

Cultural Capital and Status Attainment: An Empirical Study Based on Data from Shanghai*

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文化资本是影响个人教育获得和社会地位获得的重要因素。基于2008年上海市社会结构调查数据，从广义文化资本出发，分别测量父母和子女文化资本对地位获得的作用。研究发现：父母和子女文化资本存量越高，子女受教育年限越长；子女文化资本对地位获得具有显著影响；在控制性别、父亲职业等变量后，文化资本越多，越有可能进入更高阶层；教育、家庭文化氛围和文化投资对地位获得具有持续且稳定的作用；文化资本是社会下层实现向上流动的有效手段。

关键词：文化资本 教育 社会地位

Cultural capital plays an important role in individuals' educational and status attainment. On the basis of data from the Shanghai Social Structure Survey of 2008 and from the perspective of broadly defined cultural capital, this paper measures the role of cultural capital of parents and children in the acquisition of social status. The findings are as follows: (1) Higher stocks of cultural capital on the part of parents and children mean more years of schooling for children. (2) Children's cultural capital has a significant influence on their status attainment. (3) Controlling for variables like gender and father's occupation, the more cultural capital one has, the more likely one is to enter a higher stratum. (4) A family's education, cultural ambience and cultural investment have a sustained and stable impact on status attainment. (5) Cultural capital provides an effective way for the lower strata of

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society to achieve upward social mobility.

Keywords: cultural capital, education, social status

I. Stating the Problem

Once Bourdieu put forward the concept of cultural capital, cultural capital became an important theory in research on social stratification and inequality. Thereafter, Western academics developed the theory of cultural capital and the operationalization of this concept, which evolved from a narrow sense to a broader one and from Bourdieu's class-based definition to a non-class-based definition focusing on cultural resources.

The theory of cultural capital in its narrow sense as proposed by Bourdieu, stresses that cultural capital is the exclusive possession of the upper and middle strata and is a means of legitimizing the transmission of their advantages.¹ This view is shared by Mohr and DiMaggio² as well as Lamont and Lareau.³

After the 1980s, the concept of cultural capital developed from its narrow sense to a broader one. It was considered that family ambience or family educational resources could facilitate the acquisition of educational resources;⁴ cultural capital comprises not only Bourdieu's narrow sense of the term, but also whether there is an ambience of reading in a family, as well as general skills, habits and style, such as dress, deportment and whether children play truant.⁵ Cultural capital in the broad sense facilitates status attainment for children from all strata, including those from the upper stratum.⁶ A distinction is made between the role played by cultural capital related to high culture and specific educational resources (reading, for example) in educational attainment; and there has been a reassessment of models of cultural reproduction and mobility.⁷

The topic of this paper is the influence of parents' and children's cultural capital on

1 Michele Lamont and Annette Lareau, "Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps, and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments," pp. 153-168.

2 J. Mohr and P. DiMaggio, "The Intergenerational Transmission of Cultural Capital," pp. 169-200.

3 Michele Lamont and Annette Lareau, "Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps, and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments," pp. 153-158.

4 Jay D. Teachman, "Family Background, Educational Resources, and Educational Attainment," pp. 548-557.

5 George Farkas *et al.*, "Cultural Resources and School Success: Gender, Ethnicity, and Poverty Groups within an Urban School District," pp. 127-142; Nan Dirk De Graaf *et al.*, "Parental Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment in the Netherlands: A Refinement of the Cultural Capital Perspective," pp. 92-111.

6 M. Kalmijn and G. Kraaykamp, "Race, Cultural Capital, and Schooling: An Analysis of Trends in the United States," pp. 22-34; J. Blanden, "'Bucking the Trend': What Enables Those Who Are Disadvantaged in Childhood to Succeed Later in Life?"; Simone Scherger and Mike Savage, "Cultural Transmission, Educational Attainment and Social Mobility," pp. 406-428.

7 C.J. Crook, *Cultural Practices and Socioeconomic Attainment: The Australian Experience*; Sullivan Alice, "Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment," pp. 893-912.

educational attainment and the influence of various types of cultural capital on the acquisition of social status.

II. Research Hypotheses

The influence of cultural capital on status attainment is usually exerted through education. Educational attainment depends on cultural capital and is a vital part of cultural capital. Our research hypotheses are as follows:

1. *Hypothesis on cultural capital and educational attainment*

Family cultural capital is transmitted and rewarded through schooling. Therefore, differences in educational attainment are caused by differences in the transmission or accumulation of cultural capital.

1.1. Hypothesis about the role of parents' cultural capital

Hypothesis 1.1: The greater the parents' cultural capital, the more years of schooling children receive.

Hypothesis 1.1a: The higher the parents' educational attainment, the more years of schooling children receive.

Hypothesis 1.1b: The higher the parents' score on high culture, the more years of schooling children receive.

Hypothesis 1.1c: The higher the parents' score on reading and writing (cultural ambience), the more years of schooling children receive.

1.2. Hypotheses about the role of children's cultural capital

Hypothesis 1.2: The greater children's cultural capital, the more years of schooling they receive.

Hypothesis 1.2a: The higher children score on high culture, the more years of schooling they receive.

Hypothesis 1.2b: The higher children score on participation in cultural classes, the more years of schooling they receive.

Hypothesis 1.2c: The higher children score on objective cultural factors, the more years of schooling they receive.

1.3. Hypotheses about the regulatory role of cultural capital

Cultural capital influences the relationship between the family's socio-economic background and its educational attainment. Children's cultural capital is even more influential in this regard.

Hypothesis 1.3a: The influence of father's occupation on children's educational attainment is effected partly through parents' cultural capital. The role of parental cultural capital in children's educational attainment is greater than that of father's occupation.

Hypothesis 1.3b: The influence of father's occupation and parental cultural capital on children's educational attainment is effected partly through children's cultural capital; the

role of children's cultural capital in their educational attainment is greater than that of father's occupation and parental cultural capital.

2. Hypotheses about different types of cultural capital having different effects on status attainment

Social groups of different status have different cultural capital; different types of cultural capital play different roles in status attainment.

Hypothesis 2: Different types of cultural capital have different effects on status attainment.

Hypothesis 2a: The high culture type of cultural capital has a significantly positive influence on the attainment of upper-middle status.

Hypothesis 2b: Different types of cultural capital all have a significantly positive influence on the attainment of middle-middle status.

Hypothesis 2c: Parents' reading and writing (cultural ambience) has a significantly positive influence on the attainment of lower-middle and lower level status.

Hypothesis 2d: Children's different types of cultural capital have a positive influence on the attainment of lower-middle and lower level status.

III. Variables and Measurement

1. Data source

The data come from the survey of the lives of urban residents in Shanghai conducted from May to October 2008 by the Project Group of the Shanghai Social Structure Study, composed of staff from the Fudan University Research Center for the Basic Theory of China's United Front and the Department of Sociology of Shanghai University. Using multistage unequal probability sampling, we selected 5,000 people of working age (aged 16-65), excluding those in education. After logic testing and treatment of missing data, we obtained a sample of 4,419.

2. Variable measurement

(1) Dependent variables

This study uses Wright's model of class analysis adapted to Chinese conditions. On the basis of the degree to which people enjoy public power, we divide their social strata into four categories: upper-middle stratum (I), middle-middle stratum (II), lower-middle stratum (III) and lower stratum (IV) (for details see Table 1). Of the 3,220 people who clearly identified their occupations, 1.4 percent (45 people) belong to the upper-middle stratum, 15.7 percent (505 people) to the middle-middle stratum, 35.1 percent (1,131) to the lower-middle stratum and 47.8 percent (1,539 people) to the lower stratum.

Table 1 Classification of Social Status

Occupation or position	Social status
Leading cadres of Party or government organs and institutions at the level of division or above	I
Leading cadres of Party or government organs and institutions at the level of section or above	II
Administrative personnel with no rank in the public sector	I
Entrepreneurs	II
Small employers	II
Self-employed	III
Heads of enterprises or companies, senior staff members	I
Mid-level office workers or clerks	II
Ordinary office workers	III
Professional and technical personnel with senior technical titles	I
Professional and technical personnel with intermediate technical titles	II
Professional and technical personnel with junior or no technical title	III
Technical workers with senior or intermediate technical titles and business services personnel	III
Technical workers with junior or no technical title and employees in business services	IV
Farmers	IV

(2) A key independent variable: cultural capital

This paper defines cultural capital as all the cultural resources possessed by a family and its individual members, including cultural capital relating to high culture; reading; participation in cultural classes; and objective cultural capital.⁸ The measurement indicators are: (a) education as an institutional form of cultural capital; (b) parents and children going to museums, the theater and art exhibitions (high culture); (c) children's objective cultural resources, such as dictionaries, computers and children's books; (d) participation in various cultural classes, such as art classes, hobby classes and supplementary classes; (e) parents' reading, writing, etc. We divide cultural capital into two parts: parents' and children's.⁹ The ten indicators of children's cultural capital are highly correlated with one another, so we adopt the method of principal component analysis and, through Varimax rotation, obtain the results of factor analysis. Three factors all have characteristic values greater than 1 and together they explain 57.10 percent of the variance. Factor 1 is high culture, for which Cronbach's alpha coefficient is 0.913 and loads are all around 0.80; Factor 2 is objective culture, for

8 Alice Sullivan, "Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment," pp. 893-912.

9 Owing to limited measurement of parental cultural capital in this study, there are only a few indicators and they are not suited to factor analysis. We have therefore adopted a general measurement method: frequent participation = 2 marks; occasional participation = 1 mark; and no participation = 0 mark.

which Cronbach's alpha coefficient is 0.686 and loads are all around 0.70; and Factor 3 is participation in cultural classes, for which Cronbach's alpha coefficient is 0.910 and loads are all around 0.65 (see Table 2). The higher the score for a factor, the greater the stock of cultural capital.

Table 2 Factor Load after Varimax Rotation¹⁰

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Having dictionaries	0.1652	0.6995	0.1299
Having maps (atlases) and globes	0.1665	0.7838	0.0886
Having children's books	0.0838	0.7518	-0.0086
Going to art exhibitions	0.7609	0.0931	0.0405
Going to museums	0.8360	0.1248	0.1881
Going to the theater	0.7976	0.1682	0.1644
Sightseeing travel	-0.1079	-0.0261	0.5777
Participation in art classes (e.g. playing the piano or zither, chess, calligraphy, painting)	0.3293	0.1672	0.6540
Participation in supplementary classes	0.2950	0.1326	0.6273
Participation in hobby classes	0.3007	0.0555	0.6498
Root of characteristic	2.2735	1.7706	1.6661
Variance percentage	0.2274	0.1771	0.1666

Making use of analytical models of multiple linear regression and bivariate logistic regression, this paper analyzes the influence of cultural capital on years of schooling and status attainment, with the control variables being gender, age squared, political affiliation and family background (father's occupation).

IV. Data and Analysis

1. *Cultural capital and educational attainment*

Existing studies generally hold that family background has a significant influence on children's years of schooling, but do not elaborate on how family background plays this role. Therefore, in this paper, after introducing the factor of cultural capital into the multiple linear regression model (see Table 3) we provide an analysis of how family background affects children's years of schooling.

10 Factors 2 and 3 embody the cultural capital of the respondents (≤ 14 years of age); Factor 1 reflects respondents' contact with high culture in the company of their children (≤ 14 years of age).

Table 3 Multiple Linear Regression Analysis of Children's Educational Attainment

Independent variable	Model A1		Model A2		Model A3	
	<i>b</i>	B	<i>b</i>	B	<i>b</i>	B
Gender ^a	0.346*** (0.0768)	0.06	0.497*** (0.0805)	0.09	0.495*** (0.0803)	0.09
Age squared	-0.000959*** (0.0000373)	-0.40	-0.000614*** (0.0000458)	-0.20	-0.000560*** (0.0000469)	-0.19
Father's occupation ^b	1.383*** (0.102)	0.25	0.749*** (0.107)	0.14	0.717*** (0.108)	0.14
Worker						
Professional and technical personnel	2.362*** (0.139)	0.28	1.030*** (0.163)	0.13	0.988*** (0.163)	0.12
Business services personnel	1.503*** (0.149)	0.16	0.825*** (0.155)	0.09	0.818*** (0.155)	0.09
Office workers or clerks	2.130*** (0.132)	0.27	1.045*** (0.148)	0.13	1.013*** (0.148)	0.13
Leading cadres of Party or government organs, enterprises and institutions	2.140*** (0.180)	0.18	1.078*** (0.194)	0.10	1.027*** (0.193)	0.09
Parents' cultural capital						
Average years of schooling			0.178*** (0.0201)	0.16	0.167*** (0.0201)	0.15
High culture			0.201*** (0.0296)	0.10	0.179*** (0.0287)	0.08
Cultural ambience			0.445*** (0.0322)	0.22	0.429*** (0.0358)	0.21
Children's cultural capital					0.113*** (0.0425)	0.04
Factor of high culture					0.0986*** (0.0421)	0.02
Objective cultural factor					0.179*** (0.0410)	0.09
Factor of participation in cultural classes						
Constant term	12.33*** (0.126)		9.131*** (0.216)		9.112*** (0.219)	
Value of F	158.48***		100.21***		79.99***	
Adjusted R ²	0.21		0.22		0.233	
N	4117		3513		3513	

Note: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$; *b* is a non-standard regression coefficient, B is a standard regression coefficient and the figures in brackets are the standard deviations. Reference group: a=female, b=farmers.

(1) Parental cultural capital and children's educational attainment

Model A1 shows that the variables of father's occupation are all statistically significant. Controlling for other variables and taking farmers as the reference group, we see that children's schooling increases by 2.36, 2.14, 2.13 and 1.38 years respectively for the four

categories of professional and technical personnel; leading cadres of Party or government organs, enterprises and institutions; office workers or clerks; and workers. The higher the father's occupational status, the more years of schooling the child obtains.

When the variable of parents' cultural capital is introduced into Model A2, the goodness of fit (R^2) increases slightly, reaching 22.0 percent. Parents' cultural capital variables are all statistically significant: the length of children's education increases by 0.18, 0.20 and 0.45 years respectively with each additional year of parents' average years of schooling and each extra mark in parental scores for high culture and reading and writing (cultural ambience). Thus, all the hypotheses in 1.1 are confirmed.

Some existing studies hold that parents' possession of high culture plays a role in children's educational attainment,¹¹ while others believe that parents' reading has an influence on children's education.¹² This study finds that both factors influence children's years of schooling, with the cultural ambience variable playing a greater role than the high culture variable (the standard regression coefficients are 0.22 and 0.10 respectively). After the variable of parents' cultural capital is introduced, although father's occupation still has a significant effect on children's educational attainment, all of the regression coefficients experience a significant decrease. Accordingly, nearly half of the influence of father's occupation is effected indirectly, with parents' cultural capital as the medium. As seen from the standard regression coefficient, the variable of parents' cultural capital is greater than that of parents' occupation in most cases, and thus Hypothesis 1.3a is confirmed.

(2) The influence of children's cultural capital on educational attainment

Past studies had no way of analyzing the influence of parents' and children's cultural capital on educational attainment because they did not measure each of the two types of cultural capital simultaneously.¹³ Recent studies have taken into account the difference between parents' and children's cultural capital, but children's cultural capital is operationalized only in relation to high culture.¹⁴ This paper takes into account the cultural capital of both parents and children simultaneously in order to analyze the influence of each type of cultural capital on children's educational attainment.

When the variable of children's cultural capital is introduced, the goodness of fit (R^2) of Model A3 improves slightly, reaching 23.3 percent. If we control for the variables of gender, age, father's occupation and parental cultural capital, we find that children's cultural capital plays a significant role in their educational attainment: with each increase of one standard unit

11 Yoko Yamamoto and Mary C. Brinton, "Cultural Capital in East Asian Educational Systems: The Case of Japan," pp. 67-83.

12 Alice Sullivan, "Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment," pp. 893-912.

13 M. Kalmijn and G. Kraaykamp, "Race, Cultural Capital, and Schooling: An Analysis of Trends in the United States," pp. 22-34; Paul DiMaggio and John Mohr, "Cultural Capital and School Success: The Impact of Status-Culture Participation on the Grades of U.S. High School Students," pp. 89-212.

14 Mads Meier Jæger, "Equal Access but Unequal Outcomes: Cultural Capital and Educational Choice in a Meritocratic Society," pp. 1943-1972.

in their factor of high culture, objective cultural factor and factor of participation in cultural classes, their years of schooling increase by 0.11, 0.10 and 0.18 years respectively. All of the hypotheses in 1.2 are therefore confirmed. Accordingly, when gender, age, father's occupation and cultural capital are the same, differences in children's cultural capital will lead to differences in their educational attainment. As seen from the standard regression coefficient, the factor of participation in cultural classes plays the greatest role (0.09), followed by the c (0.04) and objective culture (0.02).

Model A3 shows that all the variables of parents' cultural capital are still statistically significant, so parents' cultural capital continues to exert a direct influence on their children's educational attainment. Compared with Model A2, in Model A3 the regression coefficients of father's occupation and parents' cultural capital both decrease slightly. Therefore, father's occupation and parents' cultural capital play their role through the medium of children's cultural capital, and children's cultural capital partly explains the influence of parents' cultural capital on educational attainment. However, overall, father's occupation and parents' cultural capital, and especially the cultural ambience (with a standard regression coefficient of 0.21) nurtured by parents' reading and writing play a greater role than children's cultural capital does. Thus the first half of Hypothesis 1.3b is confirmed.

2. Cultural capital and status attainment

The existing research on cultural capital focuses mainly on the area of sociology of education. The role of cultural capital in social (re)production can be reconstructed completely if we extend our research on cultural capital to the areas of social mobility or status attainment.¹⁵ For this purpose, the paper makes use of the bivariate logistic regression model (see Table 4) to analyze the influence of various types of cultural capital on status attainment. In Model I we have only demographic and family background variables, while in Model II the variables of parents' and children's cultural capital are introduced on the basis of Model I. Following the introduction of all cultural capital variables, except for the lower-middle stratum, all the pseudo coefficients of determination (*Pseudo R*²) improve considerably, increasing by 11.67 percent to 20.31 percent, testifying to the strong explanatory power of cultural capital in the acquisition of upper-middle, middle-middle, and lower status.

(1) Cultural capital and upper-middle status attainment. In Model C1 III, parents' high culture and cultural ambience and children's years of schooling and high cultural factor are all statistically significant, with EXP values of 1.2969, 2.484, 1.4304 and 6.625 respectively, showing that for each additional mark for parents' score on high culture and cultural ambience, the occurrence ratios for children's attainment of upper-middle status increase by 29.6 percent and 148.40 percent respectively, and that with each additional year of children's schooling and each extra standard mark for their factor of high culture, the occurrence ratios for acquisition of upper-middle status increase by 43.04 percent and 562.50 percent

15 M. Jackson *et al.*, "Education, Employers and Class Mobility," pp. 3-33.

respectively. Children's factor of high culture is the most influential and Hypothesis 2a is thus confirmed.

(2) Cultural capital and middle-middle status attainment. In Model C2 II, cultural ambience, children's years of schooling and factor of participation in cultural classes are all statistically significant, with EXP values of 1.2092, 1.7629 and 1.1746 respectively, showing that with each additional mark in their cultural ambience score, each additional year of children's schooling, and each additional standard mark for the factor of participation in cultural classes, the occurrence ratios for attainment of middle-middle status increase by 20.92 percent, 76.29 percent and 17.46 percent respectively. Compared with upper-middle status attainment, children's factor of high culture and objective cultural factor are not statistically significant and their influence on middle-middle status attainment is decreasing (the regression coefficients decrease sharply), but the role of cultural capital increases considerably. So Hypothesis 2b is partially confirmed.

It should be noted that for professional and technical personnel, leading cadres of enterprises and institutions, and office workers or clerks, the role of father's occupation changes from insignificant to significant. Some studies demonstrate that once cultural capital is introduced, father's occupation becomes more significant for the stratum of professional and technical personnel, demonstrating that it is easier for this stratum to transmit their advantages to the next generation.¹⁶ This study seems to bear out this conclusion and also shows that leading cadres of enterprises and government institutions and office personnel are also able to pass on their advantages.¹⁷

(3) Cultural capital and lower-middle status attainment. In Model C3 II, cultural capital has weak explanatory power for the attainment of lower-middle status, with a pseudo coefficient of determination (*Pseudo R*²) of 0.0418. Cultural ambience, children's years of schooling and the factor of participation in cultural classes are all statistically significant with EXP values of 1.19, 1.046 and 1.054 respectively, showing that with each additional mark on the cultural ambience score, each additional year of children's schooling and each additional standard mark for the factor of participation in cultural classes, the occurrence ratios for attainment of lower-middle status increase by 19.0 percent, 4.60 percent and 5.40 percent respectively. Consequently, although cultural capital affects attainment of lower-middle status, its role is not significant.

Fathers of children who attain lower-middle status belong mostly to the lower-middle or even the lower stratum. They also attach quite a lot of importance to the accumulation of family cultural capital, but without visible results. According to the survey, the average years of schooling for those in the lower-middle stratum are 12.09 years,¹⁸ which means that they

16 T. Fielding, "Migration and Middle-class Formation in England and Wales," pp. 1981-1991.

17 In China, many people in these two occupational groups are at the same time professional and technical personnel.

18 The average years of schooling of people in the upper-middle, middle-middle and lower strata are 13.38, 13.76 and 10.26 years respectively.

fail to gain access to higher education, thus forfeiting their chance to attain higher status. In other words, it is only when cultural capital facilitates attainment of higher education that it is able to produce a significant impact on upward social mobility.

(4) Cultural capital and lower status attainment. In Model C4 II, parents' average years of schooling, cultural ambience, children's years of schooling and the factor of participation in cultural classes are all statistically significant, but their coefficients are all negative; their EXP values are 0.913, 0.7726, 0.6676 and 0.8737 respectively, all less than 1, showing that with each further year of parents' average years of schooling, each additional mark for cultural ambience, each additional year of children's schooling, and each additional standard mark for the factor of participation in cultural classes, the occurrence ratios for entering the lower stratum decrease by 8.70 percent, 22.74 percent, 33.24 percent and 12.63 percent respectively.

From an overview of the effect of the various cultural capital factors on the attainment of lower-middle and lower status, we can see that Hypothesis 2c is confirmed while Hypothesis 2d is partially confirmed (the factors of high culture and objective culture are not statistically significant). Hypothesis 2 is largely confirmed.

Table 4 Bivariate Logistic Regression Analysis of Cultural Capital and Status Attainment

	Upper-middle stratum		Middle-middle stratum		Lower-middle stratum		Lower stratum	
	Model C1 I	Model C1 II	Model C2 I	Model C2 II	Model C3 I	Model C3 II	Model C4 I	Model C4 II
Gender ^a	0.529 (0.328)	0.467 (0.374)	0.364*** (0.107)	0.0186 (0.14)	0.104 (0.0816)	0.229** (0.0924)	-0.368*** (0.083)	-0.441*** (0.102)
Age squared	0.000504*** (0.000171)	0.000587*** (0.000222)	0.000240*** (0.000052)	0.000745*** (0.0000835)	-0.000150*** (0.0000399)	-9E-06 (6E-05)	-1.5E-05 (4.1E-05)	-0.000520*** (0.0000654)
Political affiliation ^b	1.131*** (0.335)	0.880** (0.396)	1.230*** (0.105)	0.813*** (0.135)	0.688*** (0.0826)	0.409*** (0.0974)	-1.510*** (0.09)	-1.012*** (0.108)
Father's occupation ^c								
Workers	0.307 (0.461)	0.472 (0.505)	0.505** (0.212)	0.0332 (0.161)	0.777*** (0.125)	0.554*** (0.14)	-0.631*** (0.117)	-0.0232 (0.147)
Professional and technical personnel	0.452 (0.69)	0.707 (0.787)	0.346 (0.278)	0.773*** (0.189)	-1.000*** (0.156)	-0.521*** (0.194)	-1.386*** (0.155)	-0.151 (0.209)
Business services personnel	0.0546 (0.583)	0.0963 (0.672)	0.690** (0.293)	0.175 (0.23)	0.793*** (0.168)	0.492*** (0.187)	-0.620*** (0.163)	0.0345 (0.200)
Office workers or clerks	0.314 (0.513)	0.436 (0.665)	0.219 (0.257)	0.723*** (0.182)	-0.902*** (0.151)	-0.505*** (0.18)	-1.210*** (0.149)	-0.155 (0.194)
Leading cadres of Party or government organs, enterprises and institutions	0.171 (0.693)	0.0993 (0.768)	0.264 (0.249)	0.793** (0.331)	-1.158*** (0.193)	-0.854*** (0.219)	-1.278*** (0.202)	-0.312 (0.246)
Parents' cultural capital								

Average years of schooling	0.0943 (0.102)		0.0453 (0.0319)		0.0338 (0.0224)			-0.0911*** (0.0252)
High culture	0.260* (0.142)		0.0321 (0.0491)		0.0300 (0.0328)			-0.00297 (0.0362)
Cultural ambience Children's cultural capital	0.910*** (0.334)		0.190** (0.0806)		0.174*** (0.0500)			-0.258*** (0.0535)
Years of schooling	0.358*** (0.0872)		0.567*** (0.0348)		0.0453** (0.0203)			-0.404*** (0.0257)
Factor of high culture	1.891** (0.798)		0.037 (0.0708)		-0.037 (0.0462)			-0.0178 (0.0502)
Objective cultural factor	0.407 (0.251)		0.0197 (0.0782)		0.0005 (0.0508)			-0.0136 (0.0541)
Factor of participation in cultural classes	0.085 (0.203)		0.161** (0.066)		0.0527** (0.0227)			-0.135*** (0.0493)
Constant term	-6.329*** (0.667)	-10.38*** (1.514)	-3.142*** (0.207)	-10.93*** (0.587)	-1.231*** (0.153)	-2.315*** (0.324)	1.298*** (0.151)	7.141*** (0.414)
Likelihood ratio chi-square value	30.87***	75.72***	226.21***	634.00***	152.83***	136.92***	456.97***	807.12***
Pseudo R ²	0.0728	0.2047	0.0867	0.2898	0.0395	0.0418	0.1110	0.2277

Note: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$; figures in brackets are standard deviations; reference group: a = female, b = non-CPC members, c = farmers; numbers of people included in Models I and II are 2,972 and 2,557 respectively.

V. Conclusion

Summing up the above analyses, we come to the following conclusions:

(1) Cultural capital in the broad sense plays a positive role in children's educational attainment. The cultural capital of parents and that of children both have a positive influence on children's educational attainment, with the cultural ambience of the home having the greatest impact. Cultural capital that does not involve high culture plays a greater role than that which involves high culture in children's educational attainment; and parents' educational level is an important factor in the production and reproduction of a family's cultural capital.

(2) Cultural capital in the broad sense plays a positive role in status attainment. The higher the stock of cultural capital, the greater the likelihood of attaining a higher social status. Investment in cultural capital has different returns for different family backgrounds, and parents' educational level is an important variable that influences the production of a family's cultural capital.

(3) Different types of cultural capital produce different effects on status attainment. Capital of high culture has an important influence on the attainment of upper-middle status; education plays the greatest role in the attainment of middle-middle status; cultural capital reduces

the risk of falling into the lower social stratum (see Model C3 II in Table 4); and a family's cultural ambience and education constitute the most fundamental conditions for status attainment.

(4) Cultural capital performs the functions of social reproduction and social mobility. Cultural investment and a family's cultural ambience play a positive role in status attainment and families of lower social status may realize upward social mobility for their children by means of accumulation of cultural capital.

Notes on Contributors

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