order of cultural activities is almost the same between men and women. The only activities that ranked 10th or above in the ranking order that differed significantly between men and women are "handcrafts or knitting" (22nd for men/10th for women) and "working on DIY projects" (14th for men/26th for women). Women had a high assessment of "handcrafts and knitting," which many women typically enjoy, whereas men had a high assessment of "DIY," which many men typically like to engage in. This suggests that one tends to highly assess the cultural activities characteristic of the group to which one belongs.

Next, three categories are applied to the level of education⁷⁾ (higher education/high school graduates/compulsory education or below) to compare Spearman's rank correlation coefficient using the ranked data of cultural assessment scores between the categories. The rank correlation coefficient between higher education and high school graduates is 0.947 ($p < 0.0001$), between higher education graduates and compulsory education 0.880 ($p < 0.0001$), and between high school graduates and compulsory education 0.921 ($p < 0.0001$), indicating a significant association among all groups. Spearman's rho value between higher education and compulsory education, however, is quite low compared to other groups. Furthermore, with regard to occupational category, the rho coefficient is found between "professional/managerial," "office/sales," and "blue collar."⁸⁾ The results show a high coefficient of 0.972 ($p < 0.0001$) between professional/managerial and office/sales, but it is low between professional/managerial and blue collar at 0.875 ($p < 0.0001$). The rank-order correlation between office/sales and blue collar is 0.914.

From the above results, it is clear that the ranking order for various cultural activities is almost the same among all social groups. Therefore, counter-culture is very unlikely to exist. For a few cultural activities, however, the assessment ranking among the groups is vastly different. For example, blue-collar workers tend to highly assess lower culture.

5. Cultural Distinction as Class Habitus

5.1 Cultural Distinction and Social Status

The index of "cultural distinction" is used to examine the relationship between social status and cultural assessments. In this article, cultural distinction is defined as the

ability to distinguish differences in various cultural activities and to find values and validity in cultural differences. For example, comparing classical music with *enka* (Japanese ballads), classical music has a higher rank in the assessment scores among all social groups. The key point, however, is the extent to which people perceive the difference between these cultures. If someone has a greater ability to perceive cultural distinctions, that person has a classificatory system to distinguish significant differences in various cultural activities. In other words, people with a greater ability to perceive cultural distinctions possess a cultural perception system by which they can classify the differences in various cultural activities in detail and a habitus to justify cultural distinctions of their own. Cultural distinction in this sense refers to cultural sensitivity, and it is identical to distinction as described by Bourdieu. That is, cultural distinction is a classificatory system or embodied cognitive scheme that functions as class habitus.

**Hypothesis 1: To what extent does the cultural distinction index depend on social status;
The higher the status, the greater the cultural distinction.**

In Hypothesis 1, individuals and groups with high social status will have a greater ability to make cultural distinctions, whereas individuals and groups with lower social status will have a lower ability to do so.

5.2 Result of Hypothesis 1

In this section, I show which social groups have strong cultural distinction, using an operational definition of cultural distinction. I made the index of cultural distinction, as measured using the range between the maximum and minimum points in the cultural assessment score calculated for each group. For example, for the total average of cultural distinction, the range is 46.1 from the top cultural assessment score for “visiting art galleries or museums” (67.4) to the bottom score of “betting in horse, bicycle and boat racing” (21.3). The individuals and groups with higher values in the cultural distinction index strongly recognized the differences in prestige among cultural activities. Table 2 shows the values of the cultural distinction index by gender, education, current occupation, and the education of the parents and the father’s occupation as social origin.

Table 2. Index of Cultural Distinction

Total		46.1
Gender	Male	45.2
	Female	46.8
Education	Higher Education	56.0
	High School	42.1
	Compulsory Education	34.2
Current Occupation	Professional or Managerial	56.7
	Office or Sales	51.2
	Blue Collar	35.8
Father's Education	Higher Education	57.0
	High School	47.3
	Compulsory Education	42.9
Mother's Education	Higher Education	57.3
	High School	51.1
	Compulsory Education	41.9
Father's Occupation	Professional or Managerial	52.9
	Office or Sales	53.0
	Blue Collar	43.0

According to the results shown in Table 2, there is no gap in cultural distinction between men and women. With regard to the education of the respondents, those with higher education show greater cultural distinction: higher education at 56.0, high school at 42.1, and compulsory education at 34.2. There is a large gap in the cultural distinction index among respondents' occupations: professional/management at 56.7, office and sales at 51.2, and blue-collar workers at 35.8. In addition, with regard to the education of one's parents, respondents with more educated parents had greater cultural distinction, and those with a blue-collar worker father have lower cultural distinction.

Therefore, it is clear that groups with higher class status in terms of education and occupation and groups with higher social origins have greater cultural distinction than groups with lower social status and origin; the former also strongly recognize prestige differences among different cultures. In other words, groups with a higher class status have a strong sense of distinction and a habitus in which specific cultural activities are given either high or low values. Conversely, people with a lower class status are cognizant of cultural rankings, but have less sense of cultural distinction. That is, they do not strongly distinguish differences between cultural activities and do not have a habitus in which they assign values to such activities. As the results of the data analysis indicate, sensitivity to culture has a connection to the level of class status, supporting Hypothesis 1.

Next, when we compare the various genres of music and literature regarding the

connection between cultural distinction and social class⁹⁾, music is used to show greater cultural distinctions. To put it another way, music is the most significant symbolic indicator of social class. As shown in Table 1, values in the cultural distinction index differ greatly according to current occupation and education. In the field of music, high status groups like professional/management and those with higher education assess classical music very highly, and give lower points to popular music as such Japanese ballad (*enka*) and rock music. For instance, classical music is assessed at 71.4 points by higher education graduates, but at only 53.2 by those who have completed only compulsory education (junior high school or below). Cultural distinction in music field is strongly associated with social status in Japan. In other words, music preferences are the most symbolic indicators of social hierarchy and social class.

As shown in Table 2, values in the cultural distinction index differs greatly according to the father's occupation and education and mother's education level. So, aesthetic disposition, which is the habitus that recognizes cultural differences and uses a strategy for cultural distinction, is formed at home. Also, it is concluded that cultural distinction is acquired through schooling and occupational life, because there is a strong relation between the values on the cultural distinction index and the respondent's education and occupation. This can also be interpreted as social reproduction occurring among people with greater cultural distinction through the education system. In either case, this study confirmed that the sense of cultural distinction in which differences between various cultures are recognizable, that is, distinction, is formed as the class habitus at home, at school, and in occupation, as described by Bourdieu.

6. Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Hierarchy

6.1 Cultural Distinctions and the Cultural Hierarchy Hypothesis

Figure 1 shows a conceptual framework of the relationship among three factors: social class structure, classificatory systems, and cultural practices and strategies. Hypothesis 1 has already been tested, confirming the fact that people with a higher class status have a strong classificatory system and make strong cultural distinctions. Next, Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3 are formulated as follows.

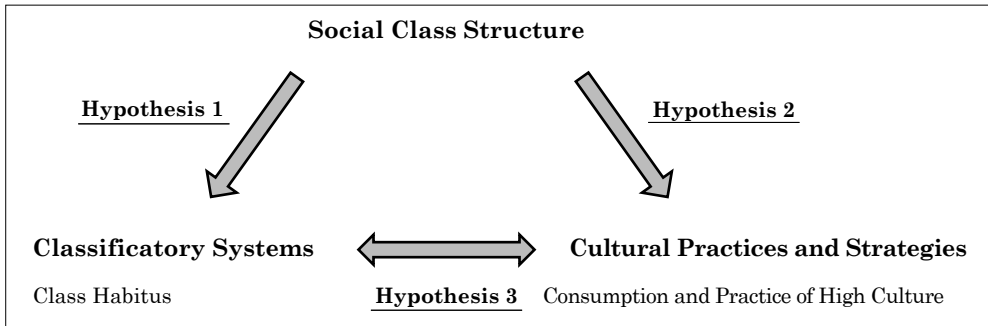


Figure 1. Analytical Framework

Hypothesis 2: People with a higher social status adopt high cultural consumption and cultural differentiation strategies.

Hypothesis 3: Groups with greater cultural distinction index scores adopt high cultural consumption and cultural differentiation strategies.

Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3 are derived from the following notions. In Hypothesis 2, “high cultural consumption and cultural differentiation strategies” is a class strategy in which people use the symbolic power of culture to apply the principle of classification system to the most everyday choices of everyday life, e.g., in cooking, clothing, or decoration (Bourdieu 1979), that is, to affix social differences and set the boundaries of social differences. The consumption and practice of high culture is an indicator of distinction. If the cultural hierarchy hypothesis (Hypothesis 2) is valid, it should correspond to Bourdieu’s proposition that “the socially recognized hierarchy of the arts, and within each of them, of genres, schools or periods, corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers” (Bourdieu 1979).

Hypothesis 3 indicates that differences of class habitus make differences in cultural consumption. The habitus is the embodied cognitive scheme for assessment, and it is not necessary for the subject to be self-aware of the strategies and the meanings of one’s own actions arising from the habitus. Distinctive practices and strategies would not arise if some people did not appropriate the symbolic signs. In other words, people with greater cultural distinction are aware that cultural differentiation is an effective class strategy and consume high culture. Those with less cultural distinction, however, do not have a class strategy of cultural differentiation and do not engage in high-culture activities. Whether or not a cultural differentiation strategy is adopted is also a class strategy in itself.

6.2 Results of Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3

Are class differences discernable in actual cultural activities? ¹⁰⁾ We consider the hierarchy of cultural activities using the cultural activities ratio shown in Table 3 ¹¹⁾ and the differentiation index. The differentiation index was produced using the total activity ratio (%) of each cultural activity by current occupation. ¹²⁾ In particular, the differentiation index is the (maximum value minus minimum value)/average value of the cultural activity ratio for each occupational category. ¹³⁾ When the highest point of the index in the lower level of occupational prestige has been reached, or when the lowest point of the index in the higher level of occupational prestige has been reached, however, it is written with a minus value (-). Therefore, the greater the absolute value of the differentiation index, the greater the class differentiation function of the cultural activity, and cultural activities that are characteristic of blue-collar workers are displayed with a minus symbol.

Table 3. Cultural Activity Ratios by Current Occupation and Differentiation Index

	Average rate(%) of respondents that experienced each item	Current Occupation			Index of Cultural Differentiation	
		Professional or Managerial (n=129)	Office or Sales (n=127)	Blue Collar (n=151)		
High Culture	1 Visiting art galleries/museums	60.2	77.5	63.0	43.0	0.57
	2 Attending classical music concerts	22.6	36.4	24.4	9.3	1.22
	3 Engaging in social welfare activities	21.7	23.7	25.2	17.1	0.37
	4 Reading history and art books	52.7	68.5	54.3	37.6	0.59
	5 Attending kabuki and noh plays	9.4	14.0	11.0	4.0	1.06
	6 Painting (Japanese/Western)	8.5	12.2	8.7	5.2	0.82
	7 Playing the piano	9.5	16.0	11.9	2.0	1.47
	8 Attending tea ceremonies or arranging flowers	15.1	17.6	21.3	7.8	0.89
	9 Using a PC or word processor	39.6	52.7	48.8	20.5	0.81
	10 Reading scientific journals	16.9	22.9	15.7	12.6	0.61
	11 Writing tanka or haiku poetry	6.1	10.0	5.5	3.3	1.10
	:	:	:	:	:	
	:	:	:	:	:	
Popular Culture	30 Attending comedy show	8.1	6.2	7.1	10.7	-0.56
	31 Attending rock music concerts	2.5	2.3	3.1	2.0	0.44
	32 Performing karaoke	58.8	59.5	61.9	55.6	0.12
	33 Attending popular plays	15.5	13.2	18.9	14.7	0.37
	34 Attending a performance or show of a Japanese ballad singer	18.2	7.8	20.5	25.3	-0.96
	35 Reading romance novels	28.1	33.6	36.2	16.6	0.70
	36 Buying lottery tickets	47.6	35.1	55.1	52.0	-0.42
	37 Going to bars and pubs	61.1	65.5	62.2	56.2	0.15
	38 Reading and studying horoscopes or fortune-telling	17.2	16.0	16.8	18.7	-0.16
	39 Playing mah-jong	17.6	24.4	16.7	12.6	0.67
40 Playing pachinko	25.0	20.6	23.2	30.3	-0.39	
41 Betting on horse, bicycle, and boat racing	10.3	5.3	8.7	15.9	-1.03	

Notes:

- 1) The cultural activity ratio is the ratio of people (%) who have had this experience at least once in the past year.
- 2) Differentiation index: Calculated from the cultural activity ratio as [(maximum points - minimum points)/average activity ratio].

As clearly indicated by Table 3, the cultural activity ratio differs according to the occupation and the culture. The cultural prestige of the activities that are characteristic of professional/managerial workers are high, such as “playing the piano,” and “attending classical music concerts,” while those characteristic of blue-collar workers are popular culture, including “betting on horse, bicycle and boat racing,” and “attending a performance or show of a Japanese ballad (*enka*) singer.” In other words, taste is an indicator of class in Japan just as it is in France, as shown by Bourdieu. Thus, Hypothesis 2 is proven, and that class-status hierarchy corresponds to cultural hierarchy is confirmed. The differentiation index, however, does not necessarily correspond to variation in the cultural assessment score as the corresponding relationship is only slight.¹⁴⁾

The results show that professionals and managerial workers consume high-culture and have relatively high cultural distinction. In contrast, there is a strong trend for blue-collar workers to consume popular culture and have relatively low cultural distinction. It is clear that the groups with higher cultural distinction adopt cultural differentiation strategies, which supports Hypothesis 3.

7. Taxonomy Advantageous to One’s Class Identity

7.1 Cognitive Model of Cultural Assessment: Hypothesis 4

Why does the strength of cultural distinction differ among social classes? Here, in order to investigate Hypothesis 4, I demonstrate a cognitive model in which the mechanism operates in a social perspective that makes advantageous judgments about one’s own group when assessing various cultural activities. That is, though individuals and groups have a common perception of the ranking assessment of cultural activities, they may assess the cultures favorable to them as a higher category compared to other groups, and assess the cultures not favorable to them as a lower category. They use their own taxonomy in which they are as advantageous as possible to their class identity. In other words, I assume that people evaluate the culture of their own group highly and give lower values to that of different groups; thus, I believe that differences in cultural distinction arise from the class structure, as Bourdieu said.

Hypothesis 4: Classificatory systems differ among social classes. That is, they give a relatively high assessment to the culture favorable to the group to which they belong and by which they express their taste and social identity and a low assessment to the culture from which they are greatly separated in terms of social class.

- 4a: Upper-class people assign a high assessment to the high culture that they prefer, and, accordingly, there is a low assessment of popular culture. This is because high culture functions as a symbol expressing the high social class status they belong to.
- 4b: The middle class gives a higher assessment to middle culture than do other classes.
- 4c: The working class has a lower assessment of high culture than other classes, and they have a relatively higher assessment of their preferred popular culture than other classes.

Hypothesis 4 comprises three sub-hypotheses: 4a, 4b, and 4c. Hypothesis 4 is modeled as shown in Table 4, which provides a hypothetical score to each category.

The value of the cognitive model in Table 4 is the hypothetical value of the cultural assessment score for each class (upper, middle, lower), which is derived from the cultural hierarchy hypothesis and Hypothesis 4. For example, in line with Hypothesis 4a, the upper class has a high assessment (100 points) of high culture, which they prefer, and a low assessment (0 points) of popular culture. Conversely, in the lower class, an assessment is hypothesized in which high culture is assessed relatively low (50 points), and popular culture is assessed relatively high (30 points) as compared with the upper class. As consistency with the cultural hierarchy hypothesis is required, in all of the class groups, a cultural assessment score ranking of “high culture > middle culture > popular culture” should be maintained so that the rank order is the same.

Table 4. Cognitive Model of Cultural Assessment

	Social Class		
	Upper	Middle	Lower
High Culture	100 (1st)	80 (1st)	50 (1st)
Middle Culture	50 (2nd)	60 (2nd)	40 (2nd)
Popular Culture	0 (3rd)	20 (3rd)	30 (3rd)
Range: Index of Cultural Distinction	100 >	60 >	20

Note: Upper Values mean cultural assessment scores of each class.

Values in parentheses show the rank order of each culture’s points among three different cultures.

Table 5. Rank Order of Assessment Scores for Each Culture in the Cognitive Model in Table 4.

	Social Class		
	Upper	Middle	Lower
High Culture	1st >	2nd	< 3rd
Middle Culture	2nd <	1st	> 3rd
Popular Culture	3rd <	2nd	< 1st

Note: Values show the rank order of each culture’s scores in Table 4 among social classes. The ranking 1st means that the upper class assesses high culture highest at 100 points, and the middle class assesses high culture the second as 80 points, and the lower class assesses high culture at the lowest level, 50 points.

As shown by the rank order in the parentheses in Table 4, all the classes accept a dominant hierarchical structure of cultural activities; however, the degree of cultural distinction varies among the classes. So here, I hypothesized the model of the cultural distinction index as follows; the upper class had the highest sense of distinction, with a cultural assessment scale having a maximum range of 100, demonstrating a strong awareness of various cultural differences. With the lower class, it is hypothesized that the cultural distinction is the weakest, with a cultural distinction scale having a minimum range of 20, indicating less awareness of cultural differences than that of other classes.

Table 5 shows the rank order of the hypothetical cultural assessment scores among the classes based on the model in Table 4. The upper, middle, and lower classes are compared, and the class that gave the highest assessment score to the culture is 1st, while the class that gave the lowest score is 3rd. If Hypothesis 4 is correct, people calculate the benefits unconsciously to their own class when assessing a cultural activity, so the order of cultural assessment scores among the classes should be as shown in Table 5. For example, the lower class is ranked 1st for the highest assessment of popular culture (30 points), while the upper class is ranked 3rd for an assessment with the lowest points (0 points).

If the cognitive model in Table 4 is satisfied, it suggests that upper-class people who emphasize cultural distinction strategies use the taxonomy advantageous to their social identity. That is, distinctive cultural activity is used as a symbolic boundary for the upper class and shows that the upper class has the power to make symbolic boundaries when imposing their classificatory system. Lower class people who don't distinguish cultural differences well also use the common cultural rank order, but they assess the popular culture they like relatively higher than other classes do. This cognitive system is favorable and protective for lower class identity.

7.2 Results on the Test of the Cognitive Model

Do the data support the cognitive model in Tables 4 and 5? Table 6 indicates the order of the assessment scores for each culture by occupational categories using the values shown in Table 1. As Table 6 indicates, the cognitive model of Table 5 is supported by the data. That is, professional/managerial workers give the highest assessment scores (1st) to high cultural activities. This is shown with cultural prestige ranks of 1 (visiting art galleries or museums) through 7 (playing the piano). Office/sales workers, on the other hand, rate these activities 2nd and blue-collar workers 3rd. Of the 14 items of middle culture, which has average prestige, with a cultural prestige ranking between 12th (Making Japanese/Western clothing) and

25th (“singing old folk songs (min’yo)”), 12 items are given the highest score in the assessment by middle-class office/sales workers (1st), then by professional/managerial workers (2nd), and then by blue-collar workers (3rd). Furthermore, with regard to low-prestige popular culture, for the 11 items that are ranked between “performing karaoke” (32nd) and “betting on horse, bicycle, and boat racing” (41st), blue-collar workers give the highest assessment to 6 of those items, while professional/managerial workers give them the lowest assessment. The results in

Table 6.

		Rank Order among Job Categories		
		Professional or Managerial	Office or Sales	Blue Collar
High Culture	1 Visiting art galleries/museums	1st	2nd	3rd
	2 Attending classical music concerts	1st	2nd	3rd
	3 Engaging in social welfare activities	1st	2nd	3rd
	4 Reading history and art books	1st	2nd	3rd
	5 Attending kabuki and noh plays	1st	2nd	3rd
	6 Painting (Japanese/Western)	1st	2nd	3rd
	7 Playing the piano	1st	2nd	3rd
	8 Attending tea ceremonies or arranging flowers	2nd	1st	3rd
	9 Using a PC or word processor	2nd	1st	3rd
	10 Reading scientific journals	1st	2nd	3rd
	11 Writing tanka or haiku poetry	1st	2nd	3rd
	12 Making Japanese/Western clothing	2nd	1st	3rd
	13 Handicrafts/knitting	2nd	1st	3rd
	14 Reading general interest magazines	1st	2nd	3rd
	15 Baking	2nd	1st	3rd
Middle Culture	16 Making French food	2nd	1st	3rd
	17 Doing calligraphy	2nd	1st	3rd
	18 Playing tennis	2nd	1st	3rd
	19 Attending jazz concerts	2nd	1st	3rd
	20 Playing golf	2nd	1st	3rd
	21 Watching pro baseball	3rd	1st	2nd
	22 Watching foreign movies	2nd	1st	3rd
	23 Working on DIY projects	1st	2nd	3rd
	24 Eating at French restaurant	2nd	1st	3rd
	25 Singing old folk songs (min’yo)	2nd	1st	3rd
	26 Playing <i>Go/shogi</i> (Japanese chess)	1st	2nd	3rd
	27 Watching Japanese movies	2nd	1st	3rd
	28 Reading mystery or detective novels	2nd	1st	3rd
	29 Reading sports newspapers	3rd	2nd	1st
	Popular Culture	30 Attending comedy show	2nd	1st
31 Attending rock music concerts		2nd	1st	3rd
32 Performing karaoke		3rd	2nd	1st
33 Attending popular plays		1st	2nd	3rd
34 Attending a performance or show of a Japanese ballad singer		3rd	2nd	1st
35 Reading romance novels		2nd	1st	3rd
36 Buying lottery tickets		3rd	2nd	1st
37 Going to bars and pubs		3rd	2nd	1st
38 Reading and studying horoscopes or fortune-telling		2nd	1st	3rd
39 Playing mah-jong		2nd	1st	3rd
40 Playing pachinko		2nd	3rd	1st
41 Betting on horse, bicycle, and boat racing	3rd	2nd	1st	

Table 6 mostly duplicate the order of the classes in the cognitive model shown in Table 5. The survey data proved that Hypothesis 4 and the cognitive model on culture assessment is correct.

Therefore, it can be said that class status has strong effect on cultural assessment, and it is clear that the members of each class make assessments in which their own culture is relatively superior. It is also clarified that people make cultural assessments in which, even while maintaining a common cultural hierarchy, they give a high assessment to the culture of their own class; moreover, a social perspective is simultaneously adopted whereby a lower assessment is given to the culture of people in socially distant classes. That is, cultural distinction is not a so-called "ability," but rather an embodied cognitive system of assessing culture between various classes that becomes class habitus. Cultural distinction is a classificatory system for cultural perceptions constructed on the basis of objective socioeconomic and cultural conditions.

7.3 The Meaning of Different Cultural Assessments Based on Social Position

What is meant by differences in cultural assessment based on social position?

First, considering the upper class as professional/managerial workers, many of them have internalized the code of authentic culture and legitimate the orthodoxy culture. So they give high-culture activities a higher assessment on that basis, and popular culture is given a lower assessment. Professional/managerial workers have a high cultural distinction and are aware of the validity of cultural distinction and its meanings of setting social boundaries.

Second, this kind of classification and assessment behavior is also a practice by the upper class that shows their superiority in the social world. This is supported by the facts that the ratio of high-culture activities is higher among professional/managerial workers, while lower among blue-collar workers, so high cultural activities are characteristics of professional/managerial workers.

Third, the high assessment given to one's own culture is advantageous to professional/managerial workers. That is, professional/managerial workers are able to exclude other groups by showing distinctive high-culture tastes. This is because they can give value to the accumulation of their own cultural capital.

Fourth, the high assessment given to the cultural activities of their group and the low assessment given to other cultures is a way of imposing their classification system as a standard on other people through their own cultural definition, which is a means of cultural legitimization. In the symbolic struggles, professionals/management workers are fighting a winning battle.

We now consider blue-collar workers, who are lower in social status (especially in

occupational prestige). Considering the ratio of activities, popular culture with low cultural prestige is characteristic of blue-collar workers. They have an unsophisticated classificatory system when distinguishing culture with high and low prestige. For example, they do not distinguish the difference between “jazz concerts” (47.4) and “attending a performance or show of a Japanese ballad singer (*enka*)” (44.8), and both are assessed as “somewhat low.” Although blue-collar workers assess classical music as a higher-rank activity, the average assessment is 57.7 points, only a little higher than “average.” Regarding cultural activities that they perform themselves, they recognize such activities as having low prestige. In this survey, answering the cultural assessment questionnaire for the working class reaffirm the low prestige of their own activities. At the same time, accepting the high rank of the prestige of high culture means that the working class acknowledge the superiority of the lifestyles of upper-class people.

Within this acknowledgment, the blue-collar workers’ assessment of their own culture as high as possible, even while accepting a dominant cultural hierarchical structure, is to their collective advantage. Therefore, they give a higher assessment to popular culture such as pachinko and betting on horse, bicycle, and boat racing than professional/managerial workers do. In other words, blue-collar workers adopt the dominant cultural definition (hierarchy) learned at school and also affirm themselves within this definition using the shortest scale of judgement. This self-affirming attitude, however, is not in opposition to the dominant cultural ranking. If blue-collar workers assess popular culture more highly than high culture, there is the possibility for a counter culture to arise, but that does not happen in reality. Blue-collar workers also justify the common cultural ranking, although it is not a strong justification. Thus, blue-collar workers are content to accept the dominant culture, but to some extent they perceive the existence of the dominant culture and cultural differentiation functions, though not necessarily as much as professional/managerial workers do.

As shown by the weakness of the cultural distinction index, however, the scale of the classificatory system of blue-collar workers is not as detailed as that of professional/managerial workers.

Next, we consider office/sales workers. The occupational prestige of this group is average and middle class. Here, there is also a high ratio of middle-culture activities. These individuals tend to give a high assessment to high culture, but the prestige they give to high culture is not as high as that given by professional/managerial workers. They also tend to give a higher assessment to middle culture than those in other classes do to. The characteristic of middle culture is practical cultural activities. These include handcrafts/knitting (13th), baking (15th), making

French food (16th), doing calligraphy (17th), and working on DIY projects (23rd). Office/sales workers assign a higher assessment to such practical cultural activities than other groups do; therefore, these are their cultural characteristics. Also, office/sales workers tend to prefer high culture over popular culture, and their “view” of culture is closer to that of professional/managerial workers. The reason for this preference may well be connected to the strong desire and motivation of the middle class to become a member of the upper class.

This kind of class gap in cultural distinction is an inevitable result of social structure positions. In addition, the distinction of culture itself is one form of the class habitus that leads to advantage or disadvantage for each class.

8. Status Mobility and Cultural Assessments

8.1 Cultural Assimilation: Hypothesis 5

As clarified above, cultural distinction is formed by family social origin and education. In this section, I show whether the respondents’ intergenerational social mobility changes their classificatory systems, that is, the cognitive structures of cultural assessment. I establish the cultural assimilation hypothesis as Hypothesis 5. Hypothesis 5 has 4 corollaries.

Hypothesis 5: Individuals and groups who have experienced intergenerational social mobility change and nullify the cultural assessment schemes of their class origin to assimilate the cultural assessment schemes of the destination class. (Cultural assimilation hypothesis)

5 a: Movers from the lower class to the upper class (or upward movers) raise their assessment of high culture in comparison to the stayers in the lower class.

5 a’: Movers from the lower class to the upper class (or upward movers) lower their assessment of popular culture compared to the stayers in the lower class.

5 b: Movers from the upper class to the lower class (or downward movers) lower their assessment of high culture compared to the stayers in the upper class.

5 b’: Movers from the upper class to the lower class (or downward movers) raise their assessment of popular culture compared to the stayers in the upper class.

Hypothesis 5 is derived from the “theory of cultural assimilation,” specified in 5a, 5a’, 5b, and 5b’. That is, it is hypothesized that individuals and groups who have moved either up or down in status from their class origin, tend to assimilate their classificatory systems to the one of their current class and view more positively the current class culture that is practiced by most of the people in the current class than the culture of their class origin. For example, it is hypothesized that movers from the lower class to the upper class assimilate and give a high assessment to the high culture, that is, the culture of upper-class people (5a). At the same time, however, these upward movers develop a negative perception of the culture of the lower class, that is, of the popular culture of their origin (5a). Another hypothesis is established in which downward movers will have a negative view of the high culture of their class origin (5b) and will develop a positive view of the popular culture that is characteristic of the respondent’s destination class. In the next section, the effects of status mobility on cultural taste are tested.

8.2 Different Effects of Status Mobility between Men and Women

In order to clarify the mobility patterns of movers and stayers, intergenerational social mobility is categorized into four patterns using data on the transition from the father’s occupation as class origin to the current occupation of the respondents. As in many cases women are housewives, the current occupation of the female respondents is replaced with the current occupation of the husband.

“**Stayers in the upper class**” in Table 7 are those whose current occupation and father’s occupation are both “professional/managerial.” “**Upward movers**” are those who moved from their father’s occupational category as “blue-collar workers/unemployed workers” to the current occupational category of “professional/managerial or office/sales workers.” “**Downward movers**” are those who have moved from their father’s occupational category of “professional/managerial or office/sales workers” to the occupational category of “blue-collar/unemployed workers,” while “**Stayers in the lower class**” are those who have not experienced intergenerational social mobility and among whom both the father and the respondent are blue-collar workers. Table 7 shows the results of the cultural assessment scores for each of the four intergenerational mobility patterns. Table 8 shows the values of the index of cultural distinction for each social mobility pattern. Men and women are analyzed separately.

Table 7.

		Male Intergenerational Mobility				Female Intergenerational Mobility			
		Stayers in Upper Class	Upward Movers	Downward Movers	Stayers in Blue Collar	Stayers in Upper Class	Upward Movers	Downward Movers	Stayers in Blue Collar
High Culture	1 Visiting art galleries/museums	<u>78.1</u>	<u>74.3</u>	<u>65.8</u>	<u>62.7*</u>	<u>72.8</u>	70.0	<u>76.1</u>	<u>60.0*</u>
	2 Attending classical music concerts	72.7	70.0	63.2	53.2*	69.6	65.0	71.7	53.6+
	3 Engaging in social welfare activities	72.7	67.4	53.9	60.3	68.5	68.6	73.9	57.1
	4 Reading history and art books	69.3	68.6	57.9	58.7+	64.1	62.9	67.4	54.2*
	5 Attending kabuki and noh plays	64.8	67.9	56.6	52.1*	66.3	68.6	72.8	54.9+
	6 Painting (Japanese/Western)	71.9	68.1	56.5	56.0*	63.0	67.1	71.6	49.3*
	7 Playing the piano	64.1	63.6	55.3	59.6	69.6	67.9	77.2	51.5*
	8 Attending tea ceremonies or arranging flowers	62.5	63.9	46.1	54.8+	63.0	61.4	66.3	53.6
	9 Using a PC or word processor	60.9	66.4	59.2	55.9	65.2	<u>71.3</u>	59.8	53.6*
	10 Reading scientific journals	66.4	61.1	53.9	56.4	59.8	58.6	58.7	47.9
	11 Writing tanka or haiku poetry	61.7	60.0	43.4	50.5+	59.8	63.6	64.1	45.7*
	12 Making Japanese/Western clothing	54.7	54.3	48.7	51.1	53.3	60.3	58.7	51.5
	13 Handicrafts/knitting	53.9	50.0	42.1	50.5	54.3	57.1	63.0	52.8
	14 Reading general interest magazines	54.7	56.4	53.9	52.7	55.4	53.6	54.3	48.6
Middle Culture	15 Baking	53.1	52.9	44.4	47.3	54.3	57.1	57.6	53.6
	16 Making French food	50.0	52.9	40.8	47.3	53.3	61.4	60.9	45.0*
	17 Doing calligraphy	53.1	50.7	46.1	48.4	50.0	52.9	55.4	47.9
	18 Playing tennis	47.7	54.2	48.7	46.8	55.4	60.0	51.1	47.8
	19 Attending jazz concerts	50.8	54.3	44.7	47.3	53.2	52.9	55.4	45.7
	20 Playing golf	47.7	49.3	51.3	42.6	56.5	53.6	48.9	53.6
	21 Watching pro baseball	49.2	50.7	56.6	46.3	53.3	51.4	46.7	51.4
	22 Watching foreign movies	51.6	47.9	53.9	46.3	51.1	51.4	50.0	45.7
	23 Working on DIY projects	54.7	52.9	47.4	50.5	50.0	50.7	52.3	44.3
	24 Eating at French restaurant	43.8	49.3	47.4	44.7	52.2	51.4	55.4	42.6+
	25 Singing old folk songs (min'yo)	51.6	50.0	44.7	47.9	47.1	51.4	54.3	48.6
	26 Playing <i>Go/shogi</i> (Japanese chess)	53.1	50.7	48.7	46.8	52.2	54.3	50.0	45.0
	27 Watching Japanese movies	49.2	45.7	52.6	44.7	48.9	48.6	50.0	46.4
	28 Reading mystery or detective novels	48.4	49.2	43.4	42.5	50.0	46.4	44.6	41.7
	29 Reading sports newspapers	41.4	44.3	56.6	47.3*	47.8	50.7	41.3	46.5
	30 Attending comedy show	45.3	45.7	48.6	44.1	45.7	47.9	41.3	43.8
	31 Attending rock music concerts	43.0	41.4	40.8	39.4	47.8	52.1	48.9	43.6
Popular Culture	32 Performing karaoke	32.8	40.7	47.4	46.2*	45.7	40.7	39.1	46.5
	33 Attending popular plays	45.3	47.2	39.5	42.6	39.1	46.3	39.1	41.0
	34 Attending a performance or show of a Japanese ballad singer	38.3	41.4	43.4	43.6	38.0	45.7	37.0	47.9
	35 Reading romance novels	45.3	43.6	40.8	41.8	46.7	40.7	44.6	38.2
	36 Buying lottery tickets	26.6	37.1	50.0	37.0*	40.9	33.8	37.0	45.7
	37 Going to bars and pubs	36.7	40.0	53.9	40.2*	41.3	34.6	32.6	38.6
	38 Reading and studying horoscopes or fortune-telling	28.9	34.2	<u>27.6</u>	33.7	37.0	39.3	38.0	40.7
	39 Playing mah-jong	22.7	26.4	32.9	24.5	36.4	25.0	21.7	<u>22.1</u> +
	40 Playing pachinko	18.0	24.3	32.9	24.5	31.5	24.3	20.7	27.1
	41 Betting on horse, bicycle, and boat racing	<u>14.1</u>	<u>20.7</u>	30.3	<u>23.9</u> +	<u>21.7</u>	<u>21.4</u>	<u>17.4</u>	23.5
Index of Cultural Distinction		64.0	53.6	38.2	38.8	51.1	49.9	58.7	37.9

* p<0.05, + p<0.10

Table 8. Index of Cultural Distinction and Status Mobility

Male				Female			
		Current Occupation				Husband's Current Occupation	
		High	Low			High	Low
Father's Occupation	High	64.0	38.2	Father's Occupation	High	51.1	58.7
	Low	53.6	38.8		Low	49.9	37.9
↓				↓			
		Current Occupation				Husband's Current Occupation	
		High	Low			High	Low
Father's Occupation	High	1st	4th	Father's Occupation	High	2nd	1st
	Low	2nd	3rd		Low	3rd	4th
Rank order				Rank order			

As shown in Table 7, there are significant differences in the assessment values among intergenerational social mobility patterns in many items of high culture. Also, for men, there is a gap in some of popular cultural activities.

For men, the cultural assessment scores calculated by each mobility pattern are basically determined by their current social class. In particular, male stayers in the upper class and upward movers who are currently professional/managerial workers give a high assessment of high culture. Except for Hypothesis 5a', all of the hypotheses can be applied to men with regard to the effects of intergenerational social mobility; therefore, these effects of intergenerational social mobility can be explained to some extent. That is, men give a high assessment to high culture when they are moving upward, and give a low assessment to high culture and a high assessment to popular culture when they are moving downward. Downward movers, in particular, show absolutely no effects of their father's occupation as a professional/managerial worker. Rather, they give the highest scores to popular culture, which may show an assimilation to the popular culture. Cultural distinction for men is also mostly determined by the current occupation of the respondents, so there is great cultural distinction among professional/managerial workers and low cultural distinction among blue-collar workers. For men, the effects of the father's class can't be clearly extracted. Rather, cultural assessments are determined by the current class, so the cultural assimilation hypothesis applies well to men.

Next, examining the results for women, some interesting facts differing from those for men can be found. First, the most important result is that female movers to the lower class have the strongest cultural distinction. As shown in the bottom line of Table 7, the index of cultural distinction for the female movers downward shows the highest score compared to the other categories. For example, with the

assessment score of “visiting art galleries and museums,” the order of scores is as follows: movers to blue collar (76.1) >, stayers in the upper class (72.8) >, movers upward (70.0) >, stayers in the lower class (60.0). In other words, female movers downward who have moved from the upper class to blue-collar workers show greater cultural distinction than movers upward and stayers in the upper class. Women who moved downward through marriage keep the cultural assessment patterns of their class origin, and their strong sense of distinction remains despite their downward mobility. In other words, even if women experienced social mobility by marriage (or women are downwardly mobile due to marriage), their views are not shaped by the class of the husband; instead, they take on a strengthened “view” of the upper class that is their class origin’s, heighten the cultural distinction, and assess high culture as higher and popular culture as lower than other classes.

Second, women who are upwardly mobile due to marriage tend to give a high assessment to high culture, even if their class origin is blue collar. The degree of cultural distinction of the movers upward mostly matches that of upper stayers, and the effect of the origin class of blue collar here disappears and individuals take the same “view” as the upper class.

Third, with regard to popular culture, no significant differences are found among the four mobility patterns. For women, intergenerational social mobility and class origin have no effect on the assessment of popular culture and have a strong effect on the assessment of high culture. These results show that except for 5a, the other corollaries of Hypothesis 5 do not apply to women.

Table 9. Result of the Hypothesis 5

Corollaries of Hypothesis 5	5a	5a'	5b	5b'
Male	○	×	○	○
Female	○	×	×	×

Note: ○ Valid: Corollary is supported by the analysis.

× Invalid: Corollary is not supported by the analysis.

The results in Table 8 and Table 9 show that intergenerational social mobility has different effects on men and women. It is found that the cultural assimilation hypothesis is true for all men, but only true with regard to high culture for women. In addition, I found that, for women, there is a two-way process of cultural transformation by intergenerational mobility, in which cultural assimilation occurs for those who experienced upward mobility and cultural inheritance of the sense of distinction exists for those who experienced downward mobility and for the stayers in the upper class.

As typically seen among downward moving women, they strengthen the sense of the cultural distinction characteristic of their class origin even when they move downward due to marriage, and they become attuned to greater cultural distinction. Women who have been attached to professional/managerial workers even once in the form of class origin or as the current occupational category of their husband or themselves, tend to have high cultural distinction, and their degree of cultural distinction shows a conspicuous difference compared to the stayers in the lower class.

Extrapolating on this idea, there is a strong likelihood that women inherit cultural capital and class habitus in intergenerational social mobility in Japan (Kataoka, 1996b, 1998, 2001, 2015). This finding supports results suggesting that the mother's education has a strong effect on status attainment.¹⁵⁾ As downwardly mobile women take the same or stronger strategies of cultural distinction than those of stayers in the upper class, I suggest that their cultural capital can be expected to appear more in the cultural and educational investments on their children than in their cultural activities (Kataoka, 1998, 2001, 2015, 2016). This is because economic capital is required to practice high cultural activities, but the economic freedom of the lower class is limited, so they invest in the future of their children. In line with the principle of comparative advantage, the strategies aiming at upward mobility may be seen in the investment in children in forms of cultural investment through artistic or cultural learning outside of school or educational investment in shadow education.

9. Conclusion

This study clarified the following points concerning the sociological mechanisms of cultural assessments.

(1) All the class groups share the same ranking structure for the assessment of various cultural activities, and there is a common assessment scheme in Japanese society. The existence of such a dominant shared culture ranking could make the existence of a counter culture difficult.

(2) "Cultural distinction," is habitus in which there is an awareness of differences in cultural prestige and which legitimates the differences among various cultural activities; each class has a different scale of distinction. A higher social status corresponds to a greater cultural distinction. It is clear from the present study that cultural distinction is a perception of classificatory systems that is formed by objective socioeconomic and cultural conditions, that is, it is the class habitus.

(3) The socially recognized hierarchy of cultural activities corresponds to a social

hierarchy of the consumers, and people in higher-class status tend to consume high culture. People in a higher status have stronger cultural distinction and adopt strategies that legitimate the social differences through practicing high culture.

(4) Individuals and groups use a social perspective mechanism in which people give a relatively high assessment to the cultural activities preferred by their own class and a relatively low assessment to the cultural activities that are characteristic of groups distant from their own class. This is because, as shown by the theories of Bourdieu, “social identity is at a stake in a struggle in which the stigmatized individual and group, and, more generally, any individual or group insofar as he or it is a potential object of categorization, can only retaliate against the partial perception which limits it to one of its characteristics by highlighting, in its self-definition, the best of its characteristics, and more generally, by struggling to impose the taxonomy most favorable to its characteristics, or at least to give to the dominant taxonomy the content most flattering to what it has and what it is” (Bourdieu 1979). So each class adopts the classificatory system in which their taste is favorable to them.

(5) Considering the effect of intergenerational social mobility on cultural distinction, the effect differs between the genders. Men primarily change their cultural assessment patterns due to intergenerational status mobility and tend to assimilate the classificatory system characteristics of the destination class more than that of their social origin. For women, however, the cultural assimilation hypothesis is only applicable to the movers from lower class to upper class. Even if women are downwardly mobile due to marriage, they keep the cultural assessment pattern characteristics of their social origin. In this way, women give a higher assessment than men to high culture.

In cultural assessments, the group that gives a middle rank to high culture and to popular culture has less cultural distinction, which is characteristic of the lower class group. In other words, groups with weak cultural sensitivity, that is cultural distinction, have a small assessment scale and cannot distinguish cultural differences well, and so often give a “middle” rating to high cultural activities. This is due to an advantageous judgement of the lower class, but such assessment mechanisms may also operate with regard other social practices. Assessment behavior is not carried out in a social world under a vacuum that means in a neutral world; rather, it is practiced as a classification struggle in the class structure, for social subjects to place one’s position and social identity, to assess others, and to make social boundaries.

Notes

- 1) Taste is expressed when selecting praxis (for example, taste in sports, music, and so on) and possessions (furniture, clothing, books, paintings, and so on) (Bourdieu 1980). As shown by Bourdieu, people have a perception of praxis in connection with the social world as a prerequisite for appropriate behavior in a social world, which is the classificatory system. To put it another way, the embodied forms of classificatory systems, that is cognitive schemes, are the “disposition that constructs taste and ethos.”
- 2) The same hypothesis was researched by Hashimoto (1990) and Fujita et al. (1988) using data from university students.
- 3) The research here was carried out with support from the Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (Kakenhi) in 1991 in Japan. This research is the first investigation into cultural assessments that used a random sample data of men and women 20-69 years old.
- 4) The question used is, “Here is a table showing various activities. There are various standards to assess such activities, but how would you categorize them now if you were to divide them into high or low categories in order?” I refer to the wording used in the measurement of occupational prestige in the 1975 SSM survey in Japan.
- 5) Cultural assessment scores are calculated for each activity using the respondent’s answers, with a scale between “extremely low” = 0 points, “somewhat low” = 25 points, “normal” = 50 points, “somewhat high” = 75 points, and “extremely high” = 100 points.
- 6) Some activities show a major variance in the cultural prestige scores, especially in high cultural activities, for instance “social welfare activities” (30.65) and “playing the piano” (29.67).
- 7) The respondents’ education levels are categorized as follows: “Higher education” means university, junior college, technical college, or graduate school under the current education system or high school, higher school, college or higher normal school under the prewar education system. “High school” means high school under the current education system or junior high school, girls’ high school, vocational school, or normal school under the prewar education system, “Compulsory education” means junior high school, former higher elementary school or former national school under the prewar education system.
- 8) Men and women are included in occupation. Professional/managerial workers = professional or managerial posts (section manager or above); Office/sales workers = office/sales; Blue-collar workers = agricultural, forest and fishing industries, service workers, transportation/logistics workers, skilled/unskilled workers, and

security workers.

- 9) In the music genre, cultural assessment scores are used to rate attending classical music concerts, attending jazz concerts, singing old folk songs (min'yo), attending rock music concerts, and attending a performance or show of a Japanese ballad singer (enka). And in the genre of reading culture, I compare the activities of reading history and art books, reading scientific journals, reading general interest magazines, reading mystery or detective novels, reading sports newspapers, reading romance novels, reading and studying horoscopes or fortune-telling.
- 10) Kataoka clarified the fact that cultural activities correspond to class-status variables employing a random sample survey data of Japanese adults using other analytical methods, and that means the socially recognized hierarchy of cultural activities corresponds to a social hierarchy of consumers in Japan. See Kataoka (1991b, 1992, 1996b, 2000).
- 11) The ratio of activity is the ratio of people (%) who have had this experience at least once in the past year.
- 12) In the class-status index in Table 3, the current occupation of employed people is used, but this is replaced with the occupation of the husband in the case of housewives only.
- 13) With regard to the method of calculating the differentiation index, reference was made to the differentiation scores of Fujita et al. (1988).
- 14) The correlation coefficient for the total of 41 items was 0.601 ($p < 0.001$). Some activities show a discrepancy between the order of the differentiation score and the cultural assessment score. For example, "calligraphy" is 17th in the order of cultural assessment scores and is located in middle culture, but the differentiation score shows a minus value, that is, an activity favored by blue-collar workers. The same is true for "Handcrafts/knitting" and "social welfare activities." "Social welfare activities" are 3rd in the order of the cultural assessment score, but the order of the differentiation score is 23rd. The assessment does not correspond with the class status of the people who engage in the activity. Also, as with making French food (cultural assessment 16th < differentiation score 1st), the assessment is one of middle culture, but there were many people in the upper class who engaged in the activity in reality.
- 15) See Kataoka's articles (1996b, 1997, 2003) about the intergenerational reproduction of cultural capital between mother and daughter.

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Notice: This is a translation of my original article published in 1996 in Japan.

I revised the original paper a little and added a few papers in reference.

The original paper written in Japanese is as follows:

Kataoka, Emi. 1996. “Kaikyū no Habitus toshite no Bunka Benbetsu-ryoku to sono Shakai-teki Kōsei: Bunka Hyōka ni okeru Distinction no Kankaku.” (Distinction and Social Class: Cultural Prestige and Classificatory Schemes as Class Habitus in Japan.) *Theory and Method*. Vol.11, No. 1:1-20.