

FAMILY CULTURE AND  
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT  
IN JAPAN

G. L. S. YAMADA

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Ph. D. Dissertation

FAMILY CULTURE  
AND  
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT  
IN JAPAN

by

Carol Linda Susan YAMADA

The Graduate School  
of Education

The University of Tsukuba,  
Tsukuba city,  
Ibaraki prefecture, 305  
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## Abstract

Modern public education is founded on the philosophy that each and every citizen is equally entitled to receive an education. By providing all people, regardless of social class, a greater opportunity to receive an education, it was expected that social inequality and disparities between social classes could be decreased and, eventually, eradicated. In the 1960s, however, empirical studies showed that even if equality of educational opportunity is realized, the social disparities are not reduced (Coleman report, 1966). In an attempt to understand this, previous research analysed the relationship between the educational attainment of children and their social origin in terms of statistical data such as father's income and occupation (Jencks, 1972). While these studies have been successful in demonstrating the high correlation between educational attainment and social origin, they do not offer an explanation of the mechanism behind this relationship. Therefore, the present study attempted to explain this phenomenon by examining the influence of 'family culture' on the educational attainment of children and the mechanism by which it does this. This study, which was carried out in Japan, first analysed the changes evident in the social structure of Japanese society since the 1970s. Then, the effect that family culture has on the educational attainment of children was elucidated.



Finally, an analysis was made of the process by which family culture is formed.

### **1. Frame of Analysis and Method**

By 'family culture', this study refers to a family's life-style which, of course, includes the way parents discipline and educate their children; and, on a broader level, it refers to all those activities which comprise a family's way of life, educational and cultural activities and the sets of values which may be found behind these activities. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that 'family culture' is accumulated in a family by the incessant fusion of life experiences by each family member, and that this cultural core is then passed on from one generation to the next. In this sense, family culture is a product of family history. Apart from the direct effects of family culture, it is also necessary to recognize the importance of the overall family atmosphere and the family traditions in shaping the educational attainment of children. The present study contends that the outlook of parents on life, their views on school and education, their educational expectations of their children, and how considerate parents are towards their children as students will, basically, reflect the life and educational experiences of parents and their evaluation of these, and their observations of the experiences of their siblings. Similarly, while the attitudes of children to school, education and their educational aspirations are based on their school experience, they can also be traced to the outlook their parents have on life and education and their set of values.

Using this frame of analysis, this study collected and analysed the following data:

1. The social differentiation in Japanese society and the relationship between social class and educational attainment were analysed using survey reports published by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, the Japanese Ministry of Labour, the Japanese Ministry of General Affairs and the Japanese Economic Planning Agency. Data was also obtained from surveys conducted by Japanese scholars of sociology of education.

2. To verify the relationship between family culture and the educational attainment of children, the following two surveys were carried out:

i. a questionnaire survey of 1st year public Junior High school students (N=124) and their parents (N=93); the students were from two Junior High schools - one elite school in Tokyo and one 'typical' school in a provincial city near Tokyo.

ii. an interview was conducted with 31 of the parents who participated in the questionnaire survey. The interviews were conducted at the homes of the families in order to be able to directly observe the size of the home, its appearance inside, and to gain some idea of the family atmosphere.

Basic background information on the schools and students' families, both of which were compiled by the schools, were used as supplementary material in i. and ii.

## 2. Results

A re-analysis of published statistical data and survey materials clearly demonstrated that the following two phenomena have occurred in the social stratification of Japan:

1. While the changes in social stratification in Japan are occurring very gradually, it is apparent that social differentiation is increasing. This trend has been especially evident since the 1980s. In addition, the cost incurred from the time of enrollment at a university until graduation is increasing yearly, and in the last ten years it has more than doubled. It was also clear that the proportion of household finances expended on education tends to increase with the income of the family. This demonstrates that the educational attainment of children is restricted by financial considerations.

2. The results of a survey which examined the relationship between household income and parents' educational background on the one hand, and the educational attainment of children on the other, showed that there is a significant statistical difference between the two. Also, the results of a survey which examined the relationship between the cultural activities of parents (and their evaluation of these) and those of their children (university students) demonstrated that there is a correlation in this regard between parents and children. Therefore, this suggests that there is a strong correlation between differences in family culture and educational attainment.

On the basis of the facts drawn from this kind of quantitative data, an analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data obtained by the present study produced the following four findings:

1. Family cultural activities clearly differ from family to family and these differences are, at least in part, reproduced from one generation to the next. Moreover, the differences in cultural activities evident among families are not created by differences in income but rather are formed by the accumulated everyday experiences of each family member. Thus, this points to the necessity of understanding the history of families in elucidating the properties of family culture.

2. Large differences in the way people think about education and university education and their evaluation of these were evident. These differences could be traced back to the previous generation. In addition, it was also clear that the differences evident in parents' views on education and university or their assessment of the importance of education is basically derived from their own educational experiences. The views of parents on education and their attitude to education were categorized into 4 types: 'endorsement type', 'compensatory type', 'sceptical type' and 'functional type'.

3. Differences in parental outlook on education and attitude to education are manifested in terms of differences in the parents' educational expectations of children, the degree of consideration parents extend towards their children as students and in what information parents choose to give to their children. The differences in how considerate parents are towards children studying for

examinations and the amount spent on education, for example, generate differences in the views held by children towards education and their aspirations, and ultimately produce differences in the educational attainment of children. This is clearly shown by the striking difference in the number of students who proceed to university at the two schools used in this study (nearly all of the students at the elite Junior High school as opposed to only 20% of students at the other school).

4. Social class based differences in values tend to be reproduced from generation to generation. Therefore, the differences in educational attainment evident among the social classes can be understood as differences in values concerning education which are passed on from one generation to the next, rather than as a pecuniary problem.

### 3. Future research

The findings of the present study are useful in understanding the factors behind the changes in the social stratification of contemporary Japanese society. However, it is also clear that these findings by themselves are insufficient to fully understand the problem of family culture and educational attainment of children in Japan. The results of the present study need to be supplemented by a detailed analysis of the language used in the home, such as that carried out by Bernstein in England. In addition, an extensive survey of social class differences in the cultural capital of Japanese families,

like that done by Bourdieu in France, is needed. By elucidating the substance of cultural capital (e.g., people's tastes in food, clothing, music, art and books, furniture, ornaments, accessories, the size and layout of their homes, how people spend their weekends and free time, and their educational background) and the properties of its social structure, more light will be shed on the mechanism of cultural reproduction.

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## Glossary

*gakureki*

the educational background of an individual; usually refers to both the level and rank of school an individual graduated from.

*jukensei*

a student who is studying for examinations, especially into Senior High school and university.

*juku*

a 'school after school' where children receive extra tuition to help with their studies.

*kyoiku mama*

a mother who is extremely interested in the education of her children.

*ronin*

a student who fails an entrance examination (especially university) and spends an additional year(s) to prepare for it.

*shingakuko*

a school where the majority of students aim to go to university

*yakuza*

a Japanese mafia-like gangster

## Introduction

The educational system has traditionally been, and still is, considered by many to be the social ladder to success. Those with ability receive recognition from the system in the form of grades and diplomas, passports to doorways to higher levels of opportunity, enabling them to climb to the upper reaches of the ladder. Those labeled by the system as being 'less able' or of 'low ability level' are siphoned off at rungs commensurate with their ability, or alternatively, they themselves elect to retire from the educational undertaking.

A characteristic common to all industrial societies after the Second World War was rapid growth in enrollments at educational institutions. Japan was certainly no exception. In 1950, 42.5% of children elected to go on to Senior High school. By 1955, with 51.5% continuing to Senior High school, more than half of the relevant age group chose to extend their education beyond the compulsory requirement. This figure increased to 70.6, 82.1 and 91.9% in 1965, 1970 and 1975, respectively. The expansion of tertiary education showed a similar growth curve. In 1940, a meagre 3.7% of students continued their education at the tertiary level.<sup>1</sup> In 1955, 10.3% of the students who graduated from Junior High school three years

previously, enrolled at university or college. This figure gradually rose to 17% in 1965 and 23.6, 38.4% in 1970 and 1975, respectively.<sup>2</sup>

Research on the educational backgrounds of students who continue on to tertiary education has produced some interesting findings. Research on inter-generational educational mobility in Japan in 1955 and 1975, for example, has shown that while there were dramatic changes in the educational mobility structure in this 20 year period, these changes were confined to secondary education. That is, there has been an increase in the number of children continuing to Senior high school and a corresponding decrease in the number of students who leave school at the end of Junior High school. What is of particular note here, however, is the lack of inter-generational educational mobility at the tertiary level.<sup>3</sup> The increase in tertiary students whose fathers' educational level is Primary School and Junior High school has changed only from 5.3 to 8.7 and 14.7 to 15.9%, respectively; the percentage of students whose father's educational level is Senior High and university has actually dropped slightly from 44.4 to 40.4 and 67.9 to 67.0%.<sup>4</sup>

In contemporary Japan, the ability of young people is assessed by the educational institution with which they are affiliated: that of working men by their company of employment; and, in the case of married women, by their husband's company. What constitutes the basic ingredient of these, however, is *gakureki*, or 'educational background'. While people are usually not called upon to give their *gakureki* once they have secured employment with a company, the general assumption is that 'he/she *must* have graduated from a

good university to get a job with that company', or 'he/she *must* have graduated from a good university to get such a [good] husband, and vice versa. Each year private corporations compile exhaustive lists detailing the ranking of all Japanese universities - some 460 in all. While most Japanese are familiar with the rank of at least the better known universities, companies are acutely aware of any subtle differences. In fact, according to a survey conducted in 1975,<sup>5</sup> approximately one third of companies with more than 5000 employees specify the universities from which they will recruit employees - that is, the so-called *shiteikosei* or 'university specification system'. The practice of *shiteikosei* may be seen either as a form of quality control which guarantees the 'trainability' of recruits on entering the company and/or as a 'status symbol'.<sup>6</sup> For in the same way as schools are evaluated by society in terms of how many students pass entrance exams into prestigious universities, being able to attract graduates of prestigious universities serves as 'proof', in the public eye, of the success of a company.

Due to the sensitive nature of '*gakureki*' in Japan, research on *gakureki* has focused on peripheral problems such as what having a 'good *gakureki*' means in Japanese society. Numerous studies have shown, for example, that there is a strong correlation between the level of university a student graduates from (i.e. *gakureki*) and the size of the corporation with which he/she finds employment.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, research on core issues such as how differences in *gakureki* are created, has been minimal. Moreover, what research that has

been done on factors affecting the educational attainment of children has tended to focus on the school rather than the individual.

Reducing the educational process to three parts - the input (the incoming students), the intermediary "black box" and the output (the outgoing students) - school-centred research addresses the problem of uncovering the mechanisms at work within the 'black box' or how students are *processed* through the education system. In short, it aims to shed light on how 'failures' and 'successes' are produced in the black box. On the micro-level, Japanese educational sociologists began studies in the early 1980s on the hidden curriculum in schools.<sup>8</sup> Western scholars have also shown the effects of the self-fulfilling prophesy within the classroom or how teachers' personal opinions of students tend to influence their evaluation of students; and, on the macro-level, it has been demonstrated how the structure of the education system itself imposes ceilings on the educational attainment of students.

Individual-oriented research in educational attainment treats the individual's out-of-school environment as problematic. At the core of this research is the influence of family background on the educational attainment of students. Early studies by Western scholars tended to approach the problem of educational attainment by focusing on the effect of objective factors such as 'income' - factors which readily lend themselves to numerical analysis. The hypothesis was that the lower levels of educational attainment attained by people from lower socio-economic classes was due to their lesser ability to finance their children's education. Governments

endeavoured to circumvent the prohibitive nature of the financial aspects of education by abolishing fees for compulsory education and, in some cases tertiary education as well. No improvement in educational attainment by the lower socio-economic classes, however, ensued. Instead, educational attainment amongst children of the more privileged social classes increased, making the gap in educational attainment even greater. Similarly, in America, compensatory education programmes such as Operation Head Start met with only momentary success.

While these studies have been successful in demonstrating the high correlation between 'income' and 'educational attainment', they do not offer an explanation of *why* there is such a close relationship. Given the sheer scope of the problem, this is not surprising. However, as the removal of financial barriers to university and colleges has been found to do little to boost the participation of lower-income families in higher education, this suggests that income per se is inadequate to explain the higher educational attainment of students from families with higher parental *gakureki*. There is a need for more research which will shed light on why this occurs.

The foremost problem of this study was to assess the impact that family culture, that is, parental histories and attitudes towards education, have on the educational attainment of children in Japan. The study was based on two assumptions. First, that the educational attainment of children is affected, to some extent, by the decisions that parents make about their children's education. These would

include decisions concerning which school the child is sent to – public, private and/or *shingakuko*; whether to send the child to *juku* – if so, when and to what kind of *juku*; and, the attitude that parents take towards the amount of time their children study. By making this assumption, the author does not contend that children are passive beings in the education undertaking. By acting on, and reacting to, those in their immediate environment, children are certainly active agents in co-determining their educational outcomes. Nevertheless, six-year old children are hardly in a position to know which schools they have access to; and, in the same way as they are unable to distinguish between the different types of education various schools offer, they are also incapable of realizing the long-term significance of these differences. Nor are they capable of gathering the appropriate application forms, filling them out and submitting them to the school(s) in question. While it may be debatable whether parents necessarily have these abilities, it would seem plausible to assume that they are definitely lacking in children. Similarly, whether children go to *juku* is usually a matter that rests in the hands of parents, especially in the case of young children. In addition, how much children study at home, if at all, is often dependent on the way parents discipline their children.

The second assumption upon which the study was based is that the attitudes held by parents towards education will, to some extent, reflect their own experiences in life, including their school days and, more specifically, their *gakureki*. 'School' is a personal experience. Whereas some parents may look back on their school



days with fond memories, to others, school may have been an ordeal, a time to be endured. Having gone out into society - whether as a member of the work-force or as a part of the domestic scene - the experiences of some parents will reinforce the efficacy of education as the "ladder to success"; for others, though, their experiences will tell them that "education is not everything". It is clear that experiences have a definitive role in the formation of attitudes. Even if two individuals share the same *objective culture*, for instance their *gakureki*, their *subjective culture* or memories of experiences, will inevitably vary. There is, however, no set formula for predicting the way experiences will shape an individual's attitudes. Two fathers, both sharing a lack of educational qualifications, may give diametrically opposed advice to their sons. While one may say "If you don't want to suffer like I did, make sure you get yourself an education", the other may say "I got by without an education so you can too."

The present study concentrated on subjective factors such as the parents' experiences as students and their attitudes towards the education of their children. By gaining some insight into how parents perceive education, it is hoped that some of the reasons why children of certain family backgrounds outdo children of others will become clearer. While this study does not pretend to provide 'all the answers', it constitutes a step in that direction. Knowing 'why' would be a significant step towards enabling plans aimed at achieving equality of educational outcome across different social groups to be drawn up; although admittedly, any course of action

requiring a change in attitudes and/or life-styles would be very difficult to implement.

As suggested previously, the scope of this area of research is enormous. Children are exposed to a large number of influences, including the home, the school, peers and the surrounding environment. Sex differences aside, as individuals no two children will react to or act upon these influences in the same way; nor will these sources of influence act upon, or react to, any two children in the same way. To suggest that any one of these influences is more important in explaining why the present inequality in educational outcome exists between different social groups would be naive. Ideally, a study taking all these factors into account would be desirable. For it is only by doing this that the relative contribution of each of these suggested sources of influence could be ascertained. Unfortunately, this kind of study is beyond the means of most studies, including the present one.

This study was confined to an examination of the influence of family culture, and in particular, the impact of parental attitudes towards education on the educational attainment of children in Japan. As the primary aim of the study did not lie in establishing statistically valid correlations but was to uncover attitudes towards education through in-depth interviews, a large sample population was ruled out for methodological reasons. A total of 124 students from two Junior High schools (82 from a 'typical' local Junior High school and 42 from a *shingakuko* Junior High school) and 217 parents were surveyed and 31 of the parents (18 and 13 parents,

respectively) were interviewed. As the schools were not in the same area - one was in Tokyo and the other in a local city some 60 kilometers north east of Tokyo - regional differences may have affected the study. In addition, the effect of parental attitudes may be particularly pronounced in Japan given the immense authority parents seem to wield over their children. While the physical limitations of this study will preclude generalizations about the population as a whole, it is hoped that the research findings will have more significance when combined with findings from other studies of a similar nature and that they will aid in the explanation of recent changes in the social class structure in Japan.

It is hypothesized that the educational attainment of children is largely determined by a *historical process* which is mediated through the family culture. Namely, the educational attainment of children is influenced by the educational aspirations that parents have for their children. These aspirations will be affected by the attitudes that parents have towards education and, moreover, parental attitudes will, in turn, be shaped by the background (both family and educational) of parents. Whereas most parents of students at the *shingakuko* (i.e., parents who have high educational aspirations) will actively support their children in the educational undertaking, the values of most parents whose children attend the typical Junior High school (i.e., parents who have low educational aspirations for their children), while agreeing with the importance of *gakureki* in Japanese society, will tend to reject the importance of *gakureki* on the personal level. They will regard the effort required

to attain a high educational level as one of sacrifice. In contrast, parents who have high educational aspirations for their children will see it in terms of an investment.

The first three chapters will focus on the 'theoretical basis of educational attainment', 'the macro situation in Japan' and 'cultural reproduction and research methodology', respectively. This will be followed by the results of the research presented in a chapter on 'parental histories' and finally, a chapter on 'parents' attitudes and expectations for their children'.

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<sup>1</sup>'Institutions of tertiary education' are defined by *Mombusho Kihon Chosa* as the following:

1. Pre-war - Senior High school, *Senmon gakko*, *Jitsugyo Senmon gakko*, a preparatory course for university (*daigaku yoka*), speciality faculties of university, university, Higher *shihan gakko*, *shihan gakko*, *youth shihan gakko*, provisional teacher training centre, teacher training centre for *jitsugyo gakko*.

2. Post-war - university, *tanki daigaku*, *senmon gakko*, graduate school, national technical teachers training centre, national nurse-teachers training centre. (Tominaga, K. (ed.), *SSM chosa*, 1979:155)

<sup>2</sup>Tominaga, K. (ed.), *SSM chosa*, 1979:133

<sup>3</sup>Tominaga, K. (ed.), *SSM chosa*, 1979:151

<sup>4</sup>Tominaga, K. (ed.), *SSM chosa*, 1979:143

<sup>5</sup>Takeuchi, Hiroshi. *Kyoso no shakaigaku - gakureki to shoshin [The Sociology of Competition - gakureki and advancement]*, Sekai shiso sha, 1981.

<sup>6</sup>Amano. Ikuo, 'Shushoku' ['Employment'], in Keii, T. (ed.) *Daigaku hyoka no kenkyu [Research on an assessment of universities]*, University of Tokyo Press, 1984.

<sup>7</sup>See Fujimori, K. and Nishii, Y. 'Daisotsu shushoku sensen - brand jidai no kyosokyoku' ['At the front line of employment for university graduates - the 'brand' era']. Pp. 18-22 in *Asahi Journal*, September 30, 1988 edition.

<sup>8</sup>See Ishido, T. et al (1985), Shibano, S. (1986), Shibano, S. et al (1982, 1982, 1983).

# I

## Theoretical Background

In democratic societies, the school has traditionally been thought of as the *great equalizer* whereby those born into unfortunate circumstances could compensate for it through their own educational efforts. Strictly speaking, 'equalization' does not only refer to those cases where the individual is upwardly mobile, but also to those whose position suffers as a result of the equalization process. The school, however, is generally understood to be engaged not in a two-way equalizing activity where the benefits and disadvantages of the upper and lower socio-economic groups would be *averaged out*, but one in which the standard of living and social status of those members of the lower socio-economic classes who qualify for entry into the upper social classes by earning the 'appropriate' educational qualifications - that is ones with appropriately high social value and scarcity, would be brought up to that of the upper socio-economic classes. Thus, to those in the lower echelons of society who are discontent with their life and have ambitions to lead the life which more closely resembles that which is interwoven into the dominant ideology, education is considered to

be an important means of social mobility. It is these individuals who hold aspirations for the school as an equalizing agency.

To those who have already joined the ranks of the social elite, or to those who have always been a part of it, however, the *equalizing* function of education is of little direct significance. Instead, the significance lies in its ability to *maintain* their social status. Social status is not absolute but relative. Its maintenance necessarily involves an unrelenting struggle on the part of the elite to achieve educational qualifications which are both scarce and have a high social value, and to up-date them when their scarcity and value is threatened by an increase in the number of holders of the same qualifications in the lower socio-economic classes. In short, the significance of education to the elite can be seen as *negative* in the sense that it is important as a means of *defence* against downward mobility, and to ambitious individuals in the lower classes of society, education, as a facilitator of upward social mobility, can be said to be *positive*. Of course, there is a contradiction between the notions, on the individual level, of the school as an equalizing agency and, on the social level, as a selection and certification agency. Schrag<sup>1</sup> and Jencks<sup>2</sup>, for instance, argue that these aspirations are conflicting: the school cannot serve at the same time as an equalizer and as an instrument that establishes, reinforces and certifies distinctions. But are the individual and social aspirations for the school necessarily conflicting? I believe not. While Schrag's and Jenck's contention can not be pronounced 'incorrect', its validity is not as universal as it

would suggest. The aspirations are only incompatible in as much as they consider the aspirations from the point of view of society, or the social structure *per se*; from this perspective, the aspirations are indeed conflicting - contemporary social structures all operate on the basis that the few at the top will be supported by an army of subordinates.

While it may be physically impossible for each and every individual to occupy the ranks of the elite by gaining the appropriate certification of his 'right to superiority' through the educational system, this prohibition on the status transformation of an entire social class does not prevent an *individual* from gaining entry into the elite. By contending that the aspirations held for the school are conflicting from a social perspective without exploring how conflicting they are at the level of the individual, Jencks and his colleagues are being overly presumptive. In fact, it is spurious whether an individual who strives for participation rights in society as part of the elite but whom is denied entry by the education system, necessarily has conflicting aspirations for the educational system. If we consider the problem from an ideological perspective, it may allow us to clarify the point somewhat.

'Ideology', writes Willis<sup>3</sup>, is the 'them' in 'us'. It provides the general framework in which a person's plans for action are formed. While recognizing the legitimacy of the general logic espoused by the dominant ideology, the actor draws upon it only in so far as it is congruent with the logic of his or her own experience. In the



educational context, the concept of the school as an 'equalizing instrument', even if accepted by the actor as a legitimate part of the dominant ideology, is only congruent with the experiences of the few individuals who manage to enhance their lot in life through education.

Thus, if an individual's personal experience is such that it conforms with that of the dominant ideology - that is, if an individual believes that on the basis of his education he was selected for a particular position in society and, as a result, he is able to enhance his position in life, it is likely that that individual would have not only aspirations but also expectations<sup>4</sup> for the education system, both as a selection agency and as an equalizing agency. For the individual's personal experience of social success through the education system would provide sufficient 'proof' that the fulfillment of these aspirations and/or expectations is not necessarily impossible at the individual level, even though the aspirations are in definite conflict at the social level.

On the other hand, an individual whose personal experience blocks him from incorporating that part of the dominant ideology which portrays the education system as an equalizer into his own logic system, would presumably visualize the education system as no more than a selection and certification agency. Moreover, he would not expect to benefit in any social and/or economic way from his involvement in the education system. All he could hope for is that his position may be improved as a result of others suffering some

form of social demotion. Even this would be of negligible effect, though, given that there would probably be a simultaneous movement of a more or less equal number of upwardly mobile individuals which would counteract the effect. The school would not present itself as an equalizing agency at the *personal* level even though at the *social* level the individual may acknowledge the equalizing role of schools pledged by the dominant ideology.

Therefore, for the majority, the idea of education as an equalizer is no more than an ideology: an ideology which may have great appeal and accommodate aspirations for education as the 'great equalizer' but one which is destined to remain metaphysical and also deny those aspirations the opportunity of becoming expectations. This raises the question of how those for whom the education system does not in reality exceed its function as a selection agency accept their failure with such seemingly indifference.

### **1. The School as a Social Institution**

On this point, Willis<sup>5</sup> contends that institutions such as the school, can not be studied as simple unities but must be examined on at least three levels: the official, the pragmatic and the cultural.

The official level houses the formal account of an institution's purpose in relation to the structural and organizational requirements of society. An 'absolute requirement of existing social systems is that the same standards and aspirations are not really

passed on to all'.<sup>6</sup> That is, any society characterized by the capitalist mode of production is dependent on the continued existence of a divided society, in which the fractions would naturally spawn the variety of standards, attitudes, values and aspirations required in order to function as a social system.

People of different socio-economic classes are not born with different sets of values and/or aspirations but acquire them through their experiences. Flude maintains that:

. . . 'the particular features of life-styles and values of low-income groups that separate them from the dominant cultural tradition are a product of a set of necessary adaptations to the hardships and deprivations resulting from their economic status and political exploitation'.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, the school must ensure that this diversity in socio-psychological factors which occurs *naturally* among parents of different socio-economic classes is passed on to the new generation so that the school can operate effectively as a selection agency - that is, without dissatisfaction being expressed by participants in the educational system about the evaluations it makes.

At the pragmatic level, the formal account of the purpose of the school is disclosed to the public, *albeit* carefully concealed in its ideological cloak. The school cautiously peddles its merchandise as an instrument for individual success, taking great pains to conceal the contradiction that not all can succeed. Thus, the object of social mobility is invariably framed in terms of the individual rather than

the group, as the hierarchical arrangement of the social structure inevitably imposes a ceiling on social mobility in absolute numbers. Indeed, the school must sell its ideology as an equalizer in order to be able to fulfill its formal role as a selection agency.

At the cultural level, the interaction of the external socio-economic class experiences of the school's clients and their perception of the demands and processes of the institution is evident. It is here that the counter-school culture, which unwittingly channels a proportion of the working-class kids to skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual work, develops. An important, although unintentional and unrecognized function of this, maintains Willis<sup>8</sup>, is the voluntary movement of people to all sections of the social structure.

The school, as a social institution, performs its contradictory functions as a social selection agency and as an equalizing instrument well. Those individuals whose intellectual ability it recognizes and certifies are given the licence to occupations that are deemed to be of high social value by the dominant culture; those individuals who fail to meet the standards set by the school complacently take up positions of less social value. The meritocratic approach to social selection taken by the school has obvious appeal. Individuals are allocated positions on the basis of ability - those classified as being 'more able' being suitably rewarded with positions of higher social status.

Thomas Jefferson envisioned that a 'natural aristocracy', to which people would be admitted on the basis of their intellectual merit, would evolve once a social order organized on meritocratic principles was founded. The privileges of the 'artificial aristocracy' would be withdrawn - all would be on an equal footing. Birth into a particular social class would neither entitle one to nor prohibit an individual from membership in either that, or any other social class. Status would no longer be inherited but would be achieved by each and every individual. Between generations, the social classes would undergo a natural *reshuffling* in accordance with the school's evaluation of the intellectual ability of the new generation.<sup>9</sup> Individuals would thereby prove their worthiness of admission to the 'natural aristocracy' by acquiring those educational credentials that are highly valued by members of the upper echelons of society. Thus, education would serve as the impartial arbiter - all would have the chance to succeed but only those with the requisite intellectual ability and the educational credentials to verify it, would be permitted to go to the top.

There is reason to believe, however, that the rules that determine who passes through the 'educational sieve' may not be as fair as is commonly taken for granted. While superficially the rules may have the appearance of being 'fair' or 'impartial', this is no more than a deceptive shroud, which is propagated and reinforced by the dominant ideology. If we accept that there is a marked variation in the extent to which the dominant ideology penetrates the

everyday life of any individual and that, as a result, there is a similar degree of diversification in attitudes, values and consequently behaviour, especially between different socio-economic and/or cultural groups, the impartiality of the rules rests on the fallacy that the course of action an individual decides upon is independent of his socio-cultural background. It would be naive to regard the rules as being culturally void, however, for they are themselves a cultural product of the middle and upper socio-economic and/or cultural groups.

Jencks<sup>10</sup> contends that it is the social origin of the students which determines whether they will pass through what he has referred to as the 'great sieve'. In fact, the so-called 'fair' rules are biased in favour of the less disadvantaged and that any individual is intimately connected with and thus, to some extent restricted by, his or her social origin and the culture<sup>11</sup> which it embodies. For individuals of the upper echelons of society, these restrictions usually have a positive effect on the individual because, after all, it is members of the same socio-economic and/or cultural group who formulate the rules. It is not surprising, therefore, that the rules function to help maintain, and thus reproduce, the values and attitudes of the dominant culture.

For individuals in the lower reaches of the social hierarchy, however, the reverse is true. What their culture dictates is often at odds with that of the dominant classes - the culture which *both prescribes the criteria of social success for society as a whole and*

*defines the legitimate avenues through which it may be acquired.* The restricting mechanism manifests itself in the dominated classes in the form of a series of incongruities and contradictions in values, aspirations and attitudes, interspersed, perhaps, by a limited number of domains which overlap with the culture of the dominant classes.<sup>12</sup>

Bourdieu sums up the situation as follows:

'An institution officially entrusted with the transmission of the instruments of the appropriation of the dominant culture which neglects methodically to transmit the instruments indispensable to the success of its undertaking is bound to become the monopoly of those social classes capable of transmitting by their own means . . . . the instruments necessary for the reception of its message, and thereby to confirm their monopoly of the instruments of appropriation of the dominant culture and thus their monopoly of that culture.'<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Changes in Educational Demand

In contemporary advanced societies, parents are legally obliged to send their children to school until at least the lower secondary school level. For many, however, the legal requirement is rapidly becoming of secondary consequence. By and large, parents are anxious for their children to attend school and for them 'to get an education'. Here, I will consider some of the reasons behind this voluntary participation in the educational process and the social benefits to which 'having an education' entitles an individual.

The unprecedented increase in demand for formal education, especially after the Second World War, by people from all sectors of society is often referred to as the 'education explosion'. Interpretations of the changes in demand for education have centred around two approaches.

### **2.1 The functionalist approach**

This approach contends that the increased social demand for education can be attributed to the socializing and selection functions carried out by the school. At school, an individual has the opportunity to familiarize himself with the knowledge and attitudes that society expects of its citizens. By appealing to its function as a selection and certification agency, the school endeavours to repress any tendency a student may have to diverge from the norm. Thus, by imposing sanctions on those who fail to conform and by offering rewards to those who do, the school teaches its subjects how to be 'normal'.<sup>14</sup> In this way, ability to do various jobs in society is posited in terms of 'normality'.

The problem with this view is that it suggests that society is some collection of inter-relating and mutually dependent systems to which expectations can be attributed. However, society is no more than what the individuals who comprise it, make it; the nature of society is not pre-determined but the outcome of an on-going dialogue between those in positions of power and those who are



subjected, to some extent, to their authority. Being subjected to the authority of those 'in power', of course, is not synonymous with 'being powerless'. By threatening to withdraw their labour, for example, those who are subjected to authority can exert power, given a state of equilibrium in the labour market or a shortage of labour. In this sense, both those 'in power' and those who are subjected to it are mutually dependent on each other; the former is dependent on the latter to provide labour and the latter is dependent on the former to create a need for his labour.

A variation of the functional approach is the technical-function theory of education. Here, the increase in demand for education is directly attributed to technological advances. The school is expected to provide an education which will equip people with the skills required by society. This view, however, is mistaken on at least three accounts.

First, it assumes that the occupational structure creates the demands for certain skills which are indispensable to the execution of jobs. Collins<sup>15</sup> maintains that 'the *demands* of any occupational position', for example, 'are not fixed, but represent whatever behaviour is settled upon in bargaining between the persons who fill the positions and those who attempt to control them'.

Second, it is evident that the required educational level has increased in excess of that which is necessary to keep up with the skill requirement of jobs. In fact, in a number of cases, the reverse could be argued. Namely, that as a result of technological advances,

the content of work has been substantially simplified, thereby lessening the actual need for skills to perform the job. Collins reports that 'in the twentieth century, 85% of educational upgrading occurred *within* job categories, and only 15% of the increase in education in the United States labour force is due to shifts in the occupational structure'<sup>16</sup>.

Third, at a more fundamental level, the assumption that what the school teaches is of direct relevance to the technological demands of industry is questionable. Bowles and Gintis argue that the school does not teach the technological skills which will be required of them as members of the work force so much as the social skills - the appropriate attitudes - which are necessary to ensure minimal friction in the interaction of members of the work force and between the workers and those who possess the means of production.

## 2.2 The conflict perspective

The 'conflict perspective' represents the second major approach to explaining the increase in demand for education. The essence of this approach is that the increased demand for education is a result of the struggle between groups to command the key positions in the job market. This assumes, however, that individuals of the lower socio-economic classes have the same educational and/or occupational aspirations as those of the higher socio-economic classes and that members of the working classes use the same criteria

to evaluate occupations as members of other socio-economic groups. In short, it is an imposition of bourgeois values on the working class.

### 2.3 The changed function of educational institutions

Bourdieu and Boltanski<sup>17</sup> allege that the education explosion must be explained in reference to the change in functions of educational institutions. Before the rise of democratic social systems, having an education was little more than an appendage for an individual could not hope to change his lot in life simply because he was educated. Thus, its appeal was largely confined to the gentry who regarded the intellectual activities it proffered as *fitting* to their noble birth. After all, it was they who had both the time and the economic means to lavish on what must be considered to have been, essentially, an esoteric pursuit. An education provided an appropriate *trimming* to the status of the aristocrats. As such, it was here that its utility necessarily ended - an education was a good in itself, not a means to some other end.

Today, what with compulsory and, in many cases, universal education to the secondary school level, the school has become the only social institution which all members of society 'go through'. With democratic societies lacking the 'in-built' allocation device of ascriptive societies, social mobility is contested, at least in theory, on a meritocratic basis. The education system plays the critical role of broker, mediating between the family, on the one hand, and society,

on the other. The school, by providing a legitimate means for the elite to validate their social position by appealing to their possession of socially coveted educational qualifications, serves to reinforce the legitimacy of the social order.

Bourdieu and Boltanski insist that it is the combined transformation of the means of reproduction, especially the system of inheritance, and the method of appropriation of economic profit - that is, the capitalist mode of production, that has resulted in the intensified use of the educational system across the board.

'By intensifying their use of educational institutions and thereby increasing the number of qualifications put into the labour market, the classes and fractions who in the past made relatively little use of the school, have compelled the classes and class fractions whose reproduction was chiefly or exclusively assured by the school to increase their investments in order to maintain the relative scarcity of their qualifications and, as a consequence, their position in the class structure.'<sup>18</sup>

No longer able to ensure their perpetuation in the upper echelons of the social hierarchy by the direct transmission of economic capital, the middle and upper socio-economic classes have been subjected to immense pressure from the lower socio-economic groups: they are faced with an unprecedented need to *outdo* their social 'inferiors' by acquiring educational qualifications which will unequivocally be regarded as superior to those of their social subordinates.

This brings us to the question of what it means to members of the elite to have *superior educational qualifications*, or conversely,

what it means to members of the lower socio-economic classes to have *inferior educational qualifications*. In other words, to what social benefits do educational credentials entitle their encumbents?

### 3. The Social Benefits of Education

#### 3.1 Education and social success

A link has gradually been forged between education, on the one hand, and social success, on the other. Although, strictly speaking, 'social success' refers to the level of social status<sup>19</sup> that an individual acquires as a result of his occupation and the income he derives from it, here I will concentrate only on the economic aspect of social success.

The ideology that has emerged is that the school will provide the skills needed for success, promotion and rising income in the work force.<sup>20</sup> According to the ideology, the relationship between education and income is direct and causal: the more education one has, the more income one will be able to receive. Until recently, this ideology of social mobility through education has been made credible by the demands of an expanding economy. The mechanization and routinization of jobs, especially among the lower ranking occupations, has resulted in an overall upward movement of people along the social hierarchy, giving them cause to believe in the ideology of social mobility through education.<sup>21</sup> Sennett and Cobb<sup>22</sup> contend that to believe that 'social selection is a function of ability

alone is to become a victim of the dominant group ideology'. Similarly, Maddison<sup>23</sup> maintains that the relationship between education and earnings is very complex, and points to the influence of other factors such as health, intelligence, energy, personal appearance, family background and luck.

### 3.2 Education and economic success

The traditional explanation of the link between education and economic success is that earnings reflect economic productivity. Bowles and Gintis write that:

'In a technologically advanced society, an individual's economic productivity depends partly on the level of cognitive skills he or she has attained. Each year of education increases cognitive skill levels, thus indirectly leading to higher income.'<sup>24</sup>

In a highly meritocratic society, one would therefore expect individuals with the same educational credentials and ambitions to achieve positions of comparable social status and to accomplish a similar level of economic success. According to Maddison<sup>25</sup>, however, this is often not the case. Individuals with a given level of education have both a wide dispersion of earnings and reach different levels of social status.

On the supposition that a high level of education is in itself insufficient to secure an individual a well-paid job, attention was

turned to what might be called primary factors which could explain the income disparity among holders of the same educational qualifications.<sup>26</sup> In particular, the influence of factors such as IQ, social class background, geographical location and local opportunity structure, were explored.

### 3.3 IQ and economic success

Jencks et al<sup>27</sup> claim that the most genetically advantaged one fifth of people earn 35-40% more than the worst one fifth. They discount the importance of IQ, however, on the grounds that the best paid one fifth of all men have an income which is 600% higher than that of the worst paid one fifth. Thus, even large differences in IQ do not guarantee social positions appropriate to an individual's measured IQ. Jencks argues that the effect of cognitive ability of IQ on income is generally mediated by other factors, such as family background, and is therefore indirect.

### 3.4 Personality and economic success

Gintis<sup>28</sup> argues that the impact of education on earning capacity lies not in the development of cognitive abilities but in the production of disciplined behaviour. In conjunction with Bowles, this idea was developed further and labelled the 'correspondence principle'<sup>29</sup>. The essence of their argument is that there is a

structural correspondence between the social relations of the school and those of the economic system of production. The correspondence exists on two levels. First, that of the hierarchical arrangement of the social relationships of education which replicates the hierarchical division of labour; and second, that of attitudes and behavioural norms - the socialization level. Bowles and Gintis argue that:

'the lowest levels in the hierarchy of the [occupational] enterprise emphasize rule-following, middle-levels, dependability and the capacity to operate without direct and continuous supervision while the higher levels stress the internalization of the norms of the enterprise. Similarly, in education, lower levels (junior and senior high school) tend to severely limit and channel the activities of students. Somewhat higher up the educational ladder, teacher and community colleges allow for more independent activity and less overall supervision. At the top, the elite four-year colleges emphasize social relationships conformable with the higher levels in the production hierarchy. . . Thus, as students "master" one type of behavioural regulation, they are either allowed to progress to the next or are channeled into the corresponding level in the hierarchy of production.'<sup>30</sup>

Therefore, according to Bowles and Gintis' analysis of the determinants of economic success, it is having the 'right personality' more than cognitive ability which is of foremost importance. By implication, as having the 'right personality' and cognitive ability have a *multiplicative* relationship, the possession of one in the absence of the other would necessarily result in a *zero effect*. Thus, a minimal level of cognitive ability is, obviously, also required of the individual. Believing that self-direction, independence and control, attributes demanded by the higher socially ranked occupations, are



fostered primarily in the home and, to a lesser extent, in secondary socialization institutions such as the school, Bowles and Gintis consider social class background to play a critical role in the determination of educational attainment and economic success.

### 3.5 Social background and educational success

A number of studies have been conducted on differences in child-rearing patterns in middle and lower class homes. Pearlin and Kohn<sup>31</sup>, for example, found that while middle-class parents in both America and Italy emphasize the child's self-direction, working-class parents place greater emphasis on the child's conformity to external proscription.

Lubeck<sup>32</sup> has reported that social class differences in child-rearing patterns are evident in the pre-school context, suggesting that social class differences in socialization in the family are carried over into the school. She found that in a pre-school where all the students and teaching staff were negro, collectivism, authority and repetitive modes of interaction were reinforced, resulting in a group-oriented educational experience. The pre-school experience of white children, however, was markedly different. School for them was very much an individualistic experience which reinforces individuality, autonomy and promotes positive feelings towards change. Lubeck<sup>33</sup> concluded that 'the teachers' beliefs and behaviours appear to be conditioned by and continuous with their experience outside of school', suggesting that the variation in teaching practice is a

reflection of the teachers' own socialization experiences. On the basis of data like this, Pearlin and Kohn draw the following conclusion:

'... occupational experience helps structure one's view not only of the occupational world, but of the social world generally . . . . . Fathers come to value the characteristics required by their occupations as virtues in their own right and not simply as means to occupational goals.'<sup>34</sup>

Yet, can differences in child-rearing patterns merely be attributed to the different personality characteristics that are rewarded by the father's occupation? The validity of this assertion depends on values being transmitted from father to children. The inter-generational transmission of values, however, is not automatic, and the extent to which parental values are adopted by their children is a process which is influenced by numerous other factors.<sup>35</sup>

Barry, Bacon and Child<sup>36</sup> claim that the common variable underlying the relationship between the economy and socialization is the method of accumulating food resources. In high-accumulation societies, children are *pressurized* into obedience and responsibility. In low-accumulation economies, the emphasis is on self-reliance and individual achievement. The implication is obvious. Children of lower socio-economic brackets are brought up in a situation of restricted economic resources. Failure to consider the needs of the group in any action initiated by the individual is likely to have wider and more significant repercussions than similar action on the part of

an individual of a higher socio-economic group, whose actions are buffered to some extent by a greater financial leeway. At a more mundane level, lower-class children usually live in rougher areas than upper-class children. Hence, there is a real need for working-class parents to be more authoritarian towards their children in order to protect them from the dangers with which their environment threatens them. Musgrove and Taylor make the point very succinctly:

'The difference between directing and non-directing parents is a function of area and not social class.'<sup>37</sup>

Clearly, in an analysis of the effects on child-rearing patterns and socialization, the physical environment surrounding the child must not be overlooked.

### **3.6 The local opportunity structure and economic success**

The physical environment is more than something which shapes the socialization of children: it represents the world, giving verification to those objects found within it, and negating those which are not existent within it, even if they are a part of other environments. As no two individuals experience an environment in the same way, it is very personal; what one child recognizes as being a part of the environment is not necessarily recognized by

another. Anderson and Vervoorn<sup>38</sup> found that the participation of students in secondary school was connected with their perceptions of locally available career opportunities. Thus, the local opportunity structure has an important influence on an individual's aspirations. Even if we were to somewhat simplistically consider income to be the result of an individual's choice of occupation, for each and every individual this 'choice' is constrained by what Bowles<sup>39</sup> calls an 'occupational opportunity set'. An individual's social class and educational level do not determine one's income as much as one's occupational opportunity set. The interaction of an individual with his or her social background acts as a further constraint on the occupational opportunity set as it renders some occupations more desirable than others.

It is evident that while higher levels of schooling and economic success do tend to go together, intellectual abilities *per se* make little causal contribution to getting ahead economically; it is questionable whether there is a direct connection between education and income. If the relationship between education and income is as spurious as the data would suggest, however, our original question as to what social benefits educational credentials entitle their incumbents is still left unanswered.

I contend that educational credentials do not *directly* entitle an individual to any social benefits. Rather, the acquisition of those social benefits which are commonly interpreted to be directly attributable to an individual's education - occupation, income and

social status - are derived only *indirectly* from his or her educational qualifications. An individual's educational level *per se* does not guarantee an individual's ultimate occupation or income but merely provides the *licence* to apply for certain positions. Bourdieu asserts that:

'the value of the diploma, outside the specifically academic market, depends on the economic and social values of the person who possesses it, inasmuch as the yield of academic capital (which is a converted form of cultural capital) depends upon the economic and social capital which can be put to its valorization.'<sup>40</sup>

Bourdieu supports his contention by reference to the professional success of the former students of the *Ecole des hautes etudes commerciales*. He reports that their success varies far more in relation to the *way* in which they obtained their first professional post (i.e. through family relations or by other means) than in relation to their position in the college-leaving examination. Thus, the educational system is less and less in a position to guarantee the value of the qualifications that it awards the further one goes away from the domain that it controls completely: namely, that of its own reproduction. Clearly, no matter how prestigious a diploma may be, it is never sufficient in itself to guarantee access to economic power.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4. Education in a Credential Society

Recently, the credibility of the ideology of social mobility through education has been jeopardized by the reduction in the rate of economic expansion and the maturation of the economic structure, resulting in an over-supply of college graduates. Thurow<sup>42</sup> asserts that the importance of education in a society marked with universal secondary education and which is rapidly progressing towards mass higher education lies not in acquiring job competence but in maintaining one's competitive power on the labour market. In other words, if the content of a particular job is simplified through technological advances to the extent that anyone could be considered capable of satisfactorily performing the job, and given a competitive condition where the number of applicants exceeds the number of positions to be filled, the selection criteria will, in a meritocratic system, take the form of educational qualifications - even though the qualifications themselves may be irrelevant to the execution of the job at hand. Thus, a demand for education is created despite the inability of the economy to fully utilize the resources of the graduates.

Figure 1.1 illustrates a cyclic demand for education. Providing that the ideology of education as a means of social mobility and thus, improving one's social status, is upheld, there will also be a concomitant demand for education. Conversely, when the credibility of the ideology is challenged, the demand for education will taper off.

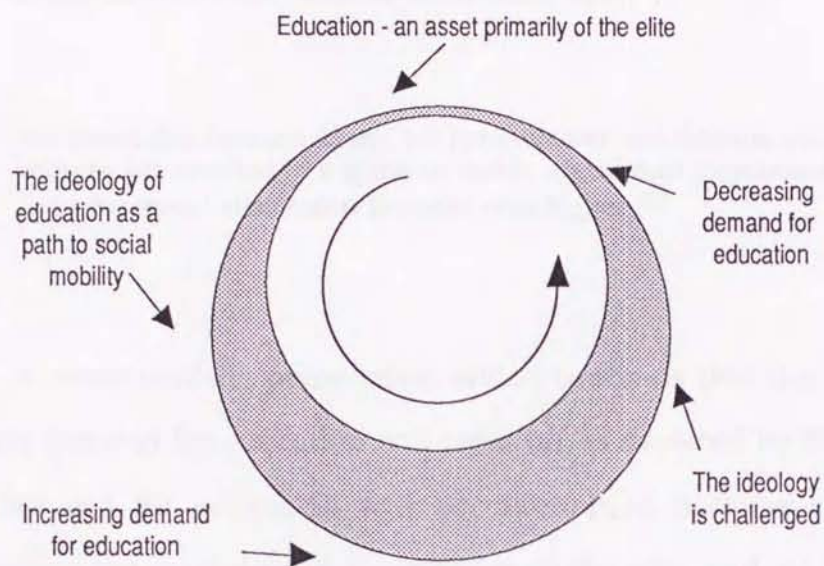


Figure 1.1 The cyclic demand for education in relation to social mobility and the acquisition of social status

This perspective, however, is erroneous on at least three accounts. First, it fails to recognize the dynamic nature of society, assuming that social structures are unchanging and static. As Sargent<sup>43</sup> points out, though, social structures do not have a rigid form but are constantly changing. Second, it assumes that society will make reductions in its demands for education, denying the existence of the social tendency towards credentialism. As Boudon<sup>44</sup> argues, once a minimum level of mean educational attainment has been established, a self-perpetuating demand for education is created.

Third, it treats the activity of education as if it were divorced from other social institutions. Collins maintains that:

'the interaction between formal job requirements and informal status cultures has resulted in a spiral in which educational requirements and educational attainments becomes even higher'.<sup>45</sup>

A more realistic perspective, which contends that it is unlikely that the demand for education will taper off, is depicted by Figure 1.2. The demand for education will be maintained because education legitimizes the ascriptive characteristics of the elite and, at the same time, the ascriptive characteristics valorize the social and economic value of their education. For those in the lower socio-economic classes, education is one of the few hopes of social mobility. Although the *relative* position of an individual may not actually improve, education provides a means of at least *maintaining* his or her position in the social hierarchy. The more democratic educational opportunities become, or conversely, the less exclusive education becomes to the elite, the less effective education in itself will be as a means of acquiring social status. The social selection function of education will be maintained by a further differentiation in the social ranking of educational types, accompanied by an increase in credentialism. Moreover, factors of no direct relevance to education, especially ascriptive ones, will become of increased significance in the social mobility process.



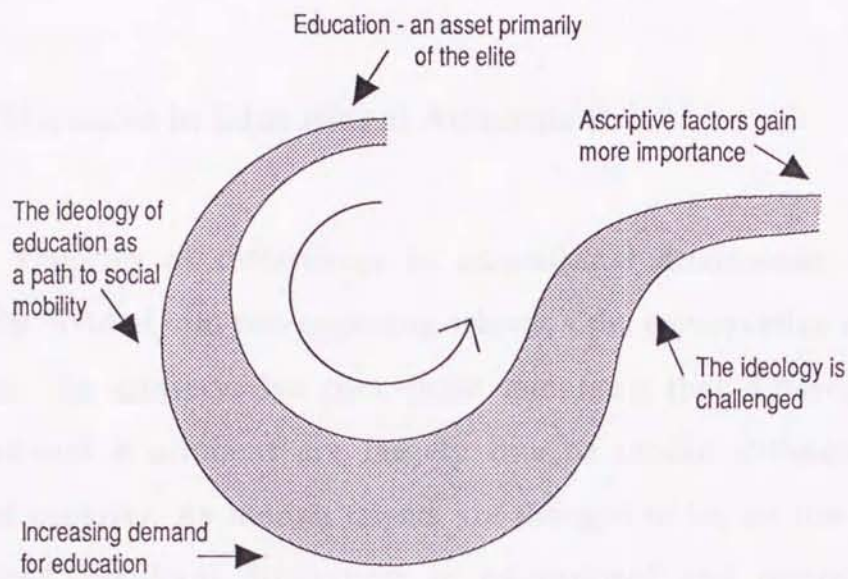


Figure 1.2 The role of education in social mobility and the acquisition of social status

Although education is not directly connected with the occupation, economic success or social status that an individual acquires in society, the demand for education will not wane. Social status is not merely the addition of an individual's ascribed characteristics and achieved characteristics, such as educational attainment. Rather, education has a multiplicative relationship with all factors which affect an individual's social status. In a meritocratic society, the value of ascriptive assets will normally be minimal if the

individual has 'no education'<sup>46</sup> as their social value is dependent on being legitimized by education.

## 5. Differences in Educational Attainment

Theories of differences in educational attainment can be broadly divided into two opposing schools - the conservative and the radical. The conservative conception maintains that differences in educational attainment are largely due to inborn differences in mental capacity. As human talents are thought to be, on the whole, inherited, resultant differences in educational and occupational careers are considered to be inevitable, impervious to any ploy on the part of humans to 'rectify' them.

The fundamental assumption that human talents are largely inherited, though, is the subject of much debate (Jensen, 1969; Burt, 1966; Jencks et al, 1972; Di Maggio, 1982). More radical interpretations of differences in educational attainment argue that providing there is no conclusive way in which differences between individuals can be mainly attributed to genetic differences, environmental factors must not be disregarded. More specifically, they suggest that the development of human potential is not largely genetically precoded but can be greatly affected by interventions in environmental conditions by means of social and economic policy.<sup>47</sup>

There is, however, little consensus among the radicals as to how the environment affects the development of human potential.

In addition to three accounts of differences in educational attainments of pupils from different social class and ethnic backgrounds, educational failure will also be briefly considered from the perspective of Phenomenological Sociology and Bourdieu's cultural capital theory.

### **5.1 The deficit model**

Here, the 'major determinant of pupils' educability<sup>48</sup> is the quality of experiences made available to pupils within different socio-cultural environments'.<sup>49</sup> By attributing a causal value to experiences, the source of differences in educability, and thus 'blame' for differences in educational attainment, is planted firmly outside the school within the precincts of the family. However, it takes at face value the impact of socio-cultural experiences on an individual's education without exploring the role that parental experiences and attitudes play in the experiences of their children.

### **5.2 Educational failure and the cultural difference model**

The cultural difference model asserts that the educational problems of low-status pupils stem not from their 'deprived' cultural background but from the schools' tendency to reject non-dominant cultures. Wax and Wax<sup>50</sup> refer to a 'vacuum ideology' in which teachers view so-called deprived students in terms of the

experiences they lack, rather than as experienced participants in cultures other than their own. Educational failure arises because the school is organized in such a way that it fails to differentiate between students, treating them as one homogeneous bundle and consequently, is blind to the handicaps it imposes on various students.

Basil Bernstein<sup>51</sup> believes that the only way to overcome the present disadvantage experienced by lower-class culturally different children is for the educator to recognize the validity of the child's latent culture. That is, the culture of the child should be integrated with that of the school rather than the latter being imposed on the child. The way to achieve this, Bernstein claims, is by teachers building on what the child has already learnt in the home, thus formally acknowledging the validity of the child's different social and cultural experiences.

The main problem with the cultural difference model is that it interprets culture as a static entity, neither exerting influence nor being the object of influence. In the school setting, the cause of educational failure is expressed in terms of cultural differences between the school and the lower social-classes. By day, lower-class children spend their time in a school environment in which success is portrayed in terms of their ability to suppress their native culture into a subliminal role and adopt that of the school; and, by night, to revert to a life in which decisions are made in accordance with the common-sense or 'recipe knowledge'<sup>52</sup> which is peculiar to the

students' native cultures. The underlying assumption is that the culture of the school and that of the lower social-class home exist in two autonomous spheres, completely independent of each other. Culture, though, is incessantly undergoing social construction and modification as a result of an on-going dialogue, both within and between cultural groups.

Valentine<sup>53</sup> is sceptical of the assumption implicit in the cultural difference model that different cultures are necessarily competitive alternatives. He argues that the native and social environments<sup>54</sup> of the ghetto black of the United States, for example, do not comprise two culturally *pure* environments as there is a considerable amount of involuntary exposure to dominant mainstream culture through contact with agencies of the mass media and public institutions. In fact, Valentine contends that the ghetto black are bicultural, simultaneously being committed to both the mainstream culture and their own ethnic culture.

As with the deficit model approach, superficial cultural differences are again taken at face-value and interpreted as causes of educational failure. There is no attempt to account for why the cultures should be different in the first place. Nor is there any satisfactory explanation of why some individuals from lower-class cultural backgrounds do better at school than others. The suggestion is that those individuals who are less restricted by their 'recipe-knowledge' are better able to adapt to the cultural environment of the school than those who are not. No attempt is made to clarify the

mechanism which renders some individuals more bound by their native cultural backgrounds than others.

### 5.3 Educational failure and social inequality

This approach attempts to show how society shapes people's understandings. According to Flude:

*'...meanings and understandings are constrained by the economic and political structures of the wider society. . . . the particular features of the life-styles and values of low-income groups that separate them from the dominant cultural tradition are seen as a product of a set of necessary adaptations to the hardships and deprivations resulting from their economic status and political exploitation.'*<sup>55</sup>

That is, it contends that the origin of cultural forms representative of the lower socio-economic groups is not necessarily located within these groups but is more likely to be found in the relationship(s) of these groups to the wider class structure.

Kohn's 'class values model' attempts to account for differences in attitudes and values between socio-economic classes. He argues that people develop different conceptions of social reality, have different aspirations, preferences and fears, owing to their different experiences in the social hierarchy.<sup>56</sup> Lane dismisses Kohn's model of educational achievement and educational choice for its failure to account for exceptions, or those individuals who are

educationally successful. He postulates that educational decisions are made within the context of meaning systems that actors derive from their experiences of the world, especially economic and occupational experiences.

The 'income-career' of middle-class occupations, Lane describes as progressive, certain and predictable. He argues that it follows that the relatively stable economic base they provide means that long-term educational plans can be made with the economic security needed to see them to fruition. In contrast, the income-careers of occupations generally categorized as 'lower-class' are marked by considerable fluctuation, uncertainty and unpredictability - traits which do not lend themselves to long-term educational aspirations that necessarily involve deferral of consumption and acceptance of distant time horizons.

Lane accounts for exceptions, or those pupils whose educational decisions do not fit the class-based income-career model, by suggesting that certain occupations, while being officially classified as 'working-class', may have characteristics more typical of middle-class occupations, and *vice versa*. In cases where there is clearly no discrepancy between the characteristics of the income-career of an occupation and its occupation ranking, Lane suggests that individuals who make educational decisions contrary to what would be expected by the income-career model, do so because they have some information about the economic system that somehow contradicts their own experiences<sup>57,58</sup>

Lane's income-career model warrants commendation on two points. First, its ability to account for exceptions to the general rule as previously outlined. Second, it avoids the normative approach of the traditional class values account in which the working-class culture is described in reference to standards pertaining to the life-style, attitudes and values of the dominant or mainstream culture.

As Flude points out, however, 'Lane's explanation ultimately rests upon the assumption that economic structures constitute the major influence on members' understandings of the world and the choices they make'.<sup>59</sup> Flude is also critical of Lane's model on two other accounts. First, Lane concentrates on explaining how the income-career experienced by parents affects their models of the world and perspectives but fails to explain how the parents' understanding of the world is in turn communicated to the children, or conversely, how children acquire their own view of the world and the social structures within it. Second, the primary locus of the income-career model put forward by Lane is the social class and is, therefore, essentially divorced from the school context itself. Lane thereby discounts the importance of children's experiences in school as a contributing factor to educational decisions.



## 6. Problems with Educational Attainment Theories

### 6.1 The autonomy of the school

It is apparent that most theories on differences in educational attainment focus on the effects that either the school context or the home environment has on the educational career of students, leaving the interaction between the two environments and, perhaps more importantly, the meanings that the actors attribute to the resultant situations, very much a neglected area. It is clear, however, that schools which 'take in pupils from one social institution and send them out into a world comprised of others', can neither be considered in isolation from other social institutions such as the family, nor can they be regarded as autonomous institutions.<sup>60</sup> In reality, the organization of education, claims Bourdieu, is intimately connected with the system of power relations as cultural choices<sup>61</sup> reflect social hierarchies of class culture and structure. As Paulo Freire has said: 'Neutral education cannot in fact exist.'<sup>62</sup>

### 6.2 The superficiality of research

Much research has been done on compiling data to determine which socio-economic or cultural traits have high correlations with educational success and the tendency to stay on at school beyond the compulsory requirement. There is a need to explore beyond this

superficial level, to investigate how people actively create the social processes and categories which are collectively known as 'reality', to inquire into the meanings given to social phenomena by different individuals. To base a theory of differences in educational attainment on statistical data gleaned from this culturally or socially created reality without examining the basis on which it is constructed, is to render the individual a social product of the structure rather than an active creator of 'reality'.<sup>63</sup> According to Willis<sup>64</sup>, 'human beings are 'active appropriators' who reproduce existing structures only through struggle, contestation, and a partial penetration<sup>65</sup> of those structures'.

### **6.3 Problems of methodology**

Demaine argues that cultural arguments about inequality of educational achievement are just like the nature/nurture controversy pertaining to the IQ argument. For 'just as there is no means of determining the relative importance of alleged 'intelligence' against other factors such as the financial privilege/barriers to access (to educational resources), neither is there any means by which the relative importance of 'cultural determinants' can be determined'.<sup>66</sup> At the methodological level, Husen<sup>67</sup> stresses the need for researchers to investigate what is tangible, even if some of the variables present problems of measurement. In other words:

'the more successful the social scientist becomes in observing and assessing what is tangible . . . . the more so that observed behaviour can be attributed to environmental circumstances. The margin of ignorance - that is, of behaviour variance unaccounted for, which has traditionally been attributed to 'inborn factors', thereby becomes increasingly smaller'.<sup>68</sup>

Husen<sup>69</sup> claims that researchers, on both the input and output sides,<sup>70</sup> have tended to concentrate their research efforts on easily measured variables, largely ignoring the effect of affective factors on differences in educational attainment. In particular, frame variables or the overall, static, socio-economic structure have been the object of inquiry as opposed to process variables, such as the mother-child relationship, language training at home, which have traditionally been neglected<sup>71</sup> due to an inadequate means to measure them. The upshot of this is that the research frame itself becomes biased towards finding an explanation for differences in educational achievement between social classes in terms of non-affective factors.

## **7. More Recent Approaches**

### **7.1 Educational failure and educational deviance - from the perspective of phenomenological sociology -**

This approach evolved largely as a reaction against traditional research which takes for granted that the statistical rates of

educational failure and juvenile delinquency reflect events in the *real* world rather than recognizing official statistics as social products and examining the basis on which they are constructed.

Phenomenological sociology is also critical of the assumption on which traditional research is conducted. Namely, the assumption that factors which cause people to behave in a certain way are to be found within their socio-cultural environment. While the effect of pupils' home or cultural circumstances and material conditions of life on their response to school is not denied, the level is too superficial to impart information on the underlying causes of differences in educational attainment. What the phenomenological sociologists claim is of foremost importance, is to delve down beyond the superficial levels of background variables thought to differentiate 'successful' from 'unsuccessful' pupils and to uncover the social processes that affect educational attainment. Flude sums up the focus of a phenomenological sociology as being:

'... upon these institutional contexts within which teaching/learning take place, the frames of reference or systems of relevances teachers bring with them into the classroom and the grounds upon which they act and make decisions about the pupils in the course of routine classroom activities'.<sup>72</sup>

## 7.2 Cultural capital theory

Bourdieu takes the prime function of schools to be one of conservation and the reproduction of culture. The mechanism by

which the school achieves this, he asserts, is by making legitimate only those forms of culture which are congruent with the dominant culture. As the school incorporates these cultural forms into its system of organization, thus providing the backbone of the educational code<sup>73</sup>, Bourdieu contends that success at school is inextricably linked with the ability to comprehend these cultural forms. As the ability to understand the code is not something which is consciously developed or taught, its range of potential acquisition is necessarily restricted to those individuals who are exposed to an environment which promotes the use of the same set of symbols as the school; only those individuals who are familiar with the 'right' culture will have enough of the required cultural capital to break the code. Cultural capital and cultural reproduction will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

## 8. The Need for a Subjective Approach

A phenomenon can only be rendered a 'truth' if it is acted upon by man and is judged to be consistent with each individual's internal body of knowledge. Therefore there are no 'truths' in this world that exist independent of man. Rather, as Berger and Luckmann<sup>74</sup> claim, we construct our world and then believe in its objectivity, emphasizing the 'social construction of reality'. Marx also embraces similar sentiments, contending that 'man makes religion;

religion does not make man'.<sup>75</sup> The validity of this statement, however, is not confined to religion. Sargent contends that:

'all our knowledge, cultural beliefs, all that we consider 'reality' is created in our culture'.<sup>76</sup>

On the promise that 'reality' is socially constructed and is, therefore, not a universal 'truth', essential to any theory of differences in educational attainment is a consideration of subjective factors to gain an insight into what 'reality' represents to different people. According to Thomas, the ramifications of the subjectivity of reality cannot be over-stressed. He says:

'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences'.<sup>77</sup>

On a more individual level, Quentin Lauer argues that while two subjects may experience some things in the same way, it is impossible to ascertain the degree of consensus on what the experience actually means to each subject. For 'meaning', writes Schutz, 'does not lie in experience. Rather, those experiences are meaningful which are grasped reflectively'.<sup>78</sup> Thus, 'the world is commonly constituted, but the result is a common world with different modalities, so that one world is for different subjects both the same and different'.<sup>79</sup>

The real question is how some people come to define certain situations as 'real' and others as 'unreal'. Peter Woods<sup>80</sup> argues that people make sense of the world through frameworks, which he calls 'perspectives'. As he maintains that perspectives are derived from cultures, the *negotiation process* whereby meanings are attributed to social situations, is ultimately linked to social class. Merlau-Ponty also looks for the key to understanding how people define situations by first attempting to grasp the significance that the situation or situations a person finds himself in, holds for that individual. He writes:

'The thinker never thinks from any starting point but the one constituted by what he is.'<sup>81</sup>

The implications that this has for individuals in the educational context are immense. While educational activities may share a common structure and process, the meaning that education holds for each person clearly depends on the interpreting subject. Connell and his colleagues<sup>82</sup> assert that any situation is accompanied by a set of potentials and constraints - the actual composition of the set being determined by the individual's perspective on reality. In a study of Australian children of different social classes, Connell found that expectations for their future occupations varied along social class lines. The following excerpts illustrate his finding:

GIRL, 12 (from lower status suburb): Oh, I couldn't do it but I'd like to do, something to do with science. I'm not brainy enough to . . . er, suppose you need a lot of money.

BOY, 12 (from upper status suburb): Well, I'd like to - my mother wants me to go to the university, and I want to go myself, and I want to say be an engineer, kind of.

Sargent attributes the differences in expectations of different groups in society to differences in their experiences, as is depicted in Figure 1.3. While the total population of any given society is exposed to a similar set of cultural values (e.g. legal justice is available to all), Sargent claims that these are only positively reinforced in the case of the bourgeoisie.

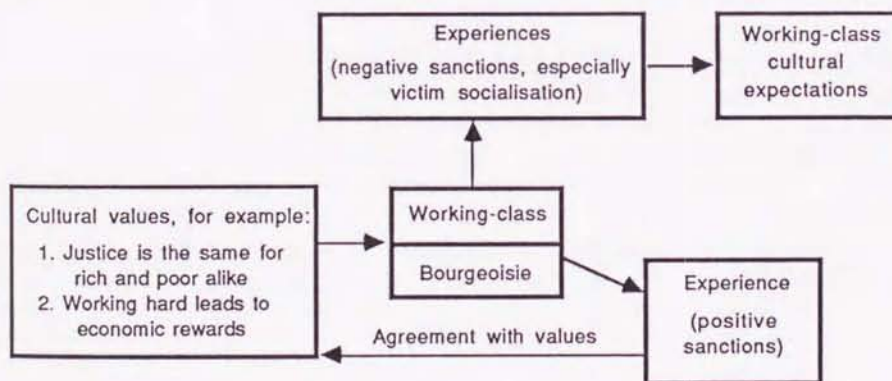


Figure 1.3 The differences in experience between social classes

Source: 'Sociology for Australians' by M. Sargent (1983:50)



'The experience of the bourgeoisie provides positive sanctions which confirm the values, while the experience of the working class is of negative sanctions . . . Such experiences are essentially part of the learning processes of socialization and result in the different cultural expectations of different groups in our society.'<sup>83</sup>

It is in this variation in experiences that must be turned to in order to appreciate the basis underlying the different values embraced by people and the differences in educational attainment that are evident especially between social classes.

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<sup>1</sup>Schrag, P., 1970.

<sup>2</sup>Jencks, C., 1972.

<sup>3</sup>Willis, P., 1977.

<sup>4</sup>There is a need to distinguish between 'hopes' or 'aspirations', on the one hand, and 'expectations', on the other. 'Hopes' are embraced by the dominant ideology but it is only when the logic of one's personal experience is congruent with that of the dominant ideology that these hopes, at the metaphysical level, are transformed into expectations at the individual level.

<sup>5</sup>Willis, P., 1977.

<sup>6</sup>Willis, P., 1977:176.

<sup>7</sup>Flude, 1974:35.

<sup>8</sup>Willis, P., 1977.

<sup>9</sup>Husen, T., 1975.

<sup>10</sup>Jencks, C., 1972.

<sup>11</sup>The term 'culture' is often confused with 'high culture' or the culture of higher socio-economic classes. Here, 'culture' is used in the anthropological or sociological meaning of the term. For example, Tylor, in 1871, defined culture as that "complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". (1871:1)

<sup>12</sup>It should be pointed out that this 'restricting mechanism' is by no means perfect and can only be validly applied to an average population, and not to any particular individual.

<sup>13</sup>Bourdieu, 1977, p.80.

<sup>14</sup>The rewards typically take the form of certificates proclaiming the degree to which their incumbents have met the school's expectations. Here, although the 'school's expectations' essentially refers to academic expectations that the school has for its pupils, being educated requires the acquisition of not only 'academic' knowledge but 'social' knowledge as well. Furthermore, any set of expectations must be seen as a social product in itself and, as such, draws upon socio-cultural norms which tend to be derived from the dominant socio-cultural class. Therefore, the school expects children to perform in accordance with a particular set of academic

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and behavioural norms which are not necessarily common to all socio-economic and/or cultural groups.

The sanctions imposed by the school are usually either the outright denial of certificates or the issue of certificates which give a poor evaluation of the incumbent's ability to live up to the school's expectations, indicating that the individual concerned could have been a better conformist. The denial of certificates can be either explicit or implicit. A student being expelled from school for non-conformist behaviour would be an example of the former; an example of implicit denial would be in the case where a student is denied a certificate because of a voluntary action the part of the student and/or his family to prematurely terminate his formal education - an act which in itself can be interpreted as a failure to conform.

<sup>15</sup>Collins, R., 1972:182.

<sup>16</sup>ibid. p.178.

<sup>17</sup>Bourdieu, P. and Boltanski, L., 1978:198.

<sup>18</sup>ibid. p.220.

<sup>19</sup>It is worthwhile to distinguish between 'social status' and 'role'. Ralph Linton, an anthropologist, speaks of 'role' as representing the dynamics of 'status'.

"When he [a person] puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect he is performing a role . . . . There are no roles without statuses or statuses without roles." (1976:39)

<sup>20</sup>Sargent, M., 1983.

<sup>21</sup>The social mobility achieved by working-class people was normally confined to movement from positions of unskilled labour to semi-skilled or skilled labour and to movement which was a consequence of the expanding number of niches in the industry, rather than their education (Aronowitz, 1976). Also, in the sense that upward social mobility was a widespread phenomenon, it was largely insignificant as the *relative* position of the individual on the social hierarchy did not improve.

<sup>22</sup>Sennett, R. and Cobb, J., 1977.

<sup>23</sup>Maddison, A., 1975.

<sup>24</sup>Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p.109.

<sup>25</sup>Maddison, A., 1975.

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<sup>26</sup>By 'primary factors' I mean causal factors. In contrast, 'secondary factors' refers to those factors which have a high correlation with a given phenomenon, not because they have a causal relationship with it but because of their mediating locus between the cause and the phenomenon.

<sup>27</sup>Jencks, C., 1972:220.

<sup>28</sup>Gintis, H., 1971.

<sup>29</sup>Bowles and Gintis, 1976.

<sup>30</sup>Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p.132.

<sup>31</sup>Pearlin and Kohn, 1966.

<sup>32</sup>Lubeck, S., 1984.

<sup>33</sup>ibid. p.225.

<sup>34</sup>Pearlin and Kohn, 1966, p.478-479.

<sup>35</sup>For example, the degree of agreement between parents on values (Musgrove and Taylor, 1969; Kohn, 1983), the closeness of the parent's marital relationship (Connell et al, 1982), the closeness of the mother-child, father-child relationships, the status of the mother and father in the family.

<sup>36</sup>Barry, H., Bacon, M., and Child, I.L., 1959,

<sup>37</sup>Musgrove and Taylor, 1969.

<sup>38</sup>Anderson, D.S. and Vervoorn, A.E., 1983.

<sup>39</sup>Bowles, S., 1972.

<sup>40</sup>Bourdieu, 1977:98.

<sup>41</sup>Bourdieu, 1977.

<sup>42</sup>Thurow, L.C., 1972.

<sup>43</sup>Sargent, M., 1983.

<sup>44</sup>Boudon, R., 1974.

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<sup>45</sup>Collins, R., 1972:195.

<sup>46</sup>I contend that the lowest level of education that is attained by the majority of individuals in any given society can be thought of as having the relative value of zero and, therefore, if the education level of any given individual does not exceed this lowest common denominator, in real terms he has 'no education'.

<sup>47</sup>Husen, T., 1975.

<sup>48</sup>In Bourdieu's terms, 'educability' refers to the amount of 'cultural capital' - that is, "symbolic property or the knowledge of, and skill in the use of, the symbols, language forms and structure and meanings of bourgeois culture that are directly and indirectly defined by dominant groups as socially legitimate" (Hogan, 1982:57) - that an individual has. The more cultural capital the individual has, the greater his or her capacity to comprehend the educational code of the school.

<sup>49</sup>Flude, M., 1974:22.

<sup>50</sup>Wax, M., and Wax, R., 1964.

<sup>51</sup>Bernstein, B., 1972.

<sup>52</sup>The term 'recipe knowledge' was originally used by Schutz to describe the habitual knowledge which governs practical affairs in the common-sense world of everyday life. By virtue of an individual's recipe knowledge, he or she is able to spontaneously make decisions, without deliberating.

<sup>53</sup>Valentine, C.A., 1971.

<sup>54</sup>'Social environment' refers to that environment which exists externally to the 'native environment', although the latter may exist within the former. The dominant culture of the social environment, however, may not be contiguous with the ethnic culture of the native environment.

<sup>55</sup>Flude, 1974, p.34-5.

<sup>56</sup>Kohn, M.L., 1963.

<sup>57</sup>For example, where the mother is in a non-manual occupation, or a mother who has suffered downward mobility; residence in a middle-class neighbourhood and where a man has kin in a different social class from his own.

<sup>58</sup>Flude, M., 1974.

<sup>59</sup>ibid. p.37.

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<sup>60</sup>The Open University, 1977b:50.

<sup>61</sup>For example, decisions pertaining to the content of legitimate knowledge, the organization of students.

<sup>62</sup>Freire, P., 1974:18-19.

<sup>63</sup>The Open University, 1977a.

<sup>64</sup>Willis, P., 1977:175.

<sup>65</sup>Willis defines 'penetration' thus:

"Penetration is meant to designate impulses within a cultural form towards the penetration of the conditions of existence of its members and their position within the social whole but in a way which is not centred, essentialist or individualist. 'Limitation' is meant to designate those blocks, diversions and ideological effects which confuse and impede the full development and expression of these impulses" (p.119) . . . . "The pure logic of cultural penetration becomes partial logic in reality as a result of distortion, limitation and mystification." (1977:145)

<sup>66</sup>Demaine, J., 1981:30.

<sup>67</sup>Husen, T., 1975.

<sup>68</sup>Husen, 1975:333.

<sup>69</sup>Husen, T., 1975.

<sup>70</sup>The 'input side' refers to factors which are thought to attribute to the extent a child achieves at school and affect the child primarily prior to his or her starting school, The 'output side', in contrast, refers to factors which influence how successful an individual who is just entering the work force will be in society.

<sup>71</sup>In recent years, more attention has been paid to process variables. For example, Bernstein's work on language development.

<sup>72</sup>Flude, 1974, p.43.

<sup>73</sup>An understanding of the educational code affords the student the ability to effectively participate in the classroom - a skill which according to Mehan (1984:178-9) entails the recognition of different contexts for interaction and appropriate behaviour for each context. That is, the student must be able to know how to display what he or she knows. This requires:

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1. knowing appropriate ways of talking and acting in certain contexts,
  2. knowing with whom, when and where they can speak and act,
  3. interpreting classroom rules which are often implicit.

<sup>74</sup>Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T., 1966.

<sup>75</sup>Marx, K. and Engels, F., 1975.

<sup>76</sup>Sargent, 1983, p.52.

<sup>77</sup>Thomas, 1928, p.572.

<sup>78</sup>Schutz, A., 1967:69.

<sup>79</sup>Lauer, Q., 1958:156.

<sup>80</sup>Woods, P., 1983.

<sup>81</sup>Merlau-Ponty, 1970, p.xix.

<sup>82</sup>Connell, R.W. et al, 1982.

<sup>83</sup>Sargent, 1983, p.50.

## II

# Social Class Differentiation and Education in Japan

The aim of this research is to determine the effect that differences in family culture (e.g., parents' attitudes to education; how considerate parents are towards the child when studying; the way parents teach and discipline their children) have on the educational attainment of children (e.g., their aspirations to continue their formal education beyond Junior High school; the influence family culture has on children's grades). The relationship between family culture and educational attainment was investigated by administering a questionnaire survey to Junior High school students and their parents and, in addition, some parents were also interviewed. The theoretical basis of the study was borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein.

Before the theoretical framework and the analysis of the empirical data is described in Chapters Three to Five, this chapter will examine recent changes in social stratification evident in Japanese society using statistical data published by the Japanese



government and research bureaus and the results of surveys carried out by Japanese sociologists of education.

### 1. Recent Changes in Social Class Differentiation in Japan

Japan is noted as having one of the lowest levels of social class differentiation in the world. This is particularly well illustrated by the small disparity in income between social classes and the high level of intergenerational occupational mobility.<sup>1</sup> It could be said that this social trait is the result of a strong desire to succeed which has been evident amongst many Japanese since the Meiji Restoration in 1868.<sup>2</sup>

The high social mobility rate which has continued for more than one hundred years since the Meiji Restoration has gradually decreased the gap between social classes and, in the period of high economic growth during the 1960s, more than 90% of Japanese people considered themselves, or the life style of their family, to be 'middle class'.<sup>3</sup> Even in the 40 years since the Second World War, a period in which Japanese society was marked by stability and few changes, the upper, middle and lower social classes have gradually become more differentiated, resulting in distinct social classes. This trend has been especially predominant in the last decade.

The statistical data in Table 2.1 shows the trends in disparity in income according to occupation, both for Japan as a whole and for the Tokyo metropolitan area. In Table 2.1, the index of the annual

Table 2.1 Disparity in income by occupation and region

Year	National								Tokyo metropolitan district	
	A. Average income of employees (in ¥1000s)	B. Blue collar labourers	C. Company employees	D. Public servants	E. Company executives	F. Farmers	G. Employees	H. Farmers		
1964	688	84.3	121.7	108.4	232.3	106.4	124.4	—		
1968	1,033	87.0	110.8	113.7	187.0	120.8	111.7	116.5		
1972	1,816	81.1	113.9	110.5	193.8	118.2	110.6	126.9		
1976	3,428	79.4	107.1	118.3	195.8	124.8	105.3	138.1		
1979	4,314	81.1	104.8	114.7	201.8	123.3	103.1	128.3		
1982	5,051	82.5	109.0	116.2	205.5	123.1	105.7	130.3		
1985	5,557	81.1	112.3	119.4	192.5	124.5	104.0	133.6		

Source: 'Report on trends in household savings', Ministry of General Affairs  
 'Financial report on farming households', Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries

Note: Values B - H are calculated on the basis that A=100

income for each of the occupations was calculated on the basis that the average annual household income for salaried employees is 100. From Table 2.1, it is evident that the income of labourers (B) and company employees (C) has decreased since the late 1960s and that the annual income of public servants (D) and farmers (F) has increased. The income of company executives (E), on the other hand, has remained significantly higher than other occupational groups.

Moreover, as Table 2.2 shows, the wages of workers at manufacturing companies vary with the size of the company. The wages of workers at companies with 100 - 499 employees (B), companies with 30 - 99 employees (C) and companies with 5 - 29 employees (D) are calculated on the basis that the wage earned by workers at companies with more than 500 employees (A), is 100. Two conclusions can be drawn from the data in Table 2.2. First, the bigger the company is, the higher the income of the employees becomes, and vice versa. Second, the income index has gradually decreased since the beginning of the 1980s. This means that since 1980 the difference in income earned by employees has widened due to differences in the size of companies.

Thus, as the statistical data in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 has shown, the trend towards greater differences in income due to occupation, geographical region and company size has become particularly evident in the last ten years. If the difference in annual income increases, it is only natural that this will produce qualitative differences amongst people whether in terms of standard of living and life-style, or their savings and the amount of physical assets they

**Table 2.2 Disparity in income by size of manufacturing company**

Employee no. Year	Total Cash Income			
	More than 500	100 - 499	30 - 99	5 - 29
1965	100.0	80.9	71.0	63.2
1970	100.0	81.4	69.6	61.8
1974	100.0	82.5	70.8	59.8
1975	100.0	82.9	68.7	60.2
1976	100.0	81.3	66.9	58.6
1977	100.0	82.0	66.8	59.9
1978	100.0	82.7	68.1	60.6
1979	100.0	81.1	66.4	59.5
1980	100.0	80.5	65.4	58.0
1981	100.0	80.0	65.3	57.0
1982	100.0	78.9	64.1	56.7
1983	100.0	79.0	64.0	56.6
1984	100.0	79.5	63.0	57.3
1985	100.0	77.1	62.9	55.0
1986	100.0	77.7	64.6	57.2

Source: 'Monthly survey on labour statistics', Ministry of Labour

Note: The values for income are calculated on the basis that income of employees who are employed by a company with more than 500 workers = 100

own. In this regard, the '*Annual survey on household savings*' published annually by the Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of General Affairs is useful as a means of understanding the trends in household savings of company employees over the last ten years.

**Table 2.3 Trends in household savings  
by income group**

(in ¥1000s)

The top 5 income groups	Year			Increase in savings 1975 - 1985
	1975	1980	1985	
Group I	1,153	2,134	2,914	1,761
Group II	1,632	3,249	4,756	3,124
Group III	2,309	4,195	6,032	3,723
Group IV	3,240	5,366	8,242	5,002
Group V	4,848	8,726	12,653	7,805

Source: Compiled from annual reports on 'Trends in savings'  
by the Ministry of General Affairs

In Table 2.3, households are divided into 5 income groups, with Group I being those households with least income and Group V being those households with most income, and the average amount of savings per household is shown for each of the five income groups. It is clear that the amount of savings per household is increasing for all income groups. If the amount of increase in savings for each group over the past ten years is compared, however, while the increase for Income Group I was only ¥1,761,000, the corresponding increase for Group V was as much as ¥7,805,000. In other words, the increase in savings experienced by Group V was 4.4 times greater than that of Group I. As a result, while the difference in household savings between Income Groups I and V was only ¥3,695,000 ten years ago in 1975, this difference had grown to almost ¥10,000,000 (¥9,739,000) in 1985. From these statistics, it is clear that,

especially in the last ten years, social class differentiation and expansion is taking place in Japan.

## **2. Advancement Rate to University by Social Class and Increase in Cost of Advancement**

In post-war Japan, the income of every family rose and a corresponding improvement in the quality of life was seen. This resulted in an unprecedented desire on the part of parents to send their children to Senior High school and, in some cases, on to Junior College or university, causing the number of students enrolling in these institutions to escalate. Table 2.4 shows the percentages of students advancing to Senior High school and Junior College/university since 1950. We can see that in 1950 the percentage of students proceeding to Senior High school was 43%, and that this figure increased by approximately 10% every five years thereafter. That is, the advancement rate to Senior High school was 52% in 1955, 58, 71, 82, 92 and 94% in 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1980, respectively, virtually making Senior High school an extension of compulsory education.

Similarly, the advancement rate to university increased almost four times from a mere 10% in 1955 to 38% in 1985. On the other hand, however, the cost of sending a child to university is increasing each year. This chapter will not deal with Senior High school since it has almost become a part of compulsory education, as

**Table 2.4 Advancement rate to senior high school, university or junior college**

School Year	Senior High school (%)	University or college (%)
1950	42.5	—
1955	51.5	10.1
1960	57.7	10.3
1965	70.7	17.0
1970	82.1	23.6
1975	91.9	37.8
1980	94.2	37.4
1985	93.8	37.6

Source: Compiled from annual reports on 'Basic survey of schools' by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture

was mentioned previously. Instead, attention will be focused on the costs involved in advancing to university.

Table 2.5 shows the change in initial costs over the last ten years of advancing to university (e.g., entrance examination fee, traveling and accommodation expenses for the entrance examination,<sup>4</sup> university entrance fee, tuition fees, cost of looking for an apartment, rent, cost of necessities for everyday life and study etc.), from the time of the entrance examination to the completion of enrollment procedures. The total cost of advancing to university has increased annually over the last ten years, with the cost required in the case of students at public universities being ¥1,599,000 and for

**Table 2.5 Change in cost of advancing to university**

(in ¥1000s)

Year \ Private/public	Public University	Private University
1977	680	1006
1978	895	1120
1979	1030	1326
1980	1089	1430
1981	1125	1503
1982	1205	1605
1983	1261	1720
1984	1407	1772
1985	1440	1909
1986	1548	1946
1987	1599	2076

Source: Compiled from a report on 'Costs incurred with advancement to university', by the Association of University Co-operatives, Tokyo office.

Note:

1. The survey was conducted on a total of 40 universities (public, national and private) in Tokyo and the Tokyo metropolitan district.
2. The 'costs' are only for those students who are living away from home.

those at private universities, ¥2,076,000. It is obvious that the cost of sending a child to university in Japan is considerably high. The data also shows that the cost over the last ten years has doubled in the case of private universities and, in the case of public universities, has increased approximately 2.4 times. Therefore, it is becoming



increasingly difficult for children of families with only a modest income to go to university.

If a child goes to university, parents must pay tuition fees and living expenses for the child for a minimum of four years. The yearly cost of studying at university and living expenses are shown in Table 2.6. This table indicates that in 1986 the average cost of studying at public and private universities was ¥1,424,000. This represents a five-fold increase over twenty years ago and is double the cost ten years ago. Thus, it is clear that while the advancement rate to university has increased over the past twenty years, the cost incurred from the time the child enters university until graduation has also increased. This means that even if parents would like their child to go to university, it is not within the means of all families to do so. Table 2.6 also demonstrates that the average annual income of families with a child at university is consistently higher than that of salaried employees. These figures indicate that it is difficult for parents to send their children to university unless their income is higher than average.

The proportion of students from each of the five income groups studying full-time at 4-year universities over the last ten years may be ascertained from Table 2.7. It is evident that children of families with the highest income (Group V) account for 26 to 31% of students at university. As students of low-income families are awarded scholarships and efforts are being made to improve the scholarship system, it is not impossible for children of low-income families (Group I) to enter university. However, the problem is

Table 2.6 Trends in cost of living for university students and household income

(in ¥1000s)

Expenses	Year										
	1968	1970	1972	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	
University student's expenses*	Education	121	142	157	211	297	394	493	588	667	731
	Living	161	204	247	361	445	507	589	643	657	693
Total	282 (100)	346 (123)	404 (143)	572 (203)	742 (263)	901 (319)	1,082 (384)	1,231 (437)	1,324 (470)	1,424 (505)	
Annual income of families with a child at public university	1,154 (100)	1,459 (126)	1,785 (155)	2,789 (242)	3,760 (326)	4,443 (385)	5,100 (442)	5,360 (464)	6,010 (520)	6,277 (544)	
Annual household income of salaried employees	1,064 (100)	1,262 (119)	1,788 (168)	2,571 (197)	3,328 (313)	3,874 (364)	4,493 (389)	5,024 (472)	5,453 (513)	5,851 (550)	

Source:

Compiled from the 'Survey on life of university students' (yearly editions), Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Bureau of Science, and 'Survey on trends in savings' (yearly editions), Ministry of General Affairs, Bureau of Statistics.

\*"University student's expenses" refers to expenses incurred by full-time students at 4-year universities.

Table 2.7 Proportion of university students by income group

(%)

The top 5 income groups	Year					
	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986
Group I	11.8	13.5	17.5	18.6	18.9	19.8
Group II	14.6	17.2	18.1	18.2	15.9	17.2
Group III	20.6	19.8	16.3	17.0	17.3	17.6
Group IV	22.2	20.2	19.9	19.6	19.7	19.7
Group V	30.8	29.3	28.2	26.6	28.2	25.7
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 'Survey on life of university students' (yearly editions), Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Bureau of Science.

Note:

1. Age range of head of household is 45 - 54.
2. The percentage of university students includes only full-time students at 4-year universities.

confounded as public universities in Japan are clearly ranked in order of prestige. In order for a child to enter a high ranking university (which tend to be located in major metropolitan areas such as Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and Nagoya), it is said that parents must send their children to special preparatory schools and *juku* from when they are in Primary school. This, of course, is expensive. Moreover, the year by year increase in the amount parents must pay to prepare their children for the university entrance examinations, especially in the case of higher ranking universities, is, undisputedly, one of the recent trends in Japan.

### 3. Social Class and Differences in Cultural Activity

It has often been pointed out that social classes initially become apparent due to economic differences and that these differences, in turn, are reflected in differences in ability to cope with the burden of educational expenses, thus affecting the educational attainment of children. What this study, however, aims to do is to empirically establish whether differences in family demographic factors affect family culture and, whether differences in family culture produce differences in children's cultural activities, their aspiration to go to university, their attitude towards study and their grades. These kinds of questions will be addressed in Chapters Four and Five but in this section, I will discuss the differences in cultural level and cultural activity of families in Japan. The discussion will be based on data obtained from a recent joint study<sup>5</sup> by members of the Research Division of the Japanese Association of Sociology of Education. The survey, which was carried out in the two-month period from May to June, 1987, was administered to students at 17 universities in the Tokyo metropolitan district. Six of the universities were public and eleven were private with four of the latter being girls' universities. The number of valid responses was 1,367.<sup>6</sup>

If we look at Table 2.8 to see what kind of social class (as determined by father's occupation) the students who participated in the survey are from, it is apparent that 34% of their fathers are company executives or professionals (a), 42% of their fathers are middle or lower-level managers (b) and approximately one quarter

(24%) of the students are from the lower social classes. According to the 1985 Census, the ratio of the two occupations (a & b) was approximately 32%. Table 2.8 shows that the probability of a child whose father's occupation is professional (a) or managerial (b) entering a university in the Tokyo metropolitan area is at least 3 times greater than a child whose father is self-employed (c) and, in the case of a child whose father is a labourer or farm worker (d), it is as much as 14 times greater.

**Table 2.8 Percentage of university students by father's occupation**

Father's occupation	A. University students (%)	B. 45-54 age cohort in 1985 Census (%)	A/B
a. Executives/professional	33.5	11.9	2.82
b. Managerial	42.2	19.7	2.14
c. Shop owners/self-employed	13.6	15.8	0.86
d. Labourers/farm workers	10.7	52.6	0.20

Source: H. Fujita et al, 'Stratification of Culture and Cultural Reproduction' in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, The University of Tokyo, Vol. 27, 1988.

Note: Survey was carried out on university students in the Tokyo metropolitan district.

What can be inferred from this is that there is some other factor(s) besides economical differences that exerts an affect on the educational attainment of children. In this regard, let us consider the possibility that there are social class differences in cultural activities. By 'cultural activities', I refer to the kinds of activities mentioned in Table 2.9. For example, go to concerts and art galleries, play tennis,

**Table 2.9 Evaluation of cultural activity**

Cultural activity	Cultural Score*
1. Go to classical concerts	82.8
2. Go to art galleries or art exhibitions	80.0
3. Play the piano	75.4
4. Write tanka or haiku	72.9
5. Go to see plays	68.2
6. Eat at French restaurants	67.9
7. Read books on Art or History	65.2
8. Read comprehensive magazines (e.g., Sekai, Chuo Koron)	58.9
9. Do handicrafts, woodwork or make models	56.4
10. Go to see movies	55.1
11. Play tennis	51.6
12. Read modern novels	50.6
13. Watch enka (folk music) on TV	39.0
14. Sing at karaoke bars	28.4
15. Read sports newspapers	28.0
16. Read pictorial magazines (e.g., Focus, Friday)	21.2
17. Play pachinko or mahjong	20.9

\*The respondents' answers were weighted ('high-brow'=100 points; 'quite high-brow'=75; 'neither high nor low-brow'=50; 'not very high-brow'=25; 'low-brow'=0 points). The 'Cultural Score' is the average of their responses.

Source: H. Fujita et al, 'Stratification of Culture and Cultural Reproduction', in the Bulletin of The Faculty of Education, The University of Tokyo, Vol. 27, 1988.

read sports newspapers. Table 2.9 indicates how high-brow these cultural activities are. A high Cultural Score means that the cultural activity is high-brow, and vice versa.

Now let us turn to Table 2.10 to see how cultural activities of university students differ with the occupation of the father. By adding the scores (that is, the scores for 'sometimes' and 'often' ) given for each cultural activity by each occupational category, it is

Table 2.10 Difference in cultural activities of university students by social origin

Cultural activity and frequency Father's occupational category	Go to classical concerts		Go to art galleries, art exhibitions		Go to see movies		Play pachinko, mahjong		Make handicrafts, models & woodwork		Play a musical instrument		Read books about history or art		Read compre- hensive magazines		Read sports newspapers	
	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	
Managerial, professional	8.3	30.7	19.7	48.5	38.9	53.1	11.1	25.8	10.9	35.6	22.6	32.1	20.1	51.9	6.4	34.4	14.2	38.2
Middle, lower managerial	4.5	27.1	16.2	43.1	34.3	56.6	12.4	23.5	8.8	34.0	22.0	32.0	17.1	51.2	3.9	33.6	18.8	36.0
Self-employed	5.3	21.8	11.1	52.0	36.8	52.6	14.6	23.4	9.9	34.5	20.5	24.0	13.5	57.3	5.3	29.2	25.1	35.7
Labourers, farmers	3.0	11.9	5.9	42.2	26.7	59.3	14.2	29.1	8.9	20.7	16.3	28.1	9.6	54.1	4.4	25.2	25.9	40.0

\*That is, Sekai, Chuo Koron etc.

Source: H. Fujita et al, 'Stratification of Culture and Cultural Reproduction' in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, The University of Tokyo, Vol. 27, 1988.

clear that the cultural activities of students vary according to their social origins. In particular, Table 2.10 shows that going to classical concerts, art galleries and art exhibitions is more popular amongst students of higher social class origins. Large differences are also evident amongst students in terms of what they read: students of higher social classes tend to read comprehensive magazines and books about art or history more than students from lower social origins.

Differences in cultural activity are also apparent in terms of parents' *gakureki*, university (i.e., difficulty of entering) and sex, as Table 2.11 demonstrates. Students whose parents have a high *gakureki* are more inclined to engage in cultural activities which have a higher cultural score. Conversely, students whose parents have a low *gakureki* tend towards popular forms of entertainment such as playing pachinko, mahjong and reading sports newspapers. The same trend can be observed in the case of students attending universities which are comparatively difficult to enter. That is, students at 'difficult' universities are more inclined to engage in higher scoring cultural activities than their counterparts at 'easier' universities. Table 2.11 also shows that there is a pronounced difference in the cultural activities engaged in by male and female students. Whereas female students gravitate towards higher scoring cultural activities, male students predominate in the area of popular entertainment.

Interestingly, no general trend is evident for cultural knowledge as was the case for cultural activity. While Table 2.11



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**Table 2.11 Cultural activity and cultural knowledge by social origin, gakureki, difficulty of entering university and sex**

		Cultural Activity				Cultural Knowledge			
		Music	Art/movies	Reading	Popular entertainment	Western	Japanese	Techno-culture	Popular culture
Social origin	Managerial, professional	1.24	2.19	1.40	1.15	0.63	0.38	0.73	0.81
	Middle, lower managerial	1.15	2.02	1.28	1.25	0.56	0.42	0.74	0.86
	Self-employed	0.98	2.01	1.24	1.39	0.52	0.36	0.71	0.87
	Labourers, farmers	0.78	1.67	1.07	1.50	0.40	0.24	0.93	0.73
	Correlation	.127**	.143**	.093*	.096*	.081*	.081*	.076	.059
Father's gakureki	High	1.25	2.15	1.36	1.16	0.60	0.37	0.72	0.85
	Medium	0.97	1.92	1.22	1.35	0.50	0.39	0.75	0.80
	Low	0.75	1.71	1.17	1.48	0.52	0.38	1.03	0.82
	Correlation	.149**	.137**	.073*	.092**	.055	.010	.102**	.036
Mother's gakureki	High	1.44	2.32	1.35	0.93	0.63	0.37	0.67	0.85
	Medium	1.04	2.00	1.30	1.33	0.56	0.38	0.77	0.80
	Low	0.80	1.66	1.26	1.54	0.45	0.43	0.87	0.82
	Correlation	.189**	.193**	.027	.176**	.065	.034	.075*	.004
Difficulty of entering university	1 (most difficult)	1.24	2.23	1.51	1.12	0.90	0.59	0.68	0.79
	2	1.11	1.91	1.10	1.22	0.45	0.30	0.80	0.88
	3	1.18	2.10	1.29	1.33	0.48	0.40	0.71	0.78
	4	0.91	1.86	1.25	1.38	0.32	0.34	0.84	0.84
	Correlation	.111**	.142**	.148**	.086*	.265**	.103**	.082*	.056
Sex	Male	0.85	1.69	1.30	1.74	0.51	0.33	1.01	0.82
	Female	1.47	2.49	1.28	0.58	0.61	0.43	0.41	0.83
	Correlation	.270**	.366**	.008	.481**	.057*	.084**	.357**	.000
Average score		1.12	2.03	1.30	1.25	0.56	0.37	0.76	0.83
Standard deviation		1.15	1.08	1.05	1.20	0.87	0.58	0.82	0.74

**Cultural Activity:**

- Music: Go to classical concerts; Play a musical instrument
- Art/Movies: Go to art galleries and art exhibitions; Go to see movies
- Reading: Read books about art and/or history; Read comprehensive magazines (e.g., Sekai, Chuo Koron)
- Popular entertainment: Play pachinko and/or mahjong; Read sports newspapers

Scores: The figures are the average scores [0-4 pts] which were obtained by adding the weighted scores to the respondents' answers to 2 questions. Weighted scores ranged from 2-0 ('Often'-'No').

**Cultural Knowledge:**

- Japanese culture: Japanese literature; Japanese classical entertainment (e.g., Noh, Kabuki) [0-2 pts]
- Western culture: Western philosophy; Western literature; Western music; Western scholars; Western art [0-5 pts]
- Techno-culture: Audio-visual equipment; computer hardware; cars [0-3 pts]
- Popular culture: Brands; popular music [0-2 points]

**Source:** H. Fujita et al, 'Stratification of Culture and Cultural Reproduction' in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, The University of Tokyo, Vol. 27, 1988 (modified).

shows that students of higher social origin are more knowledgeable about Western culture, no distinct trend is observable for Japanese culture. Similarly, knowledge of Western culture has a high correlation with the difficulty of the university attended by students; students attending 'difficult' universities are more familiar with Western culture than their counterparts at 'easier universities'. In terms of parents' *gakureki*, there is no significant difference between knowledge of Western and Japanese culture and popular culture.

Scores were given to the frequency<sup>7</sup> that respondents indicated they engage in the cultural activities in Table 2.9. As Table 2.12 shows, the higher the educational background of the father and mother, the higher the ratio of high scorers becomes. Of course, as we have already seen, the same may be said for father's occupation and university rank. Therefore, this study shows that the ratio of high-brow cultural activities is high in families where the father's occupation has a high occupation prestige score and the educational level of both parents is high.

This, of course, raises the question of whether the cultural activities engaged in by parents are intergenerationally transmitted to their children. Table 2.13 shows the relationship between the cultural activities of parents and children. As the table shows, the correlation coefficient between children's cultural activities and those of their parents is statistically significant. This suggests that there is a strong tendency for the cultural activities engaged in by parents to be transmitted to their children. In particular, the data indicates that the higher the cultural score of activities engaged in by

**Table 2.12 Average cultural score by occupation, gakureki and sex**

Father's occupation $\eta=0.148$	Managerial, professional	56.41
	Middle, lower managerial	54.96
	Self-employed	54.09
	Labourers, farmers	50.96
Father's gakureki $\eta=0.152$	High	56.26
	Medium	53.72
	Low	51.27
Mother's social class $\eta=0.107$	Managerial, professional	57.07
	Middle, lower managerial	54.92
	Self-employed	54.96
	Labourers, farmers	53.03
	Unemployed	55.60
Mother's gakureki $\eta=0.225$	High	58.69
	Medium	54.16
	Low	51.67
University rank $\eta=0.140$	1 (High)	57.03
	2	54.45
	3	54.63
	4 (Low)	53.13
Sex $\eta=0.521$	Male	50.17
	Female	61.49

Source: H. Fujita et al, 'Stratification of Culture and Cultural Reproduction' in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, The University of Tokyo, Vol. 27, 1988.

Table 2.13 Correlation matrix of parents' and child's cultural activity

Child's cultural activity	Parents' cultural activity							
	High				Low			
	Concerts	Art gallery/exhibitions	Music recitals	Read art/hist. book	Read compr. magazines	Handicrafts etc	Movies	
Concerts	.408**	.242**	.156**	.132**	.121**	.105**	.137**	
Art Gallery/exhibitions	.182**	.314**	.093**	.146**	.158**	.133**	.141**	
Music recitals	.210**	.158**	.153**	.123**	.106**	.062*	.082**	
Read art/history books	.127**	.191**	.047*	.195**	.160**	.120**	.115**	
Read compreh. magazines	.069**	.084**	.014	.117**	.241**	.049*	.089**	
Handicrafts, woodwork etc	.100**	.173**	.060*	.128**	.089**	.269**	.074**	
Movies	.118**	.140**	.034	.083**	.119**	.078**	.209**	

Source: H. Fujita et al, 'Stratification of Culture and Cultural Reproduction', in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, The University of Tokyo, Vol. 27, 1988.

Note:

1. Figures are cumulative correlation ratios.
2. \*\* and \* indicate a significant value of 1 and 5%, respectively.

parents is, the more likelihood there is that these activities will be transmitted to children.

On the basis of the empirical data that was presented in this section, we can conclude that (1) due to differences in demographic traits such as parents' educational background and father's occupation, considerable differences in the cultural characteristics of the family are evident and that, (2) there is a high probability that these cultural characteristics of the family are intergenerationally transmitted from parent to child.

#### **4. The Relationship between Social Class, Parents' Attitudes to Education, and the Educational Attainment of Children**

This last section of Chapter Two will, again using statistical data, examine whether differences in the demographic traits of families are manifested as differences in parental attitudes towards education and the expectations they have for their children, and also whether these demographic differences are reflected in the grades of children. The data will be drawn from the results of a study done by Masaharu Hata, a sociologist of education, in July, 1983 on a sample of 403 Junior High school students in Fukuoka city, Japan.

Hata undertook this study to determine whether children's grades are regulated by factors which are of no direct relation to the child's ability and personality such as parents' occupation, educational background and income. Moreover, if children's grades

are regulated by such factors, Hata aimed to examine in detail which factors have the most regulatory power. The reason Hata chose Junior High school students as the subject of his study was that in contemporary Japan, the level or ranking of the Senior High school a student can enter is automatically decided by the student's grades at Junior High school.<sup>8</sup> The hopes or intentions of the student are irrelevant. Since the Senior High school attended by a student virtually decides his/her chances in life (e.g., university, employment, marriage), the importance of the Junior High school period in Japan can not be overestimated.<sup>9</sup>

Let us begin by looking at Tables 2.14 and 2.15. These two tables were arranged to show whether differences in the educational atmosphere of the home and parental attitudes towards education vary with household income level and father's occupation, respectively. In regard to differences in income level, it is apparent that in families with a high income, mothers in particular are enthusiastic about their children's education. Conversely, in low-income families, neither parent is enthusiastic about the education of their children. A similar trend is also evident for differences in the father's occupation. In the case of families where the father is employed as a clerical worker, both parents are enthusiastic about their children's education; in families where the father is self-employed or employed in a professional occupation, the mother is enthusiastic; and, in families where the father is a labourer, farm worker, fisherman, or a skilled worker, neither parent is enthusiastic about their children's education.

Table 2.14 The relation between income level and family atmosphere (%)

Family atmosphere Income level	Neither parent enthusiastic	Mother marginally involved but not enthusiastic	Both parents enthusiastic	Mother is enthusiastic	Total (N)
Low	30.8	30.8	23.1	15.4	100.0 (39)
Middle	27.9	17.0	23.1	32.0	100.0 (247)
High	19.7	12.8	22.2	45.3	100.0 (117)

Source: Masaharu HATA, 'Family Background and School Attainment',  
Bulletin of the Fukuoka University of Education, No. 34, 1985.

Table 2.15 The relation between father's occupation and family atmosphere (%)

Family atmosphere Father's occupation	Neither parent enthusiastic	Mother marginally involved but not enthusiastic	Both parents enthusiastic	Mother is enthusiastic	Total (N)
Labourer	29.1	25.5	17.3	28.2	100.0 (110)
Farmer, forestry, fisherman	40.6	25.0	15.6	18.8	100.0 (32)
Skilled	29.2	13.8	26.2	30.8	100.0 (65)
Sales, transport, communications, police officer	26.9	14.9	23.9	34.3	100.0 (67)
Self-employed	21.7	6.5	23.9	47.8	100.0 (46)
Clerical	13.7	7.8	37.3	41.2	100.0 (51)
Professional	15.6	21.9	15.6	46.9	100.0 (32)

Source: Masaharu HATA, 'Family Background and School Attainment',  
Bulletin of the Fukuoka University of Education, No. 34, 1985.



Table 2.16 shows the relation between family atmosphere and the child's grades. It is clear that while the grades of children from families in which the mother or both parents are enthusiastic about education are in the 'top' group, those of children from families in which neither parent is enthusiastic about education are 'bad'.

**Table 2.16 The relation between family atmosphere and child's grades (%)**

Child's grades Family atmosphere	Bottom	Lower Middle	Middle	Upper Middle	Top	Total (N)
Neither parent enthusiastic	60.0	38.1	21.3	14.6	4.3	25.8 (104)
Mother marginally involved but not enthusiastic	10.0	18.6	20.7	13.5	8.7	17.1 (69)
Both parents enthusiastic	23.3	21.6	20.7	24.7	4.8	22.8 (92)
Mother is enthusiastic	6.7	21.6	37.2	47.2	52.2	34.2 (138)
Total (N)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (97)	100.0 (164)	100.0 (89)	100.0 (23)	100.0 (403)

Source: Masaharu HATA, 'Family Background and School Attainment', Bulletin of the Fukuoka University of Education, No. 34, 1985.

Note:

1. The grades were ranked by totalling the child's scores (1-5) for Japanese, Mathematics, Science, Social studies and English.

Let us take a closer look at the relation between parents' enthusiasm for education and children's grades using data from the same survey. Table 2.17 shows the relation between parents'

Table 2.17 The relation between parents' attitude to education, their expectations and the child's grades

Child's grades	Parents' attitude to education & expectations		Enthusiastic about child's future		Enthusiastic about child's grades		Are considerate so the child can study		Have expectations for the child		Total (N)
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Neither parent	Both parents	No	Yes	
Bottom	33.4	36.7	43.3	40.0	40.0	46.7	40.0	46.7	70.0	30.0	100.0 (30)
Lower middle	12.4	59.8	11.3	52.6	36.1	49.5	36.1	49.5	59.8	40.2	100.0 (97)
Middle	6.1	72.6	6.7	62.2	29.3	56.1	29.3	56.1	47.6	52.4	100.0 (164)
Upper middle	11.2	77.5	10.1	77.5	14.6	64.0	14.6	64.0	31.5	68.5	100.0 (89)
Top	4.3	78.3	8.7	73.9	26.1	65.2	26.1	65.2	26.1	73.9	100.0 (23)
Total	10.7	68.2	11.4	62.3	28.3	56.1	28.3	56.1	47.4	52.6	100.0 (403)

Note:

1. Children's overall grades for 5 subjects (Japanese, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies & English) were estimated and the final grades were obtained on the basis of the distribution ratio of the overall grades.
2. Questions about parents' attitudes to education were answered by their children.
3. Respondents of the questionnaire were 403 Junior High school students.

Source: Masaharu HATA, 'Family Background and School Attainment', Bulletin of the Fukuoka University of Education, No. 34, 1985.

attitudes to education, their expectations for their children, and the children's grades. What can be concluded from this table is that the grades of approximately 70% of children whose parents show interest in the child's future and the child's report card, make it easier for the child to study and who have expectations for the child, are higher than average. Conversely, it is also clear that the grades of children whose parents are not enthusiastic about their child's future and grades, who do not make it easier for the child to study and, who do not have any expectations for the child, are comparatively bad. On the basis of this result, it may be said that there is a strong correlation between family atmosphere and parents' attitudes towards education, on the one hand, and the child's grades on the other.

Finally, let us turn our attention to Table 2.18. The aim of this table is to demonstrate, by using multi-variate analysis (Qualification theory 1), which of the factors concerned with family demographic traits and parental attitudes under consideration, has the greatest regulatory effect on the grades of children. Note that the higher the value of the partial correlation coefficient for a particular factor, the greater correlation that factor has with children's grades. It can be concluded from the table that the factor with the highest correlation is whether a child's mother expresses interest in the child's grades. This is followed by the family's income, father's occupation and father's educational background, all of which have a high correlation with a child's grades.

**Table 2.18 Family atmosphere variables and child's grades**

Factor	Category	Category weight	Partial correlation coefficient	Order
Father's education level	Other, deceased, divorced	-1.214	0.121	4
	Junior High school	-0.435		
	Senior High school	0.369		
	Junior College/University	0.841		
Mother's education level	Other, deceased, divorced	1.109	0.047	7
	Junior High school	0.043		
	Senior High school	0.023		
	Junior College/University	- 0.443		
Father's occupation	Labourer	0.274	0.221	3
	Farmer, forestry, fisherman	-1.587		
	Skilled	-1.455		
	Sales, transport, police officer, communication	-0.061		
	Self-employed	0.605		
	Clerical	0.582		
	Professional	1.933		
Income level	Low	-3.392	0.271	2
	Middle	0.074		
	High	0.975		
So the child can study, Mother is considerate	Yes	-0.027	0.011	8
	No	0.078		
Mother looks at child's report card	Not at all	-3.623	0.227	1
	Does not look at it very carefully	-3.730		
	Usually looks at it carefully	-0.966		
	Always looks at it carefully	0.378		
Tells the child how he/she should live	Enthusiastic	-0.179	0.079	6
	Average	0.421		
	Not enthusiastic	-0.382		
Desire to work	Very much	-0.101	0.114	5
	So so	0.421		
	Not very much	-0.217		
	Not at all	-1.902		
Multi-correlation coefficient		0.445		

**Source:** Masaharu HATA, 'Family Background and School Attainment', Bulletin of the Fukuoka University of Education, No. 34, 1985.

**Note:**

1. The 'child's grade' is the total of the child's grades for 5 subjects (Japanese, Science, Mathematics, Social Studies, English).
2. The values were obtained by using Qualification Theory I.
3. The survey was carried out on Junior High school students.

On the basis of the results of this survey, we can confirm that the environmental conditions and atmosphere of the family and the parents' attitudes and expectations, have a definite impact on the grades of children. Furthermore, using a variety of statistical data and survey results, this chapter has shown that recently the gap between social classes has widened in Japan and that the various differences found between social classes and families produce differences in the cultural activities of children and their grades.

In the following chapters, these facts which were elucidated here by quantitative data will be explained in more detail by using a qualitative approach. After discussing the cultural reproduction process, Chapter Three will outline the theoretical framework of the present study and emphasize the necessity and merits of the subjective approach.

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<sup>1</sup>This has been demonstrated by Saburo Yasuda, *'Shakai ido no kenkyu'* (Social Mobility), Tokyo University Press, 1971 and Kenichi Tominaga, *'Nihon shakai no kaiso kozo'* (The Structure of Social Stratification in Japan), University of Tokyo Press, 1981.

<sup>2</sup>For a brief analysis of this 'strong desire to succeed', see 'Japanese Young People' by Atsushi Kadowaki in *Essays on Japan from Japan*, Nippon Steel Corporation (ed.), Maruzen Co. Ltd, 1987.

<sup>3</sup>According to the annual reports entitled 'A Public opinion poll on the life of Japanese' published by the Ministry of General Affairs, 87% of the Japanese polled in 1964 answered that they considered themselves to be 'middle-class' and from 1970 to 1979, 90% of respondents answered that they are 'middle-class'.

<sup>4</sup>In Japan, each university sets its own entrance examination and candidates must sit the examination at the university.

<sup>5</sup>This is the first serious study on Cultural Reproduction in Japan.

<sup>6</sup>Hidenori Fujita, Takashi Miyajima, Yuichi Akinaga, Kenji Hashimoto and Kokichi Shimizu, 'Stratification of Culture and Cultural Reproduction', in the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education*, No. 27, University of Tokyo Press, 1988 (in Japanese).

<sup>7</sup>The responses for each cultural activity were scored thus: 'often'=3, 'not very often'=2 and 'seldom'=1. The total score was obtained by adding these scores.

<sup>8</sup>All Junior High school students in Japan must take an entrance examination into Senior High school.

<sup>9</sup>For a more detailed description of this situation in Japan, see Thomas P. Rohlen, *'Japan's High Schools'*, University of California Press, 1983.

### III

## Cultural Reproduction and a Subjective Approach

Public opinion polls in 1977 reported that 90% of Japanese consider themselves to be 'middle class'. While it is not clear which criteria the respondents used to categorize themselves, class distinctions are readily discernible in terms of taste. In this regard, taking a ride on the subway that loops around central Tokyo is an interesting sociological experience.

From approximately 8.00 to 9.00 a.m., the main passengers are men commuting to work and school students clad in their uniforms, going off to school. Perhaps the easiest way to categorize men is by their hair-style. A tightly permed hair-do, known as a *punch perm*, often accompanied by a long little-finger nail, seems to be a symbol of masculinity amongst the lower classes.<sup>1</sup> This trend is often further accentuated by their choice of newspaper - usually a sports newspaper with at least one pornographic photograph. Distinctions can also be drawn among students. Some male students prefer to have wide-legged trousers instead of the standard cut and some girls sport long

hems on their skirts. As these modifications are in violation of the dress code of the school, these students are generally considered by the school to be trouble-makers. Towards the middle of the day, more women, mainly on shopping expeditions, become evident. Differences in the quality of their attire are usually apparent; some may also have brown rinses with a reddish tinge in their hair. On race days, men dressed very casually, and often with *punch perms*, will be earnestly studying Racing Guides on their way to place a few bets at the track.

Middle-class people are less conspicuous than the lower classes. Considering the suppression of one's traits or individuality to be a virtue, they gravitate towards conservatism, not wanting to stand out either in terms of behaviour or appearance. In spite of their external claims to being just a normal, 'run-of-the-mill' person, however, they will probably own their own house, have a well-developed culinary taste together with an extensive knowledge of 'good' restaurants, and also will be versed in the Arts: they do not merely acknowledge culture, they *know* culture.<sup>2</sup>

As many middle-class people belong to the managerial class, their inclination to 'blend in with the crowd' is further accentuated by their reluctance to jeopardize channels of communication between themselves and their subordinates on account of 'being different'. Rather than insist that a section of the company dining room be cordoned off for 'Managers Only', for instance, they prefer to mix with other employees and join in their conversations so that others might regard them as being 'on the same level'. After work,



the feeling of solidarity is fostered by managers having a few drinks with their subordinates at local bars once or twice a week where topics of conversation might be work, baseball, golf, mahjong or sex. The nauseating odour of carriages as a result of inebriated businessmen on homeward-bound trains is tribute to the prevalence of this custom. Often living 2-hours or more by train from the company, the middle-class often have to catch a 6 a.m. train to arrive at the office by 8.30. Most will have had a quick breakfast before leaving, prepared by an obliging wife. The unluckier ones will have something light at a stand-up cafe on the station platform while waiting for the train, or at an early morning coffee shop which caters to those who have more time.

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the upper class is their absence on the subways. Instead, they are chauffeured to work - a mode of transport which is more becoming to their status as company executives. A typical day for a company executive might begin around 5 a.m. with an early morning walk or jog to stay in shape. The next 2 hours or so may be spent leisurely reading a book and/or reading newspapers (often foreign newspapers) to keep abreast of current affairs. After breakfast, he will be chauffeured to his office sometime after 9 a.m., arriving about 10 a.m. His morning duties will be mainly to receive reports about various matters from employees who work under him, and to put his seal on documents in need of his approval. The first half of the afternoon will be typically taken up by meetings with other executives and the rest of

the afternoon will be spent discussing matters with executives and VIPs from other companies.

From time to time, the company executive, intent on fortifying his relationship with people who have the potential to be useful business contacts, will invite VIPs out drinking where topics of discussion may range from business (the economy, movements in the stock market) to personal affairs (health, mutual friends) to cultural items (*haiku*, art, novels). In short, the trademark of the upper-class executives would be their concern to live up to their status by indulging in expensive taste, whether this be in Cross™ ball pens, Montblanc™ fountain pens, designer-label suits, shoes, briefcases or ivory-framed glasses and by maintaining a neat, personal appearance by frequent visits to the barber.

If you were to follow these people home, observe their interaction with their family and question them about their attitudes towards various aspects of education, numerous other distinctions could also be made. In lower class homes, for example, fathers typically sit down in front of the TV and drink beer or sake on returning home from work. There is little discussion between husband and wife about matters concerning the education of their children (e.g., what the child is learning at school, how far they would like their child to proceed in the education system). Middle-class families, on the other hand, tend to express great interest in the education of their children and have high aspirations for their children's educational careers. Topics of discussion at meal times often revolve around matters related to school (e.g., what the child is

studying at school, his/her teachers). Upper-class parents would be more inclined to ask their children 'what they did today' rather than 'what they learnt at school', to which their children might reply that they went on a short trip with their friends, went to a museum or concert, or perhaps had a piano lesson. Parents would be satisfied with these kinds of answers as they expect their children to acquire 'cultivated knowledge' and/or 'cultivated skills' (e.g., piano, Japanese traditional musical instruments) in order to maintain their dignified countenance. Little mention is made of the parents' expectations for the educational careers of their children. Nor is there any need to. It is already understood on both sides that university is the minimal, acceptable level for their social environment dictates that everyone goes to university. Indeed, going to university is so natural that it does not warrant any conscious deliberation. Upper-class parents may not be as worried about their child's grades as much as other parents either. This is for two reasons. First, they have sufficient economic capital to buy their children a tertiary education at a private university. The high proportion of children of the elite (i.e., large company owners) who attend *Gakushuin* university in Tokyo, which has traditionally been patronaged by members of the Japanese Imperial family, verifies this trend. Second, in some cases, they also have the social capital (i.e., connections) to secure a place for their child at a private university in return for a handsome donation to the university.<sup>3</sup> It must be stressed, however, that there are few parents who avail themselves of this option.

This chapter will first discuss how these differences (especially differences in parental attitudes to education) are reproduced from generation to generation. In the second section of this chapter, a subjective account of differences in educational attainment will be presented. This will be followed by a final section on the methodology employed by this study and a description of the two schools used in the research.

## **1. Cultural Reproduction**

Despite the immense diversity evident between individuals in society, individuals within social classes are remarkably uniform whether in terms of taste, attitudes, education or occupation. Cultural differences between social classes have traditionally been accounted for mainly in terms of differences in income, i.e., 'they [the lower classes] can't afford a university education for their child so they don't send their child to university'. This kind of account, however, is erroneous in two respects. First, the causal relationship attributed to income and practice ignores the relations of different groups to culture which themselves demand to be viewed through the kaleidoscope of an ever-changing backdrop of relationships, sometimes antagonistic, to culture between groups. Second, it fails to recognize the voluntary nature of human practices, that is, a person is what he is *because he likes what he is*, and a person does what he does *because he likes what he does*. The corollary of this being, of

course, that a person finds the practices and tastes of other social classes to be personally distasteful:

'In matters of taste, more than anywhere else, all determination is negation; and tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance ('sick-making') of the tastes of others. . . . . Aversion to different life-styles is perhaps one of the strongest barriers between the classes.'<sup>4</sup>

It follows that the active condemnation of tastes that are not endemic to one's native social class, as depicted by the refusal to practice extraneous life-styles, inclines social classes towards endogamy. This in turn facilitates the reproduction of class differences, causing them to become even deeper ingrained and distinctive from one generation to the next. The importance of taste in reference to social class and cultural reproduction has been demonstrated by Bourdieu's mass-scale study in France on the distinguishing properties of taste.

Given that differences in tastes and attitudes produce the different cultural practices (e.g., participation in higher education) evident both between and within social classes, then an understanding of the process whereby tastes and attitudes are formed is fundamental to gaining an insight into the mechanisms at work in the reproduction of culture.<sup>5</sup>

A cursory glance at the divergent practices engaged in by people would suggest that their movements in social space are essentially random, lacking in any unifying principles. However, as the homogeneity of social classes is tribute to, human practices are

patternized in accordance with certain principles. Basically, people believe that their practices are entirely the result of their own volition; they are unaware of the internally consistent system of principles, or 'logic of practice' as Bourdieu calls it, hidden behind differences in taste, which governs their 'field of possibilities', or choices. This logic, which is shaped primarily in early childhood through the internalization of objective, material conditions and practices of surrounding adults (themselves a function of their habitus and those of their parents before them), is incorporated within the person's 'habitus'<sup>6</sup>. Garnham and Williams define 'habitus' as follows:

'... the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations . . . a system of *lasting*, transposable dispositions which, integrating *past experiences*, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to the analogical transfer of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems.' [emphasis added]<sup>7</sup>

What is of crucial significance to note is that the habitus is historical. By definition, the habitus implies the existence of a past and anticipates the existence of a future. Although the habitus is subject to modification and reproduction by each agent, its genesis is essentially external to the individual and, therefore, must be sought in history. In this sense, an individual exists beyond the physical boundaries delineated by his/her practices, a phenomenon which Bourdieu terms the 'hysteresis effect':

'... agents are not completely defined by the properties they possess at a given time, whose conditions of acquisition persist in the habitus (the hysteresis effect).'<sup>8</sup>

In everyday life, actors are confronted with a more or less continual stream of decisions. On the basis of available information, from sources both past (i.e., information accumulated from past experiences) and present - the information gleaned from both sources is, of course, dependent on their position in social space - actors attempt to make the decision which *feels* right to them (i.e., is congruent with their habitus) and to adopt appropriate strategies. In the sense that the habitus incorporates past experiences and commands the choices available to an agent, all decisions must be considered to be historical. The decision of whether to encourage a child to go to university, for instance, is historical in that the attitudes of parents, and to a certain extent their parents before them, towards education constitute a significant influence on the educational outcome of children.

In Japan, with approximately 94% of Junior High school students continuing on to Senior High school, compulsory education has effectively become synonymous with secondary education. Parents and students alike are aware that having anything less than a Senior High school graduation diploma would be to impose severe restrictions on their access to the labour market, and in some cases, the marital market as well.<sup>9</sup> As a Senior High school graduation diploma is sufficient to secure employment in the Japanese labour

market,<sup>10</sup> the decision to add a tertiary education component to one's educational career may be regarded as an essentially elective act. Parents have the option of either electing to encourage their children to continue their formal education or to suggest that they leave school and get a job.

The parental decision concerning the educational career of a child is likely to lack the explicit character of most decisions where the pros and cons of the problem are openly discussed and assessed. Instead, it is likely that the situation does not even present itself to parents as something in need of 'being decided'. From the time the child is in pre-school<sup>11</sup>, parents may already have expectations that their child will continue on to tertiary education or, alternatively, that he or she will seek employment at the end of Senior High school. In this sense, parental *expectations* obviate the need for any conscious decision to be made.<sup>12</sup>

The importance of parental expectations in the 'decision-making' process regarding the educational careers of children is clear. Thus, the problem is to account for class-differences in parental expectations. That is, why are upper-class parents more likely to have higher expectations for their children's educational careers than lower-class parents? The problem can be restated as follows. On the assumption that high expectations signify parental support for higher education and that the level of patronage is commensurate with the value awarded it by the patron, then the question becomes why do the higher classes confer more value on higher education, especially university education, than the lower classes? Moreover, do



parents who elect to send their children (or at least encourage their children to go on) to university do so for the same reasons? To answer these questions, it is necessary to examine the various conceptions that parents have of the value of university education in terms of its perceived merits.

Basically, the merits of going to university can be divided into two types - academic and social. The academic-related merits of university attendance are clear-cut and well-defined. As an educational institution traditionally endowed with the goal of academic learning, students have access to knowledge (often specialist) which otherwise would be available to them only in a socially unsanctioned form.<sup>13</sup> A close link is thus forged between the university as a place of gaining legitimate access to specialist knowledge and specialist occupations which, due to their restricted avenues of access, tend to have a high social status. In this sense, the academic merit of university attendance can be said to be *explicit*.

In contrast with the explicit nature of the academic merits of university attendance, the social merits are *implicit*. At university, students have time to pursue their interests and to develop beyond the requirements of the official curriculum. Students also have the opportunity to make friends with a variety of people. This serves two functions. First, it enables students to refine their social graces by providing numerous real-life mock situations where proper social conduct as adults is expected but, unlike in real life, improper social conduct is likely to be met with impunity due to the ambiguous nature of student status. University life thus acts as a buffer period

between childhood and adulthood, effectively preparing students for social life in the real world.

The second function is that friends made at university often serve as useful contacts after graduation in the business and political world. On the assumption that university graduates are more likely than non-university graduates to attain positions of greater power, whether this be social, economic or political, appeals for support or assistance based on a relationship of long-standing personal friendship are likely to be more effective than appeals based on an *institutional* relationship, or one which lacks the personal obligations inherent in a friendship.

In Japan, the academic side of university life is increasingly becoming overshadowed by the social side. Although graduation from a prestigious university still virtually guarantees employment with a corporation of similar prestige, the image of university as a place of learning populated by intelligentsia, as a link between specialist knowledge and specialist occupations, has weakened. While the set of occupations which have traditionally demanded a university qualification remain,<sup>14</sup> these are rapidly being (or perhaps have already been) out-numbered by a new set of amorphous occupations in which the work content often has no relation to what the student studied at university. Graduates who majored in Agriculture, for instance, may find employment in a bank as a clerk. Even when a graduate does find employment in a related field, it is commonplace for the company to provide new employees with on-the-job training, indicating the inadequacy of the learning

accomplished at university. In short, graduation from university is rapidly acquiring symbolic status, divorced from practical functionalism: university graduates are offered employment on the grounds that they have graduated from university, by virtue of their status as university graduates and not because of what they learned at university.

What the decline in the academic-type merits of university relative to the social merits means in regard to the value awarded university education by different social classes, is that the value of going to university, as perceived by parents, is dependent on their ability to recognize both the academic and, *in particular*, the social merits of university.<sup>15</sup> In fact, failure to appreciate the social merits of going to university is a key factor in accounting for class-based differences in the value awarded university education. To the lower classes, the function of going to university is not to 'have a good time' but to learn skills in order to get a 'good' job in the future. While the social merits of university life may not be completely discounted by the lower classes ('It is good for them to have a good time at university before they go out and work'), 'having a good time', nevertheless, is not the *raison d'être* of a university education and, as such, can never rank as an ends in itself. In short, the lower classes perceive the social side of university life to be no more than an appendage to the academic core; and, by virtue of its status as an appendage, the social side of university is rendered incapable of sustaining a set of merits apart from, and independent of, the declining academic core. In this sense, the decline in perceived

academic merits can be said to have a nullifying effect on social merits for the lower classes.

The stubborn reluctance, or more precisely, the inability on the part of the lower classes to recognize the social merits of going to university *independently* of the academic-related merits can be explained in terms of the concepts of 'legibility and codes', 'form and function' and finally, 'strong and weak classification'.

### 1.1 Legibility and codes

In contrast with the explicit academic-type merits, the relatively implicit social merits are likely to be more *illegible* to lower class parents than those from the higher classes, as the following argument will show.

If the assumption that 'cultural legibility', or the ability to perceive the meaning that is signified by a particular cultural good, is dependent on the possession of a specific cultural competence is correct, then the ability to correctly evaluate<sup>16</sup> the social side of university may also be said to be dependent on the possession of a specific cultural competence, or the code into which it is encoded.<sup>17</sup> Conversely, lack of the code predisposes one to a superficial 'understanding' of the social aspects of going to university, and effectively prevents one from going beyond what Erwin Panofsky calls 'sensible properties'. Panofsky argues that people lacking the code cannot move from the 'primary stratum of the meaning we can grasp on the basis of our ordinary experience' to the 'stratum of

secondary meanings', i.e., the 'level of the meaning of what is signified'.<sup>18</sup>

Unable to gain access to secondary meanings, people who lack the code are destined to judge the social side of university on the basis of its sensible properties. The large amount of free time that university students have<sup>19</sup>, for example, will be negatively associated with their tendency to 'play around' and 'have a good time'.<sup>20</sup> Lacking the means to see beyond the obvious to the less obvious, that is, to the valuable social skills and contacts that 'playing around' endows university students with, the very existence of 'social merits',<sup>21</sup> which a more profound understanding of 'what university is all about' could substantiate, is likely to be repudiated. By the same token, the social side of university life, in itself a form of art and hence subject to the same principles of consumption, is essentially void of meaning and interest for the lower classes. In the case of fine arts, cultural competence may be acquired either explicitly through learning or by familiarity with works of art through regular contact (e.g., visits to museums and galleries).<sup>22</sup> In contrast, the acquisition of cultural competence in the university-related field, and especially the social aspects of university life, is unavailable to spontaneous 'acts of learning'. Instead, the foundation for the acquisition of this kind of cultural competence is embedded in the *personal* experience of a university career, with a constant dialogue<sup>23</sup> between post-graduation experiences in the socio-economic world and reflection on one's university days, incessantly shaping and refining the ensuing intricacies of the personally tailored 'competence structure'.

More importantly, that the foundation itself is historical in that its depth is a function of the cultural competence of previous generations, can not be over-stressed. With each successive generation, the competence structure, complete with the idiosyncrasies conferred on it by the individual transmitter, is passed on imperceptibly as a cultural core which, in turn, forms the nucleus of the cultural competence foundation built by members of the next generation. Subject thus to the laws of inheritance, cultural competence is susceptible to a 'snowballing effect'. As cultural competence in the field of education increases due to inter-generational accumulation and as it receives positive reinforcement from successful application in other fields, the success is likely to be retroflexively channelled back into the original cultural competence, resulting in an exponential increase. Bourdieu contends that the successful application of this education-related competence leans heavily on the possession of capital in social and economic fields - both past<sup>24</sup> and present - which thus contributes considerably to the value, both actual and perceived, of academic qualifications.

## 1.2 Form and function

If university and the parental act of encouraging children to attend university are perceived as a 'cultural good' and a 'cultural practice' respectively, light may be shed on reasons underlying class-based differences in recognition of the social merits of going to university by examining class-based differences in taste. Here

variations in taste may be regarded as an expression of differences between individuals (or, on a larger scale, social groups) in regard to their relation to culture. According to Bourdieu, it is possible to distinguish three zones of taste - *legitimate*, *middle-brow* and *popular* - which roughly correspond to educational levels and social classes.<sup>25</sup> Bourdieu argues that the differences in taste evident between social classes can be understood in terms of symbolic form and function.

Legitimate taste, which is almost exclusive to the upper classes, is characterized by a distinct preference for cultural goods that demand to be perceived aesthetically i.e., in terms of *form* rather than *function*. An 'aesthetic disposition' is defined by Bourdieu thus:

'... a generalized capacity to neutralize ordinary urgencies and to bracket off practical ends, a durable inclination and aptitude for practice *without a practical function*'. [emphasis added] <sup>26</sup>

In photography, for example, ordinary objects of popular admiration in which the signifying intention is manifest - a first communion, a sunset or a landscape - are shunned by the upper classes for their vulgarity; instead, objects socially designated as meaningless - a metal frame, the bark of a tree, cabbages<sup>27</sup> - which therefore allow the observer the freedom of contemplation and to read into the object his/her own meaning, are acclaimed as having the requisite qualities to be works of art, at least potentially. Transcending the banal level of functionalism, attention is paid to

style and mode of representation. The legitimacy of a work of art is sought both within the work itself and *for* the work. Art is for art's sake.

The popular 'aesthetic', of course, is that variety of taste which, in every way, is diametrically opposed to the legitimate taste and aesthetic disposition of the upper classes. It is most evident among the lower classes and varies in inverse ratio to educational capital. Fundamental to the popular 'aesthetic' is what could be called 'functionally-contaminated aestheticism'. In other words, characteristic of the taste of the lower classes is a refusal to allow a worked-upon object<sup>28</sup> to be a work of art and an insistence that it serves a purpose and is, therefore, functional.

'Everything takes place as if the 'popular aesthetic' were based on the affirmation of continuity between art and life, which implies the *subordination of form to function*, or, one might say, on a refusal of the refusal which is the starting point of the high aesthetic, i.e., the clear-cut separation of ordinary dispositions from the specifically aesthetic disposition.'<sup>29</sup> [emphasis added]

For the working-class, 'good' art-work is sketched in terms of the interest of the information it conveys which, in part, is contingent upon the legibility or clarity with which this is communicated. Images imbued with ambiguity which defy the extraction of a message, are condemned for their failure to fulfil a function. Bourdieu found that a photo of pebbles - the epitome of trivia - elicits a strong rejection of 'photography as an art' amongst the working-class: 'A waste of film', 'They must have film to throw



away', 'I tell you, there are some people who don't know what to do with their time'.<sup>30</sup>

'Refusal of the meaningless (*insignifiant*) image, which has neither sense nor interest, or of the ambiguous image means refusing to treat it as a finality without purpose, as an image signifying itself, and therefore having no other referent than itself.'<sup>31</sup>

The subordination of form to function by the lower-classes has critical implications in the educational context. The 'ideal type' of education for the lower classes is one which is functional in the sense that it provides the student with concrete skills and/or expertise which have direct vocational application.<sup>32</sup> Contemporary university education in Japan, however, falls far short of this ideal. As was mentioned before, the academic side of university, which holds the key to the acquisition of specialist knowledge and skills, is increasingly being encroached upon by the social aspects of university life. Appreciation of university, therefore, demands the subordination of academic-related merits to social merits, that is, the subordination of function to form, and a co-requisite capacity to appreciate the *symbolic* meaning of being a university graduate.

In sharp contrast with the upper classes whose aesthetic disposition inclines them towards 'disinterestedness' (i.e., form is given primacy over function), the lower classes' popular 'aesthetic', which 'expects every image to fulfil a function',<sup>33</sup> inclines them to reject 'going to university just for the sake of it'; thus, unless one has a clear purpose for going to university (e.g., to become a doctor),

university is denounced as meaningless, useless and, consequently, is likely to be considered a waste of time and money.<sup>34</sup>

This suggests that consumption of university education is presupposed by a dual investment in education. University education has to be paid for, whether it be in terms of direct, economic outlay (e.g., tuition fees), foregone income through delayed entry into the job market, or 'pre-investment' by facilitating access to university through soliciting the assistance of preparatory agencies (e.g., *juku* and home tutors), thus requiring an economic investment. It should be stressed, however, that the very act of outlaying economic capital implies the pre-existence of an *affective* investment, or a belief in the value of the educational game.

Presumably, parents whose aesthetic disposition enables them to appreciate both the academic *and* social sides of university are willing to make a bigger investment, both economic and affective, in their children's education. Major public universities, which tend to be located in the principal metropolitan centres, are favoured over private universities for their lower tuition fees and, in particular, for their greater prestige and inherent symbolic value.<sup>35</sup> In the event that the child fails the entrance examination, these parents are faced with three options: first, recommend the child to become a *ronin* and take the entrance examination again in the following year; second, suggest that the child accepts a place at a lower ranking public university or, if economic circumstances permit, try to 'buy' an education for their child at some university in the private system. While both of these latter alternatives would, to some extent,

necessarily incur a sacrifice in terms of symbolic value, presumably this would be better than resorting to the third choice of advising the child to look for employment.

Parents who primarily evaluate education in terms of its 'on-the-job utility', on the other hand, are reluctant to make any more than a cursory investment in their child's education. Essentially, the extent to which parents invest in education can be regarded as being a reflection of the expected profits vis-a-vis foreseeable losses, as perceived by the parent. Bourdieu makes the following point:

'the propensity to subordinate present desires to future desires depends on the extent to which this sacrifice is 'reasonable', that is, on the likelihood, in any case, of obtaining future satisfactions superior to those sacrificed'.<sup>36</sup>

Having grave reservations about whether the sacrifices (e.g., financial, time, disturbance to family routine<sup>37</sup>) demanded by the educational game are indeed worthwhile, these parents (who tend to be concentrated in the lower classes) are often drawn into the game unwittingly by forces around them (e.g., 'everyone sends their child to *juku*', 'everyone goes to Senior High school') rather than by their own volition (e.g., I want my child to be good at his/her studies so I will send him/her to *juku*', 'To enter university it is necessary to graduate from Senior High school so I want him/her to go to Senior High school'). While these parents may concede that 'it would be nice if their child could graduate from a famous university',<sup>38</sup> this is

due not so much to their recognition of, or desire for, the symbolic value conferred on graduates of such universities, as to their belief that 'at least the famous universities must teach students something useful'. In fact, many lower-class parents are ignorant as to what students learn at university: having only graduated from Junior High school, or at best, Senior High school, they have no personal experience of university life, and often they do not know anyone personally who has graduated from university. Given that universities do not teach technical skills (at least not to the extent that they would like) and that the 3 R's are adequately covered at the secondary school level, many lower-class parents find it difficult to imagine what else there is that students *need* to learn.

Bourdieu's research on cultural reproduction is interesting because of its emphasis on taste and its implication of the voluntary refusal on the part of the lower classes to participate in higher education. What it lacks, however, is an historical dimension. While Bourdieu is aware that the habitus grows out of family history as much as it is a product of on-going family history, his research is confined to the study of the present generation. The present study, by exploring the educational attainment of children in reference to the attitudes of the child's parents and grandparents (as reported by the parents), is an attempt to add this historical realm which was overlooked by Bourdieu.

## 2. A Subjective Account of Differences in Educational Attainment

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent parental values are transmitted to, and adopted by, children. However, as long as children are legal minors *vis-a-vis* their parents and parents feel that they are responsible to guide their children, and actually do so, children will be at least *subjected* to the values of their parents, *albeit* indirectly, through the decisions made on their behalf. These would include decisions concerning which school the child is sent to - public, private and/or *shingakuko*; whether to send the child to *juku* - if so, when and to what kind of *juku* and, the attitude that parents take towards the amount of time their children study. Six-year old children are hardly in a position to know which schools they have access to, are unable to distinguish between the various types of education offered by different schools, and are incapable of realizing the long-term significance of these differences; nor are they capable of gathering the appropriate enrollment application forms, filling them out and submitting them to the school(s) in question.

This is not to say that children are passive beings in the educational undertaking. By acting on, and reacting to, those in their immediate environment, children are active agents in co-determining their educational outcomes. While in most cases, there will be little a child can do but submit to the decisions made by his or her parents, children do not necessarily react to such decisions in the same way. Ted Benton writes that:

"... kids resist being educated to a greater or lesser extent, and in many different ways. One of the things that makes this possible is the variety of agencies other than the school which play a part in forming them as human beings".<sup>39</sup>

The question, therefore, is not so much the extent that children adopt their parents' values<sup>40</sup> but the effect that parental values, as manifested in their decisions, exert on children and how children respond to these decisions. The analytical framework on which this study was conducted is depicted by Figure 3.1, a subjective model of educational attainment. The main points of the model may be summarized as follows:

1. Cultural homogeneity can not automatically be assumed within families. Studies on the influence of parents on children have traditionally treated parents as one unit, the assumption being that values held by one spouse, usually the husband, are also shared by the other. While there will be similarities in the class perspective, social class in itself is insufficient to ensure a uniformity of values and attitudes among members of any given social class; even if a husband and wife could be said to have always shared 'identical' social class circumstances - both before and after marriage - it is highly improbable that social structures would impinge on any two individuals in the same way. The research has also tended to assume that the decision-making role of mothers is necessarily subsidiary to that of fathers, and that both mother and father exert comparable influence on their children. Studies which distinguish between the attitudes and values held by mothers as opposed to those of fathers,

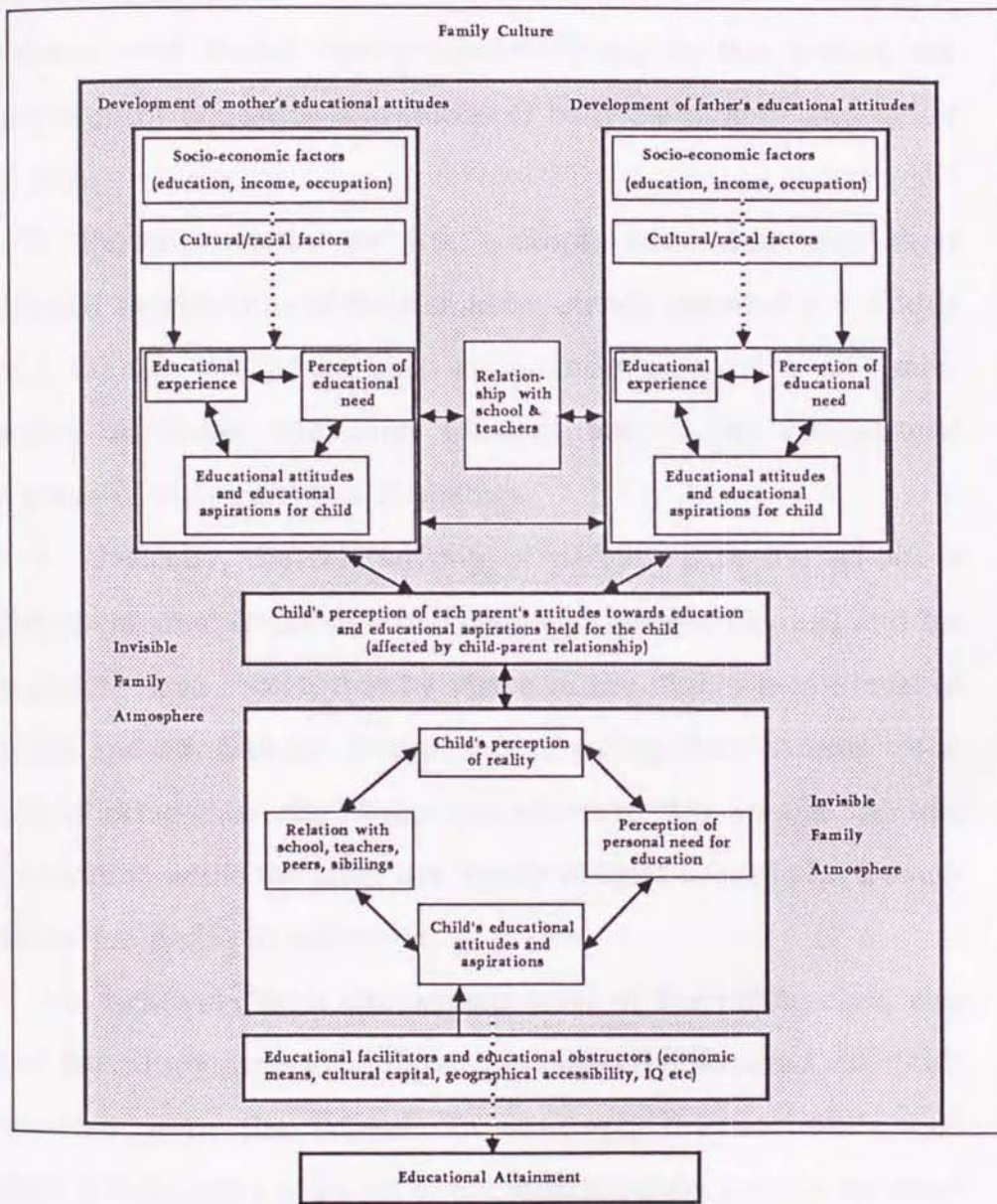


Figure 3.1 A subjective model of educational attainment

however, illustrate the inadequacy of the traditional approach.<sup>41</sup> Other researchers have found a close relationship with parental interest in their children's education and their own educational experience and social background.<sup>42</sup> Thus, in this model, the development of educational attitudes of both the mother and father are shown.

2. Parents' views on life, school, education and their educational expectations of their children etc are essentially moulded through the life and educational experiences of parents and their reflection on these, and their observations of the educational experiences of their parents and siblings.

3. Basically, the relationship of parents with the school is shaped by the dual forces of social class and gender. Connell and his colleagues<sup>43</sup> have shown that by virtue of the higher mean level of economic and educational attainments of ruling-class parents *vis-a-vis* the working class, the former can afford to *shop around* for 'the best' education while the latter are legally obliged to settle for a state-provided *pre-packaged education*.

The relatively high educational level of the ruling-class also means that they are articulate and socially assured in their interactions with the school. In contrast, the economic and educational inferiority of many of the working-class parents deprives them of self-assurance in their interactions with the teachers. The problem of intimidation is further confounded by the sex-based relationship that working-class parents, in particular, have with the school. Research has shown that working-class mothers are less



likely to be supported by fathers on school visits and are also less likely than their middle-class counterparts to initiate a visit to the school.<sup>44</sup> The resulting lack of familiarity of working-class parents with the school, coupled with often negative memories of their own educational experiences, means that a home environment capable of nurturing an understanding and trust of the school, is generally lacking. Instead, feelings in direct opposition to the educational ethos embraced by the school, and which ultimately manifest themselves in the educational careers of children, are cultivated in the family.<sup>45</sup>

4. Broadly speaking, the influences an individual is subjected to at any given time are multifarious and, in the case of children, the major influences can be traced back to parents, teachers, significant others, siblings, and attitudes. Influence from one source is usually strong in specific areas of adolescents' lives and thus it may be said to complement the influence of other sources. Whereas parents have been found to be influential in areas concerning work, education (especially long-term educational plans), practical ethics and in money-related matters,<sup>46</sup> peers have been reported to have more influence on adolescents in regard to clothing and leisure activities.<sup>47</sup> The influence of significant-others on a child's educational career is almost always indirect, being mediated through the influences they exert on the development of a child's personality.<sup>48</sup>

An often neglected source of influence on children is that of their siblings. However, given that siblings spend more than twice as much time alone with one another than with their parents,<sup>49</sup> their potential influence can not be taken lightly. Benin and Johnson<sup>50</sup>

found that older brothers have the largest influence on younger brothers' education and the smallest amount of sibling influence was evident in the case of older sister-younger brother sibling pairs. On the subject of sibling spacing and self-esteem, Kidwell<sup>51</sup> has also reported some interesting findings. Her findings indicate that the self-esteem of middleborns is significantly less than that of firstborns and lastborns. Self-esteem was found to decrease as the number of siblings increased, but was only significant when the siblings were spaced at two-year intervals. In terms of gender, the self-esteem of a middleborn male was enhanced when his siblings were all female.

5. Perhaps one of the major factors affecting the educational attainment of children is their perception of the relevance of education to their particular needs or circumstances. Differences in perception are observable in terms of several dimensions, including geographical origins, occupational intentions<sup>52</sup> and social class. From the perspective of social class, the failure of most working-class children at school tells them that it is unrealistic to believe that 'there is something in education' for them; working-class students are unable to see the relevance of education for them, predisposing them to prematurely terminate their educational careers.<sup>53</sup> Staying on at school beyond the minimal requirement for working-class pupils has a second ramification: it effectively stops them from being recognized as adults.<sup>54</sup> Youths who leave school on reaching the 'legal' age and join the work force are, for all intents and purposes, 'adult', even though they are of the same age cohort as the 'undefinables' whom they left behind at school. That is, by virtue of

their economic independence, society acknowledges their adult status.

6. While the views of children on school, education and their educational aspirations are based on their educational experience and perceived competence, it is thought that the views and aspirations of children resemble the views on life, education and set of values held by their parents. The fact that the everyday experiences of infants and young children in the home are virtually identical to those of their parents can not be ignored.

7. By 'educational facilitators' I mean those objective factors - whether natural, cultural, physical, economic or otherwise - which facilitate an individual's educational career and, thus, also have an effect on educational attainment. Conversely, 'educational obstructors' refers to those objective factors which obstruct the educational career of students. Educational facilitators and educational obstructors can thus be said to refer to opposing ends of the same continuum, whether it be a continuum of IQ, cultural capital, geographical accessibility or economic means.

Although educational facilitators and obstructors often have a high correlation with educational attainment, the relationship in itself is not causal. Rather, educational facilitators and obstructors either enhance, or limit, a child's educational attainment by exerting an effect on underlying subjective factors such as the child's attitudes towards education and educational aspirations. Thus, their effect on the educational attainment process is indirect and involves at least two steps. First, they have some influence on an individual's

attitudes towards education and educational aspirations because they define the limits of what is possible for the individual given optimal motivation and aspirations. Children do not form their attitudes and aspirations in accordance with what is possible but adjust their subjective attitudes to correspond with that of the objective reality as the child perceives it. But as attitudes are constantly undergoing formation and reformation, it could be argued that attitudes are constructed as a result of interaction with reality as perceived by Ego. Second, they mediate the subjective factors, determining the extent to which the potential of subjective factors is realized.

In other words, objective factors such as educational facilitators and obstructors in themselves are not capable of exerting a direct influence on other objective factors, such as educational attainment; their influence is dependent on being incorporated into, and mediated by, Ego's subjective world of attitudes and aspirations.

8. This study defines 'family culture' as all those activities, including the life-style of a family, the family's educational and cultural activities, and the set of values which forms the backbone of these activities. Family culture in a family builds up over a period of time by the fusion of the continuing everyday experiences of each and every family member, and is thought to be passed on from the preceding generation to the succeeding generation. In this sense, family culture can be said to be a product of family history.

9. Apart from the direct effects of family culture, the effects of the overall atmosphere of the family and family tradition should also be regarded as important factors.

10. In this study, 'educational attainment' refers mainly to the level of the final educational institution to which the child advances and the quality of this institution but also includes how well the child does at school (i.e., grades). Moreover, it is reasoned that in Japan the probability of a child proceeding to university can be inferred from the track record of the Junior High school he/she currently attends (i.e., percentage of students who eventually proceed to university). Thus, the educational attainment of children who attend a Junior High school where virtually all students proceed to university can be said to be higher than that of children who attend a school where, for instance, only 20% of the students proceed to tertiary education.

### 3. Methodology and the Two Schools - Fuzoku and Sanchu

The methodology employed by the present study can be characterized as a subjective approach. By 'subjective approach', I mean a methodology which allows the researcher to delve beneath the superficial level of answers (as in a survey questionnaire) to that of the system of logic governing the way a person thinks and thus, his/her answers. In the present study, this was accomplished by using in-depth interviews. While Bourdieu, for example, relied on a mass survey questionnaire to conduct his research on taste in France, the author contends that this method by itself is inadequate, if not inappropriate, to procure data on attitudes. It should be noted that, in this study, the survey questionnaire was used only as an adjunct to

the interviews: that is, to provide biographical information and a basis upon which to build the interviews. The merits of the subjective approach (i.e., in-depth interviews) can be outlined as follows:

1. The format of a survey questionnaire imposes restrictions on the depth to which the reasons underlying respondents' answers can be explored. As researchers have no choice but to take answers at face value, researchers are liable to impose their own interpretations on the data and thereby misconstrue the results. While two respondents may both indicate that they would like their child to go to university, for instance, this does not necessarily mean that their reasons for this are the same. Therefore, the flexibility of in-depth interviews enables the interview to spontaneously tailor the questions in order to extricate the reasoning behind the answers of respondents and to extract the system of logic underlying differences in attitudes.

2. The flexibility of the interview method also enables the interviewer to build up a rapport with the interviewee, thereby encouraging him/her to talk uninhibitedly. In fact, the author found during the course of interviews conducted for this study that there were occasional discrepancies between the answers that parents gave on the survey questionnaire and those in the interview (e.g., 'I studied an average amount' vs 'I studied very hard'). When questioned about the discrepancy, they replied that while they felt reluctant to encircle the answer that was closest to the truth ('I studied very hard') because it would appear too 'immodest', they did not mind revealing the truth in the interview as they were able to

couch it in an explanation ('I studied very hard because everybody else did').

3. Interviews, if conducted at the parents' home (as in the case of the present study), also have the added advantage of allowing the researcher to directly observe the home circumstances of the family. Observations concerning the size of the home, what the home is like inside (e.g., state of repair and orderliness; taste in furnishings) and its atmosphere (e.g., the way guests are received; number and type of books) can thus be directly made. The survey questionnaire method does not allow the researcher access to this kind of information and, therefore, does not afford the same impression as going to the person's home.

In the present study, students at the Junior High school level were chosen in preference to Senior High or Primary school students because it can be argued that, in Japan, Junior High school is the most critical stage in a child's educational career. A child's performance at Junior High school is closely correlated with the level of the Senior High school into which he/she is accepted. This, in turn, largely determines the post-secondary education options available to a child and, as a consequence, the ultimate educational attainment of the child. It is clear, for instance, that children who proceed to regular Senior High schools as opposed to commercial, industrial or agricultural high schools, have a much higher probability of proceeding to university.<sup>55</sup> Thus, given that the aim of the present study is to understand the effect of family culture on educational attainment, uncovering differences in family culture experienced by

children at the Junior High school level was thought to be vital to the study. An additional reason for choosing Junior High school students is that as Junior High school students are preparing to face entrance examinations into Senior High school, the interest of parents and students alike in education should be maximal.

For comparison purposes, a sample of students and parents from two public Junior High schools, Fuzoku and Sanchu, were used for the study. Fuzoku, which was founded in 1917, is located in the central Tokyo metropolitan district. It is a so-called 'escalator school' with a Primary school, two Junior High schools, a Senior High school and a university. Since Fuzoku enjoys a reputation as being one of the better *shingakuko* in Japan, competition to enter the school is extremely intense. Approximately 4,000 parents apply on behalf of their children to enter Fuzoku Primary school. As the school can only accept 160 students and administering an entrance examination to all applicants would be impractical, the number of applicants is reduced to about 400 children by drawing lots. Of these, children are now chosen on the basis of an interview with the child and his parents. Previously, however, children were also required to take a written examination (students in this survey who also went to Fuzoku Primary school were subjected to this selection system). Fuzoku Primary school students are required to take another entrance examination in order to proceed to Fuzoku Junior High school. They are examined in 8 subjects (Japanese, Arithmetic, Science, Social Studies, Music, Domestic Science, Physical Education and Art) and must be considered by the teachers to be well-behaved



and to have a good personality (e.g., a sense of responsibility, ability to get on well with others, co-operative, ability of self-expression, etc.). Of the 40 students in each class at Primary school, 35 proceed to Fuzoku Junior High school. Junior High school students also must take an entrance examination into Fuzoku Senior High school. On average, 8 students per class (a total of 40 students) fail to meet the requirements.

Sanchu is a 'typical' Junior High school, located some 60 kilometres north-east of Tokyo in a provincial city with a population of approximately 100,000. Having been established in 1947, it is a relatively new school. Although Sanchu has only minor discipline problems now, the school went through a period of student violence about 10 years ago. It was chosen on the recommendation of a local Senior High school principal as being the most representative Junior High school in the local school district. Of the seven Junior High schools in the educational region to which Sanchu belongs, the level of Sanchu is perhaps a little above average.<sup>56</sup> There is no entrance examination into Sanchu and Primary school students living in the Sanchu school district automatically advance to Sanchu.

As the study aimed to compare the effect of differences in family culture on the educational attainment of children, Fuzoku and Sanchu were chosen because of the striking difference in the educational attainment of the students at the two schools. Table 3.1 shows the educational attainment of Fuzoku graduates from 1966 to 1975, based on an analysis of the data in Fuzoku *meibo* (i.e., list of graduate students<sup>57</sup>) on the post-secondary educational careers

Table 3.1 Educational attainment of Fuzoku graduates (1966-1975)

Year graduated Fuzoku JHS	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	Average (%)
Educational Institution	N=204 (21)*	N=205 (11)*	N=205 (19)*	N=203 (46)*	N=205 (12)*	N=204 (17)*	N=200 (18)*	N=202 (12)*	N=205 (20)*	N=205 (36)*	
Tokyo university	14.8%	22.7	22.6	21.0	19.7	20.4	15.9	13.7	10.9	11.8	17.3
Former Imperial + α**	10.9	5.2	4.8	10.8	4.7	7.5	5.5	6.8	7.0	10.7	7.4
Kelso + Waseda uni.	16.9	19.1	16.7	20.4	20.2	15.5	13.8	18.4	20.0	18.3	17.9
National/public uni.	13.7	11.9	9.7	3.8	14.5	3.7	14.8	13.2	10.3	9.5	10.4
Private university	38.3	37.1	40.9	40.1	36.3	42.8	44.0	43.7	44.3	39.6	40.7
Foreign university	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.3	0.5	1.6	1.1	0.0	1.6	0.6	0.8
Specialist school	2.7	2.5	4.3	0.6	3.1	8.0	4.4	3.7	5.4	8.9	4.4
Senior High school	2.2	1.0	0.5	1.9	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.9
University Total	95.1	96.5	95.2	97.4	95.9	91.5	95.1	95.8	94.1	90.5	94.7
Higher education Total	97.8	99.0	99.5	98.0	99.0	99.5	99.5	99.5	99.5	99.4	99.1
Other Total	4.9	3.5	4.8	2.5	4.1	8.5	4.9	4.2	5.9	9.5	5.3

( \*) Missing data

Former Imperial + α\*\* (former technical colleges) - Hokkaido University + Tokyo University of Commerce (= Hitotsubashi University)  
 Tohoku University + Tokyo University of Technology (= Tokyo Kogyo University)  
 Nagoya University + Tokyo University of Education (= Tsukuba University)  
 Osaka University + Tokyo University of Art (= Tokyo Geijutsu University)  
 Kyoto University  
 Kyushu University

pursued by graduates. This ten-year period was chosen because it is the latest period for which data is available. While the percentage of students who proceed to university used to be mentioned in the 'Guide to Fuzoku' (i.e., *Gakko Yoran*), this does not provide information on which universities the students attended, making it impossible to categorize. Another problem with the data is that it does not allow the educational careers of *ronin* to be traced. Thus, for these reasons, there was no choice but to use the data available for the 1966-1975 period.

It is clear that in this ten year period, an average of 99.1% of Fuzoku students proceeded on to some kind of higher education and that of these graduates, as many as 95% went to university. While no

exact information is available for Sanchu, teachers estimate that, at best, 15-20% of Sanchu students eventually proceed to university.<sup>58</sup> Although it is impossible to know how many of the students in the present study will proceed to university, the trends are clear. The educational attainment of Fuzoku graduates will be substantially higher than that of their Sanchu counterparts.

There is also a notable difference in the ranking of universities which graduates of the two schools enter. The most outstanding feature is that at least 10% of Fuzoku students enter Tokyo University, the highest ranking university in Japan. In contrast, graduates of Sanchu are reportedly rarely accepted into Tokyo University. Moreover, almost half (43%) of the universities attended by Fuzoku graduates over the ten year period were high ranking (that is, Tokyo University; former imperial universities and technical colleges; Keio and Waseda universities). It was reasoned that by comparing the family cultures of students at a school where a large proportion of students proceed to university with those of students at a school where comparatively few students go on to university, the relationship between family culture and educational attainment could be ascertained.

Although the present survey of first year Junior High school students at Fuzoku and Sanchu was carried out in 1987, it is difficult to conceive that a radical change has occurred in trends in the educational attainment of graduates of the two schools since 1975. Moreover, it is unlikely that the universities to which Fuzoku first year students of 1987 will eventually proceed will differ markedly

from those in Table 3.1. Therefore, the evidence on which the assumption that the educational attainment of Fuzoku students will be significantly greater than that of their Sanchu counterparts is based, is the fact that the subjects of the survey were enrolled at Fuzoku and Sanchu at the time of the survey. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that because there are differences in educational attainment, a study of the family culture of students at Fuzoku and Sanchu will promote an understanding of the relationship between family culture and educational attainment.

Differences are also evident in the occupation of fathers of students at the two schools, as Table 3.2 shows. Whereas the occupation of 35.1% of Fuzoku parents is 'professional' or 'managerial', no Sanchu parents fall in this category. The figures for 'public servant', 'company employee', 'self-employed' and 'farm worker' are 7.5, 42.6, 12.1 and 0% for Fuzoku parents and 15.4, 57.0, 22.1 and 1.8%, respectively, for Sanchu parents. As occupational background has been shown to have a strong correlation with family culture (see Chapter Two), the contrasting occupations of Fuzoku and Sanchu families suggests that there will also be significant differences in family culture. Thus, occupational differences will serve to further elucidate the relationship between educational attainment and family culture.

The data for the study was derived from an initial survey questionnaire (see Appendix A) administered to a sample of 124 first year students from the two Junior High schools (82 and 42 from Sanchu and Fuzoku, respectively) and their parents (both mother

**Table 3.2 Fathers' occupations of Fuzoku and Sanchu students by school year (%)**

School and year Occupation category		Fuzoku 1		Sanchu 1		Fuzoku 2		Sanchu 2		Fuzoku 3		Sanchu 3		Total	
		Fuzoku	Sanchu	Fuzoku	Sanchu	Fuzoku	Sanchu	Fuzoku	Sanchu	Fuzoku	Sanchu	Fuz (N) = 625	San (N) =1314		
Professional		5.4	0.0	6.7	0.0	5.1	0.0	17.3	0.0						
Managerial		7.2	0.0	3.5	0.0	7.0	0.0	17.8	0.0						
Public Servant		3.8	4.8	1.3	5.3	2.4	5.3	7.5	15.4						
Company employee		11.8	18.7	17.0	18.6	13.8	19.6	42.6	57.0						
Self-employed	Business	2.1	1.8	2.6	1.9	2.2	2.4	6.9	6.0						
	Factory	0.8	2.4	0.3	2.7	1.1	4.9	2.2	10.0						
	Service industry	1.0	2.6	1.0	2.3	1.1	1.2	3.0	6.1						
Farmer		0.0	0.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	1.8						
Associate employee		0.6	0.6	0.6	1.1	0.6	0.5	1.9	2.1						
Unemployed		0.0	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.8	1.6						

and father, N=217) in February and March of 1987, and follow-up interviews with those parents (18 and 13 from Sanchu and Fuzoku, respectively) whose consent was obtained. The latter were conducted over a 3-month period from July to September of the same year.

The aim of the questionnaire was to obtain a profile of the students and their parents and to collect data to examine the correlation between children's cultural activities and those of their parents. The questionnaire, which was written in Japanese, was composed of four main parts: biographical information (place of birth, population of hometown, number of siblings, sibling position,

father's occupation), the respondent's home and educational experience, attitudes to education and the school and, finally, a section which examined the relationship of the respondent to culture (see Appendix A for 'questionnaire schedules'). As the questionnaire was of considerable length<sup>59</sup>, closed questions with an 'other' category to cater for unanticipated responses were mainly used in preference to open-end questions.

As a questionnaire survey was deemed inadequate as a means to obtain the data on attitudes that was sought by the present study, the author relied heavily on the interview method. The interviews (which lasted approximately two hours each) were conducted by the author in Japanese and recorded for later reference.<sup>60</sup> In cases where both parents consented to the interview, they were interviewed separately but often one parent would listen while the other was being interviewed.<sup>61</sup> In the interviews, parents were asked to explain their reasons for some of their responses in the questionnaire and their attitudes to education were investigated in detail by asking probing questions which are not suited to the questionnaire format (see Appendix B for a sample 'interview schedule'). As a result, the interviews furnished much revealing information about parents' histories and their attitudes to education.

In the following two chapters, the results of the interviews with parents supplemented by data from the survey questionnaire, will be presented. In Chapter Four, the families will be separated into several types and the differences evident in the educational experiences of parents and their cultural activities will be analysed.

The relation between the cultural activities of children and their educational aspirations will also be discussed. Again on the basis of data derived mainly from the interviews, Chapter Five focuses on the relation between parents' attitudes to education and their educational expectations for their children, on the one hand, and the educational aspirations of children, on the other.

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<sup>1</sup>*Punch perms* also have a strong association with the Japanese *yakuza*, or people who belong to mafia-like gangs. However, men with *punch perms* are not necessarily *yakuza*.

<sup>2</sup>Bourdieu writes:

'The members of the different social classes differ not so much in the extent to which they *acknowledge* culture as in the extent to which they *know* it.' (P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, Harvard University Press, 1984, p.318). [emphasis added]

<sup>3</sup>The donation would be at least ¥10,000,000 or US\$80,000 (US1\$=125 yen).

<sup>4</sup>Bourdieu, op. cit., p.56

<sup>5</sup>And, by implication, reproduction of the social order as well.

<sup>6</sup>Habitus is a class phenomenon and individual practice is a structural variant of that of the group.

<sup>7</sup>N. Garnham and R. Williams, 'Pierre Bourdieu and the sociology of culture: an introduction', pp.116-130 in *Media, Culture and Society. A Critical Reader*, ed. by Richard Collins et al, 1986. Sage. pp.119-20.

<sup>8</sup>Bourdieu, op, cit., p.109.

<sup>9</sup>This is especially so in the case of boys.

<sup>10</sup>While holders of Senior High school graduation diplomas are cut off from employment in a prestigious company, they may find employment as blue-collar workers.

<sup>11</sup>Or even before the child is born in some cases.

<sup>12</sup>The corollary of this is that parents *feel* that there is a decision to be made only in the case of children who fail to live up to, or go beyond, their expectations: for example, a middle-class child who threatens to slip off the track to higher education or a lower-class child who finds that, by chance, he has the prerequisite qualifications for admission to university.

<sup>13</sup>While the specialist knowledge of a medical practitioner, for instance, may be accessed by referring to medical reference books in public libraries or by directly requesting licensed doctors to impart their specialist knowledge, the public use of knowledge thus gained is illegitimate in that it is not socially sanctioned.



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<sup>14</sup>For example, medical practitioner.

<sup>15</sup>This, in turn, requires an acceptance of the changing profile of universities, especially since the Second World War. While traditionally revered as 'great halls of learning', Japanese universities today have been likened to a *leisure-land* where university students are free to enjoy themselves, and indeed, often do so *with the encouragement* of the teaching staff. Professors, for example, may openly encourage students to participate in club activities even when these coincide with lecture times. Participation in the Spring training session organized by the Yacht Club, for example, requires students to miss the entire first term of university. It should be noted, however, that 'leisure' has very negative connotations in Japan.

Academically, few demands are placed on students and what with a lack of technical knowledge not usually being an obstacle to employment, and graduation from university being almost automatically guaranteed upon entry to university, there is little compelling need to study. A noted exception to this would be in the case of students in the Medical School. Medical students must pass difficult examinations after graduating from university in order to practise.

<sup>16</sup>That is, to give recognition to the social side of university.

<sup>17</sup>P. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, p.2.

<sup>18</sup>E. Panofsky, 'Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art', *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York, Doubleday, 1955, p. 28). Cited in P. Bourdieu, 1984, p.3.

<sup>19</sup>At least in comparison with their period as High school students studying for entrance exams and with the working population as a whole.

<sup>20</sup>In Japan this is usually at the parents' expense.

<sup>21</sup>That is, social merits that are recognized independently of academic-related merits.

<sup>22</sup>P. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, 1984, p.50.

<sup>23</sup>This dialogue may take place at either the conscious or the subconscious level.

<sup>24</sup>This is also a function of the social and economical capital accrued by previous generations.

<sup>25</sup>P. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, p.16.

<sup>26</sup>P. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, p.54.

<sup>27</sup>P. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, p.35.

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<sup>28</sup>As opposed to a 'natural object'.

<sup>29</sup>Bourdieu, op. cit., p.32

<sup>30</sup>Bourdieu, op. cit., p.35.

<sup>31</sup>Bourdieu, op. cit., pp.42-3.

<sup>32</sup>Similarly, Bernstein argues that for the working-class, the pragmatic flavour of the visible pedagogy (as opposed to the aesthetic style of the invisible pedagogy) reflects their preference for 'what is useful' and its well-ordered presentation appeals to their penchant for 'simply drawn situations'.

<sup>33</sup>Bourdieu, op. cit., p.41.

<sup>34</sup>Instead, the technical-oriented curriculum of technical colleges (or *senmon gakko* as they are called in Japan) which, by their very nature, underscore the functional aspect of education, are likely to be more appealing to the lower-classes.

<sup>35</sup>This is because entry to public universities is highly competitive and are relatively invulnerable to the accusation that successful candidates are selected on the basis not so much of their academic ability as the economic means of their parents - a charge commonly voiced in reference to some private universities.

<sup>36</sup>P. Bourdieu, op. cit., p.180.

<sup>37</sup>Having a child who is preparing for entrance examinations into educational institutions (whether these be kindergarten, Primary school, Junior or Senior High school, or university) in the family places an unprecedented amount of emotional strain on other family members. They must practise self-restraint in order to maintain a quiet atmosphere conducive to study, co-operate with the *jukensei* as regards to meal-times, and depending on the age of the child, sometimes parents are required to escort the child to *juku*.

<sup>38</sup>While they may say that they would like their child to go to a famous university they discount this as an unrealistic proposition.

<sup>39</sup>The Open University Press, 1977a:124.

<sup>40</sup>Given that 'values' are *acquired* on the basis of individual experience rather than learned, it is questionable whether a child can be said to adopt the values of his or her parents void of having the experiences necessary to give validation to them. Instead, it would be more plausible to say that a child independently develops a set of values which may resemble those of his or her parents. In other words, a child does not inherit values *per se* but the particular set of environmental factors which predispose the child to develop a set of values similar to those held by his or her parents. (Of course, it is necessary to recognize that parents do not necessarily share the same set of values as each other.)

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parents. (Of course, it is necessary to recognize that parents do not necessarily share the same set of values as each other.)

<sup>41</sup>Craft, M., 1974; Kandel, D. and Lesser, G., 1969; St. John, N., 1972; Smith, T., 1982; Conklin, M., and Dailey, A., 1981.

<sup>42</sup>Douglas, J., 1964; Douglas et al, 1968; Wadsworth, M., 1981.

<sup>43</sup>Connell et al, 1982.

<sup>44</sup>Greenslade, R., 1976; Musgrove, F., and Taylor, P., 1969.

<sup>45</sup>For example, parental mistrust of book learning, resentment of the child having pressures which intruded on the *real* economic ones faced by the family.

<sup>46</sup>Brittain, C., 1963; Sebald, H., 1968; Pugh, M., 1976; Kandel, D., and Lesser, G., 1969.

<sup>47</sup>Sebald, H., 1968.

<sup>48</sup>Reitzes, D. and Mutran, E., 1980; Porter, J., 1976.

<sup>49</sup>See Banks and Kahn (1975).

<sup>50</sup>Benin, M. and Johnson, D., 1984.

<sup>51</sup>Kidwell, J., 1982.

<sup>52</sup>Anderson, D. and Vervoorn, A., 1983; Blandy, R. and Goldsworth, T., 1975.

<sup>53</sup>Willis, P., 1977.

<sup>54</sup>Due to the efforts of working-class parents to 'protect' their children from the untoward influences which abound in their environment and the problem of a restricted amount of money to which the children have access for recreational purposes, the need to become an adult in order to increase the level of personal freedom may be particularly acute among adolescents of the working-class. Thus, the tendency to think that society's blatant failure to recognize the adult status of adolescent school students may be especially pronounced among children of lower social classes.

<sup>55</sup>Basically, students who attend commercial, industrial and agricultural high schools do so because they failed to be accepted into a regular Senior High school. While it is not impossible for these students to proceed to university, very few do. This can be accounted for by the lower academic ability (as witnessed by their failure to enter regular Senior High schools), the non-academic curriculum and the non-academic atmosphere of the school, in general, and its students.

<sup>56</sup>The teachers at Sanchu stressed, however, that the tests on which the levels of the school is ascertained are influenced by student absenteeism at the time of the test. For example, if a particularly poor student or, on the other hand, a particularly good student is absent on the day of the test, the scores will be greatly affected.

<sup>57</sup>Usually, a Junior High school *meibo* in Japan lists the name of the Senior High school a student attended. In the case of Fuzoku, however, as almost all students go on to the same Senior High school (i.e., Fuzoku Senior High school), the university or college a student attended (where applicable) and, in some cases, the name of the company he/she enters is also given.

<sup>58</sup>Approximately 50% of Fuzoku students pass the entrance examination into university the first time; 30-40% pass after taking the examination in the following year; and about 10-20% pass the examination after being a *ronin* for 2 years, meaning that virtually 100% of Fuzoku students advance to university.

It should be noted that the higher incidence of students who become ronin at Fuzoku indicates:

- 1) the greater enthusiasm Fuzoku students/parents have for education, and
- 2) the high level of the universities Fuzoku students aim for.

<sup>59</sup>10 and 15 pages for the Child's and Parent's questionnaires, respectively.

<sup>60</sup>The interviews lasted, on average, 2 hours. In cases where both parents consented to the interview, they were always interviewed separately but often one parent would listen while the other was being interviewed.

<sup>61</sup>With the exception of 1 parent, Mrs Matsuoka (Parent A), all mothers opted to be interviewed after their husbands.

## IV

# Parental Histories

That educational attainment must be viewed in a historical perspective was demonstrated in Chapter Three. To reiterate the argument briefly, it was reasoned that while parents are not the only agents of influence on the educational attainment of children, their attitudes play a crucial role. Moreover, as the attitudes and, thus, the habitus of parents reflect, to a certain extent, those of their ancestors, parents themselves must be considered to be microcosms of history. Therefore, in order to grasp some insight into differences in attitudes towards education, it is necessary to understand the backgrounds of parents.

This chapter will explore parental histories and, by doing so, sketch some of the differences between Fuzoku and Sanchu parents. First, a cultural summary of the parents who were interviewed and their children will be presented in table form (Tables 4.1-4.3); details concerning the occupational histories and income of the parents will be provided in Table 4.4. In addition, the parents who were interviewed will be divided into five types on the basis of intergenerational educational mobility: families with a consistently

Parental Histories

Table 4.1 Cultural Capital of Parents

Name	Father/Mother (F/M)	Total Cultural Capital Score	Educational Background			Cultural Affinity					Cultural consumption					Study-related			Reading-related							
			School - Fuzhou/Sanchu (F/S)	Grandparent (averaged)	Parent	Parents siblings (averaged)	Like concerts	Like art galleries	Like museums	Like exhibitions	Like classical music	Like making things	Go to concerts	Go to museums	Go to art galleries	Go to art shops	Go to libraries	Go to lectures	Studying	Going to school	Talking with the teacher	Being alone	Like reading	Read newspaper	No. of books read (last 3 months)	Buy magazines (or regular best)
A	F	68.0	F	2	4	7	4	4	4	4	4	3	1.6	1.6	0.8	0.8	3.2	4	4	4	2	3	4	4	4	4
	M	63.7	F	7	3	7	4	4	4	4	4	4	1.6	1.6	0.8	1.6	3.2	1.6	4	4	2	3	4	4	1.3	4
B	F	61.2	F	0	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	2.4	1.6	1.6	1.6	0	0	3	3	0	3	4	4	2	4
	M	60.6	F	2	4	4	3	3	2	2	4	3	3.2	0.8	0.8	1.6	0	1.8	3	3	2	3	4	4	2.6	4
C	F	56.0	F	0	4	0.2	3	3	3	3	4	2	1.6	1.6	1.6	2.4	3.2	2.4	3	2	2	2	4	4	4	0
	M	51.5	F	1	1	1	3	3	2	3	4	2	1.6	0.8	0.8	1.6	0	2.4	3	3	3	3	3	4	1.3	4
D	F	54.0	F	3.5	4	3	3	2	2	2	4	3	2.4	0.8	0.8	0	0	3.2	3	3	2	0	3	4	1.3	4
	M	51.1	F	1	3	2	3	3	3	4	3	3	1.6	0	0	1.6	1.6	3	3	2	3	4	4	0.7	0	
E	F	56.4	F	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	3	0	0.8	0.8	0.8	0	0	3	3	3	1	3	4	0	4
	M	45.2	F	2.5	4	4	3	3	2	3	2	3	0	0.8	0.8	0.8	0	0	2	2	2	2	3	4	1.3	0
F	F	56.7	S	1	4	4	4	2	2	3	4	3	1.6	0	0	0.8	1.6	2.4	3	3	2	2	4	4	1.3	4
	M	42.9	S	1.5	1	2.5	3	3	2	3	4	3	0.8	0	0	0.8	0	0	2	2	3	3	3	4	1.3	0
G	F	40.6	F	3.5	4	2.2	2	2	2	3	3	2	0	0	0	0.8	0.8	0	2	2	2	2	2	4	1.3	0
	M	55.5	F	1	4	3	3	3	2	3	3	4	2.4	1.6	0	1.6	0	1.6	2	3	3	2	3	4	1.3	4
H	F	38.5	S	0	4	1.7	2	2	2	2	1	2	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0	1.6	1	1	3	3	3	4	2	0
	M	56.4	S	4	4	2.5	4	3	3	3	4	3	2.4	0.8	0	0	0	2.4	3	3	3	3	3	4	1.3	0
I	F	46.8	S	2	1	1	2	4	4	4	2	2	0	1.6	0.8	1.6	0	0.8	2	3	3	4	4	4	0	0
	M	38.6	F	1	4	2.7	2	3	3	3	2	1	0	0.8	0	0.8	0	1.6	1	1	2	3	2	4	0.7	0
J	F	54.2	F	0.5	2	3.5	2	3	3	3	2	3	0	0.8	0.8	2.4	0	3.2	2	2	2	3	4	4	4	4
	M	46.1	S	0.5	4	4	2	2	2	3	2	2	0.8	0	0	1.6	0	3.2	3	2	2	3	3	4	2	0
K	F	45.9	S	1	1	2.5	4	2	2	2	4	3	2.4	0.8	0.8	0	0	2.4	2	2	3	3	4	4	0	0
	M	45.3	S	0	1	0.3	4	2	4	2	2	0	2.4	0	0.8	0	0	0.8	2	2	4	2	4	4	4	4
L	F	39.1	S	0	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	1.6	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	3	3	2.5	0	0	
	M	47.4	S	1	2	1.7	4	2	2	3	3	4	3.2	0	0	1.6	0	1.6	2	1	2	2	2	4	1.3	4
M	F	40.6	S	0	1	0.3	3	2	3	1	4	2	0.8	0	0	0	0	0.8	3	3	4	4	4	4	0.7	0
	M	43.6	S	0	1	0.3	4	3	2	3	4	3	2.4	0	0	0	0.8	2.4	1	3	2	4	3	4	0.7	0
N	F	31.0	F	0	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	2	3	4	0	0
	M	47.1	F	0	1	1.7	1	2	2	2	3	3	0	0.8	0.8	1.6	4	3.2	3	2	2	1	3	4	2	4
O	F	35.5	F	0.5	4	1.7	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0.8	0	0	0.8	2	2	2	2	3	4	0.7	0
	M	41.0	F	0	1	1	3	3	3	3	4	3	0	0.8	0.8	0.8	0	1.6	2	3	3	2	2	4	0	0
P	F	33.9	S	0.5	0	0.8	3	3	3	3	2	4	0	0	0	1.6	0	0	3	1	2	1	2	4	0	0
	M	40.8	S	0	1	1.7	3	3	3	3	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0.8	3	3	4	0	4	4	1.3	0
Q	F	24.5	S	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	2	3	2.5	0	0
	M	22.0	S	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	2	4	0	0
R	F	21.0	S	0	0	0	0	3	3	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0
	M	21.0	S	0	0	0	0	3	3	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0

Table 4.2 Cultural Capital of Children

Name	Sex (F/M)	Total Cultural Capital Score	Schod - Fuzoku/Sandhu (FS)	Educational Background		Cultural Affinity					Cultural Consumption					Study-related			Reading-related						
				Parents' averaged score	This child	Like concerts	Like art galleries	Like museums	Like exhibitions	Like classical music	Like making things	Go to concerts	Go to art galleries	Go to museums	Go to exhibitions	Go to libraries	Go to lectures	Studying	Going to school	Talking with the teacher	Being alone	Like reading	Read newspaper	No. of books read (last 3 months)	Buy magazines (on regular basis)
A	F	75.4	F	3.5	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	2.4	3.2	1.6	2.4	4.0	0.8	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	2.5	4.0	0.0	
B	F	41.0	F	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	2.5	0.0	4.0
C	M	48.2	F	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	0.0	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	1.0	4.0	4.0	1.3	0.0
D	M	39.4	F	3.5	3.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	1.3	4.0
E	M	49.1	F	4.0	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.0	3.2	1.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	2.5	2.6	0.0
F	F	42.7	S	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.8	2.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	0.0
G	M	54.3	F	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	4.0	1.3	4.0
H	M	36.0	S	4.0	3.5	3.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.8	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	1.3	4.0
I	M	36.1	S	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.8	0.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.5	0.0	4.0
J	F	55.0	F	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.8	2.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	2.6	4.0
K	M	57.5	S	2.5	3.0	2.5	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	1.6	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	2.5	4.0	4.0
L	M	47.5	S	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	3.0	0.0	0.8	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	1.3	4.0
M	F	33.4	S	3.0	1.5	0.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.5	1.3	0.0
N	F	42.6	S	1.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	3.0	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.8	0.8	2.0	4.0	2.0	0.0	4.0	4.0	2.6	0.0
O	M	44.8	F	1.0	3.0	1.3	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	2.5	4.0	4.0
P	F	26.5	S	2.5	0.5	2.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	0.7	0.0
Q	F	40.3	S	0.5	2.5	3.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	1.3	4.0
R	F	36.8	S	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	4.0	0.8	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	1.3	1.3	4.0
S	F	25.8	S	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.8	2.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	4.0

Table 4.3 Cultural Capital of Parents and Children

Name	PARENTS' (averaged)							CHILD							Spearman's Correlation Coefficient		
	Cultural Capital Total Score	Educational Background	Cultural Affinity	Study-related	Reading-related	Cultural Consumption	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cultural Capital Total Score	Educational Background	Cultural Affinity	Cultural Consumption	Study-related	Reading-related		Mean	Standard Deviation
A	65.9	3.5	23.5	11.2	13.0	14.7	13.2	7.2	75.4	11.5	24.0	14.4	15.0	10.5	15.1	5.3	0.4
B	60.9	9.0	20.0	7.6	10.0	14.3	12.2	5.0	41.1	10.0	11.0	1.6	9.0	9.5	8.2	3.8	0.7
C	53.8	3.6	17.5	10.0	10.5	12.2	10.8	5.0	48.2	8.5	19.0	2.4	9.0	9.3	9.6	6.0	0.9
D	52.6	8.3	17.5	6.8	9.5	10.5	10.5	4.1	39.4	9.5	10.0	1.6	6.0	12.3	7.9	4.2	0.8
E	50.8	11.3	18.5	2.4	9.0	9.7	10.2	5.8	49.1	11.0	17.0	4.0	8.0	9.1	9.8	4.8	1.0
F	49.8	7.0	18.0	4.0	10.0	10.8	10.0	5.2	42.7	8.5	15.0	3.2	7.0	9.0	8.5	4.3	0.9
G	48.1	8.9	16.0	4.4	9.0	9.8	9.6	4.2	54.3	10.0	17.0	4.0	10.0	13.3	10.9	4.8	1.0
H	47.5	8.1	15.5	5.2	10.0	8.7	9.5	3.8	36.0	10.5	10.0	3.2	4.0	8.3	7.2	3.4	0.3
I	46.8	4.0	18.0	4.8	12.0	8.0	9.4	5.8	36.1	4.0	14.0	1.6	7.0	9.5	7.2	4.8	0.8
J	46.4	6.9	15.0	5.2	8.0	11.4	9.3	3.9	55.0	9.0	15.0	6.4	10.0	14.6	11.0	3.7	1.0
K	46.0	6.5	15.0	6.0	10.0	8.5	9.2	3.6	57.5	8.0	21.0	4.0	10.0	14.5	11.5	6.5	0.9
L	45.3	1.3	14.0	4.0	10.0	16.0	9.1	6.3	47.5	3.0	19.0	3.2	9.0	13.3	9.5	6.8	0.9
M	43.3	6.4	16.0	4.0	8.5	8.4	8.6	4.5	33.4	5.0	12.0	1.6	8.0	6.8	6.7	3.8	1.0
N	42.1	1.3	17.0	3.6	12.0	8.6	8.5	3.4	42.6	7.0	13.0	4.0	8.0	10.6	8.5	3.4	0.8
O	39.1	2.4	13.0	5.2	8.5	10.0	7.8	4.2	44.8	5.3	15.0	4.0	6.0	14.5	9.0	5.3	0.9
P	38.3	4.1	15.5	2.8	9.0	6.9	7.6	5.0	26.5	5.0	10.0	0.8	6.0	4.7	5.3	3.3	0.9
Q	37.4	2.0	18.0	1.2	8.5	7.7	7.5	6.7	40.3	6.0	14.0	0.0	8.0	12.3	8.1	5.5	0.9
R	24.5	0.0	12.0	0.0	7.0	5.5	4.9	5.1	36.8	1.0	13.0	7.2	5.0	10.6	7.4	4.7	0.6
S	21.5	0.0	11.5	0.0	6.0	4.0	4.3	4.8	25.8	0.0	10.0	0.8	8.0	7.0	7.4	4.7	1.0



Parental Histories

Table 4.4 Occupational Histories and Income of Parents

Name	Occupation			Net monthly income (¥)
	Paternal Grandfather	Maternal Grandfather	Father	Father
A	Tourist industry	Restaurant owner	Political journalist	(no information available)
B	Public servant	Company employee	Company employee	510.000 - 1.000.000
C	Tailor	Transport industry	Public servant	510.000 - 1.000.000
D	Company employee	Company employee	Company employee	310.000 - 500.000
E	Dentist	Accountant	Doctor	510.000 - 1.000.000
F	Electrician	Small shop owner	Machinery designer	310.000 - 500.000
G	JNR employee	Lumber industry	JNR sales division	310.000 - 500.000
H	Farmer	Company employee	Car salesman	310.000 - 500.000
I	Farmer	Textile wholesaler	Company employee	210.000 - 300.000
J	Pawn broker	Manufacturing industry	Pawn broker	510.000 - 1.000.000
K	Farmer	Post-Office employee	Politician	510.000 - 1.000.000
L	Farmer	Panel beater	Cook	310.000 - 500.000
M	Bank employee	Architect	Public servant	210.000 - 300.000
N	Farmer	Forestry industry	Bicycle shop owner	310.000 - 500.000
O	Stone mason	Farmer	Furniture shop owner	510.000 - 1.000.000
P	Metal-works owner	Farmer	Metal-works owner	510.000 - 1.000.000
Q	Farmer	Public servant	Company employee	310.000 - 500.000
R	Electrician	Farmer	Lunch-box caterer	101.000 - 2.000.000
S	Printer	Farmer	Taxi-driver	210.000 - 300.000

Table 4.5 Family type in terms of educational background

Family Type	Name	School (F/S)	Educational Background	
			Parents' score (averaged)	Children's score (averaged)
1	A	F	3.5	4.0
	B	F	4.0	3.0
	C	F	2.5	3.0
	D	F	3.5	3.0
	E	F	4.0	3.5
	F	S	2.5	3.0
	G	F	4.0	3.0
	H	S	4.0	3.3
	J	F	3.0	3.0
	K	S	2.5	2.6
2	N	S	1.0	3.0
	O	F	1.0	2.2
	Q	S	0.5	2.8
3	M	S	3.0	1.0
	P	S	2.5	1.3
4	I	S	1.0	1.5
	R	S	0.0	0.5
	S	S	0.0	0.0
5	L	S	1.0	1.0

**Key:**

- Family type 1: families with consistently high educational level
- Family type 2: upwardly mobile families in terms of education
- Family type 3: downwardly mobile families in terms of education
- Family type 4: families with consistently low educational level
- Family type 5: family in educational conflict

high education level (Type 1), upwardly mobile families (Type 2), downwardly mobile families (Type 3),<sup>1</sup> families with a consistently low education level (Type 4) and families in educational conflict (Type 5). The five categories of families are shown in Table 4.5. Second, histories of two contrasting sets of parents - the Matsuokas (Type 1) and the Kitaharas (Type 4), parents of children at Fuzoku and Sanchu, respectively, will be explored in depth. These parents were chosen mainly because of the consistently high and low scores both they and their children obtained on questions related to educational background and cultural capital in the questionnaire survey (see Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.5), but also because of their contrasting histories (occupational, educational, cultural and economic), ways of thinking and views on education. The Takahatas and Oyamas, who are also Type 1 and Type 4 families, respectively, will be introduced to give a broader perspective. Third, the history of an upwardly mobile family (i.e., Type 2) will be contrasted with that of a downwardly mobile family (i.e., Type 3). And finally, the history of a 'conflict family' (i.e., Type 5) in which the father and son have diametrically opposed views on education, will be reviewed. In addition to biographical information, parents' memories of their school experiences and the attitude of their parents (i.e., the child's grandparents) to their schooling will, in particular, be probed. The attitudes of these parents to education, their perception of the need for formal education, and their aspirations and/or expectations for their children will be dealt with in the following chapter.

## 1. The Backgrounds of Parents

### 1.1 Cultural outline

The cultural capital of parents (and the children involved in the survey) was estimated by giving weighted-values to answers to cultural capital-related questions in the questionnaire survey. All answers were scaled from 0 to 4, with greater cultural capital being indicated by a higher value. The 'Cultural Capital Score' was derived by totaling the scores obtained in five areas: 'educational background', 'cultural affinity', 'cultural consumption', 'study-related' and 'reading-related'.

The parental score for 'educational background' was obtained by adding the weighted score for the parent's education level to the averaged scores for that of the grandparents' and parent's siblings.<sup>2</sup> In the case of children, the score was calculated by adding the averaged score for the parental educational aspirations for this child to the averaged scores for their educational aspirations for the child's siblings<sup>3</sup> and the parents' averaged score.<sup>4</sup> By including scores for siblings and parents (or grandparents in the case of parents), the 'normality' of a higher education in each family can be assessed. In other words, children of families with a history of higher levels of education are more likely to feel that 'going to university' is only natural than children from families of lower educational levels. In each case, values were determined on the basis of the level of the school in the educational system, the prestige of that type of school *at the time*, and whether it was academically or vocationally oriented.

Hence, weighted values for a specific educational level may vary between generations.

The scores for 'cultural affinity' reflect the degree to which respondents like various cultural activities, namely - concerts, art galleries, museums, exhibitions, classical music and making things. The assumption was that parents and children who have greater understanding of these activities (and hence, greater cultural capital) would be more fond of them than those whose understanding in these areas is deficient.<sup>5</sup> The extent to which parents and children actually take part in cultural activities (i.e., go to concerts, art galleries, museums, exhibitions, libraries and lectures) was measured by questions pertaining to 'cultural consumption'.<sup>6</sup>

The fourth area was designed to assess the extent to which parents and children like studying and other study-related activities (i.e., going to school and talking with the teacher).<sup>7</sup> As studying is essentially a solitary activity, the extent to which respondents like being alone was also included in this category. The final area deemed important for Cultural Capital was 'Reading-related'. This category measured the extent to which parents and children like reading,<sup>8</sup> how often they read the newspaper,<sup>9</sup> the number of books they read in the three months prior to the survey,<sup>10</sup> and whether they buy magazines on a regular basis.<sup>11</sup> The results for parents and children are given in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, respectively. Table 4.3, in addition to summarizing the scores for each of the five cultural areas, provides the Standard Deviation and Mean for each parent and child, and Spearman's Correlation Coefficient to assess the cultural similarity

between parent and child. Scattergrams for the Cultural Capital scores in the five areas for each parent and child are provided in Appendix C.

An examination of Tables 4.1 - 4.3 reveals that the Cultural Capital scores over the five categories are highly consistent between parents and children. Parents and children who scored high on 'Educational Background', for example, also tended to score high on other categories, and vice versa. It is also important to note that there is a close correlation between parents and children in terms of their Cultural Capital scores. This suggests that similar cultural tendencies are being reproduced from generation to generation, reaffirming the influence that parents and/or family environment have on children.

## **2. The Two Extremes - Example 1: The Matsuokas and Kitaharas**

### **2.1 Biographical information**

Mr and Mrs Matsuoka (Parents 'A' in Tables 4.1-4.5) were class-mates right from first class in Primary school to the end of Senior High school. They grew up in a small provincial city which, at the time, had a population of about forty thousand. The city, about 150 kms north-east of Tokyo, is famous for its historical temples and scenic beauty. In fact, both their parents made their living by catering to the tourists who flock there: Mr Matsuoka's father was in the tourist industry and his wife's father ran a restaurant. Mr Matsuoka has two older brothers and two sisters; Mrs Matsuoka also came from a family of seven, with one younger and two older sisters and a

brother. However, they refused to disclose details concerning income and the educational background of their families, an attitude not uncommon amongst the higher social classes in Japan.

The Matsuoka's live with their only child, a 12 year old girl, in a tastefully furnished apartment in *Koto* ward in the central part of Tokyo. On Japanese standards, the apartment is spacious, having two bedrooms and a study. Mr Matsuoka, 37, is a political journalist for the *Asahi*, a leading newspaper in Japan. His daily schedule is hectic. Every morning around 9 he takes the subway to the Journalists' Club at the Diet where he listens to the statements that have been released by the minor political parties. He usually has lunch at the dining room at the Diet and spends the afternoons in *Nagata-cho*, the centre of political activity in Japan, looking for news material. In the evening, after finishing the articles for the next day's paper, he has dinner with his colleagues from work. The topic of conversation revolves around work. After dinner, he often goes to the homes of politicians in pursuit of inside stories on matters that are too sensitive to be asked at the Journalists' Club. Then, late at night, he returns to the office to pass a discerning eye over articles written by other journalists and to take a look at the early edition of the newspaper. Rarely does he get home before 2 or 3 a.m. He is always tired so on Sundays, his day off, he usually spends leisurely at home reading books or perhaps catching up on sleep.

Mr Matsuoka has more than 300 books. He likes books on philosophy or historical novels best and his tastes are shared to a certain extent by his daughter, who opts for philosophical books or

poetry. Mrs Matsuoka prefers lighter reading material - romance novels or stories about adolescents. She has in between 51 and 100 books. Both Mr and Mrs Matsuoka read the paper<sup>12</sup> everyday,<sup>13</sup> and their daughter reads the paper, on average, two or three times a week. Mr and Mrs Matsuoka are also in the habit of reading the 'Weekly Asahi' and 'Asahi Journal',<sup>14</sup> which cover current events and happenings. Mr Matsuoka also subscribes to the 'Chuo Koron'<sup>15</sup>, a magazine which gives a commentary on current affairs and politics, and Mrs Matsuoka buys 'Style Book', a fashion magazine.

Television has second place to reading as a leisure activity in the Matsuoka family. While they all answered in the questionnaire survey that they 'like reading very much', they all expressed indifference to watching TV. Mr Matsuoka, for instance, rarely watches TV, if only because he spends too little time at home. When the child comes home from school, she either plays the piano, reads a book or studies until dinner time. During the week, the TV is on only at dinner time as there is a chance that Mr Matsuoka will be on the news. What television programmes that are watched are selected discriminatingly. The mother explains the child's TV viewing habits thus:

' . . . . . except for the news and the cartoons on Sundays, she hardly watches TV at all . . . . . apart from that, if there seems to be a good programme listed in the TV guide, she will watch that as well.'

*A programme that the child thinks is good?*

'Not just the child. We decide together on something that we are both interested in - but not dramas or anything like that.'

*Have you tried to not let her watch too much TV since she was little?*

'I wouldn't say 'tried not to let her watch TV'. She just doesn't have the time to watch TV.'



Nor is it surprising that she doesn't have time to watch TV. After dinner and having a bath, she spends the rest of the night studying, clocking up an average of five hours study per day. She does not attend a *juku*, believing that it is better to use the time for things that she wants to do. Her parents agree with her; in any case, *they are confident that they are able to teach her* anything that she does not understand.

The family background of Mr and Mrs Kitahara (Parents 'S' in Tables 4.1-4.5) is one stricken by poverty. Both of them came from families who were struggling to make ends meet at the end of the Second World War and were forced to put their children up for adoption. Neither of their foster families was wealthy. Mrs Kitahara's foster father was a farmer in Akita prefecture. Being in the northern part of Japan, the long, cold Winters with heavy falls of snow made life difficult. Her arrival was welcomed as an extra pair of hands to help with the household chores and care of the younger children. Mr Kitahara was somewhat more fortunate. He was adopted by a printer and grew up in a provincial town in Ibaraki prefecture, a region which has a more temperate climate.

Mr Kitahara, 42, works as a taxi-driver. His hours are flexible which enables him to eat dinner with his family (which is something that he makes a point of doing) before going back to work again. On a normal day he works until about 3 a.m. Due to the tiring nature of his work, Mr Kitahara has every third day off. If the

weather is fine, he often goes fishing; in unfavourable weather, he usually just sleeps. The Kitahara's house is situated right alongside a busy railway line. Trains rattle past every few minutes from early in the morning till late at night, creating an unrelenting racket. The house itself is in a bad state of repair. The *tatami* mats are worn out and the whole interior is in need of redecorating. The only hint of luxury was an early model colour TV which blended in well with the shabby setting. This is home for the Kitaharas and their two girls and a boy.

In contrast with the Matsuoka family, reading does not rate high with the Kitaharas. In the three months prior to the survey, neither Mr Kitahara, his wife nor their daughter<sup>16</sup> had read any books. In fact, Mr Kitahara owns less than 10 books, and his wife does not have any. Mr Kitahara is the only one in the family who reads the newspaper:<sup>17</sup> reading the paper is an activity that is rarely engaged in by either his wife or his daughter. Magazines are no exception. None of the Kitahara family buys magazines on a regular basis. Their disinclination to read may be explained by the difficulties that both Mr and Mrs Kitahara have with reading Chinese characters. Watching TV is the Kitahara family's preferred past-time.

Twice a week the daughter goes to a *juku*. She herself would rather not go but her parents, worried that she might not be able to pass the entrance examination into a Senior High school, persuaded her to attend. Having themselves failed to meet the requirements of the Junior High school curriculum, they are certainly unable to help their daughter with her school-work. There was no alternative. On

days that the daughter does not go to *juku*, she comes home from school and watches TV until she goes to bed.

## 2.2 School experience

Mr Matsuoka has fond memories of his school days. About the worst thing that happened to him was having a fight with his friends. He remembers all his Primary school teachers and describes them favourably. His second class teacher, for example, he recalls as being very kind and as someone who seemed to understand the students; he liked this teacher very much. Mr Matsuoka was also impressed by the teacher he had in fifth and sixth class:

'he was a wonderful person and very warm-hearted; he loved all the children [i.e., he didn't have any pets]; he was really a teacher who deserved respect'.

The only teacher about whom Mr Matsuoka expressed ambivalence was his class teacher in fourth and fifth class. This teacher used to favour a few students and would ignore the rest unless they were misbehaving in class, in which case he would come down heavily on them. Being a well-behaved student and one of the teacher's pets, however, Mr Matsuoka was never the object of the teacher's wrath.

Mrs Matsuoka describes their Primary school as being a school in the country with a very relaxed atmosphere. In her opinion, she 'virtually played all the time and did not do any study'. She had no unpleasant experiences, getting on well with all her teachers, whom

she evaluates as being 'very enthusiastic'. The only time that she was scolded by a teacher was when she was caught talking during class by her favourite teacher in second and third class. Mrs Matsuoka is philosophical about the incident, believing that it served her right because, after all, she was talking in class. The relationship between this teacher and Mr and Mrs Matsuoka has continued over the years, testimony to their mutual affection. Four years ago, the teacher visited them which, incidentally, is a reversal of the usual protocol in Japan where it is the teacher who is visited by former students.

To the Matsuokas, the change in atmosphere concomitant with their transition from Primary to Junior High school was due mainly to the frequent examinations. The examinations were difficult to ignore as the results of students would be posted up on a notice-board in order of merit for all to see. This motivated Mrs Matsuoka to study as, according to her, 'if you didn't study, you couldn't get by like you could in Primary school; you had to study to a certain extent'. For her, 'studying to a certain extent' meant studying before examinations and a little at other times; that was sufficient for her to get good grades. Mr Matsuoka, however, took another approach. By his own admission, Mr Matsuoka 'hardly studied at all' at Junior High school. Right from when he was in Primary school, he had enjoyed reading and he continued to read many books in Junior High school. He reasoned that he would 'benefit more by reading books than to just concentrate on studying [what was taught at school]'. In this sense, he was an active force in

his education, and even without 'studying', he managed to get good grades.

Nearly everyone at Mr Matsuoka's Junior High school went on to Senior High school. And it was at Senior High school that Mr Matsuoka finally submitted to the pressures exerted by the impending entrance examinations into university. As soon as he entered Senior High school, he started studying. To quote:

'now we were *all* working towards the entrance examinations into university; *everyone* started studying hard . . . . because they [the examinations] were really getting closer'. [emphasis added]

Studying for the entrance examinations was not a grind for Mr Matsuoka. Rather he took it in his stride. As he 'started having his own views on the world and things', Senior High school was the most enjoyable period out of his pre-university days.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps it is because of how much he personally developed at Senior High school that has prompted him to keep in touch with his teachers, to whom he sends New Year's cards every year. Being in the academic track of the school, virtually all his friends went on to university. After all, Mr Matsuoka remarks, 'in those days *it was quite common to go to university*'. He himself made the decision to go to university only after he started Senior High school but he admits that the idea of going on to university had been developing prior to that.

[Before starting Senior High school], 'maybe I was thinking in the back of my head that I would eventually go on to university.'

At Senior High school, Mrs Matsuoka also became involved in the study for entrance examinations into university. As with her Primary school teachers, she was again impressed by the enthusiasm of her Senior High school teachers, to whom she sends New Year's cards. Apart from the Primary school teacher both she and her husband see from time to time, Mrs Matsuoka has kept in touch with her class teacher in second and third year Junior High school. He was apparently a very 'romantic' teacher and certainly that would explain why he ended up marrying one of her classmates.

In retrospect, Mr Matsuoka's approach to studying paid off. He was able to enter Tokyo University, the most prestigious university in Japan. Basically, he went to university because he wanted to. Neither of his parents had ever taken an active role in his education; nor did they start then. According to Mr Matsuoka, 'all they thought was that if I wanted to go it was okay with them'. By the same token, if he had decided against going to university, they also would have been satisfied with this. Their attitude was of little significance to Mr Matsuoka, though, as he had been in control of his education right from when he was in Primary school. As we have seen, in Junior High school he rejected the narrow study curriculum of the school in preference for his custom-designed programme of study.

Nearly all of Mrs Matsuoka's class-mates went on to university or college. She made the decision to continue her education at the tertiary level only after she had started Senior High school but she had entertained the thought while she was in Junior High school. Mrs Matsuoka had her heart set on entering the Science

faculty of a 4-year university. Her parents had been supportive of her plans but when she failed the entrance examination they were against her taking an additional year to prepare for the examination again. 'The only alternative left to me', says Mrs Matsuoka, 'was to go to a Junior College'.

The school experiences of the Kitaharas are a striking contrast. The most vivid memories Mr Kitahara has of his Primary school days revolve around the naughty things he used to do. As a result, he often used to get into trouble with his teachers. The only teacher he remembers well is the teacher he had in first and second class. She was kind and gentle, and scolded him as a loving mother would scold her son. He has only vague recollections of his other teachers. Nor is it surprising. Primary school for Mr Kitahara and nearly everyone else, he says, was 'just a place to play' and they 'didn't like being made to study'. 'Studying' was an unwelcome intrusion on playing time.

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of Mrs Kitahara's Primary school experience was its sporadic nature. Having to look after the younger children prevented her from attending school very often. In first class, she only managed to go to school once or twice. Another prohibiting factor was that she lived a considerable distance from school. It took at least one hour each way for her to walk to school and, in Winter, going to school was out of the question as the road was impassable due to snow. The exceptionally high pupil-teacher ratio at her school would suggest that other children also had

difficulty getting to school. Although the average number of children who turned up to school - a combined Primary and Junior High school - on any one day was only around 38, there were at least five teachers. Even today, the average pupil-teacher ratio in Japan is 40:1.

Junior High school also failed to leave much of an impression on Mrs Kitahara. Her low attendance rate prevented her from becoming involved in school-life, and eventually, this alienated her from school. School was a miserable experience; unable to keep up with the other students, she was further disinclined to make the effort to attend. Leaving school at the end of Junior High school was a welcome relief. Even today, however, she is still handicapped by her school experience. Only being able to recognize a few Chinese characters and able to write even less,<sup>19</sup> and knowing that virtually everyone else has a superior education to her own, has left her extremely lacking in self-confidence.<sup>20</sup>

For Mr Kitahara, Junior High school was basically the same as Primary school. While the atmosphere of the school changed, he himself felt no different. In his words, 'he just felt that he had only gotten bigger'. According to his account, he acted no differently either. Playing and rebellious behaviour continued to be the central theme of his school-life, at least on the days that he went to school. He relates his Junior High school experience thus:

'Actually I never graduated from Junior High school. When I was in about first term of my second year, the school told me to not bother coming any more because I was always up to no good. They said I needn't come for a week or so. . . . This happened on several occasions so I thought that I wouldn't be able to graduate [because I



didn't have the prescribed number of classes]. I decided it would be better for me to get a job so I started work.'

*Did your parents say something to you when you didn't graduate from Junior High school?*

'At the time I asked my father for advice about what I should do. I told him that I didn't want to go to school any more.'

*What did your father say?*

'He said there's not much choice. He said that I was going to end up working anyway . . . he said that study is important too but that learning a trade is also a way of life. So I started working.'

Mr Kitahara remembers Senior High school as having the distinct aura of a 'special' school. There was hardly anyone in his class who took the entrance examinations into Senior High school. Most of them could not afford to. 'In those days', Mr Kitahara points out, 'it was hard enough for parents to provide the family with enough food to eat, without having the additional burden of children in school'. In his day, he says, '*the normal thing for a person to do was to learn a trade*'. Students who were really bright continued their formal education but those who were just 'average' did not even think of going on. Needless to say, as Mr Kitahara's grades were extremely bad, Senior High school and university lay well beyond Mr Kitahara's world.

### 3. Example 2: the Takahatas and the Oyamas

#### 3.1 Biographical information

Mr and Mrs Takahata (Parents 'E' in Tables 4.1-4.5) both grew up in well-to-do areas of Tokyo.<sup>21</sup> His father was a dentist and hers was an accountant. All of Mr Takahata's three sisters and one brother graduated from university. Moreover, both Mr Takahata's parents

graduated from university: his father from The Tokyo University of Dentistry and his mother from The Women's University of the Fine Arts. It should be noted that, in those days, going to university was a status symbol for women, in particular, as they were normally expected to prepare for matrimony by learning the traditional cultural skills (e.g., tea ceremony, *ikebana*) and etiquette as a wife (i.e., the subservience of the wife to the husband). The educational history of Mrs Takahata's family is also quite high. Her mother graduated from a Girls' High school and her father went to university. Both she and her only sister also graduated from university. In fact, Mrs Takahata graduated from the same university as her mother-in-law.

Mr and Mrs Takahata, aged 46 and 37 respectively, live with their two sons in *Suginami* ward in Tokyo. They live in a big, luxurious house<sup>22</sup>, which is well-appointed with quality furniture and the latest in hi-fi appliances. Paintings adorn the walls. Their eldest son is a student at Fuzoku and the youngest one attends kindergarten and *juku* after school to prepare for the highly competitive entrance examinations into prestigious Primary schools. Mr Takahata works as a doctor at the Health Clinic of a large corporation. Unlike most Japanese employees, his hours are regular. After having breakfast with the children, he leaves for work at 6.55 a.m., finishes work at 5 p.m. and returns home again by 5.50 p.m. Being home early enables him to have dinner with all his family, including his parents who live with them. He is a family man and on Sundays he likes to stay at home and do things with his family.

Recently, though, Mr Takahata has felt obliged to play golf (he is a member of one golf course) about twice a month with business associates.<sup>23</sup>

The Takahatas all like reading books. Mr and Mrs Takahata and their son like non-fiction and technology-related, historical novels and thrillers, and science fiction and historical novels, respectively. Excluding books related to Mr Takahata's work, he has in between 51 and 100 books and his wife, less than ten. In the three months' period prior to the survey, Mr Takahata had not read any books but his wife had read two or three. Their eldest son also enjoys reading and had read about six or seven books. Both Mr and Mrs Takahata read the newspaper everyday<sup>24</sup> and their son reads it about two or three times a week. Mr Takahata is the only one who buys magazines on a regular basis.<sup>25</sup>

Watching TV is also a popular activity in the Takahata household. Mrs Takahata does not have any favourite programmes but her husband tries to watch the 9 o'clock news, the Sports programme on Sundays and a late night music show. His son also makes a point of watching the news. After coming home from school, their son studies for three to four hours. He does not go to a *juku* as he feels that it is more effective to study by himself. His parents hold similar views. Mrs Takahata, for example, would like him to be able to study on his own and Mr Takahata, feels that he should first digest the lessons at school before thinking about going to a *juku*.

Mr Oyama (Parent 'R' in Tables 4.1-4.5) was an only child and lived with his parents in a town with a population of about 50,000, 60 kilometres to the north-east of Tokyo. His father, who was an electrician, died when Mr Oyama was 17. Education never had a prominent place in the Oyama family. While his father graduated from Primary school, his mother did not go to school at all. Mr Oyama started Junior High school but he did not manage to graduate. Mrs Oyama is from Thailand, the daughter of a farmer. They met in Bangkok where Mr Oyama was on vacation.<sup>26</sup> Since coming to Japan she has picked up enough Japanese to be able to hold a conversation, although her vocabulary is very limited. As she has not learnt to read or write, she was not able to answer the questionnaire survey. Mr Oyama thought that she had probably graduated from Junior High school in Thailand, but was not sure. He did not care.

Mr and Mrs Oyama, aged 38 and 35 respectively, live with their two sons and two daughters (one of whom goes to Sanchu) in a cluttered, old residence attached to the Lunch-box preparation and delivery centre that Mr Oyama runs. His day starts at 5.30 a.m. so that he can get the lunches delivered to the customers by noon. When he gets back from making the delivery, he works until 6 p.m. preparing the ingredients for the following day. By the time he is through with this, he is tired so he has a bath and drinks alcohol for the rest of the night.<sup>27</sup> On Sundays, his day off, he usually spends a relaxing day at home in front of the television but sometimes he practises golf at a Golf Practice Range nearby.

Mr Oyama likes reading books but, in practice, he does not seem to read many. In the three months prior to the survey, he did not read any books, and he only has a total of in between 21 and 30 books. When he does read, he likes thrillers and historical novels. Nor does he buy any magazines on a regular basis. He does, though, read the *Nihon Keizai shimbun* two or three times a week.<sup>28</sup> Mrs Oyama, of course, does not read books, magazines or the newspaper because of her language problem. Their daughter, however, likes reading very much and had read two or three books in the three month period prior to the survey. Her preferences lie in the areas of thrillers and romance. She reads the newspaper about once a week, devoting more time to her favourite past-time of reading comics.<sup>29</sup>

Both Mr Oyama and his daughter<sup>30</sup> like watching TV very much. The daughter prefers cartoons and drama programmes while her father likes to watch the 'Japanese era' programme that is broadcast on Sunday nights. As he drinks in the same room as where the TV is, he probably watches much more TV than just on Sunday nights. Furthermore, as his wife's conversational ability is restricted to the mundane matters of everyday life, he has no-one with whom to talk. This, of course, assumes that he would want to have a conversation with someone, an assumption which in itself is highly dubious.

A university student comes once a week to tutor their daughter for two hours. According to her father, this is the only time that she studies, and that is why they have the tutor come. On the days when the tutor does not come, the daughter does a few things

in her room on returning home from school but not much in the way of studying.<sup>31</sup> Basically, she just watches TV and reads comics.

### 3.2 School experience

Mr Takahata enjoyed his school days but recalls with some feelings of envy the class teacher which another class had in fourth, fifth and sixth class of Primary school. While his own class teacher was comparatively old, this other teacher was young and had a passion for astronomy and art. That class would often have extracurricular activities such as sketching outings and every lunch time, Mr Takahata would look on longingly as they observed the black spots on the sun with a telescope.

Mrs Takahata's school days were also enjoyable. In Primary school, the boys and girls in her class often played together and the emphasis was on play rather than on study. She had the same teacher from fourth class through to sixth class, a young man in his early 30's. She recalls with some resentment only two things. The first matter was the way her teacher would try to be especially kind to children from poor families. There were children who could not pay for their lunches,<sup>32</sup> for instance, and the teacher seemed to put these kids at the centre of his activities. Second, as education for girls was not considered to be important, the teacher only seemed interested in teaching the boys. As a result, she felt rather distant from the teacher.

For Mr Takahata, Junior High school was what he had been waiting for. Ever since he was a young child, he had liked drawing and at Junior High school he 'found the kind of teacher that he had

been looking for'. This teacher used to teach Mr Takahata how to draw in his spare time and, as they both liked tennis,<sup>33</sup> they would often play tennis together as well. In fact, Mr Takahata was on friendly terms with all his teachers. In the Summer holidays, he and the other students in his group<sup>34</sup> often did things together with the teachers (e.g., once they climbed Mt. Fuji together). Since he had a lot of personal interaction with the teachers, Mr Takahata felt that they were very 'human', and has kept in touch with them over the years.

Another important way in which the atmosphere of Junior High school differed from Primary school was the greater effort students put into their studies. Mr Takahata wanted to see his name on the notice-board reserved for students who excelled in their studies so he felt that he could not afford to muck around. He studied quite hard and got good grades. In Senior High school, he continued to study very hard, but Mr Takahata looks back on it and says 'it was fun'.

As both his Junior and Senior High schools were *shingakuko*, almost everybody went on to Senior High school and university, respectively. This was especially so in the case of boys whom, Mr Takahata claims, probably 100% of went on to university. *Everybody just thought that it was only natural that they go on to university.* Mr Takahata went on to become a doctor by graduating from The Medical University of Japan. As a child, he had always been told by both his parents that he should decide his future for himself. At the same time, however, they also told him that it is important to graduate from a good school to get a good job and social status. His

parents also gave him advice about his educational career and suggested, rather firmly perhaps, that he should go to university.

Mrs Takahata's parents sent her to a private, Christian Junior High school, not for religious reasons but because they thought the school was good. It had a different atmosphere from the other schools. As she had never been into a church or prayed before, Mrs Takahata felt as though she had 'suddenly entered the world of the movies!' Thus, going to Junior High school for Mrs Takahata was like being in 'a special world'. While all her Primary school teachers had been male, in Junior High school they were all female, mostly older women, who fussed about the appearance of the students. And, in the sense that the teachers changed for each subject, *she felt like she had started university* - the atmosphere was completely different to Primary school.

As Mrs Takahata went to the Senior High school that was attached to her Junior High school, the atmosphere of the school (e.g. the school policy and church) basically did not change. The only things that did change were the school buildings and the teachers. Mrs Takahata studied an 'average' amount and was usually in the middle of the class. Both her parents helped her with her homework and advised her about her educational career. Her mother also asked her class teacher for advice about which university her daughter should go to. With the exception of about five students who went on to Specialist schools, virtually everyone else went on to some university or Junior College.<sup>35</sup> Mrs Takahata was no exception. After



all, on starting Junior High school, *most students thought it was only natural that they end up going to university* in the future.

Mr Oyama's school career was shaped by his bad behaviour. The teachers he remembers best are those with whom he used to get into trouble most. By his own admission, this was by no means an uncommon event.

'I don't really want to say this but I didn't do many good things [when I was at school]. I remember the bad things that I did.'

*What kind of things did you get up to?*

'Well I used to go somewhere with about 10 or so other students while we were supposed to be in class. I only did this kind of bad thing [laugh].'

*So you often used to get into trouble with the teacher for doing this?*

'Yes, for that and for drinking alcohol or smoking.'

*Did you do that at school?*

'No, not at school. A group of us used to do these things outside of school. . . . So I only remember bad things [laugh].'

Mr Oyama did like his teacher in first year Junior High school. This, however, was because he always used to tell jokes in class. *It was a break from 'pure' study.* In contrast with the Takahatas' and the Matsuokas' experiences, Mr Oyama did not notice any change in the school atmosphere in the transition from Primary to Junior High school. For him, the emphasis was more or less evenly divided between playing and studying, right from Primary through to Junior High school. In any case, *his* behaviour did not change (as was the case with Mr Kitahara). He sums up his school experiences by saying, 'I didn't have any particularly unpleasant experiences. I just didn't like studying.'

In Junior High school, Mr Oyama studied an 'average' amount and his grades were also just 'average'. Originally, he had hoped to go on to Senior High school.<sup>36</sup> His plans were changed, though, when he fell ill at the beginning of his third year in Junior High school and was hospitalized for two years. When he was discharged, he went to a Cooking school to learn his trade and has been cooking ever since.<sup>37</sup> His parents never gave him any advice about what he should do - either in reference to his education or his occupation. He just did what he wanted to do.

#### **4. Upwardly and Downwardly Mobile Families<sup>38</sup>**

##### **- The Hamadas and the Nakamotos**

###### **4.1 Biographical information**

Mrs Hamada (Parent 'N' in Tables 4.1-4.5) was brought up in a town with a population of about 20,000 in Hokkaido. Her father was employed in the forestry industry. Both her parents graduated from Primary school, and her three sisters and one of her brothers, from Junior High school. Mrs Hamada and her other two brothers went as far as Senior High school. Mr Hamada's father was also involved in the agricultural business. He had a farm about 60 kilometres to the north-east of Tokyo, near where the Hamadas have made their home. The educational background of Mr Hamada's side of the family is similar to that of his wife's. Both his parents graduated from Primary school; his two sisters graduated from Junior High and he and his brother, from Senior High school.

The Hamadas live in a recently built home with their daughter<sup>39</sup> and son. Mr Hamada, 41, likes people to be well-mannered and his children are no exception. In this regard, he had the house designed so that his children would have to pass through the kitchen/living area (where Mr Hamada reads the paper after breakfast) before going to school in the mornings, thus ensuring that they would always tell their parents that they are 'off to school'. Mr Hamada owns a bicycle shop. He gets up around 6 a.m. and has breakfast with his family before leaving for work about 8 a.m. He usually has lunch at home with his wife. Except for once or twice a week when he gets home in between 6 and 8 p.m., he finishes work at 5 p.m. and goes straight home. After dinner, he either drinks if he has visitors or watches TV with the kids. Nearly every Sunday from Spring to Autumn he gets up at 5 a.m. to play baseball. He plays a game from 6 a.m. and is home by 8 a.m., ready to devote the rest of the day to his family. On Sundays, the Hamadas often go on family outings to a park, go to the beach or go for a drive to the mountains. They seem to enjoy each other's company as both Mr and Mrs Hamada and their daughter responded that 'being with their family' was something that they liked very much.

The Hamadas like reading but their preferences vary. While Mr Hamada likes historical novels and books on scientific technology, his wife and daughter prefer non-fiction and poetry, thrillers and novels about adolescents, respectively. Despite the pleasure the Hamadas claim to gain from reading, no-one subscribes to a magazine and they have very few books. Mr Hamada has in

between 21 and 30 books and his wife has less than ten. Reading the newspaper is a more popular activity, with all members of the Hamada family reading the newspaper<sup>40</sup> every day. TV has mixed reception in the Hamada household. Mrs Hamada does not like watching TV and prefers to listen to classical music and news programmes on the radio. Her husband and, in particular, her daughter like watching TV. The child usually arrives home from school at 4.30 p.m. or, if she has participated in club activities, around 6.30. Until 8 p.m. is 'free time' in the Hamada household where she is allowed to do as she pleases. She usually spends 30 minutes of this time practising the piano and the rest of the time she spends listening to music and/or watching TV. Sometimes the Hamadas get together as a family and play cards or table-tennis after dinner. 'Study time' begins at 8 p.m and she studies, on average, for two and a half hours.<sup>41</sup>

Mr and Mrs Nakamoto (Parents 'M' in Tables 4.1-4.5) both grew up in the same town, some 60 kilometres to the north-east of Tokyo. Mr Nakamoto was the only child of a bank employee and his wife, one of four children of an architect. Mr Nakamoto's parents both graduated from Primary school and he himself, from university. On his wife's side of the family, her parents were Junior High school graduates and one of her brothers graduated from Senior High school. Mrs Nakamoto and her other two brothers all went as far as a Specialist school.

The Nakamotos live with their two daughters<sup>42</sup> in a small dwelling attached to the hairdressing salon that Mrs Nakamoto owns. There is a small pond in the back yard which complements the room upstairs that their daughter uses to practice the tea ceremony. The daughter goes to a *juku* to learn such traditional Japanese arts as the tea ceremony, the Japanese harp [*koto*] and the piano. She usually spends about two hours per day on her academic studies. Mrs Nakamoto works from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. every day except Tuesdays<sup>43</sup> when she goes shopping and does the accounts for the business. Her husband, who sports a 'punch perm' and a long, little finger-nail, works at the local City Office. People at his office are promoted on the basis of educational background and, being a university graduate, he is being advanced along the ladder. Mr Nakamoto, though, does not like being 'better than others' and looks on his promotions with displeasure. He has even talked of resigning from his job if he is promoted any further. When he comes home from work around 6 p.m., he may read the newspaper<sup>44</sup> but more often he will watch the news on TV. Sometimes he might clean up the garden. After dinner, he watches whatever happens to be on TV. As far as he is concerned, there is nothing else to do. On Sundays, he does the things around the house that the girls can not do and, if he has any time to himself, he will go for a drive in his Mercedes Benz. His daughters usually prefer to stay home and read comics or listen to music.

Their daughter only reads the paper two or three times a week but Mrs Nakamoto makes a point of reading the paper thoroughly every morning. She is aware of the gap between herself and some of

her higher class clients who have had a university education and is intent on closing it.

'Sometimes I feel that the topics of conversation or the level of conversation of people who have graduated from university and people like us, who have only gone to Senior High school - although in my case I went to a Specialist school - don't match very well. So in order to improve my memory, I read the paper from cover to cover every morning. I try to close the gap between myself and such high class people by making myself able to talk about things which would suit the topics favoured by these people.'

Mrs Nakamoto does not show the same enthusiasm for reading books that she does for newspapers. She owns in between 11 and 20 books and, in the 3 month period prior to the survey, read two or three books. Her preferences for books are non-fiction and novels about animals. Her daughter also read the same number of books in the 3 month period. Romance and novels on adolescents are the kinds of books that she likes. Mr Nakamoto, on the other hand, likes books on travel and non-fiction. He has a collection of in between 21 and 30 books but did not read any books in the 3 month period. Mrs Nakamoto is the only one in the family who buys magazines on a regular basis, all of which are either related to hair-styles or young women's fashion.<sup>45</sup>

#### 4.2 School experience

Mr Hamada went to a Primary school where most of the children, including himself, were farmers' children. They used to put all their energy into playing rather than studying. 'But', he cautions, 'all primary school students were like that in those days. It

was that kind of atmosphere'. The teachers also put priority on disciplining the students rather than getting them to study.

Having always lived in the same school district meant that Mr Hamada went to the same Junior High school (i.e. Sanchu) as his daughter. He describes going to Sanchu, a catchment school for several urban Primary schools, as 'a culture shock', having spent six leisurely years at a country Primary school. The emphasis on study was also new to him. Since he was born in the baby boom at the end of the War, he was often reminded at Junior High school that if he did not study very hard, he would not be able to get into Senior High school. Not everyone heeded the teachers' advice, however.

'There were some students who did study very hard but others gave up and didn't study right from the beginning. [laugh] . . . I guess it is the same now. But I was told more and more often as I went through Junior High school to study.

*Do you think that there would have been more students who studied hard than those who didn't?*

' . . . . I think there were probably more students who didn't study hard. I think that only 1/3 of the students would have studied hard.'

As Mr Hamada, by his own admission, 'hardly studied at all', he was one of the majority. Nor did he enjoy many of his subjects. Social Studies was the only one that he liked; the others, especially English and Mathematics, he remembers as 'having had a hard time of it'.

More than 90% of the students in Mr Hamada's year went on to Senior High school. It was a *shingakuko* which had the aim of preparing students for entrance examinations into university, and nearly everyone went on to university. Therefore, the emphasis was

again on study. At no time did Mr Hamada, however, entertain thoughts of going on to university. Whereas in Junior High school his grades had always placed him about 20th out of the 400 students in his year, in Senior High school he was invariably towards the bottom of his class. In fact, unable to follow the classes, he dropped out half-way through and completed High school by correspondence<sup>46</sup> while he was working. He describes the way he felt about school and university at the time thus:

*Why didn't you go on to university?*

'When I was in Senior High school I learnt how to play and drink alcohol. I had my own wage and I soon had a lot of money that I could use freely. I didn't think about the future; rather all I could think about was things right in front of me or about playing around and having a good time.

*Then did you always think in the back of your head that you may go on to Senior High school but you wouldn't go on beyond that?*

'When I was in Senior High school I hardly ever thought about studying. I never thought that 'I must study'. All I thought about was graduating from high school and getting the Graduation Diploma as soon as I could. I didn't care about what happened after that.'

*Did you think like this right from Junior High school?*

'When I was in Junior High school I just kind of thought that I would probably go on to Senior High school. My parents told me to go on to Senior High school but if I could have gotten out of it, I wanted to become a craftsman. . . . I was the youngest child so my parents seemed to want to let me study if I wanted to do so. *My going to Senior High school was something which was kind of already decided - the atmosphere at home was like that.*' [emphasis added]

Mr Hamada remembers his Senior High school days with mixed feelings. In his first year, his father died and he remembers with gratitude his class teacher who helped him through the trauma. Before Mr Hamada married, he often used to visit him although recently his visits have become more spaced. On the other hand, his



inability to keep up with the school work prevented him from enjoying his Senior High school days. In contrast, Junior High school life holds more enjoyable memories for Mr Hamada. He describes the period thus:

'I played baseball and didn't study very much [at Junior High school]. I played baseball for the whole three years and in my third year I became captain of the team. So I was able to do more or less what I wanted. . . . Junior High school was the only time that I was really able to live the way I wanted.'

Mrs Hamada went to a country Primary school. It only had two classes, with about sixty students in each class. Being a small school, everyone in the school was friends and the children played with whomever they pleased, irrespective of the class groupings. Mrs Hamada's health kept her away from school for long periods at a time. In the lower years of Primary school she was able to keep up despite long absences; however, when the teacher started teaching more difficult things like fractions, it became increasingly difficult for her to understand. Gradually, she became disinclined to study after getting home from school - even if she sat down and opened her books, she could not understand.

At Junior High school, Mrs Hamada hardly studied at all except for the night before tests. As the students' results would be displayed on a notice-board in order of merit for all to see, she would cram to avoid the embarrassment of her name being posted towards the bottom of the list. When she tried hard, her grades would sometimes be in the upper middle of her class. This was never the

case for Mathematics and Social Studies, though. Mrs Hamada hated these subjects because she did not understand them. She did not understand them in the beginning so she was never able to. Her desire to study these subjects had long since disappeared and, being someone who did not like studying anyway, she never got good grades in these subjects.

The teachers who impressed Mrs Hamada most were her English and Mathematics teachers. Her English teacher used to enter her in English speech competitions. She had difficulty understanding English but this teacher used to hold her hand and teach her step by step. Mrs Hamada thinks that the teacher was very commendable for this. Her Mathematics teacher, on the other hand, she disliked. She describes her experience in his class thus:

'I always got the feeling that, because I didn't understand, if I looked at the teacher he would be sure to ask me a question. So I always tried to avoid his eyes. . . . Also, the Maths teacher used to throw pieces of chalk at the students who were talking. His accuracy level was 100%.'

*Did the teacher ever throw chalk at you?*

'No, that never happened to me.'

Nearly everybody went on from Junior High to Senior High school. As Mrs Hamada went to a local Senior High school, there were not many students who came from different areas. It was just a continuation of Junior High school. Her health continued to be a problem. She had emotional problems and was constantly going in and out of hospital. The only thing she found enjoyable about this time was going to school from the hospital by taxi to take an

examination. On the occasions that she was discharged from hospital for any length of time, she was able to ease back into school-life with a minimum of difficulty, largely due to the special consideration shown her by the School Principal, a friend of her father. Mrs Hamada was also on good terms with her class teacher. She often went to his place and would sometimes be invited to stay to dinner.<sup>47</sup>

Only three<sup>48</sup> out of the sixty three students in her Senior High school year went to university. Mrs Hamada wanted to go to university and become a kindergarten teacher. When she made her plans known to her parents in her third year of Senior High school, however, her plans were met with strong opposition by her parents for several reasons. First, it was too far to commute to the nearest university and her parents would not let her live away from home by herself;<sup>49</sup> second, because of her poor health, her parents were dubious whether she would be able to finish the course. And, even if she did manage to get the diploma, they believed that the work would be too physically demanding, rendering the diploma nothing more than an exercise in futility. Mrs Hamada was also fighting against deeply ingrained sexual stereotypes. Her mother held the opinion that 'girls should hurry up and find a good husband and settle down'. The most expedient way of achieving this her mother contended, of course, was to learn traditional cultural arts such as *ikebana* and the tea ceremony. As such, there was no reason for Mrs Hamada to have to go to university.

Mr Nakamoto still sees his teacher from first class Primary school from time to time. She was a good teacher who seemed to devote all her energy to just looking after him. School itself was also fun. The emphasis was on playing. With the impending problem of entrance examinations into Senior High school, however, the playing/studying ratio was inversed in Junior High school. As students' names were displayed in order of merit, there was a feeling of competition amongst the students. Mr Nakamoto started studying for the examinations at the beginning of his second year. He did not like studying so he just studied an 'average' amount. This, though, was enough for him to get good enough grades to be accepted into the best Senior High school in the local area.<sup>50</sup>

Being the best school meant that about 90% of the students went on to university. In the beginning, Mr Nakamoto had no intentions of going on to university and elected to be placed in the 'Vocational class'.<sup>51</sup> He liked mechanical things and was hoping to find employment with a company concerned with cars. Being an only child, however, meant that his parents would not have any financial problems in sending him to university. Thus, his class teacher persuaded him to go into the university-track. His parents said that he should do whatever he liked, and Mr Nakamoto thought it would be better to change tracks and leave his options open. School-life in the university-track was hard. It was just one examination after another.

<sup>50</sup> I would have preferred to have had more of a student-like life and to have gone to a school where the university entrance examinations

were not the main thing. If it had been like that I think I would have enjoyed High school life more. . . . Students in the university-track had tests almost every day. They studied just for the sake of examinations. I don't remember having enjoyed playing around at all or having had a real student life.'

As a result, Mr Nakamoto became insolent. He used to smoke cigarettes, either on the school grounds or at a restaurant near school. His grades were inconsistent. At times he used to be in the middle of his year; at others, his rank would slip down to the bottom group of students. He did not like studying. Nevertheless, he continued on to university.

Mrs Nakamoto's first class teacher in Primary school was kind and gentle, just like a mother. In fact, all of her teachers had a very gentle manner with the students. School was fun. In Junior High school, the students were divided into 'vocational' and 'university' tracks, and Mrs Nakamoto was in the latter. Although the teachers reminded the students that getting into the Senior High school of their choice was dependent on their grades, nobody worried much about their grades. At the time, Mrs Nakamoto had no plans to go to university, nor did she try to be better than others at her school-work. She just wanted to acquire a basic education<sup>52</sup> and to do this, she reasoned, she would have to go to at least Senior High school or Junior College. Mrs Nakamoto went to a Senior High school in Tokyo and lived in a dormitory together with other students, some of whom came from as far afield as Hokkaido and Kyushu. Sending daughters to boarding school was highly irregular at the time but Mrs

Nakamoto's parents were anxious for her to learn how to be independent.

'I was an only child and my parents wanted me to be able to stand on my own two feet after their death. . . . my father believed that children shouldn't rely on the assets they inherit from their parents to support themselves. So he said that he had to raise me as someone who could fend for herself. It seemed that they chose a Senior High school for me where the discipline was quite strict.'

She enjoyed her days there immensely, listening intently to stories told by students about life in their home-towns.

It was only after she had started Senior High school that she thought that she would like to go on to university. Perhaps she had been influenced by her friends as nearly everyone went on to university from her school. Her parents, however, opposed her plans for health reasons (Mrs Nakamoto had been a sickly child ever since she started Primary school) and told her that under no circumstances would they allow her to go to university. Her father also pointed out to her that 'just because a person has gone to university does not mean that he or she is a great person [*rippa na ningen*].' She was ordered to go home. For a while after graduating from high school, Mrs Nakamoto worked in her father's office but soon became dissatisfied with 'not doing anything' and enrolled in a Specialist school with the aim of becoming a hairdresser. This time, getting her parents' permission, was not as difficult. Basically, her parents wanted her to be able to fend for herself in life and realized that acquiring a skill would be an effective means to this end. Another reason was that because her mother was also a hairdresser, Mrs

Nakamoto would, in effect, be walking the same path as her mother had. After all, it is easier to walk a well-trodden path in familiar territory than to open up virgin terrain. The reasoning adopted by both Mrs Nakamoto and her parents about her decision to go to a Specialist school went along the following lines:

*'The reason I chose to go to a Specialist school was that I thought I could make it on my own if I had a skill of some kind.'*

*How did your parents feel about your decision to go to a Specialist school?*

*'It was close so they felt easy about it. If I had wanted to go to university, I would have had to go to Tokyo as there weren't any around here.'*

*But you went to Tokyo to go to Senior High school so wouldn't it have been easy for you to continue living in Tokyo and go to university as well?*

*'Well, I did think of suggesting it at one stage [because everybody else was going on] but my parents said that, given my condition, I should quit being a student.'*

## 5. A Family in Educational Conflict - The Teruis<sup>53</sup>

### 5.1 Biographical information

Mr Terui (Parent 'L' in Tables 4.1-4.5) came from a poor, farming background. He lived with his parents and four sisters in a village about 60 kilometres north-east of Tokyo, near where he lives with his son today. His parents graduated from Primary school; Junior High school was the extent of the education of three of his sisters. Mr Terui and his other sister went as far as Senior High school.

Mr Terui, 45, works as a cook at a local Golf Club. He and his wife divorced about 13 years ago and now Mr Terui lives together

with his son in a recently built house close to Sanchu. He leaves for work at 6.45 a.m. and gets home at 5.30 p.m., or 7 p.m. if he is on the late shift. After coming home and cooking dinner, he sets himself up in front of the TV within easy reach of his supply of beer. Mr Terui drinks up to 10 bottles of beer a night. He has the liberty to select his own day off. Usually he chooses Tuesday or Monday as this is when the Cycling Races are held. On his day off, after doing the washing and cleaning, he likes to gamble at the Cycling Races. His son comes home from school around 6 p.m., or later if he participates in Club activities. Twice a week the son goes to a *juku*<sup>54</sup> and on the other nights he studies for at least one hour (or four to five hours according to Mr Terui) at the dining table. As there is only the two of them, Mr Terui says that they like to be where they can both see each other. Although they enjoy a very close relationship, Mr Terui and his son do have areas of contention. On the one hand, Mr Terui wants his son to study less and, on the other, his son is worried about his father's heavy drinking.

'He [the son] studies at the dining table and I sit here [in front of the TV which is in the same room] drinking beer with him telling me to lay off the drinking'.

And Mr Terui about his son:

*Do you think that he studies too much?*

'Yes, I do. I often tell him not to study so much because if he studies like that he will make himself ill. Then he will say that he doesn't want to become like me so he continues to study.'



Despite their different attitudes towards education, Mr Terui and his son are alike in many ways. First, both Mr Terui and his son like reading. Historical novels are favoured by them both but Mr Terui and his son also like socio-political/economic-related novels and Science Fiction, respectively. Second, comics are also very popular with the Teruis. Mr Terui's son tries to keep his father informed about new comics, knowing that his father will go out and buy them for them both to read. Third, they both also read the *Asahi* newspaper daily and subscribe to 'Weekly Magazine' and 'Weekly Sunday'. His son also buys 'Jump', a comic book, on a regular basis. Finally, both Mr Terui and his son are avid TV viewers.<sup>55</sup>

## 5.2 School experience

Everyday was fun for Mr Terui at Primary school. He just played all the time and enjoyed himself. His teachers were kind and gentle. His first class teacher, for example, was just like a mother to him and the other children in his class. In Junior High school, however, his teachers were strict. Once he was hit by a teacher with a big, wooden triangle for wrestling in a private study period. It really hurt. Although the disciplinary approach adopted by the teachers was strict, the school itself had a very easy-going atmosphere. Mr Terui points out that it was completely different from Junior High schools today: it was not at all study-oriented and there used to be many sporting events such as marathons. Out of his school career, Mr Terui enjoyed his third years in Junior and Senior High school most.

This was because, being in his senior year, he could get away with doing what he liked.

Approximately 70 or 80% of students went on to Senior High school. The impending entrance examinations did not perturb Mr Terui since he had already convinced himself that he would pass. His confidence was rooted in his decision to go to a Commercial High school, which is easier to gain admission to than a regular school due to lack of popularity. This move, of course, effectively blocked off all avenues to a university education in the future, not that this was ever a matter of consideration. The idea of going to university was far removed from Mr Terui's head. He had never liked studying and was anxious to start work as soon as possible. In this sense, Mr Terui was probably a disappointment to his father who had hoped that his son would go to university.

'My father said that he really wanted me to go to university but I didn't want to trouble my father [financially] so I said that I would get a job'.

*Why did your father want you to go on to university?*

'Because he didn't have a chance to study even though he wanted to. He said that I should at least go to Senior High school so that is what I did. My father wanted me to go on to university though.'

From the early childhood and school experiences of the twelve parents outlined in this chapter, it is evident that there are significant differences in parental histories. While the Matsuokas and Takahatas grew up in relative luxury, for instance, life for the Kitaharas and Oyamas was indelibly stamped with poverty and

hardship. Moreover, the differences are still very much evident some 20 years later; nor are the differences confined to the standard of living enjoyed by different families. As we have seen in this chapter, the parents' school experiences went from one extreme to another. Mr Matsuoka and Mr Takahata are good examples of the one extreme. They both did their best to actively seek out their own education within the confines of the educational system: Mr Matsuoka developed his own customized curriculum and Mr Takahata 'found' the teacher that he had been looking for. On the other hand, Mr Oyama and the Kitaharas are representative of the other extreme. Besides the poverty in which they lived, another trait which they all share is their failure to adapt to school-life. Their school careers were marked by poor grades, rebellious behaviour and/or failure to attend school. Their failure to tune themselves into school-life is exemplified by their comments about the atmosphere of Junior High school vis-a-vis Primary school. Both Mr Oyama and Mr Kitahara were oblivious to any changes there may have been in the school atmosphere when they started Junior High school. They just felt that they had 'gotten bigger'.

Another important difference illuminated by the parental histories was when, and under what circumstances, the educational careers of the parents terminated. In the case of the Takahatas and Mr Matsuoka, they all went to university because basically, that was what they wanted to do. Moreover, both the school and family environments they were in, dictated that this was the appropriate route to take. The atmosphere of the school was one where the

students were expected to continue on to university (and virtually everybody did so). The family atmosphere was also the same, especially in the case of Mr Takahata - even his mother was a university graduate.

The atmosphere of Mr Nakamoto's Senior High school was also one where the students were expected to continue their education at the tertiary level. Originally, Mr Nakamoto wanted to become an auto-mechanic but instead found himself, somewhat against his will, on the route to university as if being propelled by the momentum of the school's atmosphere. On the other hand, Mrs Hamada and Mrs Nakamoto had the opposite kind of forces with which to contend. They both wanted to go to university but, suffering from a weak constitution and perhaps more importantly, being girls, were not able to win the support of their parents.

This chapter dealt with factual information about the family circumstances of early childhood, the parents' memories of their school-days and the reasons why some parents elected to continue their formal education longer than others. It endeavoured to paint a history of each parent in order to better understand each parent's attitudes to, and way of thinking about educational matters. Chapter Five will take up from this point and focus on what the parents are like today by addressing questions such as: What are their attitudes towards education? What educational aspirations do they have for their children?

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<sup>1</sup>'Upwardly mobile families' refers to families which are upwardly mobile in regard to education. That is, the averaged scores for parents' educational background (see Table 5.2) are less than parental educational aspirations for this child and the child's siblings. 'Downwardly mobile families', in contrast, refers to families in which the averaged scores for parents' educational background are greater than parental educational aspirations for this child and the child's siblings.

<sup>2</sup>The value-weighted scores for parents' educational background were as follows:

Old educational system (prior to 1945)

Primary school	0
Junior High; Girls' High; Technical school	1
Specialist schools	2
Senior High school	3
University	4

New educational system (post-1945)

Junior High school	0
Senior High school	1
Specialist schools	2
Technical College; Junior College	3
University	4

The value-weighted scores for children's educational background were as follows:

Senior High school	0
Technical College; Specialist schools	1
Junior College	2
University	3
Graduate school	4

<sup>3</sup>In cases where there was only 1 child, the 'averaged score for the child's siblings' was substituted by the score for that child.

<sup>4</sup>Ideally, this calculation should take into consideration the educational backgrounds of the child's grandparents and that of the parents' siblings. However, to do this would make it difficult to compare educational background scores between generations.

<sup>5</sup>The value-weighted scores for questions related to cultural affinity were as follows:

Like very much	4
Like	3

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Neither like nor dislike	2
Dislike	1
Hate	0

<sup>6</sup>The value-weighted scores for questions related to cultural consumption were as follows:

1/week	4.0
1/month	3.2
1/3 months	2.4
1/6 months	1.6
1/year	0.8
Almost never	0

<sup>7</sup>The same value-weighted scores were used as for 'Cultural Affinity'.

<sup>8</sup>The same value-weighted scores were used as for 'Cultural Affinity'.

<sup>9</sup>The value-weighted scores for 'Newspaper Reading' were as follows:

Almost everyday	4.0
2-3 times/week	2.5
1/week	1.25
Almost never	0

<sup>10</sup>The value-weighted scores for the number of books they read were as follows:

Did not read any books	0
1 book only	0.66
2-3 books	1.32
4-5 books	1.98
6-7 books	2.64
8-9 books	3.30
10 or more books	3.96

<sup>11</sup>The value-weighted scores for 'buy magazines on a regular basis' were as follows:

Yes	4
No	0

<sup>12</sup> The major newspapers in Japan are the *Asahi*, *Yomiuri* and the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*; the *Mainichi*, *Sankei* and *Sports* newspapers are minor papers. In terms of political stance and readership, they can be categorized as follows:

*Asahi shimbun*: left wing; read by well-educated people (e.g., professors, teachers (especially Senior and Junior High school teachers)).

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*Yomiuri shimbun*: right wing; read by lower class people, especially those with low educational level (e.g., taxi drivers, shop owners).

*Nihon Keizai shimbun (The Japanese Economy)*: right wing; read by people with power and/or prestige, the 'decision makers' and 'opinion readers' (e.g., businessmen, company owners, managers, public servants); most readers of *Nihon Keizai* also read *Asahi*.

*Nihon Keizai shimbun* + *Yomiuri*: these people basically just want to make money.

*Mainichi*: left wing; read by well-educated people but recently the *Asahi shimbun* has gained popularity amongst this group.

*Sankei, Sports*: extremely right wing; read by lower class people.

<sup>13</sup>Mr Matsuoka reads the *Asahi*, *Mainichi* and *Yomiuri* newspapers (see Footnote 11).

<sup>14</sup>While both the '*Weekly Asahi*' and '*Asahi Journal*' cover current events, there are important differences between the two. On the one hand, the '*Asahi Journal*' is a mixture of opinions and reporting. It tends to be high-brow. The '*Weekly Asahi*', on the other hand, has a wider readership because it aims to present articles in a way that will entertain the reader. Its editorial policy is that the 'average' reader should be able to finish reading it within 1 hour. Both the '*Weekly Asahi*' and '*Asahi Journal*' are read by quite well-educated people. The same can also be said about readers of '*Sunday Mainichi*', '*Weekly Yomiuri*' and '*Weekly Sankei*'.

<sup>15</sup>The '*Chuo Koron*' is a comprehensive magazine, covering such topics as the economy, politics, and social problems. Most of the articles are written by university professors and the magazine is read mainly by well-educated people. Recently, however, its popularity has declined, partly due to the declining influence of professors in Japan.

<sup>16</sup>That is, the daughter who participated in the survey.

<sup>17</sup>He reads the *Yomiuri* newspaper (see Footnote 11).

<sup>18</sup>This, however, does not mean that he found other periods to be unenjoyable.

<sup>19</sup>A considerable number of the questions on the questionnaire were left unanswered because she was unable to read the Chinese characters.

<sup>20</sup>She refused to be interviewed formally (i.e. the full set of interview questions that I had already asked her husband in her presence) but finally conceded to answer questions about her childhood on the condition that I did not record the interview.

<sup>21</sup>Mr and Mrs Takahata grew up in *Nakano* and *Suginami* wards, respectively.

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<sup>22</sup>The house has a study.

<sup>23</sup>In Japan, golf has traditionally been an elite sport as it is very expensive to play at a Golf Course. Most people have to be content with 'playing' golf at Golf Practice Ranges, where up to 50 people stretched out along a long line practice hitting golf balls into nets. However, as golf is increasingly becoming incorporated into the business world (e.g., the entertainment of business clients), recently people from a wider range of social classes have come to play golf, needless to say, at company expense. Thus, the social distinctiveness of golf now lies in whether the players are playing at their own expense - that is, whether players have a golf club membership. Depending on the particular golf club, golf club memberships range in price from ¥2,000,000 to ¥500,000,000 (the average price is approximately ¥30,000,000).

<sup>24</sup>They subscribe to the *Asahi* newspaper (see Footnote 11 for further details).

<sup>25</sup>Mr Takahata subscribes to 3 magazines: *Internal Medicine*, *Chinese Medicine* and *Modern Medicine*.

<sup>26</sup>Bangkok is notorious for sex-tours which cater to the Japanese. It would not be an exaggeration to say that many Japanese men who go to Bangkok without their families participate in these activities.

<sup>27</sup>In fact, when I called him to arrange for the interview, he was drunk and ended up getting the day wrong.

<sup>28</sup>See Footnote 11.

<sup>29</sup>She buys *Nakayoshi*, *Ribon* and *Hitomi* on a regular basis.

<sup>30</sup>No information is available for Mrs Oyama as she was not able to complete the questionnaire survey due to her language problem.

<sup>31</sup>The daughter says that she studies on average two hours a day.

<sup>32</sup>In Japan, lunch is prepared for school-children by the school. Parents are asked to pay a minimal amount to cover the costs.

<sup>33</sup>The teacher represented Japan as a tennis player.

<sup>34</sup>There were several groups within the students of the same year and he was in the tennis group.

<sup>35</sup>There was also a Junior college attached to the Senior High school within the same school grounds.



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36<sup>4</sup>In those days', Mr Oyama said, 'about half the students got jobs at the end of Junior High school'.

37<sup>5</sup>Soon after he got out of hospital his father died.

38<sup>6</sup>'Upwardly mobile families' refers to families in which the parents have higher educational aspirations for their children than they themselves attained. 'Downwardly mobile families', on the other hand, refers to families in which the parents have lower educational aspirations for their children than they themselves attained. If the averaged scores for parents' educational background (see Table 5.2) and parental educational aspirations for this child and the child's siblings are compared (see Table 5.5), the resulting educational scores for the Hamadas (Parents 'N') and Nakamotos (Parents 'M') show an upward and downward movement, respectively (i.e., 1.0 --> 3.0 and 3.0 --> 1.0).

39<sup>7</sup>The daughter, who goes to *Sanchu*, participated in the survey.

40<sup>8</sup>Mr Hamada reads the *Yomiuri shimbun* (see Footnote 11).

41<sup>9</sup>Their daughter also attends a *juku* twice a week at her own request. Both she and her father feel that unless she goes to a *juku* it will be difficult for her to pass the entrance examination into a good Senior high school. The mother is also pleased that her daughter wants to study.

42<sup>10</sup>The eldest daughter, who goes to *Sanchu*, participated in the survey.

43<sup>11</sup>If she has a function on at a hotel (e.g., wedding reception), she is at the hotel from 4a.m. until about 10p.m. On these occasions, however, she takes time off in the afternoon so she can be at home when the children arrive home.

44<sup>12</sup>Mr Nakamoto reads the *Yomiuri shimbun* two or three times a week.

45<sup>13</sup>Mrs Nakamoto subscribes to *Hair-make*, *Sophia* and *JJ*.

46<sup>14</sup>The decision to finish High school was entirely voluntary: he just felt that he would like to study a bit more.

47<sup>15</sup>Since leaving school, the only teacher with whom she has kept in touch is her 5th and 6th class Primary school teacher. He still lives near her parents' home in Hokkaido.

48<sup>16</sup>All three were boys.

49<sup>17</sup>This attitude was common amongst parents of daughters who feared that their daughter's marital prospects would be jeopardized if she lived away from home by herself. Even today traces of this attitude are evident.

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50 About 60 or 70% of the students went on to Senior High school.

51 There was only one vocational class.

52 In the interview, Mrs Nakamoto used the word *kyoyo* which has a broader meaning than education, implying an education in the cultural sense as well.

53 No information is available about Mrs Terui as she does not live with her husband and son.

54 The son asked his father to let him go to *juku* so he would have a better chance of getting into a good Senior High school.

55 Mr Terui likes to watch the Japanese era programme on Sunday nights and his son likes watching *Miyuki*, *Dirty Pair* and *Doraguna*.

## V

# Attitudes and Expectations

This chapter will ascertain differences in family culture and their effect on the educational attainment of children by exploring two areas. First, the attitudes of the parents introduced in Chapter Four, both towards education in general and towards their child's education, will be probed. Attitudes towards education in general will be assessed by focusing on the parents' perception of the following factors: what makes a 'good' school, the role of schools (from Primary school through to Senior High school), the social merits of university education, their personal support for university education and the parents' perceived importance of *gakureki* in Japanese society. The second aspect of parental attitudes, namely, parents' attitudes towards their child's education, will be discussed in reference to the following factors: the perceived role of parents in the child's education, their attitude towards the child's study habits, the degree of consideration extended towards a *jukensei* by the family and, the most effective way of enhancing a child's probability of being accepted into a good school or university.

Second, attention will be paid to the expectations that parents have for their children, that is, what kind of person they would like their child to be, what level of education they would like him/her to attain, what they would advise their child to do if he/she failed the entrance examination into university, and whether they would feel disappointed if the child did not go to university. To facilitate the analysis, parents will be discussed in terms of the same five Family Types as in Chapter Four - namely, consistently high education level (Type 1), upwardly mobile families (Type 2), downwardly mobile families (Type 3), consistently low education level (Type 4) and a family in educational conflict (Type 5). As there is only one parent in Family type 5, the discussion will primarily focus on the other four family types to make the differences in family culture between the major Family Types clearer.

## **1. Attitudes towards education**

### **1.1. What makes a 'good' Junior High school?**

Presumably, the way parents define a 'good' school reflects their expectations for their children in terms of education. That is, parents who expect their children to proceed to university are more likely to be concerned about qualities in the Junior High school that would facilitate the realization of this goal, and vice versa. This trend was evident amongst the parents interviewed, as shown by Table 5.1. The responses to 'What makes a good Junior High school?', were

Table 5.1 What makes a 'good' school?

Family type	Parent	Father/mother	Response type (in terms of educational expectations)			
			High		Low	
1	A	F	6			4
	B	M	1	3		4
	C	F	6			4
	D	M	6			4
	E	F	1			4
	F	M	6		2	4
	G	F	1			4
	H	M	1		2	4
	J	F	1	5		4
	K	M	1			4
		M	1			4
2	N	F			2	4
	O	M	6		2	4
	Q	F	6		2	4
	M	1			4	
3	M	F			2	4
	P	M			2	4
		F			2	4
4	I	M			2	4
	R	F				4
	S	M				4
5	L	F				4

Key:

1. many students enter famous Senior High schools
2. the teachers are strict
3. the parents of other students have a high social status
4. the goal of the school is to let the children develop in a relatively relaxed environment
5. many famous people have graduated from the school
6. it is a famous school

divided into two types - high and low - which indicate high and low educational expectations on the part of parents, respectively. With the exception of three sets of parents (i.e., Parents 'H', 'K', 'N'), all Family Type 1 and 2 parents mentioned at least one of the following conditions to be necessary for a 'good' Junior High school: 'many students enter famous Senior High schools', 'the parents of other students have a high social status', 'many famous people have graduated from the school' or, 'it is a famous school'. All Family type teachers are strict', 'the goal of the school is to let the children develop in a relatively relaxed environment'.

## 1.2 Schools and what they should do

Schools are commissioned with the task of socializing children into society by teaching them an array of knowledge and skills. In practice, children are exposed to variations in the formal (i.e., the official course of study) and informal curricula (i.e., the more implicit method of classroom control, teacher expectations etc.), both in terms of content and depth. In short, children are subjected to different socialization experiences by the school. The mechanisms through which this occurs are complex and will not be discussed here. It is suffice to say that the locus of these mechanisms is both within, and *external* to the school, neither being exclusive of the other. By contributing towards the educational atmosphere of the family, the role of parents in this process, albeit indirect, can not be denied. For example, a child who comes from a family in which the

atmosphere is geared to education is more likely to be steered in, and voluntarily move in, the direction of an academically-oriented form of socialization than a child who comes from a family which is less concerned about education. As differences are also likely to be evident in parents' expectations of schools and what they believe schools should do, parents were asked in the interview what they consider the role of schools to be.

The ultimate expectation that Family Type 1 and 2 parents hold for their children is that they go to university. Of course, this requires children to be good at school-work. In this regard, these parents expect schools to facilitate this goal by attending to two areas. First, at the Primary school level, to foster an appetite for study in students by providing the appropriate stimuli. The assumption is that if children like studying, they will be more motivated to study, study more and thus, be better at it. Second, at the secondary school level, to provide academic preparation for entrance examinations into Senior High school and university.

Family Type 1 parents:

'The Primary school should *develop a child's interests*; at Junior High school, I would like the child to be thoroughly taught the basics; at Senior High school, the level of the classes becomes quite high. I would like the education to be such that the child can know to what kind of things he/she is suited [and should study at the tertiary level].' (Mr Matsuoka, parent 'A') [emphasis added]

'I think it is the role of schools [i.e., Primary school through to Senior High school] to teach children the basics of study *in such a way that they enjoy learning*.' (Mrs Takahata, parent 'E') [emphasis added]

While Family Type 3, 4 and 5 parents said essentially the same things as Type 1 and 2 parents, their reasons were divorced from obscure goals such as developing a child's interest in study in order to increase his/her chances of success in future entrance examinations. Basically, Type 3, 4 and 5 parents want Primary school to be a place where their children can enjoy themselves playing. And, at the secondary school level, most parents expect the school to teach children the basics in order that he/she can go out into the work-force.

Family Type 3 parents:

'From Primary school through to Junior High school children should learn the basics. Compulsory education is up to the end of Junior High school so children *should be taught the minimum knowledge which would be required if the child were to go out into the real world*. At Senior High school, the school should add flesh to this basic 'skeleton'.' (Mr Nakamoto, parent 'M') [emphasis added]

'I think that Primary school is a time when children should learn things through play and build up their physical strength. At Junior High school, a child would get left behind if he didn't know the basics so I think this is the time when he should learn these. Senior High school is, for the majority of students who don't go on to university, one step before going out into society so it is the time when *students should prepare for going out into society*. They should do this by doing things like reading editorials and learning about the world.' (Mrs Nakamoto, parent 'M') [emphasis added]

'In today's Primary and Junior High schools, *there is not enough play*. . . . I would like the schools to give the children *a more relaxed education* and let them go and sketch something or go hiking. When children go into Senior High school, they are close to becoming adults so I think the schools should teach them more about things *like how to be an adult*. At present, they only teach them academic things.' (Parent 'P') [emphasis added]



It is interesting to note that the parents least interested in education (i.e., Type 4 and 5), gave more general answers (which suggests that they have given less thought to the role of schools than other parents) and are less demanding on the school, tending to express their answers in terms of what the *children* should do rather than what the school should do.

Family type 4 and 5 parents:

'I think that schools [Primary through to Senior High school] should first of all develop the academic ability of students.' (Mr Terui, parent 'L')

'I think that if *kids* can play and make friends and do a bit of studying [at Primary school], that is enough. Real studying doesn't start until Junior High school. Senior High school is a time when *you* have to switch over to studying [from playing around] and start thinking about your future and *shingaku*. (Mr Oyama, parent 'R') [emphasis added]

'The role? Well, as they are students I don't think there is anything else besides studying. As long as they are students *their work* is studying.'

*Do you think that there is anything in particular that Primary or Senior High school should do?*

'No, I don't think so. I think that whatever is necessary they are probably doing at the moment.' (Mr Kitahara, parent 'S') [emphasis added]

It is evident from the responses parents gave in the interview that parents who hope that their children will go on to university have higher expectations of, and are more demanding of, the school than parents who are less enthusiastic about their children's education.

### 1.3 University and its social merits

No-one would dispute that going to university is useful in the respect that, by increasing avenues of employment opportunities, it facilitates employment. As was argued in Chapter Three, however, the social merits of university are more obscure. While the link between university and future employment is easily recognized, it was contended that fewer parents would realize how having a good time at university can help a child later in life. However, the social life university provides is an excellent training ground in human relationships, an area which is especially important in the Japanese business world. This supposition was tested by asking parents in the interview whether they consider there is anything to be gained by going to university, besides getting a degree and facilitating future employment. Consider the following excerpts from interviews with Family Type 4 parents.

*Besides getting a degree and facilitating employment, do you think there is anything else to be gained by going to university?*

'Well, by the time you become a university student you are already an adult. You're an adult so it would only be natural that you want to drink alcohol and play around. So I think that *being a university student means to refrain from doing these things* to a certain extent. I feel sorry for university students.' (Mr Kitahara, parent 'S') [emphasis added]

'..... well, I guess it would be an advantage when you want to get a job.'

*Do you think there is anything to be gained in terms of human development?*

'..... I don't know . . . . I don't know what university is like so I don't know. If I had gone to university I would know [but I didn't so I don't know]. . . . The only image I have of university is that a person

*who has graduated from university can get a job easier and he can get to the top quicker than a Senior High school graduate.'* (Mr Oyama, parent 'R') [emphasis added]

Now compare with Family type 1 parents:

*Besides getting a degree and facilitating employment, do you think there is anything else to be gained by going to university?*

'I guess the reason you go to university is to get a degree but besides that I think your university days are a time when you think about a lot of things. This way of thinking may not be correct but, in this sense, *a degree is no more than an appendage.'* (Mr Matsuoka, parent 'A') [emphasis added]

'Apart from what is connected to your future work, I think you get self-satisfaction.' (Mrs Matsuoka, parent 'A') [emphasis added]

'Yes, friends. I think of university as being the stage before going out into the world. So, of course, university is a place to study but it is also a place to make friends. *It's a good time to learn how to get on with people.'*

*So if a child doesn't go on to university, would you consider this to be a 'minus' in terms of his personal development?*

'*I would feel sorry for the child.* I mean if he went into the world straight from Senior High school, he would have to learn both about his job and learn about the society - how to interact with people etc. at the same time.' (Mrs Takahata, parent 'E') [emphasis added]

'Yes, I do. The reason is because it gives you a chance to do things other than study. University students these days don't study very much [but I think that] rather than study about things you want to at university, it is better to work at becoming a broad-minded person [*yo-yu o motta ningen*]. The 4 years spent at university may be a waste of time and money on tuition fees but after the student graduates, I think that this time becomes a merit for the person's human development. I can't say what this would be in concrete terms but even if the time spent at university is a waste in itself, this will be useful later after graduation.' (Parent 'B', mother)

Family type 3 parents, where at least one parent is a university graduate, have a 'middle-of-the-road' type viewpoint on the social

merits of going to university. While they recognized that university students can benefit in more ways than just in terms of future employment, they firmly believe that university is not the only place where these social benefits may be accrued. Moreover, there is no need for *their* children to go to university.

*Besides getting a degree and facilitating employment, do you think there is anything else to be gained by going to university?*

'I think about the only thing there is to be gained would be learning how to play. Just as Junior High school and Senior High school students have their own ways of playing, university students have their unique way of playing as well.'

*Then you don't think that it is all that necessary to go to university [if that is all that is to be gained]?*

'Well, no. Unless you are trying to get into one of those top corporations, I don't think that it is necessary to go to university.'  
(Mr Nakamoto, parent 'M')

'I think that university graduates are much more cultured than Senior High school graduates. So I think that, in this respect, going to university is good. But *in the case of my children*, I have serious doubts whether it is necessary for them to go to university for 4 years when they don't have any clear goals.'

*So even if they could become more cultured, you don't think it is necessary for them to go to university?*

'Even if they don't go to a 4-year university, there are a lot of *Specialist schools where they can still become more cultured.*' (Mrs Nakamoto, parent 'M') [emphasis added]

'When I look at my friends, if you go to university you can make friends. I think that the friends I made are a real asset for me so I think university is very good for making a circle of friends. You can do a lot of things at university, right? . . . If you go to university you have the opportunities to do things that you can't do at Senior High school. For example, at university level you can compete in international sporting competitions. And apart from this, university is also valuable as a place to learn specialist things.'

*If your children don't go to university, then they won't have these experiences or the chance to make such friends. How do you feel about that?*

'If they don't go to university they will take another path and I'm sure that they will find friends on this path as well . . . . I'm by no means saying that university is a bad thing. Just that I don't think

there is any need to go to university if the child has to over-exert himself to do so.' (Mr Kagei, parent 'P') [emphasis added]

The preceding excerpts from the interviews demonstrate that most Family type 3, 4 and 5 parents either do not recognize the social merits of university, or discount university as being the only means of acquiring these merits; they fail to make the connection between 'having a good time at university' and 'a superior ability in human relationships', for instance. Instead, they tend to associate 'having a good time' with laziness and an insincere attitude towards studying. For them, to be a university student necessarily means to forego having a good time. It is impossible to both study in a manner appropriate to a university student and enjoy oneself. This trend is particularly pronounced in the case of parents who themselves did not go to university and thus, have no personal experience of what going to university is like.

#### 1.4 Studying and university education

It was reasoned that parents who studied hard when they were students and expressed enthusiasm about university education would also be more likely to be enthusiastic about the education of their children. Parents' enthusiasm for their own education was ascertained by their responses to two questions: first, parents were asked in the survey questionnaire to indicate the amount they studied in Junior High school; second, in the interview, they were

asked whether they would study harder and how far they would like to continue their formal education (especially if they would like to go on to university), supposing they could have their school days over again. The results are summarized in Table 5.2. Of the 31 parents interviewed, only seven parents indicated that they would not study harder than they actually did. Interestingly, only two of these parents were from Family type 1. Three of the remaining five were Family type 3 parents, and there was one parent each from Family type 4 and 5. Their reasons for not studying harder may be grouped into three categories: first, the parent considers the amount he actually studied to be sufficient; second, the parents are disenchanted with the present emphasis on education' and third, the parents believe that they have no personal need or desire to study/go to university.

*Category 1: the parent considers the amount he actually studied to be sufficient.*

*If you could go back to your school-days, do you think you would study harder than you did or perhaps try to go to a better university?*

'I think the amount I studied before was just right.' (Parent 'F')

*Category 2: the parents expressed disenchantment with the present emphasis on education*

*If you could go back to your school-days, do you think you would study harder than you did or perhaps try to go to a better university?*

'Maybe I would just study the same as I did before. This is because after graduating from university and having a family, I have realized that school education isn't everything. *I don't think that studying like crazy trying to get into a good university is the most important thing to be happy.* At the time I didn't study all that

Attitudes and Expectations

Table 5.2 Parents' support for studying

Family type	Parent	Father/mother	Actual		If another chance	
			Amount studied*	Education level	Study harder?	Education aspiration
1	A	F	1†	4	Yes	4
		M	3	3	Yes	4
	B	F	4	4	Yes	4
		M	3	4	Yes	4
	C	F	3	4		
		M	4	1	Yes	4
	D	F	3	4		
		M	3	3	Yes	4
	E	F	3	4	Yes	4
		M	3	4	Yes	4
	F	F	4	4	No	4
	M	3	1	Yes	4	
	F	2	4	Yes	4	
	M	2	4	Yes	4	
	F	2	4	Yes	4	
	M	3	4	No	4	
	F	2	4			
	M	3	2	Yes	4	
	F	3	4	Yes	4	
	M	2	1	Yes	4	
2	N	F	1	1	Yes	4
		M	1	1	Yes	4
	O	F	3	1	Yes	4
		M	3	1	Yes	4
	Q	F	1	0	Yes	4
	M	3	1	Yes	4	
3	M	F	3	4	No	4
		M	2	2	Yes	4
	P	F	3	4	No	4
		M	3	1	No	2
4	I	M	2	1	No	2
	R	F	3	0	Yes	4
	S	F	1	0	Yes	0
		M	2	0		
5	L	F	3	1	No	2

\* Refers to the amount studied in Junior High school.

† This parent studied much independently but not official 'school-work'.

Key for 'Amount studied':

- 1 = Hardly studied at all
- 2 = Did not study much
- 3 = Studied an 'average' amount
- 4 = Studied very hard

Key for 'Education level/aspiration':

- 0 = Junior High school
- 1 = Senior High school
- 2 = Specialist school
- 3 = Technical College; Junior College
- 4 = University

hard so if I were to become a student again, I probably wouldn't study all that hard either.' (Parent 'H') [emphasis added]

'I don't think I would try to go to a good university and try to get on in the world. . . . even supposing I could go back to my student days I don't think I would want to study very much.

*Why is that?*

'When you go out into society, *having graduated from a good school/university or having studied a lot, doesn't necessarily mean that you will go to the top.* I would prefer to study more about life and living in society [*ningenteki na koto*].' (Mr Nakamoto, parent 'M') [emphasis added]

'No, I don't think I would.'

*Why is that?*

Well, I don't think just trying to get into a 'good' Senior high school or university is a correct way of living. I don't approve of the way students today study for the entrance examinations. . . . I mean students today just study for the entire of their youth without playing at all.' (Parent 'P' - father)

*Category 3: the parents believe that they have no personal need or desire to study/go to university*

*If you could go back to your school-days, do you think you would study harder than you did or perhaps try to go to university?*

'No, I don't think I would.'

*Why is that?*

'Well, unless I had some particular purpose, I don't think I would like to study hard just so that I could go to a 'good' school.'

*What do you mean by not having any purpose?*

'Well, for example, I never thought that I would like to go to a 'good' school.'

*Then you wouldn't like to go to university either?*

'No, subject-wise, I wouldn't like to go there either. I mean you can go from Senior High school to a Specialist school to study what you are interested in . . . I would like to go to a Specialist school.'

*But you don't feel that you would like to go to university just for the sake of going to university?*

'No, I don't.' (Parent 'P' - mother)

'No, I don't think I would. I always sleep when I want to sleep, and eat when I want to eat. I always think that even if you don't have



culture [i.e. education] you can enjoy life just by living in a civilized place. I am certain that I wouldn't feel inclined to study.' (Parent 'I')

'No, I don't think I would go to university. If I could go back to school, I would like to do more sports [and not more studying].

*Why wouldn't you want to go to university?*

'I think I know the limits of my [academic] ability but I think I have potential when it comes to sports.' (Mr Terui, parent 'L')

It is of interest to note that, whereas all other parents indicated that they would like to go to university, Category 3 parents stated that they would like to go to a Specialist school. In addition, only Mr Kitahara (parent 'S'), a Junior High school graduate, did not express any desire to go beyond his actual education level. In his opinion, there is no need to go beyond Junior High school.

*If you could go back to your school-days, do you think you would study harder than you did?*

'Yes, I think I would.'

*Why is that?*

'Well, after having lived in the real world, I have found that there are things which I have difficulty with.'

*For example?*

'For example, writing characters. I can't write a letter without referring to a dictionary to see how to write characters.'

*Then if you had a chance to have your school days over again, how far do you think you would like to go on? . . . . Would you leave after Junior High school again?*

'I would like to at least study properly at Junior High school.'

*Then you wouldn't go on past Junior High school?*

'No, I wouldn't go on past that.'

*Why is that?*

'Well, having lived in the real world, [I have found that] the only things that you need to be able to do are to read, write and do arithmetic. As long as you are just average at these things, you won't have all that much trouble.'

*So, in other words, you can cover all the things that you need in society at Junior High school?*

'Yes, I think that in order to live you just need to be able to read, write and do arithmetic. As long as you don't work for some special

company, what you learn at Junior High school is enough.'(Mr. Kitahara, Parent 'S')

The percentage of parents in each Family type who both studied an 'average' amount or more at Junior High school and would like to go on to university if they had a chance to have their school days over again, is 70.6, 50, 50 and 25% for Family types 1, 2, 3 and 4, respectively. This finding thus supports the contention that parents who are enthusiastic about their own education also tend to be enthusiastic about that of their children.

### 1.5 The importance of *gakureki*

Parents were asked in the questionnaire survey to indicate what they consider to be the relative importance of '*gakureki*', 'personality' and 'human relations' in order to socially succeed in Japanese society. As Family type 3, 4 and 5 parents have lower educational aspirations for their children than parents of other Family types, it was expected that these parents would place more importance on personality or human relations than *gakureki*. However, as Table 5.3 shows, this trend was confined to Family type 3 (downwardly mobile) parents. In the interview, these parents expressed their reasons as follows:

Table 5.3 The Importance of gakureki to succeed in Japanese society

Family type	Parent	Father/mother	Relative Importance in Japanese society		
			Gakureki	Personality	Human Relations
1	A	F	1	1	1
		M	2	1	1
	B	F	3	2	1
		M	2	1	1
	C	F	4	1	1
		M	2	1	2
	D	F	2	1	1
		M	2	2	2
	E	F	1	1	1
		M	1	2	2
	F	F	3	1	2
	M	1	1	2	
G	F	1	2	1	
	M	2	1	1	
H	F	2	1	1	
	M	3	1	2	
J	F	2	1	1	
	M	1	2	1	
K	F	2	1	1	
	M	2	1	1	
2	N	F	1	2	1
		M	1	1	1
	O	F	2	1	1
		M	2	1	1
Q	F	1	1	1	
	M	1	1	1	
3	M	F	4	1	2
		M	2	1	1
	P	F	4	1	1
		M	4	3	3
4	I	M	2	1	1
	R	F	2	3	3
	S	F	1	1	1
		M	1	1	1
5	L	F	1	1	1

Key:

- 1 = Very important
- 2 = Rather important
- 3 = Neither important nor unimportant
- 4 = Not very important
- 5 = Not at all important

*Why do you think that 'gakureki' is not very important in order to socially succeed in Japanese society?*

'Well, when you meet someone for the first time, they don't have a sign up saying that they graduated from Tsukuba university or Tokyo university or wherever. In the beginning you don't know, right? Then after you get talking to the person you may ask which university he went to but that's about all. When I am at work, I never think 'Oh, that person only graduated from such and such a university so he will only be able to do this level or quality of work.' I only judge a person on his actual ability at work. *Once you go out into society, gakureki is not an issue.*' (Parent 'P', Father) [emphasis added]

'I said gakureki isn't very important because graduating from a top-class university doesn't necessarily mean that you will be successful [*shusse suru*] in a company. Rather than *gakureki*, I think personality and human relations are more important for actual daily life.' (Mr Nakamoto, Parent 'M')

'I think whether a person succeeds or not is a matter of what he is like as a human being [*ningensei*]. It has nothing to do with *gakureki*.' (Parent 'P', Mother)

Perhaps the key difference between parents who recognize the importance of *gakureki* in becoming socially successful in Japanese society and those who do not, is elucidated by Mr Kagei's comment. In his opinion, '*once you go out into society, gakureki is not an issue*'. What he (and other parents who responded similarly) failed to make clear in his reasoning was that *gakureki* largely determines the *launching angle* of an individual in society or, in other words, the socio-structural potential of any individual to be successful. This point was made, or at least implied, by most parents who consider 'gakureki' to be very important. The difference evident in way of thinking, however, may be a reflection of the image that these parents have of being 'socially successful'. Consider the following

excerpts from interviews with parents who consider 'gakureki' to be very important in determining an individual's chances of being socially successfully:

*Why do you think that 'gakureki' is very important in order to socially succeed in Japanese society?*

'For example, when you go to apply for a job, if the company says that it will only accept university graduates then, unless you graduated from university, you can't apply for the job. Also, in some corporations they even have a system where they specify from which universities they will accept applicants for a particular job [*shitei ko seido*]. If you are going to work for a company, *gakureki* is important. *There is no mistake in saying that to live in this society, it is an advantage to graduate from as good a university as possible.*' (Mr Matsuoka, parent 'A') [emphasis added]

'Well, leaving aside the question of things like *gakureki*, no matter where people go - whether it is Japan, a foreign country, a company - people interact with other people so I think what the person is like as a human being [*ningensei*] is most important. But to have a good personality etc you need to have an education, which is something you acquire mainly at school. Also, *in Japanese society today, if you don't have gakureki you can't do what you want to do.* In this sense, I think *gakureki* is very important.' (Mr Takahata, parent 'E')

'I answered like that on the basis of my own experience. I myself have never worked since leaving school so I don't really know what's what. . . . But my younger sister graduated from a second class university and became a school teacher . . . . She said that they wouldn't let her start from the same starting line [as the teachers who graduated from first class universities]. . . . She really had a hard time. So after I heard this, I began thinking that *people who graduate from Tokyo university and people who graduate from some other university really have different prospects in the world. . .*' (Parent 'J') [emphasis added]

'Well, in today's society, *I think it would be very difficult to do what you want unless you have gakureki.* If a person doesn't have *ningensei*, that is, if a person is immature or narrow-minded, he/she wouldn't be able to maintain harmony in the relationships he has with people. . . . I think personality is important to build

relationships with other people.' (Mrs Hamada, parent 'N')  
[emphasis added]

'I think, generally speaking, the better the company is, the less chance you have of being employed if you haven't graduated from university. That's what it is like in Japan.' (Mr Kitahara, parent 'S')

Thus, for these parents, *gakureki* is important as a means of facilitating an individual's social activity.

## 2. Parents' Attitudes towards their Child's Education

### 2.1 The role of parents in education

Presumably parents' enthusiasm for their children's education is greater for parents who are more active in the education of their children, and vice versa. The degree to which parents believe they should take an active role in the education of their children was ascertained by parents' responses to two questions. First, parents were asked to indicate whether they consider the responsibility for their child's education to lie 'entirely with the school', 'mainly with the school but parents should interfere where necessary' or 'mainly with the parents'. Parents were asked to explain why they answered thus in the interview. Second, parents were asked in the interview to elaborate on what they consider to be the role of parents in the education of their children.

Table 5.4 summarizes parents' responses to the question regarding the responsibility of their child's education. With few

Table 5.4 Responsibility for a child's education

Family type	Parent	Father/mother	Responsibility for education		
			Mainly School	School & Parents	Mainly Parents
1	A	F		0	
	B	M		0	
	C	F			0
	D	M	0	0	
	E	F	0	0	
	F	M		0	
	G	F		0	
	H	M		0	
	J	F		0	
	K	M	0	0	
				0	
2	N	F		0	
	O	M		0	0
	Q	F	0	0	
			0		
3	M	F		0	
	P	M	0	0	
4	I	M	0	0	
	R	F		0	
	S	M		0	
5	L	F			0

exceptions, most parents feel that the education of their children is a joint responsibility between the school and themselves. However, the results from the questionnaire are misleading as the way parents interpreted 'education' varied. While some parents understood 'education' to mean 'academic education', others interpreted it to include areas such as 'moral education and/or discipline'. Since the question aimed to identify how active parents feel they should be in the *academic* education of their children, the latter interpretation of 'education' confounded the results. This problem illustrates the inadequacy of relying solely on the questionnaire survey method because if the data is reorganized on the basis of the parents' interpretation of 'education' in the interview, the contrasting trends between different Family types become clear. It should be noted that 'education' in Table 5.5, the revised version of the raw data, refers only to 'academic education'. Data for parents who were not interviewed and for parents whose interpretation of 'education' was unclear, were omitted from the table.

What is of interest in Table 5.5 is that almost half (44.4%) of Family Type 1 parents believe that parents should play an active role in the education of their children. Parents who responded that both the school and the parents should be active in their children's education outlined their reasons as follows:

'The child can't learn everything there is to be learnt at school. For example, if you confine education to academic learning . . . you can't make a child learn knowledge or hold a particular point of view or way of thinking by holding him by the scruff of his neck and forcing



Table 5.5 Responsibility for a child's education  
(revised version)

Family type	Parent	Father/mother	Responsibility for education		
			Mainly School	School & Parents	Mainly Parents
1	A	F		4	
	B	M		4	
	C	F			5
	D	M	1		
	E	F	2		
	F	M		4	
	G	F	6	4	
	H	M	2		
	I	F	2		
	J	M	6		
	K	F	1	4	
2	N	F	1		
	O	M	6		
	Q	F	2		
3	M	F	2		
	P	M	1		
	S	F	3		
4	R	M	1		
	S	F	6		
5	L	F	2		

Key:

1. Teachers are professionals.
2. Study is school's responsibility but discipline is family's.
3. School is where children should study.
4. School cannot teach children everything so parents should supplement their education.
5. Education is the duty of parents, not a third party.
6. Other

him. Instead, you should talk in a very casual way about these things over dinner or at times like that.' (Mr Matsuoka, parent 'A')

'What I meant by that is that there are 42 students in the class at school and the teacher is not only just teaching my child. Under this kind of condition, it is only natural that there will be some things that my child doesn't understand in class. So if there is something that my child doesn't understand but I do, I should help the child.' (Mr Takahata, parent 'E')

'In the lower years of Primary school, the kids learn over and over again how to add, subtract, multiply and divide. I don't think that the kids can remember this by just doing it at school. . . . . So I think parents should help their kids to a certain extent in the lower years of Primary school when they are learning the basics.'

*If the child has gone past the basic level, do you feel that parents shouldn't help any more?*

'If the child is studying at home and comes across something which he doesn't understand, I tell the children that they should ask either my husband or myself.' (Parent 'F, mother)

Most parents who responded that the education of their children should be mainly the responsibility of the school based their argument on one of three reasons: first, the professionalism of teachers (note that the reasons why parents contend that teachers are professional varies between a self-awareness of a lack of knowledge about *how* to teach, on the one hand, and an inability to teach *per se*, on the other); second, study is the school's responsibility and the discipline and/or moral education of children is the responsibility of the family; and third, school is where children should study. The following excerpts are typical of the three kinds of responses.

i. The 'professionalism of teachers':

'[I said that you should leave your child's education mainly up to the school] because you can't teach your own children with a cool head. . . . Teachers know *how* to teach so it is best to leave it up to them. I will help my children with simple things . . . but anything else I tell them to go and ask their teacher.' (Parent 'J', mother)

'I would like the teachers to take charge of the children's study [*because I cannot*]. I think parents should give the children words of encouragement . . . and to show interest in their education.' (Parent 'K', mother) [emphasis added]

'I think *the teacher knows more* about the content of education than I do so I think everything concerning the content should be left up to the teacher.' (Mr Hamada, parent 'N') [emphasis added]

'I think that while children are at school it is best to leave their education up to the teachers as they are professionals [*and I don't have the ability* to help them with their studies].' (Mrs Nakamoto, parent 'M')

ii. The 'educational division between the school and family':

'The child spends half his time at school and half his time at home. I leave the child's education completely up to the school but I think parents have to be responsible for the child's education at home - i.e., for the discipline of the child.' (Parent 'G')

'I think parents should not interfere with study per se but they are responsible for the moral education of their children. Parents shouldn't just leave everything up to the school.' (Mr Nakamoto, parent 'M')

'I don't have academic ability myself so the only thing I can do is leave that up to the school. . . . . [Parents should be responsible for] things other than academic things. Things like discipline or human development.' (Mr Terui, parent 'L')

'I would like the education of the child to be done mainly at school. But if the school says that our child is not very good at a certain subject and requests that we help her with it a bit at home then I think parents can co-operate in something like this.' (Mrs Hamada, parent 'N')

iii. 'School is where children should study':

'I feel very strongly that it is enough if a child just studies at school. If possible I would like the children to help around the house, watch TV or whatever. I think that that is, by nature, the most ideal way. Kids should just study at school. When they are not at school, they should play a lot, talk with the other members of the family, and learn how to cook from their mother.' (Mr Kagei, parent 'P')

Mrs Hamada and Mrs Kagei (Parents 'N' and 'P', respectively) provide an interesting contrast with parents who responded that the responsibility of their children's education lies both with the school and parents. While the latter group of parents indicated that *they* would take it on themselves to supplement any parts of their child's school education that *they* consider to be inadequate, Mrs Hamada and Mrs Kagei both defined their roles in more passive terms. Mrs Hamada, for instance, stated that she is willing to co-operate with the school in regard to any problems the child may have with her studies *if the school approaches her*. Mrs Kagei, on the other hand, would expect the teacher to attend to any such problems.

'I would like the education of the child to be done mainly at school. But *if the school says* that our child is not very good at a certain subject and requests that we help her with it a bit at home, then I think parents can co-operate in something like this.' (Mrs Hamada, parent 'N') [emphasis added]

'If my child got behind in her studies I suppose *I would ask the teacher to do something about it.*' (Mrs Kagei, parent 'P') [emphasis added]

Presumably, the way parents construe their responsibility for the academic education of their children has an affect on the atmosphere of the home. By taking a more active role in the education of their children, parents can effectively extend the 'study atmosphere' of the child beyond the physical confines of the school into the home. On the other hand, parents who contend that the school should be mainly responsible for their child's academic education are liable to render the atmosphere of the home inhospitable towards studying.

The conception that parents have of their role in their children's education was the second factor used to assess how active parents are in the education of their children. Parents' responses can be categorized into five types. First, the father should point the child in the general direction that he should take and the mother should take care of the day-to-day matters. Second, parents should get the child to study. Third, parents should help the child with things that he/she does not understand about his study. Fourth, parents should help the child with the moral/human aspect of his/her life and with problems that arise in everyday life. Finally, parents should leave education up to the child. The responses parents gave in the interview are summarized in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Parents' role in child's education

Family type	Parent	Father/mother	Parents' Role	
			Study related	Non-study related
1	A	F	1,2,3	
		M	1,2,3	
	B	F	1,2,3	
		M	1,2,3	
	C	F		
		M	1,2,3	
	D	F		
		M		5
	E	F	2,3	
		M	2	4
		F	1	
	M	2,3		
	F		4	
	M	1,2		
	F	1		
	M	1		
	F		4	
	M			
	F	1		
	M	1		
2	N	F	1,3	
		M	1,2,3	
	O	F	1,2	
		M	1,2	4
	F	1,2	4	
	M	2	4	
3	M	F		4
		M	1	
	P	F	3	4
		M	2	
4	I	M		4
	R	F		5
	S	F		
		M	2	
5	L	F		4

Key:

1. Father points child in general direction; mother takes care of everyday matters
2. Parent gets the child to study.
3. Parent helps child with studies.
4. Parent helps child with everyday life.
5. Parent leaves educational matters up to the child.

The following are excerpts from interviews with Parents 'B' (who said that they feel the parents should be mainly responsible for the education of their children) and the parents who were introduced in Chapter Four:

Parents 'B':

'I think the father should be someone whom the children can come to for advice; he shouldn't take too active a role in the everyday activities of his children [and therefore the mother should oversee these kinds of things]. (Parent 'B', father)

'I think my role is about 80% and my husband's about 20%. He has his work so any big decisions we make together but the everyday things I take care of by myself.'

*For example, what kind of things does your role involve?*

'I am a housewife and am always at home. When they come home from school I greet them with *okaerinasai* and look at their faces to see whether they are happy or whether something happened at school. I aim to control the children to the extent that I can tell by looking at their faces whether they are happy or whether something is up. *I control them to the extent that the children feel I am a nuisance.* Then I decide things like whether the child should go to juku and, if so, to which kind of juku. After they have eaten and had a bath, *I sit next to them while they are studying and teach them the parts they don't understand. I aim to look after their every need.*' (Parent 'B', mother)

Family type 1 parents:

'I am busy so it is difficult for me to spend much time at home. So if my wife doesn't look after our child's education, it would be a problem for me. What I expect of her most is for her to develop the child's personality . . . . I think it is enough for me to point the child in the general direction [that she should take]. When she was in Primary school, I told her to read books as much as possible and I have always put emphasis on this. The same goes for Junior High school. I don't think that it is enough to just study as this doesn't improve a person's brain. I am always telling her to read books and build her own base [dodai] as a human.' (Mr Matsuoka, parent 'A')

'The child is both of ours so it is only natural that we both have a sound policy concerning education. . . . . If I can solve the problem [concerning how I should raise our daughter] by myself then I don't ask him for his opinion but if it is more difficult, we decide together. . . . . If I directed the child in an inappropriate manner then my husband may blame me afterwards. So by asking him for his opinion, he doesn't have any grounds to blame me in any way.' (Mrs Matsuoka, parent 'A')

'First, I think that parents should teach children how they should think about studying. . . . . I mean teach the children the reason they are studying. When I was a child I didn't know why I was studying.'

*What do you say to him?*

'I usually relate it to actual things. For example, if you watch TV, often history or geography comes into it and [I tell him] it is many times more interesting to watch these programmes if you know about these subjects than if you don't. The second thing is that I think parents should help children when they don't understand something.' (Mr Takahata, parent 'E')

'His study is too difficult so it is impossible for me to teach him. The only things I can do is to help him with anything that isn't going very well in his everyday life. I have to leave things concerning his education up to my husband.' (Mrs Takahata, parent 'E')

Family type 2 parents:

'I think fathers shouldn't say much. I think that men can look at things in a bigger way than women can. So fathers shouldn't say much but instead just build a big framework. If it looks like children are going to go out of this framework then it is his job to bring them back in. The mother should listen to the child's worries and look after the little things.' (Mr Hamada, parent 'N')

'Well I guess the mother's role is to create an environment in which it is easy for the child to study. . . . .The father's role is to look down on this environment which I create.'

*What kind of environment do you think would be good?*

'Well things like . . . . . my husband's friends often come over and drink and make a racket so to minimize that . . . . . apart from that the whole family often goes on trips so I guess I would refrain from doing this.'

*Would you only do this when the child was studying for entrance exams?*



'Yes. At other times I think the environment would have to be one where the whole family can feel relaxed.' (Mrs Hamada, parent 'N')

Family type 3 parents:

'Well, as far as studying is concerned, what they are taught these days is different from in my day so I don't say much to them in this regard. I try to teach the children what kind of person they should try to be.' (Mr Nakamoto, parent 'M')

'The father is the head of the family so I think he has to make his presence known in the family. He is the person who makes final decisions. The mother's role is to obey the husband and be by his side, and to listen to what the children have to say and to comfort them.' (Mrs Nakamoto, parent 'M')

Family type 4 parents:

'..... well actually I would like to leave everything up to my wife. I'm the type who likes children to do what they want to do but my wife can't understand a lot of things. For example, the Japanese language or whatever. . . . I would really like to leave everything up to her. I have enough to think about with my work.' (Mr Oyama, parent 'R')

'In regard to the children's education, in this family's case my wife is usually the one who tells the kids to study. But I tell them to decide for themselves how much they study. My wife though seems to tell them to study and that if they don't study they won't be able to realize their goals.' (Mr Kitahara, parent 'S')

Family type 5 parent:

'[I think the role of parents] is to sit with the child while he studies. Unless you do this I think it is too much of a burden for children. . . . you have to let them know that they are not toiling away on their own.' (Mr Terui, parent 'L')

As these excerpts demonstrate, striking contrasts are evident in the studying atmosphere between families. At the one end of the extreme, Parent 'B' (mother) hovers over her children attending to their every need and problem they may have concerning their study. She is typical of what has been so aptly termed *kyoiku mama* (or 'educational mother') in Japanese. The atmosphere of the Matsuoka and Takahata households is also one which is well tuned into studying. On the one hand, Mr Matsuoka tells his daughter *how* to go about studying, teaching her the same method that enabled him to go to Tokyo university. Mr Takahata, on the other hand, makes a point of making his children understand *why* they need to study. The emphasis is on motivating the child to study on his own accord rather than forcing him to study. Family type parents 3, 4 and 5 represent the other extreme. These parents are involved in their children's education only to the extent that they tell the child to study and mostly do not offer any concrete support (i.e., help the child with his studies). The best they can do, as in Mr Terui's case (parent 'L'), is to 'keep the child company while he toils away'. However, any positive effect that this 'support' may have is undoubtedly dissipated by the fact that he is always telling his son to stop studying. The family environments these parental attitudes create are clearly not as conducive to studying as those created by Family type 1 parents.

By re-organising the data in Table 5.6 in terms of Family type and the way parents are involved in their child's education (see Table 5.7), the trends between Family types become even more

discernible. Table 5.7 shows that more Family type 1 and 2 parents 'tell their child to study and help their child with study', 'help their child with study' and 'tell their child to study' than parents of Family

**Table 5.7 Parents' involvement in their child's education, by family type**

	Tells child to study & helps		Helps child with study		Tells child to study		Non-study related	
	Both parents	One parent	Both parents	One parent	Both parents	One parent	Both parents	One parent
Family type 1 (N=17)	2	3 (7)	2	3 (7)	3	3 (9)	0	4 (4)
Family type 2 (N=6)	0	1 (1)	1	0 (2)	2	1 (5)	1	1 (3)
Family type 3 (N=4)	0	0 (0)	0	1 (1)	0	1 (1)	0	2 (2)
Family type 4 (N=4)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	1 (1)	0	2 (2)
Family type 5 (N=1)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	1 (1)

\*Due to multiple responses, the total no. of responses does not necessarily correspond with the total N.

( ) = Total

types 3, 4 and 5. Parents who have lower educational aspirations for their children (i.e., Family types 3, 4 and 5), on the other hand, are inclined to help their children with things not directly related to study or merely tell their children to study without giving any assistance.

## 2.2 Parents' attitudes towards their child's study habits

How conducive the atmosphere of the home is towards study is also dependent on the attitude that parents have towards their child's study habits. This section will probe parents' attitudes by examining the following questions: whether they are satisfied with the child's grades; what their reaction is to bad grades; how many hours parents think their child should study; and whether they tell the child to study. Presumably, parents who are not satisfied with their child's academic performance, who believe that the child should study longer than other parents and who tell their children to study, will create an atmosphere in the home which encourages the child to study more than the atmosphere created by parents who are either complacent about, or indifferent to, their child's performance and studying habits.

Table 5.8 furnishes information on the child's grade (provided by the school), whether the parents are satisfied with their child's grade, the number of hours the child studies on average per day (as reported by the child), whether the child and the parents feel this amount to be sufficient, the number of hours parents feel the child should study, and whether they tell their child to study. As the number of hours the child *actually* spends studying and the time that the parents *think* he/she studies are not always consistent, some discrepancies are evident between the number of hours the child claims to spend studying and whether the parent thinks that the number of hours the child studies is enough. Information

Table 5.8 Child's study habits and parents' attitudes

Family type	Parent	Father/mother	School (F/S)	Child's Grade (5 = max)	Parent satisfied?	No. hours child studies/day*	Child feels s/he studies enough?	Parent feels child studies enough?	Hrs. child should study (according to parent)	Tells child to study
1	A	F	F	5	2	5.0	No	No	3.0	Yes
		M			1			No	3.5	Yes
	B	F	F	3	1	1.0	No			Yes
		M			2			No	3.0	Yes
	C	F	F	5	4	2.0	No			
		M			4			No	3.0	Yes
	D	F	F	4	3	0.2	No			
		M			4			No	1.0	No
	E	F	F	3	2	3.5	No	Yes	3.0	Yes
		M			2			No	3.0	Yes
	F	F	S	3	2	2.0	No	No	2.0	No
	M			3			No	1.0	Yes	
G	F	F	2	2	4.0	No	Yes	3.0	No	
	M			2			No	4.5	Yes	
H	F	S	3	2	0.5	Yes	No	2.0	No	
	M			3			No	1.0	No	
J	F	F	3	3	2.0	No				
	M			3			No	3.0	No	
K	F	S	3	3	2.5	No	No	2.0	No	
	M			3			No	3.5	No	
2	N	F	S	4	3	2.5	Yes	Yes	1.0	No
		M			4			Yes	2.0	Yes
	O	F	F	3	3	2.0	No	Yes	2.0	Yes
	M			3			No	3.0	Yes	
Q	F	S	4	2	2.0	Yes	No	3.0	Yes	
	M			2			No	3.0	Yes	
3	M	F	S	3	2	2.0	Yes	No	1.0	No
		M			3			No	3.0	No
	P	F	S	4	4	1.0	No	No	2.0	No
	M			3			No	2.0	Yes	
4	I	M	S	3	2	1.0	No		1.0	No
	R	F	S	3	3	2.0	Yes	No	3.0	No
	S	F	S	3	3	2.0	No			No
	M			2						
5	L	F	S	4	5	1.0	No	Yes	2.0	No

Key:

1. Very dissatisfied
2. Rather dissatisfied
3. Somewhat satisfied
4. Rather satisfied
5. Very satisfied
6. Not interested

\*as reported by the child

provided in Table 5.8 is incomplete for parents who were not interviewed or who failed to give the required information during the course of the interview. It should be pointed out that whereas more than half (60.9%) of parents who are enthusiastic about their child's education (i.e., Family types 1 and 2) tell their child to study, few (12.5%) Family type 3, 4 and 5 parents do the same. This tendency is even more pronounced when the analysis is based on the school their child attends. While 83.3% of Fuzoku parents tell their child to study, only 27.7% of Sanchu parents do the same.

#### Family type 1 parents:

'Perfectionism' is the best word to describe the Matsuokas. No matter how well their daughter does at school, the Matsuokas will never be satisfied. They firmly believe that standards of academic excellence should be absolute and, therefore, discount the significance of grades issued by the school.

*'The number a child comes in the class or year is merely a relative value and I think a child should think in terms of absolute values - that is, what it means to him/her. So I am always dissatisfied . . . . maybe the word 'dissatisfied' is not appropriate but I think it is always necessary to believe that it is 'still not enough'. (Mr Matsuoka, parent 'A') [emphasis added]*

*Why are you extremely dissatisfied with the child's grades?*

*'What I meant is that it would be better if she did even better. Just because she is doing well now doesn't mean that she can stop trying. I want her to continue studying hard and not be complacent about her studies. I want her to study with all her might. I don't want her to think that she can't be any better. Rather, I want her to think that if she studies more that she will get even better.' (Mrs Matsuoka, parent 'A') [emphasis added]*

If their daughter's grades are 'bad', Mr Matsuoka tells her to 'study properly' and his wife tells her to 'try harder'. In the event that they are 'good', Mrs Matsuoka tells her to 'try harder so she can do even better' but Mr Matsuoka does not offer her any praise. He explains why thus:

'I think that there is no limit to study [and to the degree of excellence a person can achieve]. Even a great scientist like Newton said that his efforts to understand the universe are just like him picking up shells on a long beach'.

Their daughter studies in her room and recently, has started doing it on her own accord. As Mr Matsuoka does not get home until late he does not really know how much she studies. He imagines that she would study for about three hours a day. This corresponds with his wife who reported that she studies for about three to four hours. In regard to how much a 1st year Junior High school student *should* study, Mr Matsuoka again maintains his hard-line approach. He contends that 'you can never study enough' because, 'no matter how much you study, there will always be some things that you haven't studied enough'. He concedes, however, that as humans are limited in terms of their powers of concentration and physical stamina, it would be 'very good' if a child of this age studied three hours every day. Mrs Matsuoka would like her daughter to study more. Her reason is simply that she thinks other children are studying more - a clear digression from the 'absolute' values in which she expressed her opinion about her child's grades.

The Takahatas are trying to encourage their son to study on his own accord, and recently some improvement has been evident. According to Mr Takahata, his son studies from three to four hours a day; his wife, on the other hand, thinks he studies for only about one hour. While Mr Takahata considers that a 1st year Junior High school student should study at least three hours because there are so many things that a child has to study, he cautioned that the time needed depends on how well the child can use his ability.

Mrs Takahata complains to her son when his grades are bad and, when he does well, both Mrs Takahata and her husband praise him. Mr Takahata also tells the child at the same time to try hard next time, thus reminding him that he can not afford to take things easy. Mr Takahata's reaction to 'bad grades' is to insist that his son studies properly, thus resembling the attitude of Mr Matsuoka. He explains his line of approach thus:

'If the child isn't taking his studies seriously and is not trying [*ii kagen ni yatteiru*], I would demand more of the child. I think this applies to any child but even if the child *wants* to do something there will be some things that he can't. But there are a lot of other things which the child cannot do because he is not trying so I would ask the child to try harder in these areas.'

#### Family type 2 parents:

The Hamadas attitude to their daughter's study habits is both easy-going and co-operative. Mr and Mrs Hamada's daughter has her own study desk, for example, but prefers to do her homework in the



lounge room with the rest of the family. Her parents seem to approve of her habit as it at least stops her from falling asleep.

'I think if they were to do their homework by themselves that they would fall asleep [laugh]. I just let them do it how they like. If I don't say anything they always come here [the lounge room] and do it.' (Mr Hamada, parent 'N')

During the examination period at school, Mr and Mrs Hamada co-operate with their daughter by taking it in turns to help her with her preparation. Mrs Hamada helps out with Japanese and English, the subjects that she was best at, and leaves the difficult subjects like Mathematics and Social Studies up to her husband. Normally, however, Mrs Hamada prefers to have her husband help their daughter with her studies as she is anxious to avoid letting her children know that some things are beyond the ability of their mother. She explains her reason thus:

'There is a greater probability that I can't answer their [the children's] questions and I don't want them to see that their mother can't do it'.

When their daughter's grades are bad, Mr Hamada's reaction is to laugh and make fun of her. The child laughs along with him but, in Mr Hamada's opinion, she probably feels bad about it inside. Mrs Hamada's reaction to 'bad grades' is more constructive. She tells her daughter that the reason she does not do well is because she does not study on a regular basis. For the following two or three days her

daughter studies well, doing revision and preparation for the next day's lessons as well. Normally, however, she does only her homework on her own accord.

Both Mr and Mrs Hamada agree that their daughter studies for only 30 minutes at best. Mr Hamada would like to see her study for one hour, but emphasizes that she would need to 'put her mind to it' in order to be able to do revision and preparation for the next day's lessons as well. At present, he jested, 'it would probably take her the best part of 30 minutes just to open and close her notebook!'

**Family type 3 parents:**

'Mediocrity' is perhaps the best word to describe the expectations that the Nakamotos have for their daughter's grades. In sharp contrast to the Matsuokas and Takahatas, Mr and Mrs Nakamoto do not expect their child to excel in her studies. Moreover, they make no attempt to conceal their feelings from the child, as the following excerpts show:

*'I tell her she doesn't have to do exceptionally well - just as long as her grades are average and she is keeping up with the rest of the class'. (Mr Nakamoto, parent 'M') [emphasis added]*

*'I think the majority of mothers would scold their children [if the grades were bad] but I don't flick an eyelid, even if she only gets 1 or 2 [on a scale from 1 to a maximum of 5]. . . . I tell her that if she had gotten 5 she would have to worry about not letting her grades slip back down again; but as long as her grades are in the vicinity of 1, 2, or 3, I tell her to keep on trying.' (Mrs Nakamoto, parent 'M') [emphasis added]*

The child studies in her room but it is unclear how much she studies each day. According to Mr Nakamoto, his daughter studies for less than one hour a day. His wife, however, reported that the child studies at least two hours. Mr Nakamoto feels that, in order to do revision and preparation for the next day's classes, his daughter should study at least one hour. His wife, on the other hand, believes that she should study about three hours. Mrs Nakamoto has mixed feelings about whether her daughter is studying enough and again tends to gravitate towards mediocrity. Consider the following excerpt from the interview:

*Do you feel that your daughter isn't studying enough?*

'Of course, if she was studying to get good marks in exams, it isn't enough. I never say to her that she has to be in the top group of students in her class. To be in the top group she would have to study to the extent of sacrificing her health and this is something that I don't recommend she does.'

The child usually does her homework on her own accord but only occasionally does revision or preparation for the next day's classes. Nor does Mrs Nakamoto ever tell her daughter to do this. She believes that study is not something that one should be told to do. By the same token, she does not think that there would be much that she could do if her daughter wanted to leave school at the end of Junior High school. In her opinion, parents should give their children advice to a certain extent but they should not insist that their children follow their advice.

**Family type 4 parents:**

According to Mr Oyama, his daughter studies only once a week when the tutor comes to help her for two hours. Since he has too much to worry about with his lunch-delivery business to concern himself with his children's education, telling his daughter to study is of low priority. His wife, however, tells her to study. Mr Oyama believes that, because of the intense competition, 1st year Junior High school children would have to study about three hours a day in order to keep up. He added, though, that the time needed would depend on which Senior High school the child wanted to go to.

Mr Oyama's nonchalance about his daughter's studying habits extends to her grades as well. When her grades are bad, Mr Oyama does not scold his daughter. Instead, he tells her to try to do better next time, a request to which his daughter pays no more than lip-service. In Mr Oyama's words, 'that is about all he can do'.

Knowing that it is highly improbable that he would understand his daughter's school-work enough to be able to offer her assistance, Mr Kitahara seldom asks his daughter whether she has done her homework. It would merely be an exercise in futility.

'If they don't understand something and ask me for help, then I won't understand it either, right? There is no way that I would understand it.'

In fact, Mr Kitahara keeps his distance from matters concerning his daughter's education. Apart from not involving

himself in problems that she comes across with her homework, Mr Kitahara *does not know* how much his daughter studies. He leaves that completely up to the child. In his opinion, 'an adult's work is to work and a child's work is to study', and the child should be left on his own to get on with his study. Mr Kitahara also maintains a casual attitude to the child's grades. When his daughter does well, he shares her happiness; when her grades drop, he just asks 'I wonder why they dropped?' He never gets angry.

Thus, it is evident that both Mr Oyama and Mr Kitahara try to keep their distance from their children's education. On the one hand, Mr Oyama does not *want* to know; Mr Kitahara, on the other hand, believes that education is not something in which parents *should* involve themselves.

**Family type 5 parent:**

Mr Terui is in conflict with his son about how much he should study. According to his father, his son studies about four or five hours a day but considers that a 1st year Junior High school student should study only about two hours a day. He does his best to stop him from studying so much but his efforts, so far, have been in vain.

'I often tell him not to study so much because if he studies like that he will make himself ill. Then he will say that he doesn't want to become like me and continues to study.'

'Bad' grades do not perturb Mr Terui. In fact, he is more concerned with his son's behaviour in class than his grades, placing more emphasis on the teacher's comments about his behaviour in class than his actual grades. Nevertheless, he is not displeased if his son happens to do well at school. In this case, Mr Terui will often give him a reward. On the last such occasion, he bought him a bicycle and gave it to him as a surprise. But even this could be interpreted as Mr Terui utilizing the opportunity for his own purposes as he would like his son to become a professional cyclist in the future.

An overview of the five Family types provides an interesting array of parental attitudes. First, 'perfectionism' characterized the attitude of the Matsuokas (Family type 1); the second type of parents, represented by the Hamadas, had an 'easy-going' but co-operative attitude towards their daughter's studying habits and academic performance. With the third Family type, the nature of the parents' attitudes changed significantly. For Family types 3 and 4, 'mediocrity' and 'indifference' was the only way that the attitudes and expectations of the Nakamotos (Family type 3), Mr Oyama and Mr Kitahara (Family type 4), respectively, could be described. The negative attitude was also shared by Mr Terui (Family type 5) who explicitly disapproves of his son's enthusiasm for education.

### **2.3 Family routine at examination time**

Presumably, parents who want their children to go on to university will be more considerate towards students studying for

entrance examinations than parents who either have low educational expectations of their children or are not interested in their child's educational careers. This supposition was confirmed by asking parents in the interview whether they anticipated family life would change when their child starts preparing for entrance examinations and, if so, how.

**Family type 1 parents:**

As Mr Matsuoka is hardly ever at home due to his work commitments, any changes in the Matsuoka family to make it easier for their daughter to prepare for entrance examinations will be initiated by Mrs Matsuoka. She foresees several changes. For example, she will not watch TV with the volume turned up very loud or laugh at something in a big voice while her daughter is studying. Instead, she will quietly read a book and wait for her to finish. In other words, her daughter will have top priority.

Living in a large house means that noise is not a problem for the Takahatas. Mr Takahata believes that the biggest way he can cooperate with his child's study schedule is to take his holidays to coincide with those of his children's. According to Mrs Takahata, when the child was studying for the entrance examination into Primary school<sup>1</sup> he became the centre of family activities. By this Mrs Takahata is referring to the change in dinner time, for instance, that was made so that the whole family could eat together after the child returned home from *juku*. Recently another change in dinner time

was made at the child's request in order that he could listen to an English conversation programme on the radio which is broadcast just when the Takahatas usually sat down to dinner. As in the case of the Matsuokas, the education of children in the Takahata family is also given priority.

**Family type 2 parents:**

Mr Hamada will try to be more considerate towards his daughter when she is confronted with entrance examinations. He will give her life-style priority by not inviting so many friends over to have a few drinks and not throwing wild parties. If his daughter wants to study, he would also co-operate by not making any plans for the family to go away on trips. According to Mrs Hamada, the family makes a timetable with four time slots during the examination period at school to make it easier for the children to study. The first specifies the 'free time' period when family members can do what they like; the second is set aside for doing the things that have to be done; third, the time slot when no family members are allowed to watch TV; and fourth, a special time which is set aside for reading books. It is in this period that the children are expected to study while their parents read books. Mrs Hamada explains the fourth time slot thus:

'I think that we have to make an atmosphere where the children feel like studying or one *where they feel they have to study.*'  
[emphasis added]



While the Hamadas do not give their daughter priority during examination time, they do endeavour to accommodate her special needs by keeping quiet and making a timetable to which the whole family is expected to adhere.

**Family type 3 and 4 parents:**

A child studying for entrance examinations in the Nakamoto family will not change family life much. Mrs Nakamoto does not foresee herself make any changes and her husband's co-operation is *conditional* on the child really wanting to get into a particular Senior High school. In that case, Mr Nakamoto would try to create an environment in which it is easier for his daughter to concentrate. His co-operation would largely take the form of not watching TV as much, thereby keeping the noise level to a minimum.

Mr Oyama's eldest son apparently did not want to go on to Senior High school and his attitude was certainly reflected in the little effort he made to study for the entrance examinations. As a result, he only just managed to scrape into a Senior High school. Mr Oyama failed to make it clear whether there were any changes in family life during this period but, as his son did not study, presumably there were few, if any, changes.

Life in the Kitahara family itself did not change when their eldest two children were studying for the entrance examinations into Senior High school but certain efforts were made by Mr Kitahara.

First, as his children were initially reluctant to go on to Senior High school, Mr Kitahara tried to convince them that they should. Second, he hired a tutor to help them with the preparation. He relates the attitudes of his children at the time and how he handled the situation thus:

'We hired a tutor. In the beginning they said that they didn't want to go to Senior High school. But nearly everyone else was going to go on and the children realized that they would be the only ones who didn't. They seemed uneasy about this. . . They both said this kind of thing when they were in about the end of the second term in their third year of Junior High school. They had never been to a *juku* or anything like that so when we stopped to see whether there was a school that they could go to, there wasn't. Their grades were too bad. So we got a tutor for them and he taught them virtually every day and, finally, they made it into a Senior High school.'

*Did anything else change?*

'Well, I felt that unless they graduated from Senior High school they wouldn't be given the time of day [*tsuyo shinai*] in society so I made an effort to try and convince them of this.'

It is clear that parents who have low educational expectations of their children make less concessions for their children while they are preparing for examinations than parents of Family types 1 and 2. Thus, the difficulty of the examination preparation period will be magnified for these children due to the inconsideration and unco-operative attitude displayed by their families.

#### 2.4 The best way to enhance a child's educational performance

Parents were asked to explain what they consider to be the best way of bringing up a child in order that he/she can gain entry into a

very good university. It was reasoned that parents who are more concerned with their child's education would be more opinionated on the subject than other parents. This supposition was supported by the responses parents gave in the interviews.

**Family type 1 parent:**

A 'thorough approach' is the key to academic success according to the Matsuokas. Apart from a family atmosphere in which studying is a central part, Mr Matsuoka stresses that a solid, broad foundation is important for a child to be able to pass the entrance examination into a good university. Merely being good at solving problems in examination papers is insufficient to stand up to the rigorous examinations set by the prestigious universities.

'Even when it comes to studying for entrance examinations, I don't believe that a child will be able to get into a good university just because he can solve a lot of problems in test papers. *It is just like when you want to build a high building - you can't unless the foundation is sound. . . .* I personally think that the most effective way is to have a broad knowledge of things and live in a way that is most suited to you - even though this may seem to be a very indirect route.' [emphasis added]

Parents also play a crucial role in determining the success of the educational careers of their children. In Mr Matsuoka's opinion, parents of children who go to 'good' schools must be very keen about education. He explains why thus:

[Unless the parents are keen about their child's education], I don't think that the child would be able to go to a good school. By that I mean that in both private and public schools, an [enrolment] application has to be made to the school. In the case of applying to a Primary school, there is no way that a kindergarten child could apply himself. And, in the case of a Primary school student wanting to go to a particular Junior High school, I don't think it would occur to the child to make the application. So this is inevitably done by the child's parents. I reckon that parents who think about things like this would have to be quite keen about education.'

Neither Mr nor Mrs Matsuoka advocate sending pre-school age children to *juku* in order to prepare for entrance examinations into Primary school. Mr Matsuoka feels that children of that age should develop their interests and going to *juku* would effectively undermine the time that children have for this kind of activity. Mrs Matsuoka, on the other hand, looks on *juku* as being places where children are *trained* to pass entrance examinations. As far as she is concerned, children who pass entrance examinations in this way rather than on the strength of their own ability, will only suffer later. When their daughter was faced with the entrance examination into Primary school, they took it upon themselves to teach her the basics very simply and familiarize their daughter with what was expected of her in the examination.

Mrs Matsuoka believes the best way to raise a child so that he/she will be able to pass the entrance examination into a good university is to focus on developing the child's self-awareness and to build a positive attitude towards studying. This is exactly what she has tried to do with her daughter:

'I try to ask her for advice, and by doing so let her know how I feel about things; I have also tried since she was small to gradually get her in the habit of using her initiative [*jibun no ishi de susumeru yo na seikatsu shukan*].'

Mrs Matsuoka underscores the importance of establishing good habits. For her, 'everything is based on habits in everyday life'. Although she would like to leave education up to the school, she regards the role of parents in helping the child to establish good habits to be indispensable.

Being good at school-work, Mr Takahata points out, is the essence of being able to pass the entrance examination into a good university. Therefore, the question becomes how a parent can get a child to be good at school-work. The approach Mr Takahata takes is to motivate the child by making him understand why he is studying. Hopefully, if the child is sufficiently motivated he will also be interested in studying and willing to concentrate his efforts on the task of studying. Mr Takahata, however, does not recommend that a child studies all the time after he gets home until bedtime. Rather, he advocates that it is important for a child to learn to balance things.

If you would like your child to go to a good university in the future, 'the main thing', in Mrs Takahata's opinion, is for the child not to escape'. That is, to not escape from whatever he should be doing at a particular time which for her son, at present, is studying. This is the approach that she is taking with her son. Mrs Takahata considers the family environment her son is in to be one which

facilitates studying. In short, the family routine is stable and, therefore, makes it easier to study.

'My husband leads a very regular life. He always gets home around the same time every day, we all eat dinner together; [in short], there isn't much change in the routine of our family life. I think it would make it difficult to study if the routine was always changing. So in the sense that there is a rhythm to family life, I think it is an easy environment for my son to study in.'

In contrast to the Matsuokas, the Takahatas approve of the practice of sending pre-school age children to *juku* in order to prepare for the entrance examination into Primary school. They contend that as it is much more difficult to pass the entrance examination at the Junior High school level,<sup>2</sup> it is better to challenge the examination into Primary school. Their four-year old son presently attends *juku* after kindergarten finishes for the day. As the family was living overseas when the elder son was this age, he was not able to go to *juku* but his father tutored him instead.

Thus, the approach taken by the Takahatas may be summarized as first, motivating the child to study and second, making sure that he studies.

#### Family type 2 parents:

Mr Hamada considers that a prerequisite of academic success is for the child to be someone who understands what needs to be done and who does these things on his own accord.

'If the child studied 10 hours every day because his parents told him to, I think he probably wouldn't make it into Tokyo university. He would just hate studying. But, on the other hand, if the child himself thought that he would like to go to Tokyo university and was the sort of person who could understand what he would have to do to get there, I think he would probably make it into Tokyo university.'

To help the child become this kind of person, Mr Hamada believes parents should not force their children to do things but leave everything, including studying, up to the child right from an early age.

Sending young children to *juku* is not a desirable practice in the Hamadas' opinion. They both argue that in early childhood, children should learn social skills by interacting with other children through play. Mrs Hamada rejects the view held by the Takahatas, and contends that the going is not easy even for children who are accepted into an escalator-type Primary school; even they are not totally immune from the entrance examinations.

'I don't think that kids [who pass the entrance examination into an escalator-type Primary school] can afford to sit back and have an easy time once they are in the school. Even if a child starts on the escalator right from kindergarten, I think he would need to make quite an effort to keep up. While it may be difficult for a child to pass this exam half-way along the escalator, *it is a tough period which everyone has to pass through at some stage or another.*'

Mrs Hamada believes that if parents wanted their child to go to a good university, the *parents themselves would have to study first* in order that they could teach the child while he/she is young.

Parents should continue to supervise the child's studies until the child has attained a minimal level of proficiency in reading and writing. Of course, if the child was aiming to passing the entrance examination into Tokyo university, for example, the child would have to study much more than other students. The role of the family, therefore, would be to co-operate by keeping the noise level to a minimum.

Therefore, for the Hamadas, initiative on the part of the child and parental academic competence are the key ingredients needed to enhance a child's educational performance.

**Family type 3 parents:**

Mr and Mrs Nakamoto are strongly opposed to the practice of sending young children to *juku*. The reason why Mr Nakamoto dislikes the practice is that he believes what these parents are really trying to do is to make their children better than everyone else. As far as Mr Nakamoto is concerned, though, all that is important to him is that his children develop normally. His wife regards parents who send kindergarten-age children to *juku* as selfish and egotistical. She explains her feelings thus:

'When I look at parents like that, it sends chills down my spine. . . . I feel sorry for the children as they don't seem to be like children. . . I think what the parental practice of forcing things related to studying for entrance exams on children boils down to is a matter of their parents' egos. . . It is just forcing their own way of thinking on the children - they are very selfish.'



The Nakamotos contend that the best way to raise a child if the parents wanted him/her to go to a good university in the future would be to send the child to a *juku* and get him/her to study and study. They made it very clear, however, that they would under no circumstances do this themselves. In addition, Mr Nakamoto pointed out, parents would also have to make the family atmosphere revolve around studying and the child, the focus of family activities. This would inevitably require parents to forego activities like watching TV in order to keep the child's attention focused on studying.

Thus, by simultaneously advocating *juku* as the best method of enhancing a child's educational performance and rejecting it as being no more than an ego boost for parents, the Nakamotos have little left at their disposal which they consider to be an effective means. In Bernstein's terms, they reject both the means and the ends of academic excellence.

**Family type 4 parents:**

Mr Oyama does not think there is any point to sending kindergarten-age children to *juku* unless parents want their child to become some famous scholar. Needless to say, he had never thought of doing this. In his opinion, if parents want to send their child to *juku*, there is no need to do so until the child is at least in Junior High school.

In regard to how parents should raise their child in order to enhance his/her chances of entering a prestigious university, Mr Oyama was extremely vague. After he recovered from the shock of the question, his first reaction was to laugh and simply say, 'I wouldn't know how to do that.' Then, after a lengthy deliberation, he supposed that parents would have to observe the child closely and maintain a peaceful home environment, free from domestic arguments.

Mr Kitahara was also unable to answer the question on how parents should bring up their children. He made the following comment:

*'If there were some answer to this question, I am sure that some famous person would have thought about it and published a book on it, entitled 'If you raise your child like this, he will definitely go on to Senior High school.'*

The crux of the problem, Mr Kitahara argues, is for parents to assess the ability of the child and determine how far the child will be able to continue his/her educational career. Apart from that, the only other thing that parents can do is to provide financial support. As the following excerpt from the interview demonstrates, Mr Kitahara is adamant that if the child has ability, then he/she will be able to study, in spite of the surrounding conditions.

*Supposing that the parents consider the child has enough ability to go on to university, what do you think would be the best way of bringing this child up?*

' . . . . . if the child had the ability, wouldn't he just study by himself?'

*Do you think the atmosphere of the family would have any influence on the child?*

'Well, it is my family so I don't see any necessity to change something for the sake of my children. The trains are going past this house all the time, right? If I had a child who said that he couldn't study because of the noise all the trains made, that would mean that we would have to move, right? But I think that you can work in any kind of environment, if you want to, that is. *If the child says that he can't study because of the noise of the trains, then it is obvious that the child has no ability.*' [emphasis added]

Mr Kitahara feels that sending kindergarten-age children to *juku* is 'going a bit far'. Unless the child himself is happy about going, Mr Kitahara believes that children who are forced to go by their parents are liable to lose their normal emotional state.

Two points may be made about Family type 4 parents' responses to the question, 'the best way to raise your child in order to enhance his/her chances of being accepted into a good university'. First, these parents lack the know-how; second, they feel it is beyond parents to be able to help their children in this regard.

### 3. Parental Expectations

#### 3.1 Expectations - personal and occupational

Expectations that parents have in regard to what kind of person they would like their children to grow up to be vary from parent to parent. Some want their children to be people who will play an indispensable role in society; others simply want their

daughters to be loving wives and their sons, able to support a family. Occupational expectations display a similar level of variety. These expectations and the parents' aspirations for their children's educational careers are presumably not exclusive of each other. Parents who are mainly concerned that their daughters grow up to be good at domestic duties, for instance, are unlikely to place much emphasis on their daughter having a tertiary education. This section will examine the question of what kind of person the parents introduced in Chapter Four want their children to be.

**Family type 1 parents:**

High expectations are what Family type 1 parents have for their children. The Matsuokas, for example, hope that their daughter becomes either a linguist or a university professor. Mrs Matsuoka would like her daughter to be able to make her way through life using her own initiative. Her husband's expectations for his daughter are to have 'a life which she will not regret later'. Mr Matsuoka admits that he is limited in the kinds of things that he can do to help her become this kind of person but he does try to convey what knowledge he has and to help her make her own base [*dodai*]. Knowing that his daughter will benefit from it, he makes an effort to tell her about cultural or educational type things as much as possible. Mr Matsuoka looks on his role in the following way:

'I am just like a pilot but it is another matter if she studies these things by herself. I would like to have the role of helping her to understand more about the world, even though I may not know all that much.'

The main quality Mr Takahata would like his child to have when he goes out into society is for him to be someone who is considered 'useful' to society. In other words, someone whose existence has significance for other people. Both Mr Takahata and his wife would like their son to become either a doctor or a researcher. Mr Takahata believes that, in the long run, efforts that his son makes now with his studies will be related to this goal. Mrs Takahata would also like her son to have a meaningful life [*ikigai no aru jinsei*] and feels that, at this stage, study is the only thing her son can do in order to achieve this.

**Family type 2 parents:**

Sexism taints the expectations that the Hamadas have for their children. On the one hand, the only expectation that Mr Hamada has for his children is that they can be 'independent of others'. Mrs Hamada, however, distinguishes between her children on the basis of sex. In the case of her daughter, Mrs Hamada would like her to be kind and meek; and she would like her son to be someone who is kind and strong. In terms of occupation, the Hamadas hope their daughter becomes a teacher.

**Family type 3 parents:**

Feelings of sexism are even more pronounced in the case of the Nakamotos. Mrs Nakamoto's dream was to raise her daughters so that other people would remark on how feminine they are. As she believes that girls should be able to talk about things related to the Japanese harp [*koto*], her daughters are receiving instruction in the *koto* and various other traditional Japanese arts (e.g., the tea ceremony). Her expectations for her children are by no means high. By her own admission, Mrs Nakamoto 'just wants her daughters to be 'run-of-the-mill' girls [*heibon na jousei*] and would like them to find a husband who brings out their good points'. What Mr Nakamoto would like his children to be more than anything else, on the other hand, is 'someone who can put themselves in another person's position and understand his worries and feelings'. Both Mr and Mrs Nakamoto would like their daughter who participated in the survey to become either a school teacher or to carry on the family hairdressing business.

**Family type 4 parents:**

'Mediocrity' is also the best term to describe the expectations that Mr Oyama and Mr Kitahara have for their children. On the one hand, Mr Oyama wants his children to be just 'normal'; in the future, he would like them to have a skilled occupation so that they will always have the means of supporting themselves. For his

daughters, he thinks knitting or hairdressing would be appropriate and for his sons, a restaurant. Mr Kitahara, on the other hand, wants his daughter and son to become an 'ordinary' wife and a capable family man, respectively.

' . . . . . just an 'average' person [*hitonami*]. Just a normal person - I don't want them to become especially famous or anything like that. If I wanted them to become this kind of person I would tell them to study and that they have to get into such and such a school etc. But I don't think like this.' (Mr Oyama, parent 'R')

'My ideal in the case of the girls is for them to become just an ordinary wife. . . . In the case of the boy, I would like him to become someone who can get a job with a company which will give him enough salary to support a wife and family.'(Mr Kitahara)

In order to help his children become good wives and husbands, Mr Kitahara is endeavouring to raise his daughters so that they will be meek and he tells his son that he will have to work hard as a man in the future. He hopes that his daughter will either become a teacher, as she wishes, or work for a company.

### 3.2 Educational aspirations

This section will explore what educational aspirations parents have for their children and, in the case of parents who would like their child to go to university, what they would advise the child to do in the event that he/she failed the entrance examination. These parents were also asked whether they would feel disappointed if their child did not go to university, in order to assess how strongly

the parents would like their child to go to university. Table 5.9 provides a summary of this information for the parents who were interviewed.

**Family type 1 parents:**

With the exception of Mrs Takahata, Family type 1 parents hold the ultimate in terms of educational aspirations for their children, that is, graduate school. The Matsuokas would like their daughter to go to graduate school in order that she can realize her ambition of becoming a Professor of Linguistics. The child has her sights set on Tokyo university and is 'absolutely sure' that she will pass the entrance examination. Her parents are somewhat sceptical, believing that her confidence is rather premature. If she is not accepted into Tokyo university the first time round, both her parents would like her to challenge the entrance examination again in the following year. Mr Matsuoka outlined his reason thus:

'If she doesn't pass [the entrance exam] the first time and then just gives up, this would mean that she would be giving up her ambition after coming all this way. I think it would be better for her to become a *ronin* and try again.' (Mr Matsuoka, parent 'A')

Mrs Matsuoka's reasons reflect, in part, her experience as a Senior High school student. As we learnt in Chapter Four, the only alternative left to her when she failed the entrance examination to the Science faculty of the 4-year university that she had her heart set



Table 5.9 Parents' educational aspirations for child

Family type	Parent	Father/mother	School (F/S)	Parent's educational background	Parent's educational aspiration for child*	Child's educational aspiration*	If fail university entrance exam (P)	If fail university entrance exam (C)	Disappointed if child does not go to univ.
1	A	F	F	4	4	4	2	5	Yes
		M	F	3	4		2		Yes
	B	F	F	4	3	3	3	1	Yes
		M	F	4	3		3		Yes
	C	F	F	4	3	3	3	1	No
		M	F	1	3		3		No
	D	F	F	4	3	3	1	5	Yes
		M	F	3	3		3		Yes
	E	F	F	4	4	3	2	2	Yes
		M	F	4	3		2		Yes
	F	F	S	4	3	3	1	1	No
	M	F	1	3		1		No	
G	F	F	4	3	3	1	2	No	
	M	F	4	3		1		Yes	
H	F	S	4	4	3	1	2	No	
	M	F	4	3		3		Yes	
J	F	F	4	3	3	5	5	Yes	
	M	F	2	3		3		Yes	
K	F	S	4	3	3	3	1	Yes	
	M	F	1	3		3		Yes	
2	N	F	S	1	3	3	5	4	Yes
		M	F	1	3		3		Yes
	O	F	F	1	3	3	3	5	Yes
		M	F	1	3		3		Yes
	F	S	0	3	3	1	1	Yes	
	M	F	1	2		3		Yes	
3	M	F	S	4	2	2	4	1	No
		M	F	2	1		3		No
	P	F	S	4	0	0			No
		M	F	1	1		2		No
4	I	M	S	1	2	2	3	1	No
		F	S	0	3				No
	R	F	S	0	0	3		2	No
		M	S	0	0				No
5	L	F	S	1	1	3		1	No

Key for 'if fail university entrance exam':

Parent:

1. Lower ranking university
2. Take the entrance exam again
3. Child go to university of his choice
4. Start work
5. Other

Child:

1. Lower ranking university
2. Take the entrance exam again
3. Specialist school
4. Start work
5. Other

on, was to go to a Junior College because her parents refused to allow her to take the examination again.

'[The reason is] partly because *I would have liked to have become a ronin myself* and partly because I would like her to be able to do what she wants to do.' (Mrs Matsuoka, parent 'A') [emphasis added]

Mr Takahata's educational aspirations for his son also reflect what he himself would like to have done. He would like his son to do research at the graduate school level.

'Well, if possible, [I would like my son to go to graduate school]. *I also like doing research on things* and 4 years at university is not enough to be able to do such research. So, *as a parent's hope*, I hope he will do this.' (Mr Takahata, parent 'E') [emphasis added]

Mrs Takahata would like her son to go to a public university (not necessarily to the graduate school level). She believes that public universities are better than private ones in terms of the ability of the staff and their superior facilities.

#### Family type 2 parents:

For financial reasons Mr Hamada would prefer his daughter to go to a public university. This would also be easier on the child as Mr Hamada expects her to support herself, at least in part, by having a part-time job while she is going to university. Going to university just for the sake of it, does not meet with Mr Hamada's approval. He

contends that students should decide while they are still at Senior High school which university they would like to go to and what they want to study there. Mr Hamada would like his daughter to go to university because, by doing so, she will have the opportunity to learn many things and make a *variety* of friends. He considers that it is worthwhile for a child to go to university *only if* the students come from a variety of socio-economic and/or cultural backgrounds.

'If only students of rich families attended the university and they were all very clever, going to university would lose its meaning as a place to have lots of different kinds of experiences, and making lots of different kinds of friends and learning a lot of things. You would lose all this by going to such a university. If you are going to go to university at all, you should go to one where there are lots of different kinds of students from all over Japan.' (Mr Hamada, parent 'N')

Mrs Hamada also emphasizes the variety of experiences her daughter would have by going to university; studying is of secondary importance.

' At Senior High school the students come only from the local area. But at university, students come from all over Japan so I think that she would be able to get a wider range of friends. If she can gain even a bit of knowledge [by going to university], this would be good.' (Mrs Hamada, parent 'N')

The inadequacy of social skills of some students who attend prestigious universities has not made a favourable impression on the Hamadas. Mr Hamada feels that these students have had to sacrifice their social skills in order to devote themselves to their

study. He describes one such student, who happens to live in the neighbourhood, thus:

'He lives in the neighbourhood so sometimes I meet him on the road. He can't even say 'hello' to me. He has only ever studied so he doesn't know how to interact with other people. If I say 'Good morning' to him, he doesn't reply. He has had to sacrifice this in order to study. . . . He doesn't seem to have much common sense either.' (Mr Hamada, parent 'N')

Mrs Hamada's observations of the researchers at a research institute where she works part-time, has also left her with doubts about the human quality of graduates of elite universities.

'There are a lot of people who have graduated from Tokyo university. I feel that these people have a lot of specialist knowledge but if they step even a little bit outside of their own specialist framework, they have a surprising number of faults [e.g., they don't know how to communicate with people]. I don't want my children to become people like this.' (Mrs Hamada, parent 'N')

Thus, while the educational aspirations of the Hamadas for their daughter are high in that they would like her to go to university, they are not concerned that she goes to a 'good' university. In fact, their personal contact with graduates of prestigious universities has left them dubious of the ability of these people to interact in the social world and apprehensive of aiming too high.

Family type 3 parents:

Mr Nakamoto would not mind if his daughter went to a Junior College as he feels that she would be able to learn many things (e.g., how to get on with her friends) other than study. However, at the same time, he believes that it would really be enough for her to go as far as Senior High school.

'I think it is enough for them [my daughters] to graduate from Senior High school . . . . also the fact that they are girls . . . I have always thought that it is enough for them to just go as far as Senior High school. But I guess if they say that they want to go on, I would have to let them go to a Junior College or somewhere like that. I really feel that Senior High school is enough but . . . I feel that they would be able to learn a lot of things other than study - for example, how to get on with friends, so for this reason I wouldn't mind if they went on to Junior College.'

Mr Nakamoto has also said to his daughter that there is 'no need for her to overdo it in order to get into a good school'. He contends that, at least in regard to the types of occupations he has in mind for his daughter,<sup>3</sup> having graduated from a good school in itself is not an advantage in the job market. 'And', he added, 'after all she is a girl.' Of course, if Mr Nakamoto had a son, he would like him to go as far as university in order to secure a good job.

Mrs Nakamoto would like her daughters to go to a Specialist school because, given the present age of 'women's lib', girls have greater opportunity to pursue things they like. If either of her daughters was adamant about going to university, Mrs Nakamoto would not object *providing* a university education was essential for

their future occupation. Mrs Nakamoto's view of university is limited to academic goals: university is a place where students should study what they want and achieve what they want. Thus, she measures the value of university education strictly in terms of its vocational utility, as the following excerpt shows.

'If they wanted to go [to university], that would be OK with me. But I would like them to have a clear purpose for going. For example, they want to have a particular occupation so it is absolutely essential for them to go to such and such a university. If that is the case, then there wouldn't be any choice. They would have to go to university.'

*Then going to university just for the sake of . . . . ?*

'Going to university just for the sake of being a university student or enjoying student life without having any clear purpose, I feel is meaningless.' (Mrs Nakamoto, parent 'M')

It is apparent that the Nakamotos seem to be suffering from some kind of an internal dilemma about the necessity of a tertiary education for their daughters. Mr Nakamoto, in particular, is reluctant to admit that it is necessary for girls to go beyond Senior High school. His wife is somewhat more liberal. She supports the idea of her daughters attending a Specialist school and, if it was absolutely necessary, would be prepared to consider the possibility of a university education.

**Family type 4 parents:**

In Mr Oyama's opinion, as it is the norm for children to go as far as Senior High school, that is enough for his children as well.

'These days everyone goes to Senior High school. That is just normal [*hitonami*]. Maybe in the future it will become the norm for everyone to go to university but at the moment I don't think it is necessary.'  
(Mr Oyama, parent 'R')

His wife, however, has different ideas. She would like at least their youngest son to go to university, believing that this would enable him to get a better job. Even though Mr Oyama is not completely convinced, he is willing to go along with his wife's wishes.

Mr Kitahara is well aware that graduating from a good university is essential to getting a job with a good company. Nevertheless, he considers Senior High school to be sufficient for his children as, in his opinion, his children lack the ability required of university students.

'Of course, as their parent I would like them to go on [beyond Senior High school] but I think that parents know the ability of their children best. Even if I forked out the money and sent them off to some university, I know that they don't have the ability and won't last the distance. I couldn't do such a pitiful [*kawaiso*] thing. I would say to the child that this seems to be about the limit for you.'  
(Mr Kitahara, parent 'S')

Mr Kitahara would have no feelings of disappointment even if none of his children ends up going to university. This is because, *in comparison with his own school career*, his children will have exceeded his educational level just by going to Senior High school. This is illustrated in the following excerpt:

'Well I only went to Junior High school so if my children can do better than this, there is nothing for me to be disappointed about. I think if they can go to Senior High school, they have done well.'  
(Mr Kitahara, parent 'S')

Thus, it is apparent that both Mr Oyama's and Mr Kitahara's educational aspirations for their children are shaped by relative forces. On the one hand, Mr Oyama is guided by what is 'normal' for the majority of the population. Mr Kitahara's educational aspirations for his children, on the other hand, were decided, in part, by his own educational attainment. In other words, as long as his children go beyond his educational level, Mr Kitahara will be satisfied.

**Family type 5 parent:**

As far as Mr Terui is concerned, 'people who go to university' and 'people who do not go to university' are worlds apart. 'Universities', in Mr Terui's opinion, are 'places which produce people who can lead Japan'; they are not places where 'normal' people go. Mr Terui would very much like his son to go to a Specialist school to train as a professional cyclist. He stresses that cycling is preferable to studying at university because with the former, the rewards are in direct proportion to the effort expended. He explains his way of thinking thus:

'Cycling is something which the more you do, the more it becomes part of you. . . . If you practice, you increase your strength and, as a



result, you will get a prize when you compete. So *what you put into your practice always comes back to you.*'

*So you mean that, in the case of university, you slave your guts out studying but don't know when, if at all, you will get the reward?*

'Yes, that's right. *You just don't know.*' (Mr Terui, parent 'L')  
[emphasis added]

Mr Terui is not worried by the fact that, if his son were to become a professional cyclist, he would have a relatively low educational level in a credential society. He believes that the special skills required by cycling can compensate for lack of education.

'Educational level and academic ability are both a kind of ability that people have, right? Cycling requires a special skill which can make up for the lack of things like academic ability, so I am not worried about this. The cyclist, Nakano Koichi, was number 1 cyclist in the world for 10 years in a row. He doesn't have any *gakureki* as he didn't go past Senior High school. But even so he can compensate for his lack of *gakureki* because he has a very special skill.' (Mr Terui, parent 'L')

What this chapter has shown is that, in the same way as parents' histories differed, there are also significant differences in regard to their attitudes about education and expectations for their children. First, parents' responses to 'what makes a good Junior High school' and 'the role of schools', for instance, showed that parents who are eager for their children to go to university (i.e., Family types 1 and 2), tend to have a different outlook on education than the other parents (i.e., Family types 3, 4 and 5); their responses were inextricably linked with their ultimate goal of getting their children to university. Consequently, their views on education reflect a different time dimension, with the educational process for the

former group of parents extending to the tertiary level and, for the latter, to the secondary level. In this regard, Mr Kitahara's interpretation of the question about 'the best way to bring a child up so that he/she will be able to go to university', is illuminating. He said:

'If there were some answer to this question, I am sure that some famous person would have thought about it and published a book on it, entitled 'If you raise your child like this, he will definitely go on to *Senior High school*.' [emphasis added]

Clearly, the issue for Mr Kitahara is not 'how to raise his child so that she will be able to go to *university*' ; the problem for Mr Kitahara is how he could get his daughter to go on to *Senior High school*.

Second, parents of Family types 1 and 2 are more aware of the social merits of university education than parents who have lower educational aspirations for their children. Presumably this is a reflection of their greater familiarity with university life through their own experience of university and/or knowledge of university graduates. This gap in knowledge is exemplified by the contrasting views Mrs Takahata and Mr Kitahara hold about university. Mrs Takahata, on the one hand, feels sorry for students who start work at the end of Senior High school because they are deprived of the 'buffer' period provided by university which enables students to practise the social niceties before going out into the real world. On the other hand, Mr Kitahara, feels sorry for university students

because he believes that 'being a university student means to refrain from drinking alcohol and playing around.' In addition, parents of Family types 3, 4 and 5 tend to stress that a university education is necessary only for those children whose future vocational plans are contingent upon a university qualification. In short, only those with a purpose need to go to university.

Third, parents of Family types 1 and 2 are more involved in the academic education of their children than parents of other family types. These parents are more inclined to help their children with problems related to study and make sure that their children study adequately - in terms of both time and method. As many of these parents are university graduates and have been through the trauma of entrance examinations, they also tend to be more considerate towards children in this situation. On the other hand, parents who are less enthusiastic about their children's education tend to reject the notion that, besides financial support, parents can be of direct assistance to their children's educational attainment. This view is epitomized by Mr Kitahara who contends that 'if the child had the ability he would study by himself', in spite of his parents or the environmental conditions.

Fourth, the enthusiasm of Family types 1 and 2 parents for the education of their children is also manifested in terms of the way they answered the question about 'the best way to raise a child in order that he/she is accepted into a good university'. Whereas the majority of Family type 1 and 2 parents were able to answer the question in detail by describing how they are raising their child,

Family type 3, 4 and 5 parents answered it impersonally and vaguely, suggesting that this is not the way they are bringing up their children.

Fifth, significant differences were also evident between parents in terms of their aspirations and expectations for their children. Consider the example of the Matsuokas and Kitaharas. On the one hand, the Matsuokas would like their daughter to have 'a life which she will not regret'; they want their child to go to graduate school in order that she can realize her dream of becoming a professor and consider that it would be a pity not to let their daughter take the entrance examination again in the event that she fails the examination the first time. Mr Kitahara's aspirations for his children, on the other hand, are for his daughters to become good wives who obey their husbands and his son, someone who is able to support a family. Mr Kitahara would be pleased if his children can make it as far as Senior High school, as by doing so they would surpass his educational level of Junior High school.

In conclusion, on the basis of parents' attitudes and expectations described in this chapter, it is evident that differences in family culture have a profound effect on the educational attainment of children.

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<sup>1</sup>He attended the Primary school which is attached to Fuzoku Junior High school.

<sup>2</sup>Mrs Takahata pointed out that 'it is a fact that even if a child could have passed the Primary school level examination, the child cannot always pass the examination into Junior High school after having been to a different Primary school.'

<sup>3</sup>That is, public servant or hairdresser.

## Conclusion

There is no doubt that educational credentials are important in contemporary society, both at the individual and social levels. At the individual level, educational credentials are important as they provide their holders with a licence to apply for prestigious positions and thereby, the opportunity to obtain access to greater social status. At the social level, their importance lies in their function as a legitimate means of sorting people and justifying differences in social status. For this social selection system to work, two conditions are essential. First, that differences in educational attainment exist between people. Second, that there is a general consensus that differences in social status are self-inflicted due to lack of academic competence, for example, and not imposed by society.

While the rules governing social selection maintain a masquerade of egalitarianism, there is reason to believe that they are not as democratic as they purport to be. Take, for example, the social composition of students who go on to tertiary education. In Japan, the gap in terms of parental income between students who go on to university and those who discontinue their education at the end of Senior High school has increased over the last ten years. It is clear

that university education is increasingly becoming a pursuit of the rich. Concealed behind this economic veil, significant differences in cultural activity between social classes have also become evident. This suggests that family culture plays an important role in the educational attainment of children.

This prompted researchers in England, France and America to take a new direction; researchers such as Basil Bernstein, Paul Willis, Pierre Bourdieu and Michael Apple addressed the question of why lengthening the period of education did not reduce social inequality and disparities between social classes. Bernstein's and Bourdieu's research on cultural reproduction, in particular, has had a far-reaching influence on scholars throughout the world, with the first study in Japan being conducted in 1987. Given the sparsity of studies on cultural reproduction in Japan and the widening gap between the social classes, I decided to undertake this empirical study on family culture and educational attainment. Here, 'empirical study' is not confined to simply an analysis of statistical data and survey questionnaires; it also includes in-depth interviews with parents at their homes to understand in detail how differences in family culture function. The present study also emphasized the necessity and significance of this methodological approach.

The subjects of the present study were Junior High school students at Fuzoku, an elite school in Japan, and Sanchu, an 'ordinary' Junior High school in a provincial city, and their parents. The population sample comprised 124 students and 217 parents. While it could be argued that the sample was not large enough, as

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the aim of this study was to elucidate differences in family culture, atmosphere, attitudes and aspirations, it should be stressed that this kind of data would have been difficult to obtain by quantitative means. Thus, as the questionnaire method by itself was deemed to be insufficient to assess the effect of family culture on the educational attainment of children, the present study relied extensively on interview data as well. The interviews with the 31 parents provided sufficient data to analyse the problem of the relationship between family culture and the educational attainment of children. By comparing the family cultures of students whose parents have high and low educational aspirations for their children, this study highlighted cultural differences and, in particular, differences in parental attitudes towards education between the families.

The findings of this study can be summarized as follows. Differences in family culture, attitudes and therefore, habitus are, at least in part, reproduced from one generation to the next, thereby aiding the maintenance of the socio-cultural boundaries between social classes; in this sense, these cultural differences are an outgrowth of accumulated history, with their origins rooted firmly in the past. Thus, in order to understand differences in the way parents think about education, it was necessary to probe into the historical background of parents.

Wide variations were found in the family background and school experience of parents. On the one hand, some parents were raised in an environment which was conducive to studying: the atmosphere of their families and/or school dictated that they were



expected to study; their parents helped them with their studies and/or encouraged them to continue their educational careers (or at least did not oppose their plans to continue). The educational careers of other parents, on the other hand, were hampered in one or more of the following ways: financial hardships which made it difficult for them to attend school and to stay on at school beyond the compulsory requirement; lack of parental support for their education which was often accompanied by a failure to adapt to school-life; sexist attitudes.

To highlight inter-generational differences in educational attainment, the parents who were interviewed were categorized into five groups according to inter-generational educational mobility. The five groups were as follows: Group 1 - consistently high educational attainment; Group 2 - upward educational mobility (parents have low educational attainment but high expectations for children); Group 3 - downward educational mobility; Group 4 - consistently low educational mobility; Group 5 - a family in educational conflict. As parents' attitudes towards education are intimately connected with their experiences of school and childhood, and are influenced, to a lesser extent, by secondary and tertiary sources (e.g., by drawing conclusions based on observation of the behaviour of university graduates or by listening to what people say about others' experiences), the diversity evident in parents' experiences is reproduced at the level of attitudes. In terms of experience and attitudes, at least four categories of parents can be distinguished.

The first is the 'endorsement type' which is comprised of parents who adapted well to school and elected to continue their education at the university level. These parents have first-hand knowledge of what university is like and want the same for their children. The 'compensatory type' is the second category. Parents in this category adapted well to school and would have liked to have gone on to university but did not have the opportunity to do so. They want to give their children this opportunity to go to university and thereby compensate for the opportunity of which they were deprived. The third category, the 'sceptical type', is made up of parents who did well at school but went to university involuntarily. As they are sceptical about whether the sacrifices children have to make in order to go to university are worthwhile, they are not adamant that their children go to university. Parents in the final category, 'functional type', neither did well at school nor went on to university. To these parents, the value of university lies in its capacity to provide vocational training; therefore, the social merits of university are not an issue. Since numerous other institutions provide vocational training, university is not unparalleled in terms of desirability. In fact, universities may be considered to be inferior to these other institutions as first, the latter are more accessible than universities (i.e., in terms of entrance requirements, tuition cost etc.), and second, they specialize in vocational training.

On the basis of the findings of this study, it can be concluded that the educational attainment of children is affected by a historical process which is mediated through the family culture. That is, the

level of education attained by children is historical (at least in part) in that both the educational aspirations and attitudes towards education held by parents have historical roots. The school experiences of parents, for instance, reflect the attitudes of their parents towards education, and of their parents before them.

A high correlation between parental educational aspirations for their children, on the one hand, and parental support of their children in the educational undertaking, on the other, was also found. While parents who have low educational aspirations for their children did not deny the importance of education (especially university) at the societal level, at the personal level they rejected the importance of university education. There is no need for their children to attend university.

Similarly, the findings of the study supported the hypothesis that parents who have high educational aspirations for their children would view the effort required to attain a high educational level as an investment. Their positive attitude is based on their confidence (often gained through first-hand experience) that numerous fruits await graduates at the end of the road to university. Conversely, parents with low educational aspirations regard the effort required to attain a high educational level as a sacrifice. Harboured doubts as to the necessity of university education and as to whether there will be any benefits in store for university graduates, the effort expended on attaining a high educational level is, at best, considered to be a risky gamble.

### *Conclusion*

Bernstein and Bourdieu emphasize that there are various factors such as a child's attitude to study, cultural activities and the perception of the significance of university education in the family that are not readily apparent to a casual observer that produce decisive differences in the educational attainment of children. The present study, as outlined above, demonstrates that, basically, the claims of Bernstein and Bourdieu can also be applied to Japanese society. In addition, the study showed that the phenomenon of cultural reproduction in the family is gradually becoming more pronounced, especially over the last ten years. The statistical data introduced in Chapter Two also verified the last decade as being significant for other social trends as well.

The findings of this study may be used as a key to understanding the forces behind the changing social class structure in Japan. By highlighting the historical nature of educational attainment, they also suggest the direction that needs to be taken in order to maximize equality of educational attainment across different social classes. More attention, though, needs to be given to the formation of attitudes. In particular, if attitudes are largely a product of past experiences, how can they be changed by external agencies? Further research on family culture and the educational attainment of children would also benefit by examining in greater detail the attitudes of children to their education in addition to those of their parents. This would provide insight into the extent to which both parents and the child have accepted the means and ends of school

education. Unfortunately, the time limitations of the present study prevented children from being interviewed.

As the schools used in this study were in different areas, the findings of this study may have been affected by geographical bias. Furthermore, as the study was conducted on a group of Japanese parents, cultural differences in terms of the authority that parents have over children, for example, may have affected the results. It should be remembered that the findings are no more than a key to understanding educational attainment and the changes in the social structure in Japan. As one of the aims of this study was to determine whether Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction applies to Japan, future studies conducted in Japan would benefit by identifying the characteristics of family culture that are peculiar to Japan. While the study may be criticized by some on the grounds of its small population sample, it merits re-emphasis that it was the small scale of this study that enabled the present study to uncover relationships that are beyond the capabilities of numerical studies. The interview method was, therefore, found to be indispensable to the investigation of subjective factors such as attitudes.

In order to improve this kind of research and thereby make the theory on cultural reproduction more elaborate, it is necessary to follow in Bernstein's footsteps and do research on differences in the language and meaning of words used by parents when disciplining their children. It is also essential that a detailed analysis is done on the impact that differences in taste evident in families (e.g., music,

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art, novels, cuisine, apparel, possessions etc.) have on the formation of the habitus.

This research is by no means simple. I believe that the results obtained in the limited period of time available to do the present study are meaningful. It is my hope that many scholars will employ the frame of analysis and the findings of this study as a starting point, and carry out their research in even greater detail.

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE COMPLETED BY STUDENT

APPENDIX A: Survey Questionnaires

(English translations)

1. What is your father's occupation? Please put a check (X) against the appropriate item.

- 1. doctor
- 2. lawyer
- 3. engineer
- 4. scientist
- 5. businessman
- 6. government official
- 7. other

2. How often did you hear your father say any of the following to you? If "all," please put a check (X) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a check (X) in "before" and under "if" for "never," "if" only, "often," and "all." If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a check under both "F" and "M."

- 1. You should get a good job in the future.
- 2. You must decide your future for yourself.
- 3. It is better to live in a satisfactory job than to work the land.
- 4. Get a job as soon as possible.
- 5. Before you get married, you should get a job.
- 6. A woman's place is in the home.
- 7. It is better to attend a state school than go to a private high school or university.
- 8. It is better to be poor than to be unemployed by someone.
- 9. In the long run, girls should not have an education.
- 10. The best thing for girls is to be a mother and a wife.

## QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE COMPLETED BY STUDENT

1. How many brothers and sisters do you have? Please write the number in the parantheses.

- 1. brothers ( )
- 2. sisters ( )

2. What is your sibling position? Please put a cross ( X ) against the appropriate item.

- eldest son
- second eldest son
- third (or other) son
- eldest daughter
- second eldest daughter
- third (or other) daughter

3. Has your father/mother ever said any of the following to you? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a cross under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother said it. If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a cross under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

- 1. You must get a good job in the future.
- 2. You must decide your future for yourself.
- 3. It is better to live an ordinary life than to work too hard.
- 4. Get a job as soon as possible.
- 5. Some day you will carry on the family business.
- 6. A woman's place is inside the home.
- 7. It is better to learn a trade than to go on to Senior High school or university.
- 8. It is better to be your own boss than to be employed by someone.
- 9. In this day and age, girls must also have an occupation.
- 10. The best thing for girls is to find a suitable husband and



- get married.  
  11. Other ( )

4. Has your father/mother ever said any of the following to you? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a cross under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother said it. If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a cross under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

1. It is important to graduate from a good school to get a good job.  
  2. It is important to graduate from a good school to get a good spouse  
  3. It is important to do well at school to carry on the family business.  
  4. It is not necessary to get into a good school to carry on the family business.  
  5. To get a good husband, it is more important to study etiquette and traditional Japanese arts and to be able to act like a lady than to study academic subjects.  
  6. School education is not useful in the real world.  
  7. Without education, an individual cannot hope to get on in the world.  
  8. Children should play and not become too preoccupied with study.  
  9. It would be an embarrassment to the family if you do not enter a good school.  
  10. There is no need to over-exert yourself to get into a good school.  
  11. Other ( )

5. Has your father/mother ever done any of the following? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father did it, put a cross under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother did it. If both your father and mother have done any of the following, please put a cross under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

- 1. Helped you with your school-work or checked to see that you have completed your homework.
- 2. Discussed your educational future with you.
- 3. Discussed your educational future with your teachers.
- 4. Scolded you for studying too much.
- 5. Scolded you for not studying enough.
- 6. Rewarded you for getting good grades.
- 7. Other ( )

6. Has your father/mother ever said any of the following to you? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a cross under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother said it. If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a cross under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

- 1. It is enough to go as far as Junior High school.
- 2. It is best that you go at least as far as Senior High school.
- 3. It is enough to graduate from Senior High school.
- 4. You should at least go to a Specialist school.
- 5. You should at least go to a Junior College.
- 6. You must go to university.
- 7. Other ( ).

7. Do you think what you are studying at present will help you in the future? Please check the ONE statement which is closest to your opinion.

- I do not think it will be of much help.
- I think it will help me get a good job.
- I think it will be helpful with my marriage.
- I have never given much thought to whether my education will be useful or not.
- Other ( )

8. Do you think there is too much pressure on children to study in Japan today?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.  
 No -----> Please answer SQ2.

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') Why do you think so? Of the following, put a cross against the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- Because an entrance-examination oriented education prevents children from doing what they should do as children.  
 Because people are evaluated in terms of how well they did in the entrance examinations.  
 Because it makes peers become potential rivals in the entrance examinations.  
 Because entrance examinations place an unnecessary burden on the family.  
 Because it places too much financial strain on the family - e.g., cost of *juku* and mock examinations.  
 Other ( )

SQ2 (for those who answered 'no') Why do you think so? Of the following, put a cross against the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- Because I believe that the tough competition to get into the good schools is a good preparation for life in the real world.  
 Because a person is a 'nobody' without an education.  
 Because it is only natural that you have to study to get a good job.  
 Because it is important to be well-educated to get a good spouse.  
 Because it is impossible to study too much.  
 Other ( )

9. How important do you think 'educational background', 'personality' and 'human relations' are to socially succeed in Japanese society today? Please indicate how important you consider each of the 3 factors to be by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate place.

		Very important	Quite important	So so	Not very important	Not at all important
1. Educational background	_____>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Personality	_____>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Human relations	_____>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. Are you now attending an academic-oriented *juku* ?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1 and SQ2.
- No -----> Please answer SQ3.

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') When you first started going to a *juku*, how did you and your parents feel about it? Of the following, put a cross against the ONE statement which is the closest to the opinion of you and your parents.

- Both you and your parents wanted you to go.
- Your parents forced you to go.
- You wanted to go so you persuaded your parents to let you go.
- Other ( )

SQ2 (for those who answered 'yes') How do you feel about going to *juku* ? Of the following, put a cross against the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- If I did not go to a *juku*, it would be difficult to get into a good High school or university.
- If I did not go to a *juku*, it would put me at a disadvantage

because nearly everyone else does.

- What I learn at *juku* is more useful for passing the entrance examinations than what my teachers teach me at school.
- Other ( )

SQ3 (for those who answered 'no') What do you think about *juku*? Of the following, put a cross against the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- As I do not like studying, I have no inclination to go to a *juku*.
- There is no need for me to go to a *juku* as I am not interested in getting into a good high school or university.
- I would rather spend the time on things I like doing than to go to a *juku*.
- It is not that necessary for me to get into such a good Senior High school or university as to have to go to a *juku*.
- I am not going to *ajuku* because my parents will not let me.
- Even without going to a *juku* I can get good grades at school.
- Other ( )

11. About how many hours do you usually spend studying outside of school (i.e., at home and/or *juku*) per school day? Please write the number of hours in the box provided.

12. Do you think that the time you spend studying is sufficient?

- Yes
- No

13. How far do you intend to continue your studies? Please indicate by putting a cross (X) in the appropriate place.

- Junior High school
- Senior High school

- Specialist school
- Junior college -----> SQ1,SQ2,SQ3
- University -----> SQ1,SQ2,SQ3
- Graduate school -----> SQ1,SQ2,SQ3

**SQ1** (for those who answered 'Junior college', 'University' or 'Graduate school') Which university or junior college do you hope to attend? Please write the name of your first TWO preferences in the box provided.

- 1. First preference
- 2. Second preference

--	--

**SQ2** What do you consider the probability is of your getting into the university or college of your first choice the first time round? Please put a cross ( X ) in the appropriate box.

- less than 30%
- about 50%
- about 70%
- about 90%
- almost 100%
- I don't know

14. In the future, what occupation would you like to have? Please give the names of TWO occupations that you are considering in the boxes provided.

- 1. First preference
- 2. Second preference

--	--

15. Of the following, whom do you consider has had the most influence on your life? Please put a cross ( X ) against the ONE person who has had the most influence.

- father
- mother
- brother or sister
- a relative
- a school teacher
- a *juku* teacher
- a famous Japanese
- a famous foreigner
- other (            )

16. How often do you read the newspaper?

- usually every day
- about 2 or 3 times a week
- about once a week
- almost never

17. Do you buy any magazines on a weekly or monthly basis?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') In the boxes provided, please write the names of up to THREE magazines that you buy.

1.	2.	3.
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

18. Are there any TV programmes which you particularly like or try to watch every week?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') In the boxes provided, please write the names of up to THREE television programmes.

1.	2.	3.

19. When you listen to the radio, which programmes do you mainly listen to? Of the following, choose up to TWO programmes which you mainly listen to.

- light music
- classical music
- rock music
- popular songs
- news
- drama
- study programmes (for exams)
- English conversation or English radio station
- disc jockey
- other (            )

20. In the past one month, have you either been to see a movie or watched one on TV or video?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') In the boxes provided, please write the titles of up to THREE movies that you have seen in the past month.

1.	2.	3.



21. Of the following, which are your favourite types of movies?  
Please put a cross ( X ) against no more than THREE.

- adventure
- travel, exploration
- war
- police
- musical
- adolescence
- romance
- sports
- comedies
- tragedies
- historical
- social, political

22. Have you read any books (other than those required for your study) in the last THREE months?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') Please indicate the approximate number of books which you read.

- only 1
- 2 or 3
- 4 or 5
- 6 or 7
- 8 or 9
- more than 10

23. What kind of books do you enjoy reading? Of the following, indicate your first TWO preferences.

- thrillers
- love stories
- adolescence
- travel

- non-fiction
- historical
- poetry
- social, political, economic
- philosophical
- scientific, technological
- science fiction
- animal

24. What kind of music do you like? Of the following, indicate the ONE kind of music that you like most.

- classical music
- popular music
- jazz
- rock music
- traditional Japanese love songs
- Japanese folk music
- Western folk music
- other (                    )

25. What do you think of classical music? Of the following statements, choose the ONE which is closest to your opinion.

- Classical music is complicated and difficult for me to understand.
- Listening to classical music gives me a headache.
- It is not that I dislike classical music but I don't listen to it very much.
- I like classical music and I often listen to it.
- I regard listening to classical music as a part of my cultural education.
- Other (                    )

26. How often do you usually go to museums, exhibitions, art galleries, libraries etc. Please check the appropriate box in each case.

		About once a week	About once a month	About once every 3 mths	About once every 6 mths	About once a year	Almost never
1. Museum	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Art gallery	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Exhibition	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Library	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Movie theatre	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Theatre	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Concerts	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Baseball game	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Variety show	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Temple, shrine	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Lecture	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix A

27. Please indicate in the space provided the extent to which you like or dislike the following activities.

		Like it very much	Like it	Neither like nor dislike it	Dislike it	Hate it
1. Watching sports	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Watching TV	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Going to see a movie	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Eating out at restaurants	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Going to concerts	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Going to art galleries	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Going to museums	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Going to exhibitions	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Reading magazines and books	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Reading comics	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Going out to pubs etc.	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Talking with friends	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Being by yourself	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Studying	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Going to school	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Travelling	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Being with your family	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Talking with your parents	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Talking with your teachers	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Making things	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix A

28. In the following table, please indicate the *final* school that your grandfathers, grandmothers, father and mother attended by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate places.

	OLD EDUCATION SYSTEM							NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	Primary school	Junior High school	Senior Girls' High school	Vocational school	Specialist school	Senior High school	University	Junior High school	Senior High school	Specialist school	Vocational school	Junior College	University/Graduate school
(Example)	1	2	3	X	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
Paternal grandfather	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
Paternal grandmother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
Maternal grandfather	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
Maternal grandmother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
Father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z

Thankyou for your co-operation.

### QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE COMPLETED BY FATHER

1. In which town/city was your Junior High school? Please give the name of the town/city and prefecture in the box provided.

1. Town/city

2. Prefecture

--	--

2. At that time, what was the approximate population of the village/town/city where you lived? Please put a cross ( X ) against the nearest figure.

- less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 2,999
- 3,000 - 5,999
- 6,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 - 49,999
- 50,000 - 99,999
- 100,000 - 299,999
- more than 300,000

3. How many brothers and sisters do you have? Please write the number in the parentheses.

- 1. brothers ( )
- 2. sisters ( )

4. What is your sibling position? Please put a cross ( X ) against the appropriate item.

- eldest son
- second eldest son
- third (or other) son

5. What was your father's occupation when he was 50 years old? Please write his occupation in the box provided.

6. When you were a child (elementary/Junior High school age), did your father/mother ever say any of the following to you? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a cross under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother said it. If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a cross under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

1. You must get a good job in the future.  
  2. You must decide your future for yourself.  
  3. It is better to live an ordinary life than to work too hard.  
  4. Get a job as soon as possible.  
  5. Some day you will carry on the family business.  
  6. It is better to learn a trade than to go on to Senior High school or university.  
  7. It is better to be your own boss than to be employed by someone.  
  8. Other ( )

7. When you were a child (elementary/Junior High school age), did your father/mother ever say any of the following to you? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a cross ( X ) under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother said it. If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a cross ( X ) under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

1. It is important to graduate from a good school to get a good job.  
  2. It is important to graduate from a good school to get a good spouse

- 3. It is important to do well at school to carry on the family business.
- 4. It is not necessary to get into a good school to carry on the family business.
- 5. School education is not useful in the real world.
- 6. Without education, an individual cannot hope to get on in the world.
- 7. Children should play and not become too preoccupied with study.
- 8. It would be an embarrassment to the family if you do not enter a good school.
- 9. There is no need to over-exert yourself to get into a good school.
- 10. Other (                                )

8. When you were a child (elementary/Junior High school age), did your father/mother ever do any of the following? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father did it, put a cross ( X ) under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother did it. If both your father and mother have done any of the following, please put a cross ( X ) under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

- 1. Helped you with your school-work or checked to see that you have completed your homework.
- 2. Discussed your educational future with you.
- 3. Discussed your educational future with your teachers.
- 4. Scolded you for studying too much.
- 5. Scolded you for not studying enough.
- 6. Rewarded you for getting good grades.
- 7. Other (                                )

9. When you were a child (elementary/Junior High school age), did your father/mother ever say any of the following to you? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a cross ( X ) under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother said it. If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a cross ( X ) under both 'F' and 'M'.



F M

- 1. It is enough to go as far as Junior High school.
- 2. It is best that you go at least as far as Senior High school.
- 3. It is enough to graduate from Senior High school.
- 4. You should at least go to a Specialist school.
- 5. You should at least go to a Junior College.
- 6. You must go to university.

10. How useful do you think your educational background has been in your life? Please choose the ONE statement which is closest to your opinion.

- It has hardly been useful at all.
- It helped me get my job.
- It was helpful with my marriage.
- The friends I made at school and/or university have been more useful than what I studied.
- It has been useful in making me a more cultured person.
- Other ( )

11. When you were an elementary/Junior High school student, how hard did you study? Of the following, choose the MOST appropriate statement.

- I studied very hard.
- I studied about the same as everyone else.
- I did not study very hard.
- I hardly studied at all.

12. Do you think there is too much pressure on children to study in Japan today?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No -----> Please answer SQ2.

**SQ1** (for those who answered 'yes') Why do you think so? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- Because an entrance-examination oriented education prevents children from doing what they should do as children.
- Because people are evaluated in terms of how well they did in the entrance examinations.
- Because it makes peers become potential rivals in the entrance examinations.
- Because entrance examinations place an unnecessary burden on the family.
- Because it places too much financial strain on the family - e.g., cost of *juku* and mock examinations.
- Because it gives children who are not good at school-work an inferiority complex.
- Other ( \_\_\_\_\_ )

SQ2 (for those who answered 'no') Why do you think so? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- Because I believe that the tough competition to get into the good schools is a good preparation for life in the real world.
- Because a person is a 'nobody' without an education.
- Because it is only natural that you have to study to get a good job.
- Because it is important to be well-educated to get a good spouse.
- Because it is impossible to study too much.
- Other ( \_\_\_\_\_ )

13. How important do you think 'educational background', 'personality' and 'human relations' are to socially succeed in Japanese society today? Please indicate how important you consider each of the 3 factors to be by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate place.

		Very important	Quite important	So so	Not very important	Not at all important
1. Educational background	—————>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Personality	—————>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Human relations	—————>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

In the following questions, 'child' refers to the 1st year Junior High school child who brought the survey questionnaire home.

14. How do you think about your child's education? Of the following, choose the ONE statement which is closest to your opinion.

- My child's education should be entirely left up to the school.
- My child's education should be largely left up to the school but parents should interfere where necessary.
- My child's education should be largely the responsibility of parents.

15. Do you usually attend Parents' Day at your child's school?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') What do you consider to be the main benefit of attending Parents' Day? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- To see where my child stands in comparison with other children.
- To see how your child is being taught and by what kind of teacher.
- To discuss your child's educational problems and educational path with the teacher.
- To find out how other parents think about the education of their children.
- To show the teacher that you are very concerned about your child's education.
- There is no particular benefit.
- Other ( )

16. Does anything in particular worry you about this child's future?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') What worries you most about your child's future? Of the following, check the ONE statement about which you are most worried.

- I am worried that he/she will not get on very well in Japanese society.
- I am worried that he/she will not get into a good university.
- I am worried that he/she will not take care of his/her parents in our old age.
- Other ( )

17. Does your child currently have a tutor?

- Yes
- No -----> Please answer SQ1.

SQ1 (for those who answered 'no') Has your child ever had a tutor in the past?

- Yes
- No

18. Is your child now attending an academic-oriented *juku* ?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No -----> Please answer SQ2.

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') Why do you send your child to a *juku* ? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your reason.

- If the child did not go to a *juku*, it would be difficult to get into a good High school or university.
- If the child did not go to a *juku*, it would put him/her at a disadvantage because nearly everyone else does.
- What the child learns at *juku* is more useful for passing the entrance examinations than what the teachers teach at school.
- Other ( )

SQ2 (for those who answered 'no') Why don't you send your child to *juku* ? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your reason.

- As the child does not like studying, it would be a waste of time and money to send him/her.
- There is no need for the child to go to a *juku* as I am not thinking of trying to get him/her into a good high school or university.
- I think it is better for the child to spend the time on things he/she likes doing than to go to a *juku*.
- It is not that necessary for him/her to get into such a good Senior High school or university as to have to go to a *juku*.
- Because we cannot afford the expense.
- The child can get good grades even without going to a *juku*.
- Other ( )

19. In terms of grades, what do you think the relative position of you child is in his/her class? Please put a cross ( X ) against the appropriate item.

- towards the top
- upper middle
- around the middle
- lower middle
- towards the bottom
- I don't know

20. Are you satisfied with your child's grades?

- very satisfied
- quite satisfied
- more or less satisfied
- rather dissatisfied
- very dissatisfied
- I have no interest in his/her grades

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Very Satisfied								
Quite Satisfied								
More or less Satisfied								
Rather Dissatisfied								
Very Dissatisfied								
No Interest								

21. If your child is not accepted by the university or college of your choice, what do you think you would advise the child to do? Please check ALL that apply of the following:

- Apply to other universities or colleges
- Apply to other colleges and give it another go
- Let the child visit independent university or college or specialist school that offers fees
- Enter the work-force
- Other

21. How far would you like your 1st year Junior High school child and your other children to continue their studies? Please indicate by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate places.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Junior High school	Senior High school	Specialist school	Junior College	Private girls' university	Famous, private university	Public 4-year university	Graduate school
First son	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Second son	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Third son	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
First daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Second daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Third daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

22. If your child is not accepted by the university or college of your choice, what do you think you would advise the child to do? Please choose ONLY ONE of the following.

- Accept a place at an easier university or college.
- Become a *ronin* and give it another go.
- Let the child enter whichever university/ college or specialist school that he/she likes.
- Enter the work-force.
- Other ( )

23. Of the following, which TWO conditions do you consider to be most necessary for a good Junior High school?

- Most students enter famous Senior High schools.
- The teachers are strict.
- The parents of students have a high social status.
- The goal of the school is to let the children develop in a relatively relaxed environment.
- Many famous people have graduated from the school.
- It is a famous school.
- Other ( )

24. Are you satisfied with the school your child is now attending?

- Very satisfied
- Quite satisfied
- Rather dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied

25. Have you ever directed any suggestions or criticism about your child's education to his/her teachers?

- Yes
- No

26. In the future, what occupation would you like your child to have? Please give your first TWO preferences in the boxes provided.

1. First preference

2. Second preference

--	--

27. How often do you read the newspaper?

- usually every day -----> Please answer SQ1.
- about 2 or 3 times a week -----> Please answer SQ1.
- about once a week -----> Please answer SQ1.
- almost never



SQ1 (for those who read the newspaper) To which newspaper(s) do you subscribe? Please put a cross ( X ) against the newspapers which you subscribe to from the following list.

- The *Asahi* newspaper
  - The *Mainichi* newspaper
  - The *Yomiuri* newspaper
  - The Japanese Economy newspaper
  - The *Sankei* newspaper
  - The Tokyo newspaper
  - The Ibaraki newspaper\*
  - The Joyo newspaper\*
  - A specialist newspaper -----> (      ) (      )
  - A sports newspaper -----> (      ) (      )
  - Other -----> (      )
- (\* local newspapers)

28. Do you buy any magazines on a weekly or monthly basis?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') In the boxes provided, please write the names of up to THREE magazines that you buy.

1.	2.	3.

29. Are there any TV programmes which you particularly like or try to watch every week?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') In the boxes provided, please write the names of up to THREE television programmes.

1.	2.	3.

30. When you listen to the radio, which programmes do you mainly listen to? Of the following, choose up to TWO programmes which you mainly listen to.

- light music
- classical music
- rock music
- popular songs
- news
- drama
- study programmes (for exams)
- English conversation or English radio station
- disc jockey
- other (                    )

31. In the past one month, have you either been to see a movie or watched one on TV or video?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') In the boxes provided, please write the titles of up to THREE movies that you have seen in the past month.

1.	2.	3.

32. Of the following, which are your favourite types of movies?  
Please put a cross ( X ) against no more than THREE.

- adventure
- travel, exploration
- war
- police
- musical
- adolescence
- romance
- sports
- comedies
- tragedies
- historical
- social, political

33. Have you read any books (other than those required for your work or study) in the last THREE months?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') Please indicate the approximate number of books which you read.

- only 1
- 2 or 3
- 4 or 5
- 6 or 7
- 8 or 9
- more than 10

34. What kind of books do you enjoy reading? Of the following, indicate your first TWO preferences.

- thrillers
- love stories
- adolescence
- travel

Appendix A

- non-fiction
- historical
- poetry
- social, political, economic
- philosophical
- scientific, technological
- science fiction
- animal

35. Apart from books about work and/or cooking, approximately how many books do you have?

- less than 10
- 11 - 20
- 21 - 30
- 31 - 40
- 51 - 100
- 101 - 200
- 201 - 300
- more than 301

36. What kind of music do you like? Of the following, indicate the ONE kind of music that you like most.

- classical music
- popular music
- jazz
- rock music
- traditional Japanese love songs
- Japanese folk music
- Western folk music
- other (                    )

37. What do you think of classical music? Of the following statements, choose the ONE which is closest to your opinion.

- Classical music is complicated and difficult for me to understand.
- Listening to classical music gives me a headache.
- It is not that I dislike classical music but I don't listen to it very much.
- I like classical music and I often listen to it.
- I regard listening to classical music as a part of my cultural education.
- Other (                      )

38. How often do you usually go to museums, exhibitions, art galleries, libraries etc. Please check the appropriate box in each case.

		About once a week	About once a month	About once every 3 mths	About once every 6 mths	About once a year	Almost never
1. Museum	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Art gallery	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Exhibition	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Library	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Movie theatre	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Theatre	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Concerts	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Baseball game	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Variety show	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Temple, shrine	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Lecture	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. Please indicate in the space provided the extent to which you like or dislike the following activities.

		Like it very much	Like it	Neither like nor dislike it	Dislike it	Hate it
1. Watching sports	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Watching TV	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Going to see a movie	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Eating out at restaurants	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Going to concerts	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Going to art galleries	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Going to museums	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Going to exhibitions	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Reading magazines and books	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Reading comics	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Going out to pubs etc.	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Talking with friends	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Being by yourself	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Studying	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Going to school/culture centre	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Travelling	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Being with your family	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Talking with your children	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Talking with child's teachers	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Making things	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40. Please indicate how often your family does each of the following things by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate box.

	Always	Sometimes	Almost never
1. Have a special dinner to celebrate a family member's birthday	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Invite relatives or friends to dinner	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Retreat from the summer heat to the mountains	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Do something special on children's festivals, star festival & equinox	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Visit your ancestors' graves on the anniversary of their death and obon	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Give mid-year and end-of-year gifts to people who have helped you	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. How much is your household's total monthly take-home pay?

- less than ¥200,000
- ¥210,000 - 300,000
- ¥310,000 - 500,000
- ¥510,000 - 1,000,000
- ¥1,010,000 - 2,000,000
- ¥2,010,000 - 3,000,000
- more than ¥3,000,000

(NB: US\$1 = ¥135; A\$1 = ¥100)

42. Of the above amount, how much do you usually spend per month on your child's education? For example, school supplies, school fees, *juku* tuition, cost of tutor etc.

- less than ¥3,000
- ¥3,000 - 4,999
- ¥5,000 - 6,999
- ¥7,000 - 9,999
- ¥10,000 - 19,999
- ¥20,000 - 29,999
- ¥30,000 - 39,999
- ¥40,000 - 49,999
- ¥50,000 - 99,000

- ¥100,000 - 200,000
- more than ¥200,000

43. In the following table, please indicate the *final* school that you, your parents and your brothers and sisters attended by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate places.

	OLD EDUCATION SYSTEM							NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
	Primary school	Junior High school	Senior Girls' High school	Vocational school	Specialist school	Senior High school	University	Junior High school	Senior High school	Specialist school	Vocational school	Junior College	University/Graduate school	
(Example)	1	2	3	X	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
Yourself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
Father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
Brother	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
Sister	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z

44. What is your occupation? Please write it in the box provided.



45. As there are still many other questions that I would like to ask you, I wonder if it would be possible to interview you. Please indicate whether you would be willing to be interviewed.

- Yes
- No

As I would like to directly contact the parents who said 'yes' to the interview, would you please write your name, address and telephone number in the space provided.

Name	
Address	
Tel: no.	(       )       -

*Thankyou for your co-operation.*

### QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE COMPLETED BY MOTHER

1. In which town/city was your Junior High school? Please give the name of the town/city and prefecture in the box provided.

1. Town/city

2. Prefecture

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2. At that time, what was the approximate population of the village/town/city where you lived? Please put a cross ( X ) against the nearest figure.

- less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 2,999
- 3,000 - 5,999
- 6,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 - 49,999
- 50,000 - 99,999
- 100,000 - 299,999
- more than 300,000

3. How many brothers and sisters do you have? Please write the number in the parentheses.

1. brothers ( )

2. sisters ( )

4. What is your sibling position? Please put a cross ( X ) against the appropriate item.

- eldest daughter
- second eldest daughter
- third (or other) daughter

5. What was your father's occupation when he was 50 years old?  
Please write his occupation in the box provided.

6. When you were a child (elementary/Junior High school age), did your father/mother ever say any of the following to you? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a cross under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother said it. If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a cross under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

- 1. You must get a good job in the future.
- 2. You must decide your future for yourself.
- 3. It is better to live an ordinary life than to work too hard.
- 4. Get a job as soon as possible.
- 5. Some day you will carry on the family business.
- 6. A woman's place is inside the home.
- 7. It is better to learn a trade than to go on to Senior High school or university.
- 8. It is better to be your own boss than to be employed by someone.
- 9. In this day and age, girls must also have an occupation.
- 10. The best thing for girls is to find a suitable husband and get married.
- 11. Other ( )

7. When you were a child (elementary/Junior High school age), did your father/mother ever say any of the following to you? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a cross ( X ) under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother said it. If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a cross ( X ) under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

1. It is important to graduate from a good school to get a good job.
2. It is important to graduate from a good school to get a good spouse
3. It is important to do well at school to carry on the family business.
4. It is not necessary to get into a good school to carry on the family business.
5. To get a good husband, it is more important to study etiquette and traditional Japanese arts and to be able to act like a lady than to study academic subjects.
6. School education is not useful in the real world.
7. Without education, an individual cannot hope to get on in the world.
8. Children should play and not become too preoccupied with study.
9. It would be an embarrassment to the family if you do not enter a good school.
10. There is no need to over-exert yourself to get into a good school.
11. Other ( )

8. When you were a child (elementary/Junior High school age), did your father/mother ever do any of the following? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father did it, put a cross ( X ) under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother did it. If both your father and mother have done any of the following, please put a cross ( X ) under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

1. Helped you with your school-work or checked to see that you have completed your homework.
2. Discussed your educational future with you.
3. Discussed your educational future with your teachers.
4. Scolded you for studying too much.
5. Scolded you for not studying enough.
6. Rewarded you for getting good grades.
7. Other ( )

9. When you were a child (elementary/Junior High school age), did your father/mother ever say any of the following to you? If 'yes', please put a cross ( X ) in the box in the appropriate column. If your father said it, please put a cross ( X ) under 'F' for 'father' and under 'M' for 'mother' if your mother said it. If both your father and mother have said any of the following to you, please put a cross ( X ) under both 'F' and 'M'.

F M

- |                          |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1. It is enough to go as far as Junior High school.              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2. It is best that you go at least as far as Senior High school. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. It is enough to graduate from Senior High school.             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. You should at least go to a Specialist school.                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. You should at least go to a Junior College.                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. You must go to university.                                    |

10. How useful do you think your educational background has been in your life? Please choose the ONE statement which is closest to your opinion.

- It has hardly been useful at all.
- It helped me get my job.
- It was helpful with my marriage.
- The friends I made at school and/or university have been more useful than what I studied.
- It has been useful in making me a more cultured person.
- Other ( )

11. When you were an elementary/Junior High school student, how hard did you study? Of the following, choose the MOST appropriate statement.

- I studied very hard.
- I studied about the same as everyone else.
- I did not study very hard.
- I hardly studied at all.

12. Do you think there is too much pressure on children to study in Japan today?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.  
 No -----> Please answer SQ2.

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') Why do you think so? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- Because an entrance-examination oriented education prevents children from doing what they should do as children.  
 Because people are evaluated in terms of how well they did in the entrance examinations.  
 Because it makes peers become potential rivals in the entrance examinations.  
 Because entrance examinations place an unnecessary burden on the family.  
 Because it places too much financial strain on the family - e.g., cost of *juku* and mock examinations.  
 Because it gives children who are not good at school-work an inferiority complex.  
 Other ( )

SQ2 (for those who answered 'no') Why do you think so? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- Because I believe that the tough competition to get into the good schools is a good preparation for life in the real world.  
 Because a person is a 'nobody' without an education.  
 Because it is only natural that you have to study to get a good job.  
 Because it is important to be well-educated to get a good spouse.  
 Because it is impossible to study too much.  
 Other ( )

13. How important do you think 'educational background', 'personality' and 'human relations' are to socially succeed in Japanese society today? Please indicate how important you consider each of the 3 factors to be by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate place.

	Very important	Quite important	So so	Not very important	Not at all important
1. Educational background	> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Personality	> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Human relations	> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

In the following questions, 'child' refers to the 1st year Junior High school child who brought the survey questionnaire home.

14. How do you think about your child's education? Of the following, choose the ONE statement which is closest to your opinion.

- My child's education should be entirely left up to the school.
- My child's education should be largely left up to the school but parents should interfere where necessary.
- My child's education should be largely the responsibility of parents.

15. Do you usually attend Parents' Day at your child's school?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') What do you consider to be the main benefit of attending Parents' Day? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your view.

- To see where my child stands in comparison with other children.
- To see how your child is being taught and by what kind of teacher.
- To discuss your child's educational problems and educational path with the teacher.
- To find out how other parents think about the education of their children.
- To show the teacher that you are very concerned about your child's education.
- There is no particular benefit.
- Other ( )

16. Does anything in particular worry you about this child's future?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') What worries you most about your child's future? Of the following, check the ONE statement about which you are most worried.

- I am worried that he/she will not get on very well in Japanese society.
- I am worried that he/she will not get into a good university.
- I am worried that he/she will not take care of his/her parents in our old age.
- Other ( )

17. Does your child currently have a tutor?

- Yes
- No -----> Please answer SQ1.



SQ1 (for those who answered 'no') Has your child ever had a tutor in the past?

- Yes
- No

18. Is your child now attending an academic-oriented *juku* ?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No -----> Please answer SQ2.

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') Why do you send your child to a *juku* ? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your reason.

- If the child did not go to a *juku*, it would be difficult to get into a good High school or university.
- If the child did not go to a *juku*, it would put him/her at a disadvantage because nearly everyone else does.
- What the child learns at *juku* is more useful for passing the entrance examinations than what the teachers teach at school.
- Other ( )

SQ2 (for those who answered 'no') Why don't you send your child to *juku* ? Of the following, check the ONE statement which is the closest to your reason.

- As the child does not like studying, it would be a waste of time and money to send him/her.
- There is no need for the child to go to a *juku* as I am not thinking of trying to get him/her into a good high school or university.
- I think it is better for the child to spend the time on things he/she likes doing than to go to a *juku*.
- It is not that necessary for him/her to get into such a good Senior High school or university as to have to go to a *juku*.
- Because we cannot afford the expense.
- The child can get good grades even without going to a *juku*.
- Other ( )

19. In terms of grades, what do you think the relative position of you child is in his/her class? Please put a cross ( X ) against the appropriate item.

- towards the top
- upper middle
- around the middle
- lower middle
- towards the bottom
- I don't know

20. Are you satisfied with your child's grades?

- very satisfied
- quite satisfied
- more or less satisfied
- rather dissatisfied
- very dissatisfied
- I have no interest in his/her grades

21. How far would you like your 1st year Junior High school child and your other children to continue their studies? Please indicate by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate places.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Junior High school	Senior High school	Specialist school	Junior College	Private girls' university	Famous, private university	Public 4-year university	Graduate school
First son	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Second son	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Third son	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
First daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Second daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Third daughter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

22. If your child is not accepted by the university or college of your choice, what do you think you would advise the child to do? Please choose ONLY ONE of the following.

- Accept a place at an easier university or college.
- Become a *ronin* and give it another go.
- Let the child enter whichever university/ college or specialist school that he/she likes.
- Enter the work-force.
- Other ( )

23. Of the following, which TWO conditions do you consider to be most necessary for a good Junior High school?

- Most students enter famous Senior High schools.
- The teachers are strict.
- The parents of students have a high social status.
- The goal of the school is to let the children develop in a relatively relaxed environment.
- Many famous people have graduated from the school.
- It is a famous school.
- Other ( \_\_\_\_\_ )

24. Are you satisfied with the school your child is now attending?

- Very satisfied
- Quite satisfied
- Rather dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied

25. Have you ever directed any suggestions or criticism about your child's education to his/her teachers?

- Yes
- No

26. In the future, what occupation would you like your child to have? Please give your first TWO preferences in the boxes provided.

1. First preference

2. Second preference

--	--

27. How often do you read the newspaper?

- usually every day
- about 2 or 3 times a week
- about once a week
- almost never

28. Do you buy any magazines on a weekly or monthly basis?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') In the boxes provided, please write the names of up to THREE magazines that you buy.

1.	2.	3.

29. Are there any TV programmes which you particularly like or try to watch every week?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') In the boxes provided, please write the names of up to THREE television programmes.

1.	2.	3.

30. When you listen to the radio, which programmes do you mainly listen to? Of the following, choose up to TWO programmes which you mainly listen to.

- light music
- classical music
- rock music
- popular songs
- news
- drama
- study programmes (for exams)
- English conversation or English radio station
- disc jockey
- other (                    )

31. In the past one month, have you either been to see a movie or watched one on TV or video?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

**SQ1** (for those who answered 'yes') In the boxes provided, please write the titles of up to THREE movies that you have seen in the past month.

1.	2.	3.

32. Of the following, which are your favourite types of movies? Please put a cross ( X ) against no more than THREE.

- adventure
- travel, exploration
- war
- police
- musical
- adolescence
- romance
- sports
- comedies
- tragedies
- historical
- social, political

33. Have you read any books (other than those required for your study or work) in the last THREE months?

- Yes -----> Please answer SQ1.
- No

SQ1 (for those who answered 'yes') Please indicate the approximate number of books which you read.

- only 1
- 2 or 3
- 4 or 5
- 6 or 7
- 8 or 9
- more than 10

34. What kind of books do you enjoy reading? Of the following, indicate your first TWO preferences.

- thrillers
- love stories
- adolescence
- travel
- non-fiction
- historical
- poetry
- social, political, economic
- philosophical
- scientific, technological
- science fiction
- animal

35. Apart from books about cooking and/or work, approximately how many books do you have?

- less than 10
- 11 - 20
- 21 - 30
- 31 - 40
- 51 - 100
- 101 - 200
- 201 - 300
- more than 301

36. What kind of music do you like? Of the following, indicate the ONE kind of music that you like most.

- classical music
- popular music
- jazz
- rock music
- traditional Japanese love songs
- Japanese folk music
- Western folk music
- other (                    )

37. What do you think of classical music? Of the following statements, choose the ONE which is closest to your opinion.

- Classical music is complicated and difficult for me to understand.
- Listening to classical music gives me a headache.
- It is not that I dislike classical music but I don't listen to it very much.
- I like classical music and I often listen to it.
- I regard listening to classical music as a part of my cultural education.
- Other (                    )



38. How often do you usually go to museums, exhibitions, art galleries, libraries etc. Please check the appropriate box in each case.

		About once a week	About once a month	About once every 3 mths	About once every 6 mths	About once a year	Almost never
1. Museum	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Art gallery	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Exhibition	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Library	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Movie theatre	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Theatre	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Concerts	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Baseball game	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Variety show	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Temple, shrine	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Lecture	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. Please indicate in the space provided the extent to which you like or dislike the following activities.

		Like it very much	Like it	Neither like nor dislike it	Dislike it	Hate it
1. Watching sports	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Watching TV	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Going to see a movie	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Eating out at restaurants	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Going to concerts	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Going to art galleries	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Going to museums	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Going to exhibitions	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Reading magazines and books	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Reading comics	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Going out to pubs etc.	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Talking with friends	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Being by yourself	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Studying	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Going to school/culture centre	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Travelling	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Being with your family	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Talking with your children	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Talking with child's teachers	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Making things	_____ >	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40. Please indicate how often your family does each of the following things by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate box.

	Always	Sometimes	Almost never
1. Have a special dinner to celebrate a family member's birthday	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Invite relatives or friends to dinner	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Retreat from the summer heat to the mountains	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Do something special on children's festivals, star festival & equinox	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Visit your ancestors' graves on the anniversary of their death and obon	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Give mid-year and end-of-year gifts to people who have helped you	→ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. How much is your household's total monthly take-home pay?

- less than ¥200,000
- ¥210,000 - 300,000
- ¥310,000 - 500,000
- ¥510,000 - 1,000,000
- ¥1,010,000 - 2,000,000
- ¥2,010,000 - 3,000,000
- more than ¥3,000,000

(NB: US\$1 = ¥135; A\$1 = ¥100)

42. Of the above amount, how much do you usually spend per month on your child's education? For example, school supplies, school fees, *juku* tuition, cost of tutor etc.

- less than ¥3,000
- ¥3,000 - 4,999
- ¥5,000 - 6,999
- ¥7,000 - 9,999
- ¥10,000 - 19,999
- ¥20,000 - 29,999
- ¥30,000 - 39,999
- ¥40,000 - 49,999
- ¥50,000 - 99,000

Appendix A

- ¥100,000 - 200,000
- more than ¥200,000

43. In the following table, please indicate the *final* school that you, your parents and your brothers and sisters attended by putting a cross ( X ) in the appropriate places.

	OLD EDUCATION SYSTEM							NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
	Primary school	Junior High school	Senior Girls' High school	Vocational school	Specialist school	Senior High school	University	Junior High school	Senior High school	Specialist school	Vocational school	Junior College	University/Graduate school	
(Example)	1	2	3	X	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
Yourself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
Father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z	
Brother	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
Sister	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z
	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	X	Y	Z

44. As there are still many other questions that I would like to ask you, I wonder if it would be possible to interview you. Please indicate whether you would be willing to be interviewed.

- Yes
- No

As I would like to directly contact the parents who said 'yes' to the interview, would you please write your name, address and telephone number in the space provided.

Name	
Address	
Tel: no.	(       )       —

*Thankyou for your co-operation.*

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Sample

### APPENDIX B: Sample Interview Schedule

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Observations about layout

1. First of all, I would like to ask about your childhood. When you were a child, did you ever go to places like swimming and art galleries?

2. Did you have any important experiences at Primary school? For example, something related to music or school life in general.

3. Do you remember your teachers from Primary school?

4. What was the atmosphere of your Primary school like?

5. Did the atmosphere change when you went to Junior High school?

6. What was your favourite time in Junior High school?

7. About how many students were in your Junior High or Senior High school? How do you think about that number?

8. What was the atmosphere of your Senior High school like?

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (sample)

Date: .....Time:.....

Name: ..... School: .....

Observations about home:

1. First of all, I would like to ask about your childhood. When you were a child did you ever go to places like museums and art galleries?
2. Did you have any unpleasant experiences at Primary school? For example, something related to study or school life or whatever.
3. Do you remember your teachers from Primary school?
4. What was the atmosphere of your Primary school like?
5. Did the atmosphere change when you went to Junior High school?
6. What were your teachers like in Junior High school?
7. About how many students went on from Junior High to Senior High school? From Senior High school to university?
8. What was the atmosphere of your Senior High school like?

9. What were your teachers like in Senior High school?
10. Do you keep in touch with any of your teachers?
11. What was the most enjoyable period out of your school days up until the end of Senior High school? Why?
12. How about the least enjoyable period?
13. Then when you look back on your school days up until the end of Senior High school, what do you remember most?
14. In the survey you wrote that you ('studied very hard'/'studied just average'/'didn't study very much'/'hardly studied at all'). Supposing you could go back and have your student days over again, do you think you would study harder than you did before, or perhaps go to university?
15. Why didn't you go on to university? What was your parents' attitude?
16. What were your grades like in Junior and Senior High school?
17. Does your house have a study?
18. Where does the child usually do his HW?
19. Does the child do her HW and study by herself without being prompted by her parents?
20. When your child brings her report card home from school, and supposing, the grades aren't very good. Do you say anything to the child? (How about when her grades are good?)
21. About how many hours on average do you think a 1st or 2nd year Junior High school child should study per day?
22. Do the child's brothers and sisters like studying?
23. For the question regarding shingaku in the survey questionnaire, you said that you would like both your children to go to Senior High school/a Specialist school/a Junior College/a public/private university. Why is that?



24. What would you think if your child said that he or she doesn't want to go to university or didn't pass the entrance exam?
25. Do you think that family life will change in any way when your child is studying for the entrance exam into Senior High school?
26. What do you think of parents who send kindergarten age children to *juku* to prepare for entrance exams?
27. Could you explain what "*hensachi*" is?
28. Do you think there is any need to change the present high school and university entrance examination system? What kind of things, for example, do you consider aren't very good with the present system?
29. In this neighbourhood, are there other high school students or university students? Do you know which schools they go to? Do any of them go to a famous university? What do you feel about such children?
30. Do you often talk about education with people in the local area or with the people at work?
31. Do you know the names of your child's teachers? What impression do you have of the teachers whose names you do know?
32. Do you know what the School Principal is like?
33. What do you think is the role of primary school, junior high, senior high school and university?
34. The reason most children today go to university I think is for their future employment. But do you think that besides getting a degree, there is something to be gained by going to university?
35. In the survey questionnaire the other day, you said that connections, *gakureki* and personality are 'very important'/important/'not very important'/'not at all important'/'neither important nor unimportant', in order to succeed in (Japanese) society. Could you explain why you think so?
36. What do you think of the level of education at *Fuzoku/Sanchu*?

37. What do you consider to be the best thing about your child going to Fuzoku/Sanchu?

38. In the questionnaire the other day, you said that you are 'very satisfied'/'quite satisfied'/'rather dissatisfied'/'very dissatisfied' with Fuzoku/Sanchu. May I ask why?

39. How do you think the classes could be improved at Fuzoku/Sanchu?

40. Do you think the opinion of Junior High school teachers should be respected?

41. In the survey you said that you do/do not go to Parent's Day. Why is that?

42. Supposing you were dissatisfied in some way with the way your child was being taught, what do you think you would do?

43. In the survey you said that you thought that the school should be 'completely responsible'/'mainly responsible but parents should interfere when necessary'/'parents should be mainly responsible' for their child's education. Why is that?

44. What do you consider to be the role of the mother and father in a child's education?

45. What do you think about the idea where once children start school they are taken as 'hostages' by the school?

46. There seem to be a lot of rules at schools in Japan. In particular, what do you think of rules which are not directly concerned with school life? For example, children are not allowed to buy food on the way home and eat it or if the child wants to go away during Summer holidays he or she must get permission from the school even if he will be traveling with his parents.

47. What kind of child are you trying to raise your child as? Are you doing anything in particular to help your child become this kind of person?

48. Lions apparently push their cubs off a cliff and only raise those which make it back up to the top again. What do you think of this as a way of raising children?

49. Supposing you wanted your child to go to as good a university as possible. For example, Tokyo University or at least a very good university. What do you think would be the best way of bringing up your child to achieve this goal? What do you think the parents could do to help the child become someone like this?

50. What do you think is the significance of going to museums and art galleries etc for a child?

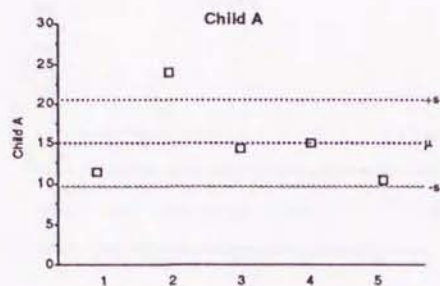
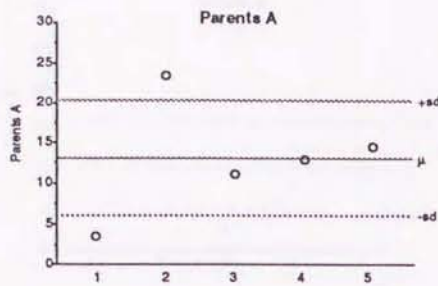
51. For example, when your child wants to buy a book, where does she get the money from? Does she use her pocket money or do her parents give her extra money when it comes to books? How about comics?

52. In the survey you said that you spend in between ¥30,000 and ¥40,000 on your child's education every month. Could you tell me what kind of things you spend this on?

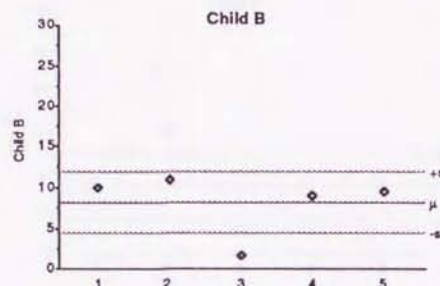
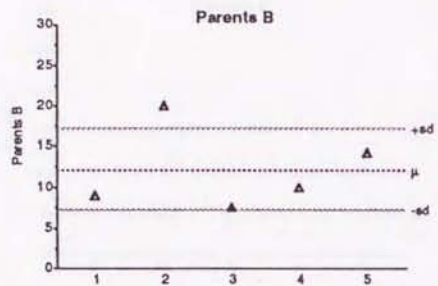
53. Do you think you could tell me what a typical daily schedule for you is like? What about your day off?

**APPENDIX C: Cultural Capital Scattergrams**

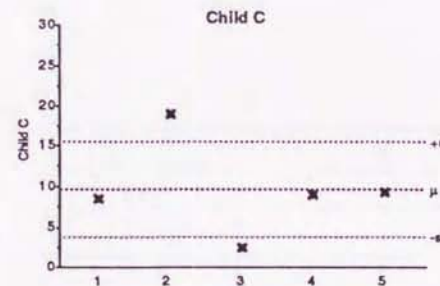
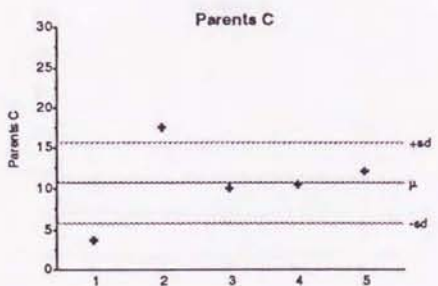
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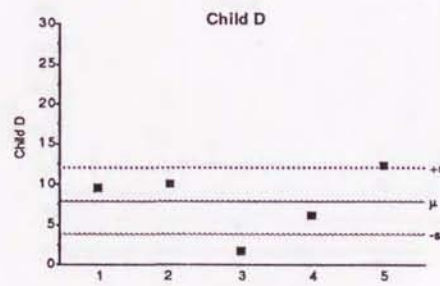
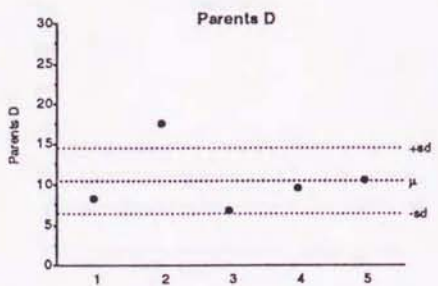
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 2. Cultural affinity  
 3. Study-related  
 4. Reading-related  
 5. Cultural consumption



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 4. Reading-related  
 5. Cultural consumption

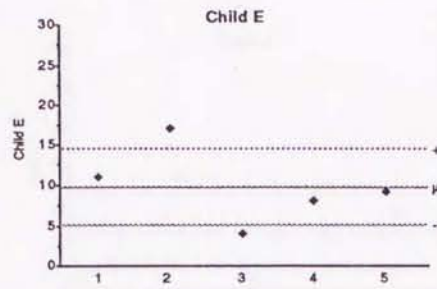
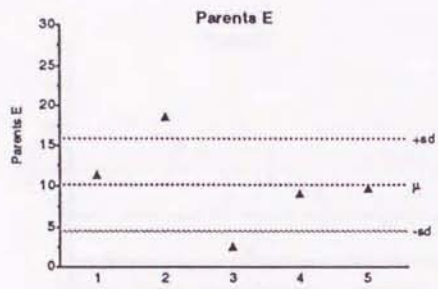


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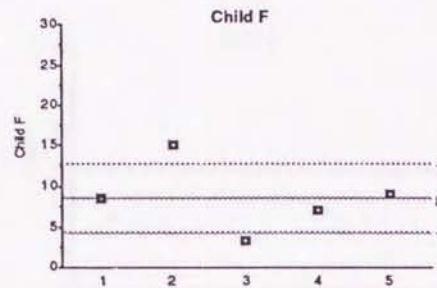
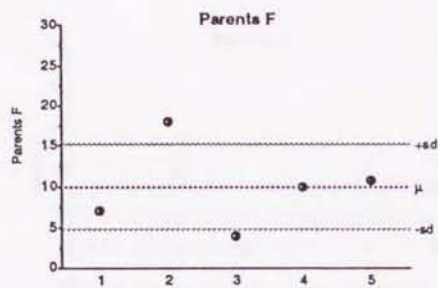


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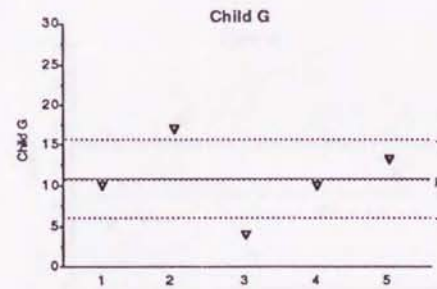
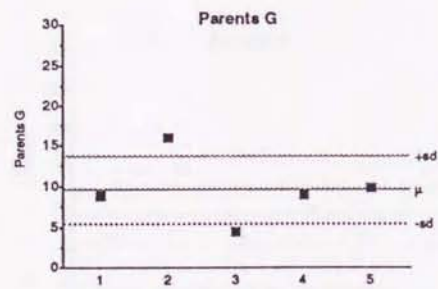
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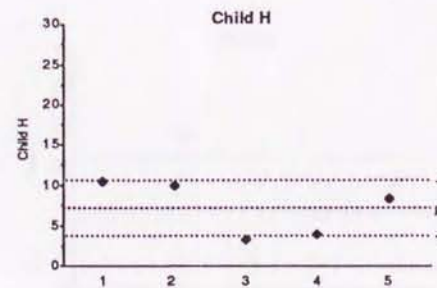
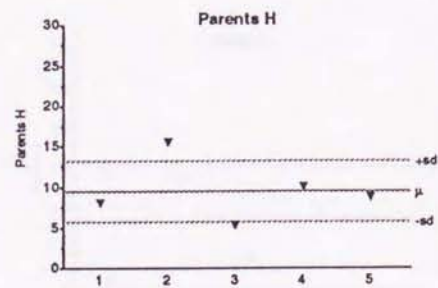
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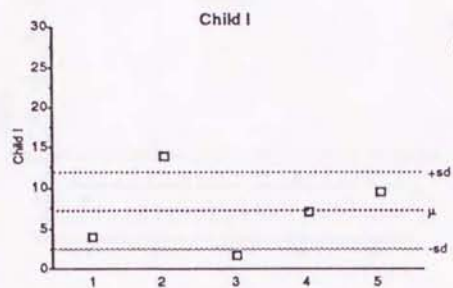
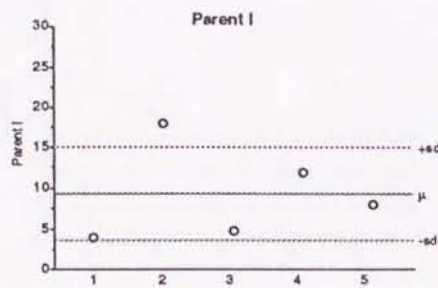


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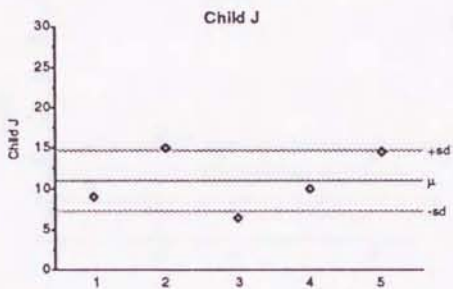
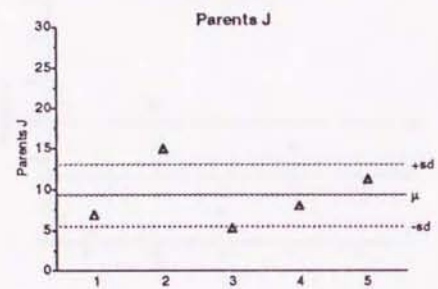


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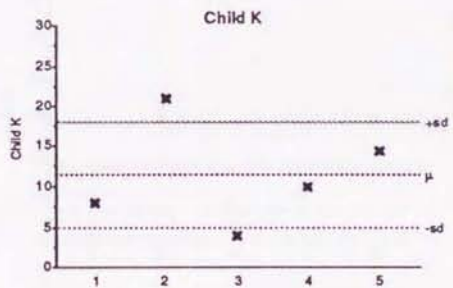
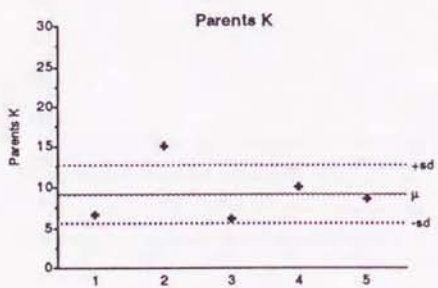
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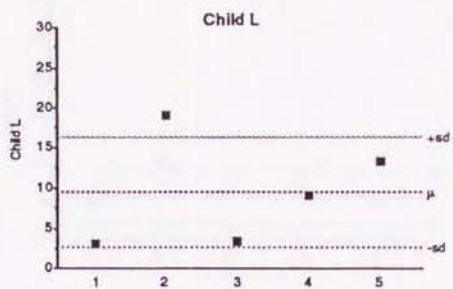
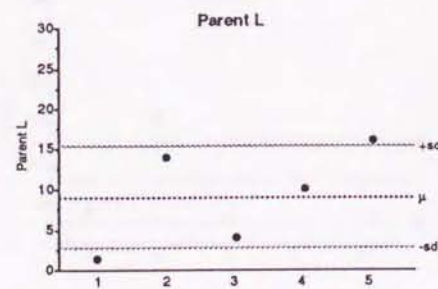
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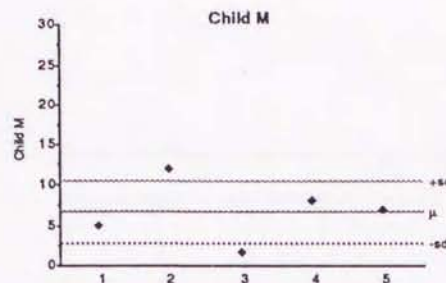
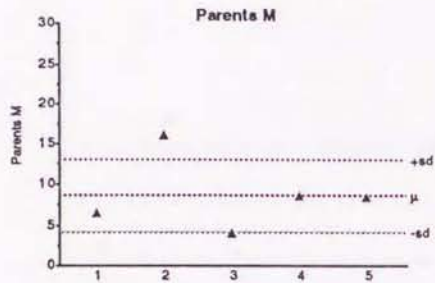


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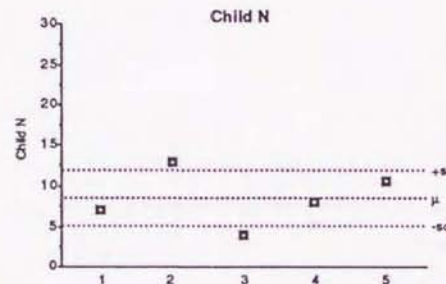
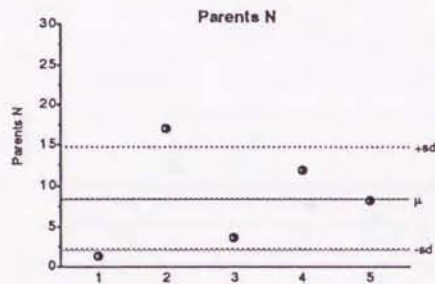


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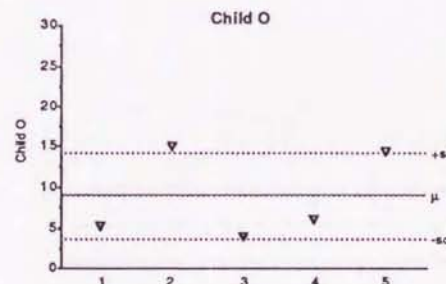
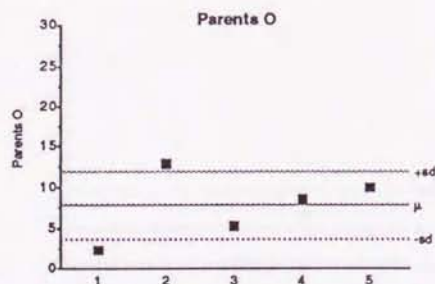
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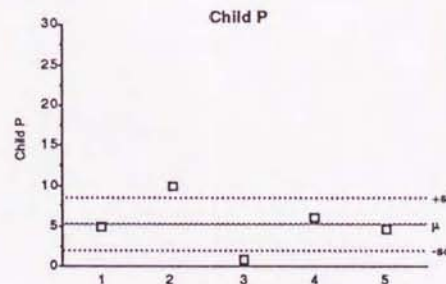
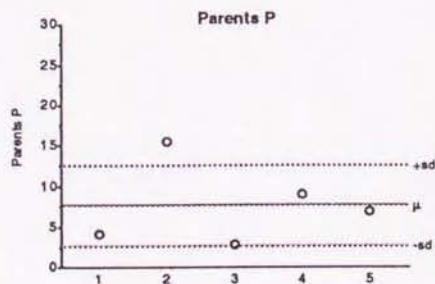
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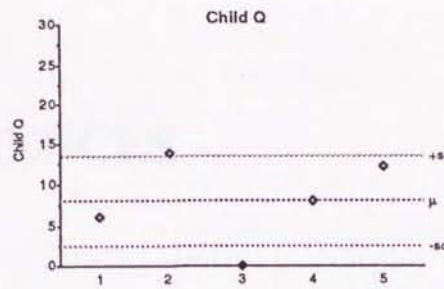
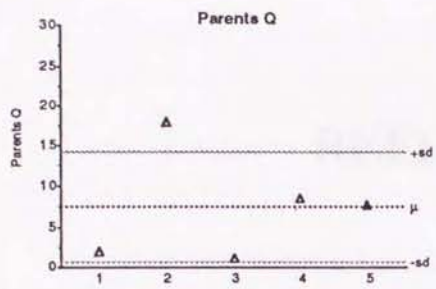
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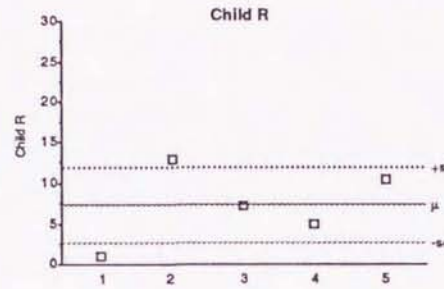
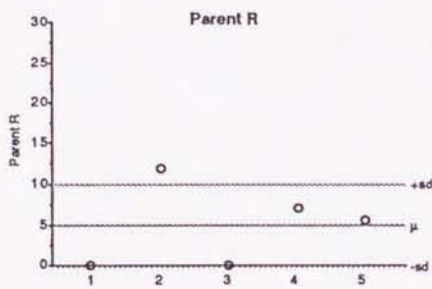
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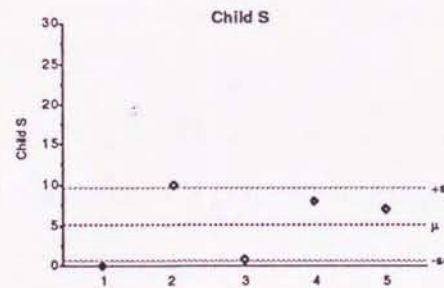
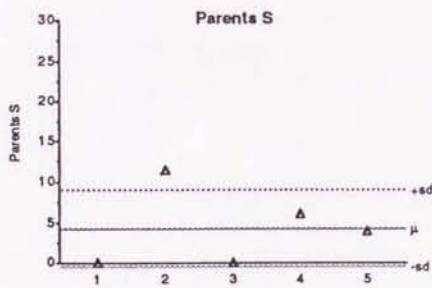
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