

The effects of institutional social capital on the job hunt of elite university students

Name: Natascha Dames

Student number: S0724882

MA Asian Studies: East Asian Studies (60 EC)

Supervisor: Dr. E.D. Herber

Date: 15-07-2015

Word count: 1747

Contents

Introduction	3
Part I Theory and research	
1. Theoretical framework	6
2. Literature on networking as a job search behavior	11
Part II The use of resources	
3. Methodology	19
4. Job hunting support	23
5. Job search channels	27
Part III Effects of institutional linkage	
6. University linkage	33
7. Job hunting success	37
Conclusion	45
Bibliography	50

Introduction

The importance of educational credentials for labor market success is a well-established fact in sociology and labor economics (Lee and Brinton 1996, 177). Especially graduation from an elite university is believed to increase the chances of success in the labor market. It is however not known what part of their university linkage leads to success. Are these students more capable, better trained and do they have certain characteristic traits, or is the fact that they belong to a specific institution the determining factor? This has led me to the question: In what way does institutional social capital affect the job hunt of elite university students? This question does not only intend to find out in what way elite students are able to make use of their institutional social capital, but also whether institutional linkage results into an easier recruitment process. Although these are originally two separate questions, they both deserve attention because one part includes voluntary usage, while the other is an automatic consequence one has no control on. Both of these factors are considered part of the effect of institutional social capital and will therefore both be explored in this paper.

An important part of the question includes the concept of social capital. Social capital is a concept as well as a theory that focuses on the strength of social networks, its usability and its influence. It is a concept that is often used to explain social issues and will also be used here. The reason why I chose this theoretical framework is because it focuses on the relationship between two contacts and the results or benefits it produces. Extensive literature has already addressed the relationship between social capital and economic development, social control, status attainment, income and the use of contacts during the job search (Granovetter, 1995; Lin, 2001; Putnam, 1993).

The goal of this paper however, is not to find the general effect of social capital on job hunting, but to find out in what way institutional social capital affects elite university students' job hunt. It is however difficult to define these effects because the involvement of universities

not only varies per university, but also per country. This paper will therefore focus on the hiring practices of a single country, namely Japan. By doing so, we will not only understand how the firms in Japan select their employees, we will also understand the role of universities during the transition from school to work. The institutional involvement of these schools is directly linked to the institutional social capital the students have access to and will thus help find an answer to my research question. Japan as a country is particularly interesting because its universities are deeply involved in the transition process from school to work, which therefore have a greater potential to influence the job hunting outcomes.

Japan's recruitment practices

Another reason for examining the case of Japan is because the country has been dealing with a recession ever since the burst of the bubble economy which resulted in changing hiring practices (Genda 2005, 2). This change in hiring directly influences the current job seekers and the possible reliance of their institutional social capital. As a result of the recession, many companies in Japan reduced the hiring of fresh graduates in order to protect the middle-aged and older workers who are enjoying the promise of lifetime employment (Genda 2005, 2). This means that a substantial group of graduates has been unable to find employment upon graduation and is said to have given rise to other contemporary social issues such as *Freeters*, *Neets*, *Parasite singles* and *Hikikomori* (Genda 2005; Kosugi 2008; Yamada 1999). It is not uncommon for unemployed youths to temporarily struggle with their unemployed status, but in a country where hiring fresh graduates over older graduates is the national preference, it becomes harder and harder to find employment as time passes by (Kondo 2007; Wright and Storey 1994). The employers' preference for fresh graduates is not something typical for the Japanese labor market, but it does increase the pressure on a successful search for a first job (Kondo 2007; Sakai and Higuchi 2005). In the past elite university students undoubtedly had

an advantage over regular students in the search for a first job. The reason for this was that large companies solely accepted applications that included a recommendation from certain elite universities (Brinton and Kariya 1998, 196). After harsh critique large companies changed their recruitment strategy and firms, at least in theory, have become more accessible to students from all universities, but whether this is really true or not remains to be discussed.

This research will therefore contribute to this discussion by providing qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews. This will help gain a better understanding of the possible advantages or disadvantages of university linkage as it compares the job hunting process of both elite universities and that of a more moderate university. To the best of my knowledge, no studies have compared the influence of elite and moderate university students' institutional social capital by making use of personal experiences. The results of my research show that the two types of universities provide similar forms of support and that all students do make use of their institutional capital in some way.

For a better understanding of the research results, this paper will start by first introducing the theoretical framework. In that chapter, two well-known definitions and their related benefits and limitations will be discussed. Thereafter I will discuss some of the most influential literature on social capital in relation to job hunting outcomes. This will show what effects of social capital have already been discovered and helps us understand the complexity of social capital measurement. Finally, I will move on to the analysis of my qualitative study. In the study a total of twenty graduates shared their personal job hunting experiences which allow me to examine the effects of their institutional social capital. The answers provided by my sample were then combined with research data and university provided information taken from their website or through direct e-mail contact with the career center of the university.¹

¹ I only exchanged e-mails with the career center of Nagasaki University. This is because the information on their website was insufficient concerning the alumni-catalogue which the elite university websites did provide. I will return to this topic later in this paper.

Part I Theory and Research

1. Theoretical framework: Social Capital Theory

Classically the general term ‘capital’ is used to express the resources an individual has access to and it has for a long time been subdivided into economic capital and human capital.

Economic capital is the command over cash and assets and is usually in a tangible form. Apart from economic capital, there is also the so-called human capital which includes knowledge and skills that exist in a human being and that are acquired through education and training.²

More recently social capital has been added to the subdivisions as the benefits of social relations have become widely acknowledged. As a result, the power of social relationships is applied in, for example, policy-making as it is a non-economic solution for social problems that can enhance government action. Exactly because the social capital theory attracts so much attention and is applied for various reasons it also requires some discussion. As there has not been a singular definition to explain all issues, this chapter will start with two major definitions of social capital followed by a brief discussion of their usages. A discussion of the definition will show the advantages and limitations of the social capital theory.

Bourdieu

While the use of resources through social relations had been mentioned by several scholars before the 1980’s (Ben-Porath 1980; Brown 1965; Lin, Ensel and Vaughn 1981; Lipset, Bendix and Malm 1954; Loury 1977; Stigler 1962). It had not been clearly defined until Pierre Bourdieu’s *Forms of Capital* in 1986. In his article, social capital is defined as “The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition”

² After the introduction of social capital, human capital is often divided into social capital and cultural capital. Cultural capital still refers to the skills and knowledge of an individual, whereas social capital refers to the social relationships in a network.

(Bourdieu 1986). In other words, social capital is the amount of recourses based on group membership, relations and networks.

Bourdieu's definition is similar to that of other scholars, though his usage to explain social inequality is where it becomes more interesting. Bourdieu believes that social capital is just one of the many ways to maintain class positions and to strengthen inequality. He explains himself by stating that the combination of all three types of capital are used to create favorable life standards, but that economic capital is the root of all other types of capital. All types of capital can be converted to another by following the principle of the conservation of energy, which means that profits in one area are paid for at the costs of another (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu also believes that previously acquired capital can be transferred to other people, but unlike economic capital, which is directly hereditary, social and cultural capital requires time to transfer.

Coleman

At a similar time as Bourdieu wrote his theory, the American James Coleman also wrote about social capital. Both scholars agreed on certain aspects of the definition of social capital, but Coleman felt that the rational economic view on social capital was lacking social context. Coleman argues that components from both the economic and social streams are necessary to create a better understanding of social capital. He therefore proposes a model in which social capital is defined as "a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures and they facilitate certain actions of actors... within the structure" (Coleman 1988, S98). This may seem to be a rather vague definition, but according to Coleman social capital is anything that results in individual or collective action and is executed by individuals, institutions or organizations.

A major limitation of Coleman's definition however is that no clear distinction is made between the possessors of social capital, which are those who are making demands, the sources of social capital, which are those agreeing to the demands, and the resources themselves (Portes 1998, 6). This part causes confusion when using the concept of social capital, but is not an insurmountable problem as Coleman's definition of social capital still introduces the concept in a way that highlights its importance in the attainment of human capital and the ways in which it is generated (Portes 1998, 6).

Functions

Coleman highlights the role of social capital in daily life and argues that social capital fulfills certain functions. Social capital is a sort of tool to share information, create norms, obligations and sanctions and finally is also used to promote or restrict action (Burt 1997; Coleman 1988, 1990; Lin 2001; Putnam 1993). One of the main aspects of Coleman's model is that social relationships create obligations and expectations. For instance, if A does something for B and trusts B to reciprocate in the future, this will establish an expectation in A and an obligation on the part of B. This obligation then becomes a credit slip held by A and can be called in if necessary. In a social environment where obligations are respected, the open credit slips can become useful intangible resources that can be drawn upon. Similar to Bourdieu's idea of capital transmission, these open credit slips can transform into different forms of capital and benefit an actor immediately or on the long run.

Like the fungibility of the different forms of capital, another generally accepted feature of social capital is that social capital of the family and social capital in the community play an important role in the development of cultural capital for the next generation. In most cases the family is the main actor who needs to transfer the family's existing human capital which is mainly done by social interaction. No matter the amount of cultural capital, without social

interaction the acquired knowledge of a parent will not be transferred to the child (Coleman 1988, 110). Of course this is also true for a teacher who educates students in school. Through teaching a teacher transfers his or her knowledge to the students and stimulates them to develop their cultural capital.

Coleman states that in principle social capital is a neutral resource that can be used to produce fruitful or harmful results. Which of these results come to light depend entirely on the actor who uses it.³ As social capital causes social control it can be the source of public goods, but it can also lead to less desirable effects such as mafia, prostitution and gangs (Portes 1998, 18). In short, social capital can strengthen norms and values, but when these values are completely different from the public good, they can also be used for negative purposes and through group pressure be implemented on members' behavior.

The above discussed authors with their definitions of social capital have had great influence on the research and discussions that followed and are often cited in contemporary literature as a way to introduce the social capital theory (e.g. Adler and Kwon 2002; Lee and Brinton 1996; Lin 2001). Although many scholars refer to these two authors and discuss their visions, there has not been a general definition of the term social capital because there still is a lack of consensus between the resources and the possessors. Many authors who make use of the concept therefore make use of their own definition (e.g. Fukuyama 2002; Lin 2001; Putnam 1993, 1995; Portes 1998). Here in this paper, social capital is defined as "The ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures" (Portes 1998, 6). This definition is chosen because it separates the actors from the benefits which will help form a clearer picture of the effects that social capital has on an individual's job hunt.

³ For more literature on the positive or negative results of social capital see (Portes 1998; Putnam 1993; Sandefur and Lauman 1998; Waldinger 1995).

The social capital theory by itself is however still a broad concept that does not help create a better insight in the strength or degree of influence that elite universities have on the job hunting outcomes. Therefore, this paper will make a distinction between ‘personal social capital’ and ‘institutional social capital’. Personal social capital refers to a person’s ties to family, friends and acquaintances who can function as a source of information or as mediator between a job seeker and a possible employer (Brinton 2011, 51). Institutional social capital refers to information and introductions that are brought about by the main institution that a person belongs to at a certain point in life, in this case the university (Brinton 2011, 51). I make this distinction because the goal of this paper is to find out in what way the institutional social capital of elite students helps them find employment. Before one is able to find out what the power of one’s institutional social capital actually is, it is wise to take a look at the empirical literature that focuses on the relation between social capital and the job search process. A review of this literature is beneficial because it helps understand the mechanisms that cause students to find employment more efficiently.

2. Literature on networking as a job search behavior

Ever since Bourdieu's introduction of the social capital theory in 1986, the concept caught the attention of many scholars and became a popular topic of discussion. Most of the influential literature and empirical research are in response to the debate about the usage and effects of social capital (e.g. Brinton 2011; Burt 1992; Fernandez and Weinberg, 1997; Lin 1999, Marsden and Hurlbert, 1988). The reason for discussion is because the social capital theory is often used to serve as an explanation for social issues such as the relationship between social networks and occupational status attainment, the inflation of educational credentials, inequality amongst gender and race, and most closely related to this research, networking and hiring practices (e.g. Kariya 2011; Lin 1999; McDonald, Lin and Ao. 2009; Parks-Yancy 2006). Exactly because so many scholars responded, collaborated and added to each other's research there is now a variety of literature concerning social networks in relation to job hunting outcomes. Here, in this chapter, some of the most important literarily works on networking will be examined and their influence on the development of the social capital theory will be discussed. All the literature that will be discussed here has helped form a clearer image of what social capital exactly is; what the functions of social relations are; how social networks can be used and; what labor market outcomes social contacts can bring about. Although there are many words used to describe social relations, here in this paper, all relations and networks a person has access to directly refer to and are considered a part of one's social capital.

Strength of tie proposition

Even before social capital was introduced as a theory, the importance of relationships and networks were well known and examined (Brown 1965; Lin, Ensel and Vaughn 1981; Lipset, Bendix and Malm 1954; Stigler 1962). A huge boost was given to the literature when in 1973

Granovetter published his groundbreaking article “The strength of weak ties”. In his now classic article he provides a detailed explanation about the linkages or ties between actors and the effects of these ties. In his study first published in 1974 he found that 65 percent of those who obtained their jobs through contacts saw them infrequently. Therefore Granovetter argues that casual friends, weak ties, serve a more important role in providing information and exerting influence than strong ties as they have a more extensive reach. Even in recent literature, Granovetter’s empirical findings in support of the role of weak contacts are widely cited and discussed (Bakshy et al. 2012; Bian and Huang 2015; Burke and Kraut 2013; Franzen and Hargartner 2006). Thus although it might seem as if close friendship brings about more benefits, this does not necessarily have to be the case when it comes to an information depend action such as job hunting. In job hunting the quality, as well as the quantity of social ties are determining factors. Automatically a larger network means more exposure to valuable information and referrals, but if the same information keeps going around in the group it will not help to create new opportunities. Therefore a large and diverse network is the best guarantee of being connected with a person who passes on useful information.

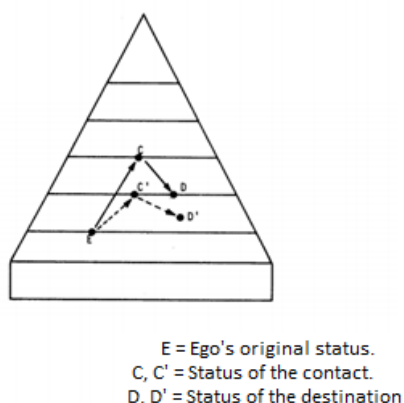
This large and diverse network can be created by being directly involved in several social groups, but someone can also get connected with the help of a mediating person who can form a bridge or link that passes on information. The bridge between the two groups is what Burt (1992) calls structural holes. These bridging structural holes however are not so much about the strength of relations, but rather the position of the mediating agent and the role he fulfills. This is because even though weak ties can provide access to varied information, there is no actual reason why a weak tie actor should share this information. The agent is an entrepreneur of the information and is also in control of the information flow, so the closer individuals are to a bridge in a network, the better the social capital they access and the better the information they receive (Lin 2001, 71).

Strength of position proposition

Another factor that is believed to influence labor market outcomes such as occupational status and wage is not the strength of the tie, but rather the hierarchical position of the contact.

Analysis of a social contact's status on employment outcomes show that the higher the status of the contact is, the more information the contact possesses and the more influence the contact can exert on behalf of the job seeker (Bian and Ang 1997; De Graaf and Flap 1988; Lin 1999; Marsden and Hurlbert 1988; Volker and Flap 1999; Wegener 1991). This will result in better help from the contact, but it does not result in the same occupational status as that of the contact himself. As can be seen in figure 2.1 a person needs to make use of a contact at higher levels of the hierarchy as the destination will most likely be lower than the status of the used contact (Lin, Ensel and Vaughn 1981, 396).

Figure 2.1 The use of Social Resources in a Hierarchical Social Structure



Source: Lin, Ensel and Vaughn 1981, 396

Even though weak ties lead to better social resources, the value of these weak ties depend on the job seeker's original status. Weak ties seem to provide a constant benefit regardless of the initial status as they tend to lead to high status contacts (Bian 1997, 381). Strong ties however, provide little benefit when the original status is low because of homogeneity. On the other hand when the original position is closer to the apex of the hierarchy, strong ties prove to

become more important as they are already close to the top and already similar to the high status contact (Lin, Ensel and Vaughn 1981, 399).

The analysis until this far has not been able to prove that the effect of weak ties decreases when one's status rises, it has only showed that strong ties become more helpful when the contact is higher in the hierarchical structure. Therefore it comes as no surprise that those in lower positions in the labor market, such as low-skilled workers, are motivated to make use of their weak-tie connections to climb the hierarchical ladder (Dustmann, Glitz and Schönberg 2011; Ioannidis and Loury 2004; Marsden and Hurlbert 1988; Wahba and Zenou 2005).

Even though individuals can make use of their social capital and have good qualifications, they are not only completely dependent on the firm's hiring practices. Their hiring success is also influenced by the composition of employees that are already working for the firm (McDonald, Lin and Ao 2009, 388). When two candidates with equal qualifications apply for a job, then the gendered and racialized character of the job and the continuing need for homogeneity may deny access to the candidate who is most different from the group.

Because this an interesting hiring practice that requires attention there has been done more research on the influence of race, gender and inequality in relation to job hunting (e.g. Belliveau 2005; McDonald, Lin and Ao 2009; Parks-Yancy 2006; Son and Lin 2012). I will however not discuss this here any further, but instead continue with the most influential party in the whole hiring process, namely the employer.

The demand side of the labor market

While there is a rich literature focusing on the supply side of the labor market, only more recently scholars have started to focus on the demand side and the social networks that

employers make use of (e.g. Burt 1997; Fernandez and Weinberg 1997; Pellizzari 2004, 2010). Since time and resources for recruiting are valuable, it is no surprise that employers too like to make use of their company's social capital in order to reduce screening costs. In line with the idea of contacts often being similar to each other it is expected that candidates who are employee referrals often are better suited for the job.

According to Fernandez, Castilla and Moore (2000) firms are expecting returns from referrals in different ways. Referrals provide a richer pool of candidates, facilitate a better match, help the new employee to make a smoother transition and referrals are less likely to quit. The composition of the pool is enriched in the sense that referrals only introduce job candidates that display appropriate job qualifications because their own reputation is at stake. (Fernandez, Castilla and Moore 2000; Fernandez and Weinberg 1997; Franzen and Hangartner 2006; Pellizzari 2010). One of the reasons why referrals can help find qualified candidates is because they are usually well informed about the qualifications and education of a worker (Franzen and Hangartner 2006, 356). The referral in this case serves as a filter that reduces screening costs and increases the chance of a good match (Brown, Setren and Topa 2012; Franzen and Hangartner 2006; Galenianos 2013; Simon and Warner 1992). At the highest levels of management social capital even seems to be more important than cultural capital. When for example an ICT company is searching for a CEO, they will search for experienced managers with great social skills rather than computer expertise (Lin 2001, 96). Another benefit of using contacts for hiring is that when a new employee is hired, the contact most likely will help the new employee get accustomed to the new job and monitor them, which make them more productive (Pellizzari 2010, 3). Finally job seekers who used informal contacts are less likely to quit, therefore reducing recruitment costs (Brown, Setren and Topa 2012; Dustmann, Glitz and Schönberg 2011).

In short companies derive benefits from hiring employee referrals as they are often similar to the employees, pre-screened by the referrer, more productive and less likely to leave the company. This way of hiring reduces recruitment costs while maintaining the quality of a job match. Job seekers obviously also benefit from this hiring practice because they are able to find employment. Until thus far empirical research has proved that having a large diverse network increases the chances of finding employment, but what other effects does the use of social capital have on employment outcomes?

Network influence on wage

Many scholars believe that the use of social contacts to find employment contribute in the job search. There is however, still much discussion about the exact effects of informal contacts usage. Especially the influence of informal contacts on wage has created varied empirical results. A raise of wage was discovered for workers who found their job with the help of informal contacts (Bayer, Ross and Topa 2008; Brown, Setren and Topa 2011; Marmaros and Sacerdote 2002). It is argued that the effect of contacts on wage is most notable right after entering the firm, but that the effect declines with tenure (Brown, Setren and Topa 2012; Dustman, Glitz and Schönberg 2011; Galenianos 2013). On the other hand many scholars, who also conducted research about the effects of social networks on labor market outcomes, concluded that the network has a negative effect on income (Chua 2011; De Graaf and Flap 1988; Flap and Boxman 2001; Franzen and Hangartner 2006) This negative effect on wage is most notable in industries where companies invest greatly in formal recruitment activities (Pellizzari 2004, 2010). When deciding their investment in recruitment, firms compare the costs of intensive screening with the benefits of more accurately selected workers. Firms are more likely to undertake formal recruiting investments for high productivity jobs and positions such as management positions that require training and where the costs of turnover

are substantial (Pellizzarri 2010, 24). Furthermore it has been argued that men who used informal sources to exert influence tend to enter smaller sized firms (Granovetter 1995; Marsden and Hurlbert 1988). This is because not only the hiring process is cheaper, but also because the lower bureaucratization of small firms make them also more receptive to recommendations (Marsden and Hurlbert 1988, 1050).

While there has not been any conclusive data about the usage of informal contacts on wages, there is reason to believe that individuals who have been referred by a weak tie are expecting a higher wage which raises their reservation wage (Montgomery 1992, 589). The reservation wage is the lowest acceptable wage in a new job and usually any wage higher than the reservation wage will therefore result in acceptance of the offered job. In general, information flows through individuals and networks and individuals who have a large network will be able to get access to more information. Of course the quality of the information depends on the composition of the network. When assuming that bigger networks lead to more and better information about job opportunities. Then job seekers who have a large network will also have a higher reservation wage and a higher realized wage (Montgomery 1992, 588). Montgomery however argues that the use of ties does not result in higher wages, but instead in lower wages. Because job seeking is a time consuming and costly action, the faster a job has been found, the better. Obviously the higher the reservation wage, the longer one needs to continue searching before finding a job that matches the reservation wage. The reservation wage is therefore directly influenced by the number of job offers an individual receives and may decline over time. Montgomery adds that although wage is often used to measure someone's success, it is useless when trying to assess the effect of good connections in the job search, especially when an individual makes use of both formal and informal methods. Instead of looking at wage and contact usage, one must look at the structure and composition of the network and its labor market outcomes (Montgomery 1992, 593).

In the literature there is a consensus that social network contacts can be useful for finding employment, but in what ways exactly networks effect job hunting opportunities is still unclear. The literature discussed here has helped form a clearer picture of what social capital is and what factors are important. We now know that network composition, density, tie strength and bridges, all seems to influence the outcomes of social contact usage on job hunting. Still lacking however is the research on the impact of each of these factors and the exact relevance to labor market outcomes. Social capital is a concept that is not easy to measure, not even when using the various techniques the scholars, discussed in this chapter, have used. One of the reasons for varied labor market outcomes, as stated before, is that the results of using social capital depend on the size of the firm and investment in recruitment practices. Another reason explaining the difference in social capital usage may lay in the nationally structured hiring system of fresh graduates. In the next chapter I will discuss the Japanese hiring system of fresh graduates and show in what type of society Japanese elite university students are applying their social capital.

Part II The use of resources

3. Methodology

An effective way to study the effects of elite students' institutional social capital is to compare their job hunt with that of students of non-elite universities. In this chapter I will only focus on the job hunting methods the students have made use of and leave out the discussion on the influence of cultural capital and personal productivity.⁴ This way it becomes clear whether or not elite students make more profit out of their institutional social capital. After examining the methods students have made use of, I will move on to examine the job hunting outcomes of the students and search for possible explanations in relation to their institutional social capital. If their job hunting success is the result of their membership of a certain university, then this factor should not be ignored. For this study I used semi-structured interviews which were then combined with research data and university provided information taken from their websites or through direct e-mail contact with a university's career center. A combination of this data shows what help was provided by the university and thus what resources the students had access to. It will also explain more about the membership of a university, the social relation itself, and the possible success that comes from their membership.

Research method

For this study a total of twenty graduates agreed to participate. Out of this group, exactly ten graduated from Japanese elite universities such as Keio University (8), Waseda University (1) and Tokyo University (1). The other group of ten students graduated from a more moderate university, namely Nagasaki University.⁵ The choice to interview graduates from these schools was based on the Truly Strong University Ranking released by Toyo Keizai in 2014.

⁴ For a discussion on the effect of education on labor market outcomes see (Blundell, Dearden and Sianesi 2005; Hanushek, Woessmann and Zhang 2011; Oreopoulos and Salvanes 2011; Riddell and Song 2011).

⁵ Nagasaki University is one of the 86 national universities (Mext 2015).

Toyo Keizai is a book and magazine publisher that specializes in Japanese politics and economics. Apart from their weekly magazines they also release a yearly university ranking list (Toyo Keizai 2014a, 2015a). The three elite universities of my sample are in the top ten of this ranking and are considered elite universities. This ranking is unique because it ranks universities on multidimensional indicators related to financial strength, education and research quality and graduate prospects where most other ranking systems evaluate the university's strength by ranking the entrance difficulty. While the entrance difficulty ranking does say something about the ability of the students themselves, it does not make universities elite universities if their students are unsuccessful in their further career. The group of participants consists of both genders in equal numbers for both the elite and moderate university sample, thus five men and five women for both categories. This selection was purposely made in order to refrain from any gendered discussion, as this is not the goal of this study. The sample further consists primarily of respondents who obtained a bachelor degree from social sciences without any specialized technical skills. An exception was made for two elite university students who both studied in the department of science and engineering, but were both employed in completely different fields such as sales and consulting. Of the participants all were aged between 22 and 26 years old and had graduated no more than three years ago at the time they were interviewed. Finally all participants are employed as regular employees with the prospects of promotion.

In order to find out how and why graduates made their decision I used semi-structured interviews so their stories could emerge freely and participants were free to elaborate on what they viewed as significant to their decision making. All interviews followed a predetermined list of questions, but occasionally their order was changed or questions were added to create a complete story. The interviews were conducted with the help of Skype as the interviewer and participants were unable to meet in person. All participants were interviewed once, which on

average took between 25 and 30 minutes. After the interviews were finished certain patterns were discovered which gave rise to more questions which then were asked using an online chat program. All interviews were recorded and thereafter transcribed. The transcripts were then examined and the main categories identified and coded for easier analysis. For a better understanding of the institutional involvement and effect of its linkage, the students were asked various questions about four major topics:

Job hunting support:

When trying to explain the employment rate of universities, it is important to understand how much support and guidance universities offer their students to make a smooth transfer from school to work. The guidance can be offered in various forms such as the availability of a university's career center, lectures and workshops, or a teacher providing advice for confused students. Apart from the guidance offered by their institution, students may also have used their personal social capital.

Job search channels:

Information about job opportunities can be gained through various search methods such as job fairs, seniors, friends and other methods such as newspaper advertisements and the internet. In order to find out how and if the institutional social capital benefitted the students in their search, the respondents were asked to explain what kind of job search methods they had used.

University linkage:

Being a member of a group can have many different effects, but in this study the goal is to find out in what way belonging to a university affects the job hunting process. The most direct approach is to therefore ask the respondents whether they felt that attendance at their university affected their job hunting process in any way. This personal interpretation of their university linkage helps understand the various effects of their institutional social capital.

Job hunting success:

A successful job hunt of course ends with the promise of employment, or *naitei*, but before students can actually get a *naitei* they will have to fill out application forms and undertake a series of interviews and tests. The number of applications, interviews and following *naitei* can give insight in the employment success rate of the students. By then comparing the success rate of elite university students and Nagasaki University students we can estimate their job hunting strength. Is their strength determined by membership of a certain university or are more personal reasons an explanation for success?

Although there are several methods to measure the success of students, my respondents were not good candidates to actually measure employment satisfaction and status attainment.⁶ This is because my sample consists of respondents who have graduated no more than three years ago. Throughout their career incomes will start to vary, but for the entrance position no meaningful variables for income were found. The qualitative data collected through the semi-structured interviews allow us to gain a better insight in the personal experience of graduating job seekers. Although the number of interviewees is too low to make any general claims concerning the use of institutional social capital during a job hunt, it does show us that there are more complex factors influencing the whole job hunting process.

⁶ Research about the relation between social capital and status attainment can be found in (Lin 1999; Lin, Ensel and Vaughn 1981; Son and Lin 2012; Volker and Flap 1999; Wegener 1991).

4. Job hunting support

In this chapter the institutional social capital that students have access to will be examined. This will be done by looking at the resources, in this case the available support and services, provided by the university. These resources heavily influence the job opportunities an individual hears about and will help increase the chances of a successful job match.

Career center

In order for students to learn the ins and outs of job hunting, they might need some advice on certain topics. Student need to learn the regulated schedule, the application procedures and the job hunting manners that are basic knowledge for job seekers. This information can easily be found in the university's career center as it is the designated place that gathers all the information related to job hunting. At the career center, students can ask for career advice, receive help on writing the application forms, practice for interviews and hear all the news about upcoming career events (Nagasaki University 2015b; Keio University 2015b; Tokyo University 2015b; Waseda University 2015b). While all sample universities do have a career center, not all students feel the need to visit the center. Interestingly, only the students from Nagasaki University were positive about the usage of the career center. "I went to the career center to collect information, learn about job hunting strategies and practice for job interviews. I wanted to practice and ask for advice, yes, that is why I went to the career center" (Aoki, 26, male, Nagasaki University). Although many of the Nagasaki University students visited the career center, nine out of ten elite university students answered that they simply did not go to the career center. One student further explained "I am a student from the department of science and engineering and most of my seniors continue to study after their bachelor. For 4th year students like me they have almost no information available at the career center, so I did not really make use of it" (Yamamoto, 25, female, Keio University). From the answers

provided by my sample, it seems that students of elite universities are less likely to visit the career center for support than their counterparts at Nagasaki University. A detailed explanation for their choice was however not provided by most students, but would be good to explore in further research.

Especially for students who are looking for specific information like Yamamoto, the elite universities of my sample allow access to their electronic catalogue where students can look up seniors themselves (Keio University, 2015d; Tokyo University 2015d; Waseda University 2015d). This service can be accessed through the career center and this was actually the only reason why the single elite student went to visit the center.⁷ In the Keio University's catalogue for example, students can look up personal details and contact information of about 6000 graduates. There is also a search option that allows the student to search the 1800 different companies where graduates are currently working for (Keio University 2015c). This way the students can freely contact seniors and arrange a personal meeting where they are free to ask questions at will. Interestingly this type of catalogue to look up seniors is not available at the career center of Nagasaki University. The reason why Nagasaki University does not have this type of catalogue is because it does not want spread personal information about their alumni (Hashiguchi, email to author, July 6, 2015). The elite universities too are aware that they are spreading personal information, but continue their service. Waseda University for example mentions on their website that they receive their list of names from companies that favor their university. They therefore warn the students who make use of the list to behave well and not to damage the precious relationship between the company and the university (Waseda University 2015d). Even though the catalogue-service is offered it seems that many elite university students got in touch with an alumnus through a different way, I will return to this topic later in this chapter.

⁷ Waseda University however also allows online access from other computers than those placed in the career center (Waseda University 2015e).

Job hunting seminars

Another reason for students not to go to the career center is because they had already gathered useful information from another source. One of these sources for instance are lectures organized by the university. All universities from my sample offered general lectures that focus on job hunting manners, application methods, job interview training, group discussion practice and other necessary preparations (Keio University 2014; Nagasaki University 2015c; Tokyo University 2015c; Waseda University 2015c). Nagasaki University also did the effort to create department-specific seminars on the university grounds where alumni could come to explain about their job hunting experiences and give advice (Hashiguchi, email to author, July 7, 2015). “I did not go to the career center, but when a senior who is already working, came to school I went to listen to his lecture. There was also a day were 4th year students, who already received a letter of acceptance, were explaining about their job hunt” (Oka, 25, female, Nagasaki University).

The participation at job hunting seminars is extremely high at the University of Nagasaki. Nine respondents answered that they had followed one or more courses arranged by their university. This is in contrast with the responses of the elite university graduates who mostly did not follow any courses. Although not all participants responded to this follow-up question, five elite students clearly stated that they did not go to any seminar and only two students participated once.⁸ Again Yamamoto argues that her major was the reason for not participating. “I was in the department of a science and engineering so my seniors would not even be there. I was a rather rare case so nobody had the same pattern as me. It would not be useful to me anyway and besides, I was busy with my club activities and classes so I decided not to go” (Yamamoto, 25, female, Keio University).

⁸ This follow-up question was asked through an online chat program which resulted in seven responses.

In short, both the moderate and elite universities offer their students various forms of support. The first type of support that is provided by all universities is the career center's services. The career center is the designated place where students can go to and ask for guidance. This guidance however requires the students to take an active approach towards support and take the first step themselves. At the career centers of the elite universities the special service of an alumni-catalogue is set up which allows students to contact alumni and to set up a meeting. Although Yamamoto did not make use of this specific service, it might have been useful if she contacted one of her seniors who, just like her, followed a different career path. Nagasaki University on the other hand does not provide this service because it wishes to protect personal information.

The second form of support is provided in the form of lectures on job hunting. These lectures are however not compulsory and it seems that many students of elite universities use other methods to gain the basic information they need. Students of Nagasaki University however make a lot of use of the services provided by the career center. Part of this reason may be because the university not only offers general lectures, but also informative lectures aimed at every single department. This type of lectures is however not offered by the elite universities of my sample. From the answers provided here, it seems that the quality of the service provided by the career center plays an important role, as well as the major of the student. If the service is not matched to the personal needs of the students they are of course less likely to make use of the service. Also the personal attitude towards job hunting has a great influence on the usage of the institutional social capital that is provided.

5. Job search channels

Job fairs and company presentations

One of the most easy ways to gain information about a certain firm, job or field of work is by attending company presentations. For still orientating students the participation in a job fair may be most beneficial because many different companies will gather there. At these job fairs companies are able to present themselves to the students in a presentation wherein they will talk about the company's history, main policy, future and hiring plans (Rikunabi 2015a).

Depending on the size of the crowd, there will also be a question and answering moment where students actively need to participate in. Because the recruiters at these presentations will return later in the hiring process it is important for the students to leave a good impression (Rikunabi 2015a). This means that students need to stay focused during the whole session which can be stressful and tiring as they might need to attend several presentations a day without much of a break (Waseda University 2015a).

Throughout the year there are several opportunities to attend a job fair. Some job fairs are organized by job hunting websites such as Mynabi or Rikunabi, but universities also take on the role of organizer.⁹ The four universities of my sample organized company presentations and job fairs on campus themselves. All ten of the Nagasaki University graduates have participated in one or more job fairs or company presentations organized by their own university, whereas only five students of the elite universities did the same. The single Tokyo University student of the sample, answered that he did not go to job fairs of the university because "There were no job fairs held by the university, at least not that I know of" (Hashimoto, 26, male, Tokyo University). A possible explanation for this unawareness might

⁹ Mynabi and Rikunabi are informative websites where job hunters can browse through information on how to do job hunting, find when and where job fairs are held and are offered seminars. The websites also keeps track of all the research data in relation to job hunting and are used as a tool to apply to companies (Rikunabi 2015b; Mynabi 2015a).

be that there was not enough promotion of the event, although of course the student himself might be to blame, because these events are promoted on the website of the university and within the career center.

Job fair and company presentation organization

The way in which the job fairs are organized varies extremely per university. Nagasaki University for example was able to gather an impressive number of 210 companies at their 3-day job fair (Nagasaki University 2015a). Although this is a great number that allows students to wander at many different company stands, it does make it hard to filter what company would be a good match for them. As mentioned before, company presentations are quite intensive and require a well-planned schedule or else there will not be enough time to visit most stands at the job fair. So, even though the university did a great job of gathering that many companies, most students would only be able to visit 15 to 25 companies during the entire event. In the same month all of my sample universities organized job fairs, but the biggest was organized by Waseda University (Nagasaki University 2015a; Keio University 2015a; Tokyo University 2015a; Waseda University 2015a). Waseda's job fair was a 12-day long event that gathered more than 500 different companies (Waseda University 2015a). With 5 presentation rounds every day, students were able to visit a total of 60 company presentations during the whole event. Waseda students' institutional social capital allows them to orientate themselves and become familiar with a much larger number of companies. The flow of information set in motion by these job fairs can possibly be the key to a successful match between graduate and employer.

From the answers given by my sample both Keio University and Nagasaki University do not only organize job fairs, they also creates the opportunity for a single company to come to the university and give a presentation wherein they can inform the students about their

business.¹⁰ “I went to several company presentations, but I did not go to all of them. Hmm, maybe I went to 5 or 6. I went to 4 individual company presentations and 2 times I went to a job fair where about 20 companies participated. There were many interesting companies. Due to the presentations, I think I applied to 5 or 6 companies” (Hirakawa, 23, male, Nagasaki University). Due to clear promotion of company presentations many students were able to participate and gain more information. As a result, 7 out of the 10 Nagasaki University graduates replied that the company presentations and job fairs organized by their home university were useful. As a result of visiting the job fairs several students applied to the visiting companies. This way Nagasaki University encourages its students to make use of the institute’s social capital, which in this case are the resources provided, and improve the chances of success. For the elite university graduates the usefulness seems to be valued less. Only 5 students participated in such events and only 3 of them believed it was beneficial and were glad they took part in the presentations. It could be that these students rather liked to make use of different sources to gain information, sources such as for example, informal contacts.

Alumni and other informal contacts

That the help of informal contacts is highly valued becomes even more evident when listening to the stories shared by my sample. Some students explained that they were able to meet with a senior or got introduced to someone who worked at a company and was willing to give them more detailed information about that company. Most students really wanted to hear an actual worker speak about his or her job and company. “When hearing the company presentations all companies seem interesting. I listened to ten presentations and thought that all of the

¹⁰ Information about single company presentations was only accessible through the Website of Nagasaki University (Nagasaki University 2015c). The other universities of my sample did not mention other events than job fairs and job hunting seminars on their websites. Several respondents of my sample however mentioned that they participated in a single company presentation at Keio University.

companies were good... At the presentation recruiters will only tell you the good things, but a senior will not only tell you the positive, he will also tell you the negative” (Noguchi, 23, male, Nagasaki University). This kind of informative meetings with seniors can therefore be very useful and help students decide what company to apply for and what companies they can better avoid. “The seniors who are now working explained many things about the company which was very helpful. When you are a student you have a certain image of what the company and the job will be like, but it can turn out to be completely different in real life” (Yamanaka, 25, female, Keio University). It seems that amongst the various job search channels, students are also heavily relying on their informal contacts. These informal contacts mostly consist of seniors and alumni who they were able to meet by making use of their own social network created within the group instead of the alumni-catalogue.

From the answers provided by my sample it seems that the students were able to get in touch with their seniors through various ways. Some seniors were found in the same faculty, others were found through club membership or seminars. The reliance on these contacts may be heavier than that on the service provided by their university. One elite student rather met with a senior than participating in company presentations and job fairs organized on campus. “I had already agreed to consult with one of my seminar seniors... Usually the job fairs and company presentations were planned in the afternoon, but the meetings with my senior were also in the afternoon, so they overlapped. I did not have time to go to the presentations” (Hagio, 26, female, Keio University). Other elite students too made use of informal contacts, seven of the elite students responded that they believed these contacts were useful and that they had received an introduction through a senior. “My seniors are working for pretty good companies, so if I could get an introduction through them, I was able to meet with pretty high ranking employees” (Hashimoto, 26, male, Tokyo University). Three graduates of Nagasaki University were also glad to have received introductions from informal contacts. These

students not only made use of their seniors but also their teachers and friends from the university.

It is however interesting that whereas in the past teachers were very involved in writing recommendations and mediating in the school to work transition, now only one respondent experienced direct involvement of her teacher (Brinton and Kariya, 1998; Brinton 2011). “My professor recommended me to companies where his former students are currently working. Another teacher who was close to a certain company was told that ‘The company is currently recruiting and is looking for fresh graduates’ so in total I got recommended to more than ten companies” (Oka, 25, female, Nagasaki University). Although the recommendations of the teachers may have been useful and allowed her further in the recruitment process, they did not result into employment. An exact reason for this mismatch was however not given.

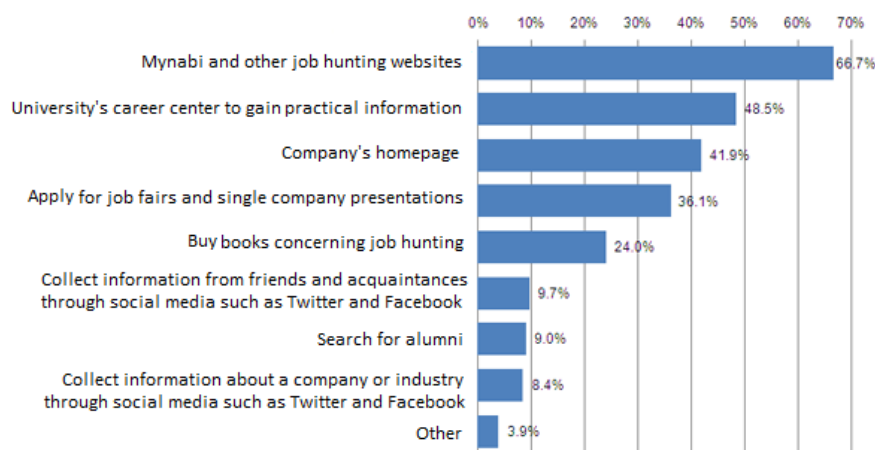
It thus seems that the informal contacts play an important role in the job hunt as they are viewed as a more neutral source of information. The help of these contacts allowed some of the students to meet with higher ranking employees and thus served an important mediating role between employer and student. The most important role that these contacts fulfill is however, not to directly refer them to a company, but rather to provide information. The career centers, job fairs and informal contacts my sample have made use of up until this point, are the social resources the students had access to only because they are members of a specific group. The next resource however is accessible to all job seeking students.

Using the internet as a job search channel

Another source that all students of my sample used and that heavily influenced the information flow and job hunting procedure from beginning to end is the always available internet. Whereas in the past information was directly passed on from one person to the other and was not available for just anyone, the internet has become a globally accessible source of

information about almost any topic and thus also about job hunting in Japan. The recent reliance on the internet has also been documented in the studies done by the government's general affairs. Whereas in 2001, 72 percent of the university and college students used job hunting magazines as a source of information, this percentage dropped to 60.5 percent in 2010 (General affairs 2011). The Mobile Marketing Data Labo also performed a survey in 2013 and asked almost 500 recent graduates how they had gathered their job hunting information (Senou 2013). According to their survey the biggest information sources are job hunting websites such as Mynabi and Rikunabi.

Figure 5.1 Online job hunting activities



Source: Senou 2013

Note: This figure was translated by the author

My sample too made great use of the internet and when asking for what purpose they had used the internet, everybody answered that it was in order to gain more information. Registering at Mynabi or Rikunabi, searching for interesting companies, checking out a company's homepage and doing online applications, it is the everyday business of a job hunter. My respondents replied in the same way as the survey and show that there are more sources to gain information from than just from the institutional or personal network. Now that the resources of the students are clear, the discussion will move on to the other factors that have influenced the job hunting outcomes of my sample.

Part III Effects of institutional linkage

In this chapter the effects of university linkage on job hunting outcomes will be introduced first. Then, the job hunting success of both the elite universities and Nagasaki University will be measured and discussed. Finally two other factors, namely internship opportunities and location of the company in relation to job hunting outcomes will be examined.

6. University linkage

Up until this point several important factors in relation to job hunting have been discussed, but the real effect of a university's name has yet to be completely studied. With this in mind the respondents were asked whether they felt any effect of their university's name while they were busy doing job hunting activities. This same question was also asked to 1000 men and women who started working in the period from 1970 to 2010. The results show that 59.7 percent of the respondents felt a considerable effect of their university's origin and that 35 percent of the people responded that they felt a little influence (President online 2012). This means that a total of about 95 percent did indeed feel influence of their university's name while searching for employment (President online 2012). My sample too responded in a similar way and felt the effect of their institutional social capital. Although not all students felt that their university's name influenced their job hunt, many students did feel that their institutional linkage had several consequences. The students of both the elite and moderate universities provided answers that show there are several notable ways in which they experience the effects of their university's name or linkage.

The first effect brought up by my respondents is that there are many seniors working in big and famous companies who could serve as a source of information. As discussed in the previous chapter, the access and flow of information is one of the major benefits of social capital and has proven very useful to my sample too. Due to the linkage with their university,

students were able to contact their seniors and ask them for advice, help and information about specific companies. This precious information then allowed them to make decisions by themselves and find out if they were a good match with the company in question or not. This access to support and information provided by their institutional linkage can however also have a negative effect. “They all believe that the support we receive from the university is really big, but that makes it feel as if we students do not make any effort ourselves. I did receive introductions, went to company presentations and gained a lot of information with the help of the university, but in the end I did it all by myself” (Ishizaka, 23, female, Nagasaki University).

The second effect felt by the students was that “Once the recruiter found out that I came from Nagasaki University the interview went off topic. Further I noticed that because Nagasaki University is a national university, students from private universities were asked a little different, a little more difficult questions during the group interview (Ishizaka, 23, female, Nagasaki University). The overlapping origin of the recruiter and the student allow for a more relaxed job interview. A similar effect concerning the university’s name was also experienced by an elite student “When during the interview the recruiter found out that I also came from Keio, the recruiter became really friendly and we talked about many different topics” (Yamamoto, 25, female, Keio University). It appears that the linkage to the same university causes those involved to feel connected which increases their feelings of trust (Rosenbaum and Kariya 1989, 1336). By belonging to the same group both parties can assume that the other will share similar values and ideas (Rosenbaum and Kariya 1989, 1336). With this understanding the student will not have to explain every single detail and prove himself in the same way as students from other universities may have to.

Another effect of university linkage, one that was mostly felt by students of Nagasaki University, was their locality. When applying for a job in Kyushu, Nagasaki University is one

of the nine national universities and has a good reputation locally (Mext 2015). Locality increases the likelihood of a recruiter who comes from the same university which might result in a more relaxing job interview. On the other hand the locality of Nagasaki University was experienced as negative when applying for a job in bigger cities such as Tokyo and Kyoto. “There are of course companies that think well of Nagasaki University, but the opposite is also true. Nagasaki University is really local so when I was searching for a job in Tokyo and I said ‘I am from Nagasaki’ I got laughed at” (Hirakawa, 23, male, Nagasaki University). A possible explanation could be that companies in Tokyo have fewer employees who graduated from Nagasaki University and therefore are less likely to have a connection with the recruiter. This argument can be strengthened by looking at the total number of graduates from the universities of my sample. As can be seen in the ranking figure 7.1 on page 42, Nagasaki University has the lowest number of graduates in my sample. Fewer alumni mean less chance of linkage.

The last effect, which was only felt by elite university students, was that application forms for company entrance were easily accepted. “In Japan the university’s name with its name value is believed to be extremely important. So when handing in my application form they easily accept it. If I was not from Keio University then I probably would not have made it to that many job interviews, I am glad I am from Keio” (Hayashi, 24, female, Keio University). Another student added that “It sometimes felt as if applications were filtered based on the university ranking list. Although I was never directly told this by the recruiters, I could feel that the university’s name had a great influence” (Kakiuchi, 22, male, Waseda University). The sheer mentioning of the university’s name might have felt as a notable effect, but it was never officially recognized as a sieving tool. One can however imagine that when a company receives over 30.000 applications, that they have to sort and screen the applicants. That filtering of students by their university’s name is done by companies is not denied by the

before mentioned job hunting website Mynabi (Mynabi 2015b). Although the elite universities are in the top 10 of the university ranking, there is still heavy competition between the elites. “I felt a negative effect by my university’s name because I only applied to elite companies, but they would only hire Tokyo University students. I only aimed for these elite companies so coming from Keio was pretty though” (Murayama, 25, male, Keio University). Elite companies are maybe difficult to enter, even for students coming from an elite university, but moderate companies too are not so easy to get in. “In my company there are quite a lot of high school graduates, so they looked at me as if they were asking if someone from Keio would join their company. They were looking at me kind of coldly so I really wondered how I could appeal to them and show them that I wanted to join. I think I suffered more than students from a lower level of schooling” (Hagio, 26, female, Keio University).

What becomes clear from the answers given by my sample, is that students of Nagasaki University were less positive about the university’s linkage as they were often perceived as average students who had to use different methods to appeal to the recruiters. The most positive effect of their university’s linkage is the possible help from seniors who served the role of informative source or friendlier recruiter. This effect was also brought up by the students of the elite universities. Therefore, originating from the same group as the recruiter allows students to connect more easily with their company of interest.

7. Job hunting success

Applying for a company

Although all the contacts that the students have used throughout their job hunt have benefitted them in some way, the real hiring process requires more than some help and introductions from social contacts. Students need to apply to their companies of choice by filling out the application forms. According to a survey held by Rikunabi students send out an average of 27.1 applications in 2012 and only about 10 percent of the job seekers applied to more than 50 companies (Rikunabi 2012). The responses of my sample support these findings in the sense that only 2 of the 20 students applied to more than 50 companies. The average number of applications in my sample, with 35.8 applications, is however higher than the national average of 2012. This is not so strange as my sample mainly consists of students who study social sciences. Rikunabi was also able to discover a big difference between the number of applications by those who studied social sciences and those who majored in the field of science. On average, those who studied social sciences applied to 31.4 different companies in 2012, while those who studied science send out an average of 19.4 application forms. Social science graduates thus send out almost 1.5 times as much applications. This might be explained by the idea that those who major in the field of science have specialized skills and might be valued as more productive in the current society wherein, for example, developing fields such as engineering require high schooled employees. Note however that my sample purely consists of undergraduates, while the survey of Rikunabi also included results of graduate students.

When looking at the number of entry forms the students have filled out, it becomes clear that a striking number of the elite students has sent less than 20 application forms. Of the elite students 4 were able to find employment in less than 20 tries, whereas all students of the more moderate Nagasaki University had to try a little harder and applied to more than 20

companies. One of the elite students from my sample applied to 30 companies and explained that “There were probably only 5 companies that I was really interested in, the other 25 applications I did, were more meant as practice” (Mikuni, 25, Male, Keio University). Surely it is possible to train and prepare for job interviews with the support given by one’s own social circle, but it still not the same as when real recruiters are grilling someone. Practicing real applications and interviews may increase the likelihood of getting hired by one of the favored companies.

The promise to hire

Despite the competition, my sample of graduates have all been able to find employment. They did so by passing the first screening of the application forms and were then asked to come for an interview or test. On average, all the students were invited to job interviews to 17.9 different companies. This average is a little higher than the national average which was 15.5 companies in 2012 (Rikunabi 2012). As a result of their hard work and perseverance my sample of graduates has been able to receive a so-called *naitei* which is the promise to hire. On average they were able to receive 2.3 *naitei*. This is a high average compared with the Rikunabi research results of 2012 where the average was 1.72 companies and only a quarter of the students was able to receive 2 *naitei*. This higher average of *naitei* may be explained by the high number of *naitei* received by 2 of the elite university students. These 2 students were able to obtain more than 5 letters of acceptance. In the national survey only 3.8 percent of the students managed to receive more than 5 *naitei*, while my interviews show that 10.6 percent of the students belong to this category. Keio University student Mikuni received a total of 7 *naitei* and explained that “In Japan there are about 30 financing firms and I wanted to check them out before making any decisions”. Although he was only really interested in 5 companies, he wanted to make sure to have seen it all by himself. The other elite student

Ikejima, also from Keio University, did not mention any reason for continuing the job hunt until he received 6 *naitei*. Ikejima is an exceptional candidate who applied to approximately 20 companies and still received the amazing number of 6 job offers. With a success rate of 30 percent he is the highest scoring respondent of my sample who highly influenced my research results. On the other hand, there is also Yamanaka who applied to about 50 companies and went to 5 job interviews. As a result she received 1 *naitei*. The explanation for her one and only *naitei* is that “The first company I received a *naitei* from was my current company, at that point I decided to stop further job hunting activities” (Yamanaka, 25 female, Keio University). This means that she might have received much more *naitei* if she had continued her job hunting activities.

Although the number of applications and interviews does not say much about the successfulness of students, the ratio of applications in relation to its returns in job offers does give a general idea of successfulness. Just like the national survey, the success rate is calculated by the average number of *naitei* in respect of the average number of job interviews. According to the answers given during my interviews, elite university students have a success rate of 14.06, while students of Nagasaki University had an average success rate of 11.61. In 2012 the national average success rate was 11.1. These results make it assumable that students of elite universities have a higher success rate than the students of the more moderate Nagasaki University. Elite students were also able to find employment in less tries than students of Nagasaki University. They were able to send out an average of 9.7 applications in order to receive 1 *naitei*, whereas the Nagasaki students send out a double amount of 19.08 applications, therefrom concluding that elite university students are generally able to find employment in less tries.

Although this at first seems like a useful indicator of success, one has to keep in mind that there are more students who stop their job hunting activities as soon as they receive their

first *naitei*. Or that the opposite is also true and students continue their job hunt while they have already received multiple job offers. This means that while there are signs that students from elite universities are more successful in finding employment, one cannot simply come to this conclusion. Every student has his or her own reason to continue or stop the job hunt activities, thus influencing the research results. It should also be noted that the success rate of the elite university students was based on only 9 students instead of 10. This is because 1 elite student explained that his job hunting method was different from the regular pattern.

Internship

“My job hunt is a little special because I did not hand in an application form. Because I participated in a summer internship I followed a different path. I was able to start the job interviews at quite an advanced stage of the recruitment process and I did not have to hand in any application form except for the internship application form (Hashimoto, 26 male, Tokyo University). Hashimoto’s employment came into being after consulting with his seniors and friends about the possibility of internships. Thereafter he found his job placement through an internship event aimed at Tokyo University students and decided to apply. At the event many companies were explaining about the job placements they offered, but as many companies only offer short-term internships, Hashimoto decided to mainly focus on a company that offered a longer duration type of internship. While he has also applied for a few short-term internships that only took half a day, his main interest went to his current employer who offered him a 203-day duration internship. After applying for the job placement and participating in the 203-day duration internship he was able to receive a *naitei* in December.

The big advantage of a long-term internship is that students can really get familiar with the company. Although there are of course plenty of different tasks to do at a single company, they are able to acquaint themselves with the company, the staff, the tasks and the

product. Through an internship students are possibly more able to decide whether a company matches them well or not and by doing so reduce the probability of a mismatch. Aoki from Nagasaki University for example followed a two-week during internship and realized that it was not the right company or job for him. Short-term internships are however too short to completely understand how a company works, but the actual experience gained through an internship can help still indecisive students make decisions. The search for an internship and the application method are done in a similar way as regular jobs. The internships of my sample were found with the help of friends and seniors, or through companies' internship presentations aimed at students of a certain university. And just like regular job screenings, students can fail the entrance tests and interviews. Especially the long-term internships are screening students thoroughly because, as is the case with Hashimoto, internships can lead to employment. It is a way to pre-screen potential employees.

Location

Apart from the university linkage that has affected the job hunting outcomes, there is one other factor that I would like to discuss here, namely the location of the company. Although this factor may seem to have little to do with social capital, it is a very influencing factor in the job hunt and in fact also includes elements of social capital. The reason for including the element of location is because elite origin does not assure employment. This thought is strengthened by the Toyo Keizai who released a top 300 ranking list of Japan's university employment rates (Toyo Keizai 2015b). Interestingly the moderate Nagasaki University is much higher in the ranking list than the elite universities. With the 124th place Nagasaki University takes the lead in my sample, while the elite Tokyo University is barely in the ranking with the 270th place.

Figure 7.1 Employment rate ranking top 300

rank	Univeristy's name		employment rate (%)	location	number of graduates
124	Jumonji University		84.5	Saitama	756
//	Nagasaki University	*	84.5	Nagasaki	1,434
//	Musashi University		84.5	Tokyo	985
159	Kyoto University		82.2	Kyoto	4,112
//	Keio University	*	82.2	Tokyo	6,590
188	Hakuoh University		80.5	Tochigi	1,089
//	Soka University		80.5	Tokyo	1,595
//	Waseda University	*	80.5	Tokyo	10,773
269	Senshu University		72.2	Tokyo	3,816
270	Tokyo University	*	71.5	Tokyo	5,559

Notes: Ranking was taken from Toyo Keizai 2015b and then translated and combined by the author.

Toyo Keizai also created a top 100 of high employment rating universities which included the employment rate per department in the various regions of Japan. Here it becomes clear that in the Kanto area, where Tokyo is located, only Keio University is included with the pharmaceutical department (Toyo Keizai 2014b). In the Kyushu and Okinawa area, Nagasaki University's economic, educational, environmental and engineering studies are all doing well and have high employment rates. From this, one can conclude that Nagasaki University is doing well on a local level. We must however not forget that the elite universities are located in Tokyo and they not only need to compete with other Tokyo situated universities, they also need to compete with all other universities around the country. Because most jobs are available in the big cities of Japan, many youths are forced to move to the capitol when they graduate from a local university. It is also not hard to imagine that students who lived in the crowded Tokyo are not so willingly to move to a rural area, resulting in the great number of applications for employment in the Kanto area. With this in mind, I asked the respondents if

they were influenced by the company's location in their decision making. It seems that location of the university and that of the company have a great impact. Hirakawa for example, received two *naitei* and based his final decision on the location of the company. "My whole family lives in Nagasaki so I thought Nagasaki would be good. The other company's headquarter is in Fukuoka, but they have branches all over the country and I would not know which location I would be send to. My current company only has one other branch in Fukuoka and that means even if I would be relocated it would not be all over the country" (Hirakawa, 23, male, Nagasaki University). You could say that Hirakawa's personal relation with his family, thus his personal social capital had a great influence on the decision making. His personal social capital thus had no influence on the job hunting process itself, but only on the final decision. While Hirakawa wished to stay in the outskirts of Japan, there are also students who seek the challenges and employment opportunities in Tokyo. Out of my respondents there were three people who specifically mentioned that they had wished to work in Tokyo, these respondents were all elite university graduates who had already studied and lived in Tokyo the last four years. One of the reasons for staying in Tokyo is that Tokyo is the center where all talented people gather and opportunities arise. So the location of the company is also an important factor when applying for a job. No matter how much opportunities arise in either the capitol or the outskirts of Japan, if an individual is not willing to work at that location, the search time and success rate will be heavily influenced. How much location exactly influences students in their actual decision making and thus employment success is difficult to say. There were also many students who really did not care where they would be located and simply looked at the company itself and the job description.

In this chapter, the power of social capital ownership, which in this case is the membership of a certain university, was discussed. Many students mentioned that they have felt an influence

of their university linkage on their job hunt. In addition, the study also included the crucial factor of the company's location on job hunting. Both factors appear to have a great effect on their decision making process and job hunting outcomes.

Discussion and conclusion

In the previous chapters the effects and role of social capital have been discussed. Previous research has already proven that social capital is a complicated concept that is not easy to define or easy to measure. Even though this might be true, it can still be applied as a theory which explains about the functionality of networks. Despite the rich literature, scholars have not been able to find the exact effect of contacts on job hunting opportunities, but there is however a general consensus that social contacts can be useful for finding employment. With this thought in mind, this research has tried to explore the effects of institutional social capital on the job hunt of Japanese elite university students. With the use of semi-structured interviews it has become clear that there are many ways in which students feel the influence of their institutional linkage.

Job hunting support

The first type of influence addressed in this study, was the support provided by the universities. All universities of my sample supported their students in their job hunt through the availability of career centers and job hunting lectures. The suitability and attendance of these lectures however varied per university. Nagasaki University provided lectures that were meant for a specific group of students and was therefore offering necessary and desired information. The elite universities however did not offer lectures for every specific faculty and thus students felt that they did not receive the quality of lectures they needed, which resulted in a lower participation. On the other hand, the career center of the elite universities offered access to their alumni-catalogue which allows students to receive all the information they need by contacting one of these alumni. This service was however only used by one student of my sample which makes it plausible that elite university students make use of other types of support and services than provided by their home university. The study has shown that the membership of a university allows access to various types of support, but that other

factors, such as the studied major and personal attitude of the student determine whether or not a student makes use of this support.

Job search channels

The most important role of social capital as described in the literature, is that it increases the flow of information, which then increases the job opportunities an individual hears about. The information my sample of graduates had access to was mostly provided by two different type of sources. The one source that was used by all of the respondents was the internet. The internet is an almost unlimited open source of information that does not necessarily requires social input. The reliance on the internet is very big, it not only allows access to basic information about job hunting, but it also provides information about specific companies and positions. Especially the job hunting websites Mynabi and Rikunabi increase their knowledge about job opportunities. The downside of the internet however is that it provides only a biased image of a company. The company's homepage or recruitment page only show the positive and successful image of the company and may not have all specific details about the available position.

A good solution for this problem and also an extremely useful source of information the respondents made use of, is the network of informal contacts. Although it is true that the students of all my sample universities enjoyed the use of various informal contacts as a way to gain more information, they mostly made use of the network that has been created by their university. Students have only met with employees who have graduated from the same university or have been introduced to a higher ranking employee with the help of such an alumnus. None of my respondents have met with a person who they are completely unrelated to. What does this mean? It means that the students make use of the bridge which has been created by their own university. Also important here is that this bridging effect was mostly notable for elite students as more of these students have set up a meeting with an alumnus.

University linkage

The invisible bridging effect was also noticeable during job interviews. That was one of the moments that students really felt that their institutional linkage had influence on their job hunt. Once recruiters found out that the student had the same origin as the recruiter, then the recruiter would become gentler and the job interview got a little more relaxed. This effect was noticed by the elite students as well as the Nagasaki University students. An effect only mentioned by the students of Nagasaki University was their locality. On a local level their university's name had a positive influence, but when searching for employment in the bigger cities the students felt that it was a big disadvantage that they came from such a local university. This means that their university's linkage is valued either positive or negative depending on the location of their search. A possible explanation for this could be that companies in, for example, Tokyo have fewer employees who graduated from Nagasaki University and therefore are less likely to have a connection with the recruiter. This is especially the case when the total number of graduates is lower in comparison with that of other universities in the capital.

The last effect that was brought up by the respondents of my sample was about the acceptance of their application. In general elite students felt that their application forms were easily accepted because of their university's name, but when applying for elite companies or a little lower-level companies, the students felt that their university's name caused a negative effect. According to the answers given by my sample, this effect was thus notable when either applying for a high competition position or a lower position that requires less education. For regular jobs their university's name had a positive effect. These results show that not only the social resources that come with social capital are influential, but that the actor of social capital, in this case the university, should not be left out when examining the effect of institutional social capital.

Job hunting success

The final part of this study focused on the job hunting success of elite students. It mainly looked at the number of applications and job offers that the students had received. Not much of this study was able to measure any of the effects of university linkage, but in this final part the successfulness of applications in return to job offers was measured. From this we can conclude that elite university students are able to find employment in less tries than the students of Nagasaki University. In addition, only the elite students of my sample were able to receive more than five *naitei*. Although this leaves us under the impression that elite students are more successful, in the sense that they find employment with less effort, it does not explain what the exact cause for their success is. It is however not possible to jump to any conclusions because there are several factors influencing the number of applications an individual sends out and job offers an individual in return receives. One can choose to stop any further job hunting activities after receiving a *naitei* from the most desired employer, or one can choose to continue all job hunting activities to orientate oneself. More job offers means a larger choice of employers to work for, and with the lifetime employment system still persisting in Japan, this is not such a strange approach towards job hunting.

Another method that was used to orientate oneself was by doing an internship. While both Nagasaki students and elite students took part in several internships, there was one elite student who gained employment through the participation in an internship. This method does not only allow the student to gain all details about the company and the job, but it also allows the employer to pre-screen a potential candidate. Because participating in an internship can lead to employment it is a great opportunity that more students should make use of. It is however the possibility of employment that causes employers to recruit internship candidates in a similar way as regular employers which brings us back right to the start, how does institutional social capital affect the job hunt?

Another factor affecting the job hunting success, which is not caused by the university's name but still influences the job hunting outcomes, is the location of the company. Several respondents of my sample have stated that the location of their employer influenced their decision making process. This means that there are too many factors affecting a student's decision and therefore making it is almost impossible to correctly measure the real job hunting success of students. This also explains why the real effect of institutional social capital is not completely discovered yet.

This research has not been able to prove that students of elite universities are able to find better jobs. It has only shown that elite students make use of their institutional social capital in another way than Nagasaki University students do. They rely less on the job hunting support provided by their institutions, but they do make much use of the university's network of alumni. This alumni network in return increases the flow of information and the job opportunities a student hears about. While this study has many limitations, the findings indicate that elite university students have a relatively easier job hunt, compared to that of Nagasaki University students. On average elite students participate in less job hunting activities while gaining the same result of finding regular employment. This study has shown that there are several factors influencing the job hunting process, but it has left out other important parts of social capital, such as personal social capital. One must not forget that a large and diverse network is the best way to find employment. Diversity in the network can be also increased by a large and varied personal network which includes family, friends, neighbors and other acquaintances. Further research could therefore focus on the reliance on personal or institutional social capital. In addition, the real job hunting success that could not be explained here deserves more attention and could be further explored.

Bibliography

- Adler, Paul S. and Seok-Woo Kwon. 2002. "Social Capital: Prospects for a New Concept." *Academy of Management Review* 27(1):17-40.
- Bakshy, Eytan, Itamar Rosenn, Cameron Marlow and Lada Adamic. 2012. "The role of social networks in information diffusion." *WWW'12* Lyon: France.
- Bayer, Patrick, Stephen L. Ross and Giorgio Topa. 2008. "Place of work and place of residence: informal hiring networks and labor market outcomes." *Journal of Political Economy* 116(6):1150-1196.
- Belliveau, Maura A. 2005. "Blind Ambition? The Effects of Social Networks and Institutional Sex Composition on the Job Search Outcomes of Elite Coeducational and Women's College Graduates." *Organization Science* 16(2):134-150.
- Ben-Porath, Yoram. 1980. "The F-Connection: Families, Friends, and Firms and the Organization of Exchange." *Population and Development Review* 6:1-29.
- Bian, Yanjie and Soon Ang. 1997. "Guanxi Networks and Job Mobility in China and Singapore." *Social Forces* 75:981-1006.
- Bian, Yanjie and Xianbi Huang. 2015. "Beyond the Strength of Social Ties: Job Search Networks and Entry-Level Wage in Urban China." *American Behavioral Scientist* Sagepub.
- Bian, Yanjie. 1997. "Bridging Strong Ties Back in: Indirect Ties, Network Bridges, and Job Searches in China." *American Sociological Review* 62(3):366-385.
- Blundell, Richard, Lorraine Dearden and Barbara Sianesi. 2005. "Evaluating the Effect of Education on Earnings: Models, Methods and Results from the National Child Development Survey." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A (Statistics in Society)* 168(3):473-512.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." *Handbook of Theory and Research for Sociology of Education*, edited by J. Richardson, 241-258. New York: Greenwood.
<https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Brinton, Mary C. 2011. *Lost in Transition: Youth, Work, and Instability in Postindustrial Japan* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brinton, Mary C. and Takehiko Kariya. 1998. "Institutional Embeddedness in Japanese Labor Markets." *The new Institutionalism in Sociology*, edited by Mary C. Brinton and Victor Nee, 181-207. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Brown, David G. 1965. *Academic Labor Markets* Washington D.C: United States Department of Labor.
- Brown, Meta, Elizabeth Setren and Giorgio Topa. 2012. "Do informal referrals leads to better matches? Evidence from a firm's employee referral system." *Staff Report, Federal Reserve Bank of New York* No. 568.

- Burke, Moira and Robert Kraut 2013. "Using facebook after losing a job: Differential benefits of strong and weak ties." *CSCW'13* Texas:USA.
- Burt, Ronald S. 1992. *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Burt, Ronald S. 1997 "The Contingent Value of Social Capital." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 42:339-365.
- Chua, Vincent. 2011. "Social networks and labour market outcomes in a meritocracy." *Social Networks* 33:1-11.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94:S95-120.
- Coleman, James S. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- De Graaf, Nan Dirk and Hendrik Derk Flap. 1988. "With a Little Help from My Friends." *Social Forces* 67(2):452-472.
- Dustmann, Christian, Albrecht Glitz, Uta Schönberg. 2011. "Referral-based Job Search Networks" *Discussion paper series Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit* no. 5777.
- Fernandez, Roberto M. and Nancy Weinberg. 1997. "Sifting and Sorting: Personal Contacts and Hiring in a retail bank." *American Sociological Review* 62(December):883-902.
- Fernandez, Roberto M., Emilio J. Castilla and Paul Moore. 2000. "Social Capital at Work: Networks and Employment at a Phone Center." *American Journal of Sociology* 105(5):1288-1356.
- Flap, Henk and Ed Boxman. 2001. "Getting started: The influence of social capital on the start of the occupational career." *Social Capital: Theory and Research*, edited by Nan Lin, Karen S. Cook and Ronald S. Burt, 159-181. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Franzen, Axel and Dominik Hangartner. 2006. "Social Networks and Labour Market Outcomes: The Non-Monetary Benefits of Social Capital." *European Sociological Review* 22(4):353-368.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2002. "Social Capital and Development: The Coming Agenda." *SIAS Review* 22(1):23-37.
- Galenianos, Manolis. 2013. "Learning about match quality and the use of referrals." *Review of Economic Dynamics* 16(4):668-690.
- Genda, Yuji. 2005. *A Nagging Sense of Job Insecurity: The New Reality Facing Japanese Youths*. Tokyo: International House of Japan.
- General affairs, 2011. "White paper on information and communication, 23rd edition." (Heisei 23 nenban jōhō tsūshin hakusho), <http://www.soumu.go.jp/johotsusintokei/whitepaper/ja/h23/html/nc213410.html>. Accessed July 14, 2015.

- Granovetter, Mark. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties" *American Journal of Sociology* 78: 1360-1380.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1995. *Getting a job* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hanushek, Eric A, Ludger Woessmann and Lei Zhang. 2011. "General education, vocational education, and labor-market outcomes over the life-cycle." *Discussion Paper series, Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit*, No. 6083.
- Ioannidis, Yannis M. and Linda Datcher Loury. 2004. "Job Information Networks, Neighborhood Effects, and Inequality." *Journal of Economic Literature* 42(4):1056-1093.
- Kariya, Takehiko. 2011. "Credential inflation and employment in 'universal' higher education: enrolment, expansion and (in)equity via privatisation in Japan." *Journal of Education and Work* 24(1-2): 69-94.
- Keio University. 2014. "List of job hunting seminars."
<http://www.gakuji.keio.ac.jp/sfc/cdp/3946mc0000022ru6-att/seminar2014.pdf>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Keio University. 2015a. "Must-see for graduating students of 2016 'Schedule of career support seminars and joint company information sessions for Keio students.'" (2016 nen sostugyōsei hikken! Keiō seikyō shusai. jukusei no tame no kyaria shien seminā . godō kaisha setsumeikai nittei), http://www.univcoop.jp/keio/news_2/news_detail_3508.html. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Keio University. 2015b. "To the private-school students."
(Jukusei no minasama e), <http://www.gakuji.keio.ac.jp/life/shinro/jukusei.html#anchor06>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Keio University. 2015c. "OB and OG register browsing method." (OB. OG meibo etsuran hōhō), <http://www.gakuji.keio.ac.jp/life/shinro/3946mc00000042bx.html>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Keio University. 2015d. "About OB and OG visits." (OB. OG Hōmon yō meibo ni tsuite), <http://www.gakuji.keio.ac.jp/life/shinro/3946mc0000003gm3.html>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Kondo, Ayako. 2007. "Does the first job really matter? State dependency in employment status in Japan." *Journal of Japanese International Economies* 21:379-402.
- Kosugi, Reiko. 2008. *Escape from Work: Freelancing Youth and the Challenge to Corporate Japan*. Translated by Ross Mouer. Melbourne, Australia: Trans Pacific Press.
- Lee, Sunhwa and Mary C. Brinton. 1996. "Elite Education and Social Capital: The Case of South Korea." *Sociology of Education* 69(3):177-192.
- Lin, Nan, Walter M. Ensel and John C. Vaughn. 1981. "Social Resources and Strength of Ties: Structural Factors in Occupational Status Attainment." *American Sociological Review* 46(4):393-405.
- Lin, Nan. 1999. "Social Networks and Status Attainment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25:467-487.

- Lin, Nan. 2001. *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour M. Reinhard Bendix and Theodore F. Malm. 1954. "Job plans and entry into the labor market." *Social Forces* 33(March):224-232.
- Loury, Glenn C. 1977. "A Dynamic Theory of Racial Income Differences." *Women, minorities and Employment Discrimination*, edited by P.A. Wallace and A. La Mund, 153-186. Lexington, Ma: Lexington Books.
- Marmaros, David and Bruce Sacerdote. 2002. "Peer and Social Networks in Job Search." *European Economic Review* 46: 870-879.
- Marsden, Peter and Jeanne S. Hurlbert. 1988. "Social Resources and Mobility outcomes: A replication and Extension." *Social Forces* 66(4): 1038-1059.
- McDonald, Steve, Nan Lin and Dan Ao. 2009. "Networks of Opportunity: Gender, Race and Unsolicited Job Leads." *Social Problems* 56:385-402.
- Mext. 2015. "National Universities." On the website of the ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology. <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/relatedsites/1303116.htm>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Montgomery, James D. 1992. "Job Search and Network Composition: Implications of the Strength-Of-Weak-Ties Hypothesis." *American Sociological Review* 57(5):586-596.
- Mynabi. 2015a. "Mynabi Homepage." <http://job.mynavi.jp/>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Mynabi. 2015b. "Does the rumored 'filtering based on credentials' exist?" (Shūkatsu no uwasa 'gakureki firutā' wa sonzai suru ka?), <https://gakumado.mynavi.jp/style/articles/2491>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Nagasaki University. 2015a. "On campus company information sessions." (Gakunai kigyō setsumeikai), <http://www.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/ja/job/session/file/gakunaikigyosetsumeikai.pdf>. Last accessed April 14, 2015.
- Nagasaki University. 2015b. "Job hunting support guide." (shūshoku shien shitsu annai), <http://www.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/ja/job/guide/index.html>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Nagasaki University. 2015c. "Job hunting information." (shūshoku jōhō), <http://www.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/ja/job/index.html>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Oreopoulos, Philip and Kjell G. Salvanes. 2011. "Priceless: The Nonpecuniary Benefits of Schooling." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 25(1):159-184.
- Parks-Yancy, Rochelle. 2006. "The Effects of Social Group Membership and Social Capital Resources on Careers." *Journal of Black Studies* 36(4):515-545.
- Pellizzari, Michele. 2004. "Employers search and efficiency of matching." *IZA Discussion Papers* No. 1862.
- Pellizzari, Michele. 2010. "Do friends and relatives really help in getting a good job?" *Industrial & Labor Relations Review* 63(3):494-510.

Portes, Alejandro. 1998. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:1-24.

President online. 2012. "How much influence does university origin have on life." (Shusshin daigaku wa jinsei ni dorehodo eikyō suru ka), <http://president.jp/articles/-/11716?page=1>. Accessed July 14, 2015.

Putnam, Robert D. 1993. "The prosperous community: social capital and public life." *The American Prospect* 13:35-42.

Putnam, Robert D. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6(1):65-78.

Riddell, Craig and Xueda Song. 2011. "The impact of education on unemployment incidence and re-employment success: Evidence from the US labour market" *Discussion paper series, Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit* No. 5572.

Rikunabi. 2012. "General research on students and work" (gakusei-shigoto sōken), http://journal.rikunabi.com/student/souken/souken_vol134.html. Accessed July 14, 2015.

Rikunabi. 2015a. "The company information sessions have finally started!! Flow&manners" (Iyoiyo hajimari mashita kaisha setsumei kai!! Nagare& NG gendō), <https://job.rikunabi.com/2016/company/blog/detail/r438900050/2/>. Accessed July 14, 2015.

Rikunabi. 2015b. "Rikunabi Homepage" <http://www.rikunabi.com/>. Accessed July 14, 2015.

Rosenbaum, James E. and Takehiko Kariya. 1989. "From High School to Work: Market and Institutional Mechanisms in Japan." *American Journal of Sociology* 94:1334-65.

Sakai, Tadashi and Michio Higuchi. 2005. "Future outcomes of Freeters." (Furita no Sonogo) *The Japanese Journal of Labour Studies* 535:29-41.

Sandefur, Rebecca L. and Edward O. Lauman. 1998. "A Paradigm for Social Capital." *Rationality and Society* 10(4):481-504.

Senou, Akiko. 2013. "Students who gather job hunting related information from social media only account for 10%." (Soshiaru media kara shuushoku katsudou ni kansuru jouhou shuushuu wo shiteita gakusei ha wazuka 10%), article on the website of Mobile Marketing Data Labo. https://mmdlabo.jp/investigation/detail_1205.html. Accessed July 14, 2015.

Simon, Curtis J. and John T. Warner. 1992. "Matchmaker: The Effect of Old Boy Networks on Job Match Quality, Earnings, and Tenure." *Journal of Labor Economics* 10(3):306-330.

Son, Joonmo, Nan Lin. 2012. "Network diversity, contact diversity, and status attainment." *Social Networks* 34(4):601-613.

Stigler, George J. 1962. "Information in the Labor Market." *Journal of Political Economy* 72(5):94-105.

Tokyo University. 2015a. "Career design center." (Kyaria dezain seminā), http://www.careersupport.adm.u-tokyo.ac.jp/event/index/cat.listevents/?option=com_jevents&task=cat.listevents&offset=1&category_fv=11&Itemid=127. Last accessed April 14, 2015.

- Tokyo University. 2015b. "Career Counseling." (Kyaria sōdan), <http://www.careersupport.adm.u-tokyo.ac.jp/career/index#c3>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Tokyo University. 2015c. "Event calendar." (ebento ichiran karendā), <http://www.careersupport.adm.u-tokyo.ac.jp/event/calendar/month.calendar/2015/04/05/->. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Tokyo University. 2015d. "About Ob and OG visits." (OB. OG hōmon ni tsuite), <http://www.careersupport.adm.u-tokyo.ac.jp/info/standard/2012-11-08-08-40-41/obog>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Toyo Keizai. 2014a. "Latest edition 'University ranking' top 300." (Saishin ban 'daigaku ranking' toppu 300), <http://toyokeizai.net/articles/-/26869?page=3>. Accessed July 14, 2015
- Toyo Keizai. 2014b. "Latest edition 'University employment rate ranking' best 100." (Saishin ban 'daigaku shūshoku ritsu ranking' besuto 100), <http://toyokeizai.net/articles/-/26881>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Toyo Keizai. 2015a. "About Toyo Keizai." <http://corp.toyokeizai.net/en/>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Toyo Keizai. 2015b. "Must-see! 'University employment rate ranking' top 300." (Hikken! 'daigaku shūshoku ritsu ranking' toppu 300) <http://toyokeizai.net/articles/-/62460?page=1>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Volker, Baete and Henk Flap. 1999. "Getting ahead in de GDR: Social Capital and Status Attainment Under Communism." *Acta Sociologica* 42(1):17-34.
- Wahba, Jackline and Yves Zenou. 2005. "Density, Social Networks and Job Search Methods: Theory and Application to Egypt." *Journal of Development Economics* 78(2): 443-473.
- Waldinger, Roger. 1995. "The 'other side' of embeddedness: a case-study of the interplay of economy and ethnicity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18(3):555-580.
- Waseda University. 2015a. "In school joint company information session." (Gakunai gōdō kigyō setsumei kai), <http://www.waseda.jp/career/event/2014/gousetsu2015>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Waseda University. 2015b. "Career and job hunting consultation." (Shinro shūshoku sōdan) <http://www.waseda.jp/career/about/support/counsel.html>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Waseda University. 2015c. "Event information." (Ebento jōhō). <http://www.waseda.jp/career/event/center.html>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Waseda University. 2015d. "OB and OG register: company and recruitment information." (OB. OG meibo: kigyō. kyūjin jōhō shōkai), <http://www.waseda.jp/career/about/support/ob.html>. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Waseda University. 2015e. "OB and OG register browsing method." (OB. OG meibo no etsuran hōhō), http://www.waseda.jp/career/about/support/ob_2.html. Accessed July 14, 2015.
- Wegener, Bernd. 1991. "Job Mobility and Social Ties: Social Resources, Prior Job, and Status Attainment." *American Sociological Review* 56(1):60-71.

Wright, Patrick M. and John Storey. 1994. "Recruitment." *Human Resource Management* edited by Ian Beardwell and Len Holden. London: Pitman.

Yamada, Masahiro. 1999. *Parasaito shinguru no jidai* (The Age of Parasite Singles) Tokyo: Chikuma Shinso.