

연구논문

Is Having Well-off Parents a Part of the Résumé?: Influence of Parent-adolescent Conversations on Long-term Educational Outcomes

Da Eun Kwan^{*}

This study aims to track the long-term effect of conversations with parents during adolescence on child's educational outcomes. While it is well known that parents' economic resource and social status affect children's educational outcomes, the empirical evidence of the influence of parent-adolescent conversations is limited. Analyzing 2,005 South Koreans born between 1971 and 1991 from the Korea Labor Income and Panel Study (KLIPS), this study examines the long-term influence of parent-adolescent conversations. Analysis results reveal that the impact of family background on child's educational outcomes depends on the frequency of conversations during adolescence. In particular, the positive effects of having frequent parent-adolescent conversations are observed among the unskilled manual class, implying that parent-adolescent conversations may serve as a mechanism to mitigate inequality in the inter-generational social mobility.

Key words: parent-adolescent conversations, educational outcomes, family background, economic capital, social capital, cultural capital.

^{*} KDI 국제정책대학원 인구정책연구실 박사(dekwan09@gmail.com).

I. Introduction

Is having well-off parents a part of the résumé? In South Korea, the belief that parental economic resources and social status decisively influence the success of their children is widely prevalent. It is reflected in the Spoon theory which emphasizes a crucial role of family background in the success of children. Such a widespread belief not only brings a sense of defeat to many young people who feel that their parents do not belong to the high class, but also becomes one of major factors that discourages childbirth due to fears of the financial burden of raising children. Is having economic resources or social status a prerequisite to become good parents? While it is widely agreed that parents' economic resource or social status affect child's lifetime outcomes, the evidence of the long-term influence of social and cultural capital inherited from parent-adolescent conversations is limited. Therefore, this study aims to track the long-term impact of conversations with parents during adolescence on educational outcomes. Also, it seeks to explore whether parents' socioeconomic status and the parent-adolescent conversations interact to affect educational outcomes in the long term.

The influence of family background on the outcomes of child is a long-standing interest in various disciplinaries. Scholars have explored broadly three channels to explain the mechanism of the influence of family background: economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. The economic capital perspective focuses on the role of economic resource in transmission of parental advantages (Boudon 1974). The social capital perspective examines benefits of various networks and connections in reproducing the educational attainments from relational, structural and cognitional dimensions (Bourdieu 1986; Chung et al. 2020; Coleman & James 1988; Dika & Singh 2002). The cultural capital perspective mostly emphasizes the role of cultural traits and appetite. Based on theoretical

discussions, this study examines the effect of parent-adolescent conversations from the perspective of social capital and cultural capital.

Frequent conversations with parents can play a role as a mechanism of inter-generational transmission of family background. From the perspective of social capital, the parent-adolescent conversations promotes emotional bond or parental involvement in education (Kim & Um 2018). Also, parents can influence their children with values or attitudes (Fulkerson et al. 2010). From the cultural capital aspect, conversations with parents promotes communication skills and familiarity with ‘educated’ language (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). Through conversations between parents and children, verbal ability, vocabularies, comfort with authority figures, and familiarity with abstract concepts can be transmitted (Lareau 2011), which are components of the cultural capital. It is also related to the ‘concerted cultivation’, the parenting styles of the middle-class families against ‘natural growth’ of the working-class parents (Lareau 2002). Taken the nature of adolescence as transition times from childhood to adulthood, more frequent conversations with parents itself reflects the quality of parent-adolescent conversations.

Would frequent conversations with parents during adolescence bring lasting effects on educational achievement? While it is well known that parents’ economic resources and social status affect children’s educational outcomes, the empirical evidence of the influence of parent-adolescent conversations is limited. Therefore, this study aims to track the long-term effect of frequent conversations with parents on educational outcomes.

Even though this study is not the first to examine the impact of the parent-child conversations, it advances the existing discussion at least in three aspects. First, this study tracks the long-term effect of parent-adolescent conversations. There exists a list of literature that focuses on the role of parent-adolescent conversations on teenagers’ education (Kim & Cha 2007; Kim & Um 2018) or risky behaviors (Guilamo-Ramos et al. 2006), but mostly the short-term effects are examined. Utilizing panel dataset, this study attempts to track the long-term effects of the family background on child’s educational

outcomes.

Second, this study provides supportive evidence that the social capital and the cultural capital can be fostered during the adolescent years. While social reproduction theory focuses on the growing-up climate at the early childhood (Reese et al. 2012), this study posits that the cultural capital and social capital can be inherited during the adolescent period.

Lastly, focusing on the role of parent-child conversations as a mechanism of the inter-generational social mobility, this study provide suggestive implication. Through the interaction effects with parents' occupational status, this examines whether parent-adolescent conversations serves to mitigate inequality or aggravate it in terms of the intergenerational social mobility. This study is structured as following: the following section outlines the theoretical framework, and then followed by introduction to estimation strategies. The main findings are presented and then discussions will conclude the study.

II. Theoretical Framework

1. Social Reproduction Theory

The intergenerational social mobility is a long-standing interest in stratification studies. According to the social reproduction theory, children from different family backgrounds enter into the education system with different initial endowments, which reproduces social inequalities (Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997). As the mechanism of the social reproduction, a considerable research has documented evidence from three approaches broadly: economic capital, social capital and cultural capital.

Economic capital perspective holds that the affluent parents provide their children with the access to more opportunities and privileges using their financial

resources (Boudon 1974). From the economic capital perspective, the influence of the parental economic investment has drawn scholarly interest, particularly focusing on the effect of private education. In Korea, where private education, often called shadow education, is prevalent, positive correlation between the private education and child's academic achievement have been consistently reported albeit variations in terms of size of effectiveness or differential effects across various groups (Choi & Park 2016; Kim 2010; Park et al. 2011; Ryu & Kang 2013).

Social capital perspective considers three dimensions broadly: relational, structural, and cognitional dimensions. From the relational aspect, social capital is measured through parental emotional support or parental involvement. Kim & Lee (2007; Kim & Um 2018). Jeon & Kim (2006) empirically tested the effect of significant others from the structural dimensions of the social capital. Networks and connections are also well-known components of social capital giving benefits in terms of information sharing (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman & James 1988; Dika & Singh 2002). In regards of the cognitional dimensions, academic aspirations from others and the shared motivations are considered as a significant component of the social capital.

Cultural capital plays an important role in class reproduction according to Bourdieu (1977). Cultural capital is defined and interpreted as familiarity and competence with the dominant cultural codes and practices in a society (Coleman & James 1988; Kim 2012; Sullivan 2001). According to cultural reproduction theory, cultural capital is transmitted from parents to children, perpetuating the educational stratification, as schools and teachers recognize and reward students who are endowed with the elite cultural capital (Tzanakis 2011). Most commonly, cultural capital has been measured with 'high-status' cultural visits such as museum or classical concerts and possession of arts and books, which is criticized for the narrow definition and cultural exclusion (Kingston 2001; Lareau & Weininger 2003).

While the positive role of the economic capital and social capital in educational outcomes have been consistently reported, effects of the cultural capital

are divergent across the institutional contexts. For example, positive association between the cultural capital and educational outcomes is found in England (Sullivan 2001) or in Netherlands (De Graaf et al. 2000), while a weak or no association is reported found in East Asian countries (Byun et al. 2012; Park et al. 2011). The reason for the inconclusive findings is derived from different institutional contexts and divergent definitions of the cultural capital across studies. For example, the Korean educational system is characterized by the uniformity of curriculum and standardized exam for college admission, thus the cultural capital, if measured with taste for highbrow cultural activities, is not associated with academic outcomes (Byun et al. 2012; Fulkerson et al. 2010; Roksa & Potter 2011; Yamamoto & Brinton 2010). In a considerable studies, cultural capital has been narrowly defined as “high-status” cultural visits or possession of arts and books, yet a growing body of literature which is criticized for the narrow definition and cultural exclusion (Kingston 2001; Lareau & Weininger 2003). Yet, against the narrow interpretation of the cultural capital, a growing body of studies demonstrated that the definition of cultural capital should be broadened. The ability to understand and use the ‘educated’ language is suggested as an important component of cultural capital. For example, Sullivan (2001) asserted that cultural capital should be measured with linguistic style and cognitive abilities, besides the aesthetic disposition.

Building up on theoretical discussions, this study examines the role of economic capital, social capital and cultural capital as a mechanism on intergenerational transmission. Particularly, this study focuses on the role of parent-adolescent discussions from the aspect of social capital and cultural capital in child’s educational outcomes.

2. Parent-adolescent Conversations

Parent-adolescent conversations itself is considered to be a challenge due to the nature of the adolescent years as transition times from childhood to

adulthood. This is when teenagers by nature keep a distance from parents, seeking for independence and authority from parents (Kroger 2006). In this regard, frequency and types of communications with parents at these times reflect more than mere conversations itself. Children during the teen age years are more likely to keep away from the conversations with parents if they feel they are admonished or taught unilaterally rather than communicating bilaterally, leading to fall in the frequency of conversations. In the opposite case, the frequency of the conversations will increase by nature if the adolescents enjoy conversing with parents. Thus, the frequency of conversations between parents and children in the teen age years reflect the quality of the conversations.

In previous literature, the social capital aspect of conversations between parents and children are highlighted as a part of the social capital in terms of emotional support (Kim & Um 2018) or parental involvement (Han & Kim 2018; Kim & Lee 2007). Yet, the cultural capital aspect of the parent-adolescent conversations also needs to be highlighted. Fulkerson et al. (2010) demonstrated that not only information is transferred from parents to children through communication, but parents can also influence their children with shaping values or attitudes and fostering skills. Roksa & Potter (2011) included parent-child discussions as a form of parenting styles to measure the cultural capital based on the concerted cultivation. The ‘concerted cultivation’ referring to the parenting styles of the middle-class families against ‘natural growth’ of the working-class parents in the US, is proposed by Lareau (2002). Active discussions between parents and children is one of the characteristics of the concerted cultivation, through which diverse advantages can be transmitted such as verbal ability, vocabularies, comfort with authority figures, and familiarity with abstract concepts (Lareau 2011). Sullivan (2001) also asserted that communication styles and skills can be transmitted, which is an important component of the cultural capital.

Taken this, this study will focus on the attributes of the cultural capital aspect as well as social capital aspect of the parent-adolescent conversations and its role in the intergenerational transmission of educational outcomes.

3. Hypothesis

Based on the prescribed theoretical discussions, the hypotheses are drawn as below.

H1: Family background, measured by parents' occupation at the age of 14 affects educational outcomes in the long term.

H2: The impacts of parents' social status on child's educational outcomes differ depending on the frequency of parent-adolescent conversations.

H3: The effects of parent-adolescent conversations is prominent among the social disadvantaged class.

III. Methods

1. Data and Samples

To examine the effect of the parent-adolescent conversations of parents' education on child's educational attainment, this study uses the Korea Labor Income and Panel Study (KLIPS) from 1998 to 2020. The KLIPS is the longest annual panel surveys in Korea, starting from 1998 with 5,000 households with its members who are 15 years old and above. In order to address the attrition problem and the oversampling of the urban area issue, the KLIPS conducted the additional sampling twice in 2009 and 2018. To ensure the representative of the whole population, the rural area samples are added during the additional sampling process.

For the purpose of this study, the 9th and 11th additional surveys on young

adults and education are combined with the annual surveys on household, individual and job history. Since the key variables are retrospective answers about the experience at 14 years old, it has been collected one time in 2006 and 2008 respectively. Therefore, for the analysis, it is used as a cross-sectional analysis rather than panel analysis after data manipulation including imputation.

The final analytical sample is 2,005 individuals, who were born between 1971 and 1991 defined as the young adults in the additional surveys in 2006 and 2008. The final sample is limited to those who have cohabited with biological parents at 14 years old. Considering that the relationship with step parents can differ from the relationship with biological parents, the analytical sample is limited only those who have cohabited with biological parents. Missing values in the key variables are excluded.

2. Measurement

Dependent variable: educational outcomes

Respondents' educational outcome is measured by final educational degrees. KLIPS provides information of the final degrees of education by seven scales, from no education, elementary school graduate, middle school, high school, two-or-three-year college, four-year college and master's degree or above. It is coded as four scales.

There are two reasons to recode the final educational degree into four groups: high school graduates, two- or three-year college graduates, four-year college graduate excluding Seoul area, and 4-year college in Seoul and MA or above. First, the policy change is considered which stipulates the middle school as mandatory education in 1985. This coincides with the year of entering the school of the analytical sample, thus the final education level below middle school degree accounts to 1.91% ($n=46$) among our analytical sample. Second, we considered a trend of fast increase in a share of the tertiary education attainment in Korea.

Particularly, among the young generation aged between 25 and 34 years old, the share of the tertiary education is reported to have increased from 37% to 69% over the period of 2000 and 2021 (OECD 2022). In our data as well, 37.1% of the analytical sample has 4-year college degree. For this reason, a necessity is suggested to divide the 4-year-college in order to measure the educational achievement more precisely. Thus, the 4-year college is recoded by its location, whether it is located in Seoul or not, considering the concentration of educational infrastructure and top-tier colleges in Seoul.

Independent variable: parents' occupation at age 14

To measure family background, parents' occupation at age 14 is used. KLIPS provides information about father's occupation when the respondent was 14 years old. In case where father was absent, the information on mother's occupation is supposed to replace it.

To identify parents' occupational status, this study uses the EGP scale. The EGP scale is one of the widely used categorical social class scales which place individuals into qualitatively distinct categories (Connelly et al. 2016; Bergman & Joye 2005; Erikson & Goldthorpe 1992). Unlike social class scales, social stratification scales such as the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) place individuals at some point on a continuous hierarchy (Ganzeboom et al. 1992). In this study, the scope of occupational measurement is limited to distinguishing between occupational groups based on their characteristics, rather than calculating respondents' parents' occupations hierarchically.

The original EGP scheme classifies occupation into seven classes, but in consideration of the Korean context where the employed agricultural workers are rare, self-employed farmers and agricultural workers are combined (Chung et al. 2020). Six classes list unskilled manual class, skilled manual class, farming class, self-employed class, routine non-manual class, and service class. Unskilled manual class includes semi- and unskilled manual workers while skilled manual class

refers to lower grade technicians and supervisors of manual workers. Farming class refers to farmers and small holders and other self-employed workers in primary production. Self-employed class includes small properties and artisans and so on, with and without employees. Routine non-manual class includes employees in administration and commerce, sales personnel, other rank-and-file service workers. Finally, service class refers to professionals, administrators and managers, higher grade technicians and supervisors of non-manual workers(Connelly et al. 2016).

Mediator: parent-adolescent conversations at age 14

Frequency of conversations with parents at 14 years old is a variable of main interest in this study. The 9th additional survey in 2006 provides information on frequency of conversations with parents on school life. The frequency was measured in five scales: 1) rarely having, 2) one or two times in a year, 3) one or two times in a quarter, 4) one or two times in a month, 5) more than once a week. If having conversations with parents only once or twice a month, once or twice a quarter, or once or twice a year, it can be assumed that there is practically no qualitative difference. Therefore, for analysis the variable is dichotomized to indicate whether the respondent had conversations with their parents more than once a week or not.

Control variables

To control parents' economic capital, the self-rated economic status at 14 years old is used. It is measured by 5 scales from 1, far below the average to 5, higher than the average.

As a socio-demographic characteristics, sex, age, and regional areas at 14 years old are controlled. Age indicates age at the time of the year of 2020, which is the most recent data in this study. Regional areas at 14 years old are dichotomized into rural or urban area.

<Table 1> Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Min.	Max.	Freq(%)
Educational outcomes	2005		1	4	
High school graduates					567(28.28)
2- or 3-year college degrees					547(27.28)
4-year college degrees					609(30.37)
4-year colleges in Seoul or MA and above					282(14.06)
Conversations with parents at age 14	2005	0.333	0	1	
Parents' occupation	2005		1	6	
Unskilled manual class					178(8.88)
Skilled manual class					647(32.27)
Farming class					385(19.20)
Self-employed class					242(12.07)
Routine non-manual class					295(14.66)
Service class					259(12.92)
Economic status at age 14	2005	2.81	1	5	
Lowest					101(5.04)
Low					460(22.94)
Middle					1190(59.35)
High					227(11.32)
Highest					27(1.35)
Male	2005	.453	0	1	
Age	2005	40.6	29	49	
Urban area at age 14	2005	.956	0	1	

3. Estimation Strategy

Ordered logistic regression

To assess the effect of the conversations with parents at 14 years old on the educational attainment, mediation analysis is employed as equations from (1a) to

(1c). The regression without the mediator is implemented first, and then the regression with the mediator is done. Then, the interaction term is implemented.

$$Ologit(Edu) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Parents'occupation_{14} + \beta_2 X + \epsilon_i \quad (1a)$$

$$Ologit(Edu) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Parents'occupation_{14} + \beta_2 Conversation_{14} + \beta_3 X + \epsilon_i \quad (1b)$$

$$Ologit(Edu) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Parents'occupation_{14} + \beta_2 Conversation_{14} + \beta_3 Parents'occupation * Conversation_{14} + \beta_4 X + \epsilon_i \quad (1c)$$

The ordered logistic regression is implemented since the outcome variable is the categorical variable. The key explanatory variable is family background proxied by parents' occupation at age 14.

A variable of main interest is parent-adolescent conversations at 14 years old. It is a binary variable to indicate whether the respondent had conversations on school life with parents more than once a week.

A set of sociodemographic characteristics is controlled. Age, sex, regions at 14 years old, and self-rated economic status of household at 14 years old are controlled.

IV. Findings

1. Parent-adolescent Discussions and Educational Outcomes

Does family background affect child's educational outcomes? If so, through what mechanism does it transmit to the next generation? <Table 2(a)> shows a simple correlation between parents' occupation at 14 years old and educational outcomes. <Table 2(b)> presents a correlation between the conversations with parents at 14 years old and educational outcomes.

<Table 2> Educational Outcomes and Main Variables

(a) Parents' occupation at 14 and educational outcomes

Parents' occupation at 14 Educational outcomes	Unskilled manual	Skilled manual	Farming	Self- employed	Routine non-manual	Service
High school graduates	39.3	28.3	45.5	27.3	15.7	10.4
2- or 3- year college degrees	30.3	28.3	27.5	25.2	27.2	24.3
4 year college degrees	19.7	30.5	20.0	33.9	40.5	38.2
4 year college in Seoul and MA and above	10.7	13.0	7.0	13.6	16.7	27.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(b) Frequency of conversations with parents at 14 and educational outcomes

Frequency of conversations with parents at 14 Educational outcomes	Less than once a week	More than once a week
High school graduates	34.1	16.6
2- or 3-year college degrees	28.6	24.7
4 year college degrees	26.3	38.5
4 year college in Seoul and MA and above	11.1	20.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Child's educational outcomes significantly differ by parents' occupation at 14 years old ($Pr < 0.000$) as well as by frequency of conversations with parents at 14 years old ($Pr < 0.000$). Among those whose parents were engaged in either unskilled manual works, skilled manual works, farming or self-employed in the past, a majority of respondents have no more than 2- or 3- year college degrees. On the other hand, a majority of respondents has completed BA degrees or MA and above among those whose parents were engaged in routine non-manual works or service when respondents were 14 years old.

The frequency of conversations with parents at 14 years old also correlates with the educational outcomes. Among those who had conversations on school

life with parents less than weekly at the age of 14, a majority has completed 2- or 3- year college at most. However, among those who had conversations more than weekly, a majority has received 4 year college degrees or MA.

Would this correlation be still valid when other factors controlled? Does the frequency of conversations with parents interact with parents' occupation at the age of 14 to influence educational outcomes? Results of the equation 1(a) through (c) are presented in <Table 3>.

Model (1) is a baseline model that shows the influence of parents' occupation on child's educational outcomes controlling sociodemographic characteristics. The EGP scale is a categorical variable rather than an ordinal variable which classifies the occupation hierarchically. The regression results with skilled manual workers as the reference group demonstrate that children's education levels by parents' occupation when the respondents were 14 years old. Compared to those whose parents were skilled manual workers, those who have parents of the unskilled manual workers or farming achieved less educational outcomes. On the contrary, those whose parents were engaged in routine manual workers or service sector have completed higher educational degrees than the skilled manual workers.

Model (2) shows that the effect of frequent conversations with parents on the educational outcomes. With conversations variables introduced, the significance of parental occupation's effect decreases, particularly among unskilled and self-employed.

Model (3) presents the interaction effect of parents' occupation and frequency of conversations with parents at 14 years old. It is interesting to note that the sign of the coefficient of each occupational categories reversed in the interaction terms. For example, those who have parent engaged in unskilled manual works had lower educational achievement compared to those whose parents are skilled manual workers. However, under the condition of having more frequent conversations with parents, the educational outcomes of unskilled manual workers' child becomes higher than those of skilled manual workers' child. Likewise, a level of the long-term educational achievement becomes reversed among routine non-manual workers' child compared to skilled manual workers' child.

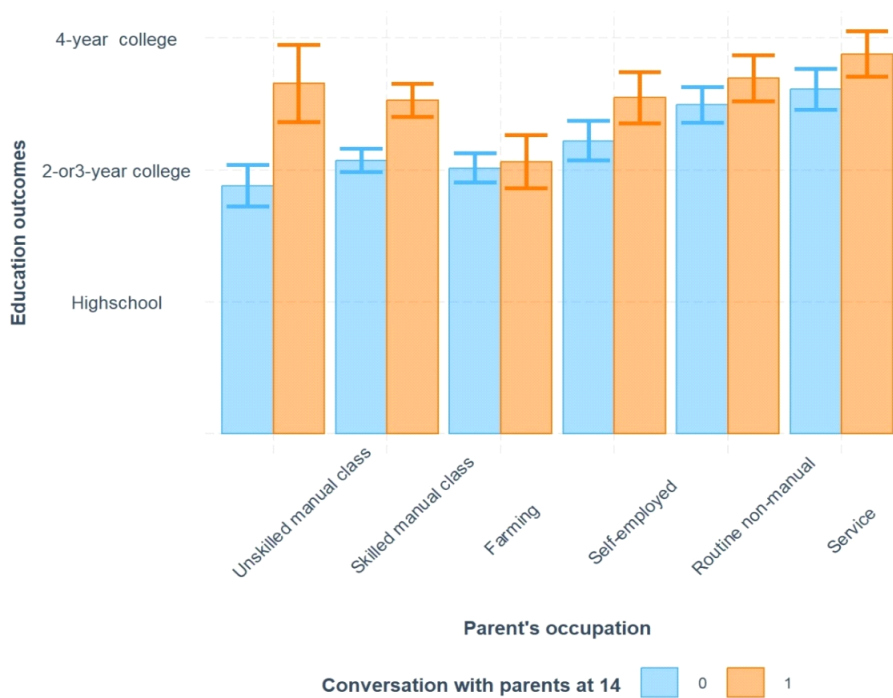
<Table 3> Ordered Logistic Regression Results

	(1) Education	(2) Education	(3) Education
Occupation (Ref: Skilled manual)			
Unskilled manual	-0.328* (0.158)	-0.264+ (0.158)	-0.381* (0.183)
Farming	-0.397** (0.126)	-0.362** (0.127)	-0.171 (0.148)
Self-employed	0.234+ (0.139)	0.211 (0.139)	0.296+ (0.176)
Routine non-manual	0.644*** (0.129)	0.624*** (0.129)	0.812*** (0.163)
Service	0.923*** (0.138)	0.886*** (0.138)	0.998*** (0.179)
Conversations at 14		0.632*** (0.0903)	0.849*** (0.152)
Unskilled manual*Conversations			0.678+ (0.372)
Farming*Conversations			-0.679* (0.270)
Self-employed*Conversations			-0.236 (0.286)
Routine non-manual*Conversations			-0.502+ (0.263)
Service*Conversations			-0.291 (0.273)
Economic status at 14	0.284*** (0.0570)	0.258*** (0.0573)	0.264*** (0.0575)
Male	0.262** (0.0826)	0.341*** (0.0836)	0.341*** (0.0839)
Age	-0.0736*** (0.00705)	-0.0666*** (0.00713)	-0.0670*** (0.00714)
Region at 14 (urban=1)	0.198 (0.201)	0.200 (0.202)	0.213 (0.202)
cut1	-2.774*** (0.384)	-2.332*** (0.390)	-2.246*** (0.392)
cut2	-1.470*** (0.381)	-1.003** (0.387)	-0.909* (0.390)
cut3	0.272 (0.380)	0.769* (0.388)	0.872* (0.391)
N	2005	2005	2005
Pseudo R ²	0.059	0.068	0.071

Note: Standard errors in parenthesis

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

<Figure 1> visualizes marginal effects of the interaction term between parents’ occupation and frequency of parent-adolescent conversations.



<Figure 1> Marginal Effects of Parent-adolescence Conversations by Parents’ Occupation

Marginal effects of having frequent parent-adolescent conversations on the educational outcomes are notable among those whose parents were unskilled manual workers or skilled manual workers. Given parents’ occupation, frequent parent-adolescent conversations apparently lead to different educational outcomes. In particular, a sizable effect of parent-adolescent conversations is observed among the unskilled manual class. Among other occupational classes, the interaction effects are either insignificant or negative compared to the skilled manual class in <Table 3>, yet the result of chi square test confirms a justification of this model($p = 0.000$). The positive effect of parent-adolescent conversations

among the unskilled class gives suggestive implication, which will be discussed further in discussion parts.

V. Robustness Check

To address the possible concerns regarding cohort effects and period effects, this study further implemented the subgroup analysis by 5-year birth cohort. The concerns can be raised in two aspects: the rapid expansion of tertiary education and change of policy regarding private education in South Korea. The rate of college entrance has greatly increased in South Korea during 1990 and 2010 when the analytical sample of this study reached the age of college entrance (<Table 4>).

Between 1990 and 1994, when individuals born between 1971 and 1975 were entering college, the college entrance rate were 30~40%. During a period of 1995 and 1999, the rate increased to 50~60%. In the 2000s, the college entrance rate has even more increased recording higher than 70%. When the latest cohort of this study reached the age of college entrance, it even recorded higher than 80%.

At the same time, the policy regarding private education has gone through big changes. In the 1980s, when individuals born in 1971 were middle school students, it was a time when private education was completely prohibited under the 7.30 Education Reform Measures. However, in the 1990s, when individuals born after 1975 became middle school student, it was a period when the ban on private education was lifted, leading to a rapid expansion of the private education market. Subsequently, when those born in the late 1980s and beyond spent their teenage years, private education became widespread. Therefore, it can be expected that the influence of private education on child's educational outcomes

may vary by birth cohort. This contextual changes by cohort should be considered in analysis.

<Table 4> College Entrance Rate by Birth Cohort

(unit: %)

College entering year	Born year	College entrance rate
1990	1971	33.2
1991	1972	33.1
1992	1973	34.3
1993	1974	38.4
1994	1975	45.8
1995	1976	51.4
1996	1977	54.9
1997	1978	60.1
1998	1979	64.1
1999	1980	66.6
2000	1981	68.0
2001	1982	70.5
2002	1983	74.2
2003	1984	79.7
2004	1985	81.3
2005	1986	82.1
2006	1987	82.1
2007	1988	82.8
2008	1989	83.8
2009	1990	81.9
2010	1991	79.0

Source: e-national index.

The subgroup analysis by 5-born year cohort is presented in <Table 5>.

<Table 5> Subgroup Analysis

Variables	Born year	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985	1986-1991
Conversations at 14		0.637*** (0.167)	0.509** (0.169)	1.027*** (0.226)	0.613*** (0.179)
Parents' occupation at 14		0.217*** (0.0502)	0.256*** (0.0507)	0.282*** (0.0678)	0.159** (0.0548)
Economic status at 14		0.225* (0.0943)	0.300** (0.102)	0.120 (0.148)	0.500*** (0.143)
Male		0.591*** (0.144)	0.648*** (0.160)	-0.171 (0.222)	-0.0188 (0.174)
Region at 14 (urban=1)		0.224 (0.281)	0.891* (0.375)	0.203 (0.659)	0.124 (0.537)
cut1		1.629*** (0.413)	1.921*** (0.469)	0.488 (0.741)	0.301 (0.670)
cut2		2.665*** (0.421)	3.464*** (0.485)	1.854* (0.751)	1.873** (0.673)
cut3		4.598*** (0.449)	5.181*** (0.508)	3.403*** (0.771)	3.675*** (0.691)
N		680	554	302	448
Pseudo R ²		0.037	0.048	0.059	0.040

Subgroup analysis results by 5-year birth cohort confirms the consistency in the effect of the parent-adolescent conversations throughout various cohorts.

VI. Discussions

This study provides empirical evidence of the long-term effects of the parent-adolescent conversations on child’s educational outcomes. These findings

suggest implications that the given family background is not a sole decisive factor that decides child's lifetime outcomes. By fostering more frequent conversations with parents, children can achieve the higher outcomes. Also, it is noteworthy that given parents' occupation, frequent parent-adolescent conversations lead to different educational outcomes.

Further, it implies that parent-adolescent conversations may serve as a mechanism to mitigate inequality in terms of the inter-generational social mobility rather than aggravate the intergenerational social mobility. For example the positive effects of having frequent parent-adolescent conversations are observed among those whose parents were unskilled manual workers compared to the skilled manual workers. On the contrary, having more conversations with parents during teenagers was not linked to different educational outcomes among those whose parents were in service sector. As each category of the EGP scale represents qualitatively different social advantage (Jonsson et al. 2009), the unskilled manual workers are placed relatively low level of social advantage. However, if parents in the unskilled manual workers can make up their relative social disadvantage in terms of child's long-term educational outcomes through frequent conversations during teenagers, this could serve as counter-evidence to the notion that 'a rags to riches story' is rare today.

In South Korea, the economic capital and social capital of parents are regarded as a necessary condition and almost a formula for the success of a child's life. Recent social issues surrounding university entrance scandals in Korea has triggered a saying 'having well-off parents is also a qualification' to spread among the 20s and the 30s. The current lowest-low level of fertility in South Korea is not irrelevant with such a pessimistic view that the achievement of children is determined by the economic and social capital of parents. Many young people cite the lack of economic assets or social status to pass on to their children as reasons for delaying or avoiding childbirth. Against this backdrop, the results of this study provide a counter-evidence against such perspective. Given

the parental economic and social resources, children still can benefit from conversations with parents such as emotional support, positive attitudes toward life, values, and more. Highlighting long-term effects of the parent-adolescent conversations, this study demonstrated that given parents' occupational status, different educational outcomes can be resulted.

Taken this, the parent-adolescent conversations is not an individual level but a society level issue. In order that parent-adolescent conversations work as a mechanism to mitigate inequality of the intergenerational transmission of family background rather than perpetuate, it is important to increase awareness of the importance of family communication. In that regard, this study holds significance by providing empirical evidence of the lasting effect of parent-adolescent conversations.

This study is not without limitations. First of all, since the key variables are based on the retrospective answers, measurement error is possible due to the incorrect or distorted memory. For example, if the relationship with parents is bad now, people may interpret earlier relationship with parents badly too. Still, the dataset has an advantage in that the frequency of conversations is measured from the perspective of children, not from parents. The perceived frequency of conversations could differ among parents and children. Even though parents think they have a good conversations with children, it could be regarded differently from the perspective of children. It is more so, considering the characteristics of the puberty when sensitivity is high and pursuit of independence from parents occurs. In this light, regarding the potential concerns that talks on school life with parents are not necessarily pleasant experience from the perspective of children, frequency of conversations reflects the quality of conversations. If the conversations with parents on school life have left negative memories, children may strive to avoid conversations next time, which would link to the frequency of parent-child conversations.

This study focuses on the parent-adolescent conversations from the per-

spective of both social capital and cultural capital. From the social capital aspect, a child can benefit from frequent conversations with parent by attaining emotional support and parental guidance. Also, parents' values or attitudes are inherited through communication with parents. At the same time, the parent-adolescent conversations can be viewed as cultural capital. As one of the child-rearing styles of the concerted cultivation, verbal ability, vocabularies, comfort with authority figures, and familiarity with abstract concepts are transmitted, which is an important component of the cultural capital. However, this study does not include the empirical distinction between these two concepts as social capital and cultural capital aspect are intertwined in terms of the benefits of parent-child conversations. This could be an interesting agenda for future if the method could be designed to distinguish these two concepts.

This study highlights that a good quality of communication and sound relationships within family is not only an individual-level issue but it can be a society-level issue as linked to the social mobility. It also underscores the importance of policy intervention to facilitate communication within family. It confirmed that parent-adolescent conversations may serve as a mechanism to mitigate inequality particularly in households belonging to socially disadvantaged positions. It requires sociological creativity in designing policies to address communication issues. A list of few examples includes development of programs which consists of lecture and counseling with communication experts, fostering self-help group among parents or teenagers, support for low-income groups to participate in such programs, and so on. Hopefully, this study may be the beginning of a discussion on support for communication within families.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The author has no competing interests.

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부모의 능력이 자녀의 스펙?: 청소년 시기 부모와의 대화가 자녀의 학업성취에 미치는 장기적인 효과에 관한 연구

권다운

(KDI 국제정책대학원 인구정책연구실)

"잘난 부모 둔 것도 스펙"이라는 말의 유행은, 한국 사회에서 자녀를 양육하는 데에 있어 부모의 경제력과 사회적 지위가 갖는 막대한 영향력을 보여준다. 하지만 부모의 경제력이나 사회적 지위가 다소 낮더라도 자녀가 학업적으로 높은 성과를 이루거나 혹은 그 반대의 경우라면, 이는 무엇으로 설명할 수 있을까? 본 연구는 청소년 시절 부모와 자녀 간 대화의 빈도에 주목하고, 14세 당시 부모와 대화를 더 자주 나눈 경우 부모의 직종이 유사하더라도 자녀의 교육성과가 다르게 나타나는지를 살펴보았다. 한국노동패널(KLIPS) 응답자 중 1971~1991년생 2005명을 대상으로 장기 추적하여 분석한 결과, 부모와 자녀 간 대화는 가정배경이 교육성과에 미치는 효과를 조절하는 것으로 확인되었다. 또한, 유사한 직종에 종사하는 부모를 두었더라도, 청소년 시절 부모와 자녀 간 대화를 더 자주 나눈 경우 교육성과는 다르게 나타났다. 특히, 14세 당시 부모가 미숙련노동직(unskilled manual worker)에 종사했던 응답자들 중, 부모와 대화를 더 자주 나눈 경우에는 그렇지 않은 경우에 비해 최종학력이 유의미하게 높게 나타나, 부모-자녀 간 대화의 중요성을 시사한다.

주제어: 청소년기 부모-자녀 대화, 학업성취, 세대 간 사회이동성, 경제적 자본, 사회적 자본, 문화적 자본