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The Intergenerational Transmission of Lifestyles

Alice Sullivan

Abstract: This paper considers the intergenerational transmission of cultural activities, competences and tastes. A review of the international literature provides ample evidence for the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles in a number of domains, although the evidence is stronger in some domains than in others. Research has focussed on particular domains, such as the beaux arts, while neglecting other aspects of lifestyles including sports and food. There follows a discussion of the mechanisms of the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles, including active and passive transmission, and the relevance of this for cultural reproduction and mobility. Finally, I suggest that the agenda for future research in this area should address: 1. the salience of lifestyles for wider social issues; 2. the development of theory; and 3. the quality of data sources.

Introduction

For Bourdieu, the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles was central to social reproduction. The ruling elite defined themselves in relation to a distinctive and exclusive set of cultural tastes and practices (Bourdieu 1984). The intergenerational transmission of these tastes and practices was fundamental to the production of social class differentials in educational and subsequent occupational attainment (Bourdieu 1990). Bourdieu's account of a society where the ruling elite participated in high culture and the masses participated in popular culture has been challenged by the cultural omnivore thesis (Peterson and Kern 1996). According to this account, the cultural elite are no longer defined in opposition to popular culture, but rather by their broad-ranging tastes. A great deal of empirical evidence has amassed in support of this characterisation of the cultural divide. But this does not negate the importance of the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles. Consumption of 'legitimate' culture is still the preserve of a small minority, regardless of the wider tastes of that minority (Warde et. al. 2007). Hence, the division between omnivores and univores may still both be an expression of, and serve to reproduce, social inequality.

Despite theoretical claims that lifestyles have become individualised and de-coupled from social structures (Bauman 1998; Featherstone 1991; Lash 1994), empirical evidence continues to demonstrate the persistent social stratification of lifestyles. "*Hardly an aspect of human experience – the clothes one wears, the number of siblings one has, the diseases one is likely to contract, the music to which one listens, the chances that one will serve in the armed forces or fall prey to violent crime – is uncorrelated with some dimension of social rank*" (DiMaggio 1994: 458). Evidence suggests that cultural differentiation is based more strongly on education and social status rather than income and occupational class (Van Eijck and Bargeman 2004; Chan and Goldthorpe 2007). However, the drawing of a sharp distinction between social class and social status has also been queried (Le Roux et. al 2008).

Research into ‘life-styles’ and their social stratification and reproduction is a potentially limitless field of enquiry. For the purposes of this paper, ‘lifestyles’ will be taken to include cultural tastes and preferences as well as cultural participation and competences. There is a substantial overlap between the term ‘lifestyles’ used in this way and much of the literature on ‘cultural capital’, since cultural capital generally refers to aspects of lifestyle which are socially stratified, and which are implicated in social reproduction. In addition, much of the empirical literature deals with specific elements of lifestyles rather than a comprehensive bundle of behaviours, world-views and identities. Since what we define as ‘lifestyle’ is potentially so broad, it is interesting to consider which aspects of culture have actually received the attention of empirical researchers studying the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles, and which have not. The first part of this paper consists of a review of the international evidence on the intergenerational transmission and mobility of lifestyles. The second part provides a discussion of the mechanisms of the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles. Finally, the main conclusions that I draw are as follows. 1. In some studies, the attempt to understand the link between the lifestyles of parents and their offspring appears to be an end in itself. This research area would be more powerful and relevant if studies more consistently related the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles to salient outcomes. 2. Related to this, the theory underpinning studies is not always apparent. Theory in this field could be better articulated and developed in and through empirical work. 3. The quality of data sources is variable, and rich items on lifestyles have rarely been incorporated into multi-purpose longitudinal datasets. Such data would allow the research field to move forward in examining the antecedents and effects of aspects of lifestyle.

1. Evidence on the intergenerational transmission and mobility of lifestyles

Since the focus of this paper is the intergenerational transmission of life-styles, I generally limit the scope of the literature review to research which contains information on more than one generation. Relatively few papers contain information on the cultural participation or tastes of both parents and children. A larger number of studies contain cultural information for one generation only, and demographic information (such as social class and education) for the other generation. The review is based on keyword searches using ‘Web of Knowledge’, as well as searches of key journals and cited reference searches. Unfortunately, I have only been able to read the English-language literature. Where references to sources in other languages are included, I am grateful to colleagues for giving me summaries of the findings. A summary of studies which meet these criteria is included in Table A1 (cited studies which do not meet the criteria are not included in the table). This includes information on the samples and key variables used.

I divide the literature into studies which address the following topics: The beaux arts and cultural capital; books and reading; music; TV; new technologies; sport; food. These areas have received varying levels of attention from researchers. The beaux arts and reading have received the most attention, due to the influence of Bourdieu’s work. There is no lifestyle domain in which researchers have not found evidence of intergenerational transmission. However, evidence is quite thin on the ground in areas such as computers and new media; sports and food. As well as gaps and inadequacies in the data concerning one or other generation, methodological problems which limit many of the studies cited here include the use of cross-sectional data and recall data regarding parental practices.

The Beaux Arts and Cultural Capital

A number of studies have focussed on ‘beaux arts’ participation – participation in activities traditionally associated with social elites, such as theatre, gallery, opera and classical concert

attendance. The concern has been to understand why these forms of cultural participation are socially stratified, and the extent to which this is driven by parents transmitting their cultural preferences to their children. Many of these studies have also sought to understand the role of culture in reproducing stratified social structures (which will be discussed later). As such, the beaux arts have been seen as not just a dimension of lifestyle, but also a form of cultural capital – cultural resources which provide advantage in a stratified society. Some studies drawing on the same problematic have extended their concerns beyond the beaux arts to a much wider range of measures of cultural capital.

Those studies that measure both parents' and children's cultural participation generally find a strong association between the two, net of other background factors, suggesting that cultural capital is transmitted within the home, although the statistical relationship is not as rigid as Bourdieu's theory would suggest. Ganzeboom (1982) examines the over-representation of high status groups in participation in high culture activities, and finds a strong direct link between parents' and respondents' cultural consumption. Fathers' education and occupation are also included in the model, and their effects on respondents' participation are mediated by parents' cultural participation. De Graaf and De Graaf (1988) also find a strong direct link between the cultural lifestyles of parents and children. In addition, they find that individuals with 'postmaterialist' values (Inglehart 1997) engage in more frequent cultural participation, while materialists consume more material commodities. Similarly, Kraaykamp and Nieuwebeerta (2000) conclude that parental cultural resources are extremely important determinants of individuals' cultural participation, while parental socioeconomic resources have almost no direct impact on this outcome. Both parental cultural and material resources contribute to determining the offspring's occupational attainment and material resources. Rossel and Beckert-Zieglschmid (2002) find that both parents' and children's cultural participation effect children's school attainment.

DiMaggio's work was not limited to the beaux arts, but used a rich array of measures of both cultural activities and orientations. DiMaggio (1982) and Mohr and DiMaggio (1995) analysed the transmission of cultural capital from parents to children. DiMaggio and Mohr (1985) found the effect of cultural capital extended to attendance at college and graduate school, and to marital selection. Mohr and DiMaggio (1996) found that social class was only weakly associated with cultural capital, while household cultural resources were more strongly linked to respondents' cultural capital. The process of cultural transmission was found to be strongly gendered, with direct effects of fathers' occupation only for sons, and direct effects of mothers' education only for daughters.

Crook (1997) and Sullivan (2001) follow DiMaggio's approach of developing broad operationalisations of cultural capital, and both found strong associations between parents' and children's cultural capital, controlling for other factors. Crook (1997) breaks cultural capital into two parts, reading and beaux arts participation. He found that parents' and children's cultural capital were strongly associated, but there was no rigid transmission of cultural capital from parent to child. Sullivan (2001) breaks cultural participation down into four categories; reading, TV viewing, music, and 'public' cultural participation. Tests of cultural knowledge and vocabulary were also included. Parents' and children's cultural participation were highly associated, net of other background factors. Although parents' social class and educational level were associated with children's cultural participation, this relationship was entirely mediated by parents' cultural participation, which was a more powerful determinant of children's cultural participation.

Extending this approach to consider Higher Education, Zimdars et. al. (2009a, 2009b) examine the role of cultural capital in the Oxford University admissions process. Even within their sample of applicants to Oxford University, which was highly selected towards parents with high educational and occupational levels, respondents' cultural capital varied according to parents' social class and education. Applicants with graduate parents, and with both parents from the professional classes, had

higher levels of books in the home, beaux arts participation, reading, and cultural knowledge. South-Asian applicants scored significantly lower than white applicants on all of these measures.

The transfer of cultural capital in early childhood is a neglected area, which Becker (2009) addresses. Pointing out that cultural capital gains its value from specific cultural contexts, Becker examines the case of immigrant children who may lack the country-specific capital necessary to succeed in the education system of their new home country. Her study of pre-schoolers in Germany finds that the children of Turkish parents have relatively low levels of German-specific cultural knowledge (based on a test of people and places), while the children of higher-class and higher-educated parents scored relatively highly. The effects of social background were mediated by family activities and crèche, pre-school and playgroup attendance. However, this left an effect of ethnic origin which could not be explained by these variables. For children from Turkish families, the impact of family activities on cultural knowledge was dependent on the extent to which German was spoken within the home.

Since it is established that the family plays a large part in determining cultural lifestyles, it is important to ask whether the school has any impact. Nagel and Ganzeboom's (2002) study is unusual, both in that it takes a life-course approach, and in that it attempts to assess the impact of the curriculum. Nagel and Ganzeboom examine the stability of family influences on cultural participation through the life-course. They assess both the total family effects and the total school effects. They find that family influences are about three times as strong as the effects of secondary school, and arts instruction at secondary school had only a small 'effect', which can at any rate be attributed to self-selection into these programs. Cultural participation between the ages of 14 and 30 was notably stable, and family influences on participation were also stable. Nagel's (2009) study examines three cohorts of Dutch students and their parents. The analysis shows that both parents' cultural participation and children's achieved educational level had independent effects on children's cultural participation. Much of the 'effect' of achieved educational level was apparent from the earliest sweeps – before the educational level had actually been attained – and may therefore be due to a link between unobserved educational potential or dispositions which are in turn linked to cultural participation. Damen, Nagel and Haanstra (2010) exploit the same dataset to examine the impact of the introduction of a compulsory cultural education programme, and conclude that it had positive effects on cultural participation regardless of gender, ethnicity, or the cultural participation of parents.

A potential methodological problem with much research on the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles is that it relies on individuals' reports on their parents' cultural participation, and these reports may be biased by the individual's own participation. Van Eijck's (1997) study addresses this issue through a sibling analysis, using a scale of beaux arts participation and reading in adulthood as the outcome. The similarity between siblings essentially captures family background in the sense of all factors that make siblings more alike than unrelated individuals. Sibling resemblance is determined by both measured family background and unmeasured family characteristics. The results indicate that the effect of education on cultural consumption is only biased by measured family background, not by unmeasured family background – i.e. controlling for measured family background yields an unbiased estimate. Primary respondents were surveyed on a wide range of subjects, while one random sibling of a subsample completed a shorter questionnaire. Family background was a better predictor of cultural participation than individual schooling levels. Also of note is the finding that the total effect of family background on younger siblings' cultural participation was only about two-thirds of that for older siblings, suggesting that parents may spend more time directing and influencing the activities of their eldest children.

Books and Reading

The link between parental reading and children's reading is relatively well-established. For example, Bus et al. (1995), in a meta-analysis of the literature, support the view that parental reading to pre-schoolers is important for children's acquisition of reading skills. Van Peer's (1991) review of the literature shows that the presence of books in the household; parental attitudes towards literature; and the way that literature forms a part of the family's daily activities; are all important factors promoting literary competence and motivation. Leseman and de Jong's (1998) small Dutch study shows that the effects of parental SES, ethnicity and reading practices at home and at work on children's language development and reading achievement are fully mediated by home reading climate, home language and early vocabulary. Jungbauer-Gans (2004) finds that both parents' cultural resources and children's cultural participation are linked to the child's reading ability.

Bukodi's (2007) analysis of book readership in Hungary shows that the likelihood both of reading at all and of reading 'serious' literature is strongly linked to educational attainment, and, to a lesser extent, to social status and income. Social class has only limited effects once these variables are controlled. Her findings suggest the importance of childhood socialisation, in that upwardly mobile individuals were less likely to be either readers or serious readers compared to individuals in the same destination class who had not been mobile. About half of the sample were non-readers, and non-readers constituted significant minorities within the higher-status groups.

Kraaykamp's (2003) study of literary socialisation shows that early reading socialisation has long-term effects. Controlling for gender, age, marital status, respondent's educational attainment and parents' educational attainment, parental promotion of reading during childhood was linked to higher levels of reading in adulthood, and to literary reading. Parents' reading practices were transmitted from parents to children, as parents' literary reading promoted children's literary reading, and parents' reading of romantic fiction promoted children's reading of romantic fiction. Length of library membership during childhood and the number of humanities subjects taken at school were also both linked to adult preferences for literary fiction.

Music

Roe (1992, 1994) puts forward the view that individuals orient their values towards the group that they aspire or expect to belong to in the future. This 'anticipatory socialisation' means that individuals who anticipate experiencing social mobility adjust their tastes to fit those of the higher status group which they expect to join. In a small study of Swedish adolescents, Roe (1992) found that school attainment, school satisfaction, and plans for future study were all linked to musical tastes. Father's class was also relevant. A liking for heavy metal was found to be characteristic of discontented, low-achieving, working class males. In a later, longitudinal study (Roe 1994), the tastes of upwardly and downwardly mobile students are examined. A liking for heavy metal was linked to downward educational and occupational mobility, whereas classical music was liked by those who were upwardly mobile into higher education. Disco music was also liked most by upwardly mobile youth.

Katz-Gerro et al. (2007) discuss the significance of class versus status in explaining the distribution of musical tastes among Jews in Israel. They found that status played a more important role than class in explaining the distribution of musical tastes along the highbrow/lowbrow dimension. In contrast to Roe's focus on the importance of social mobility, this study found that it was *fathers'* rather than respondents' social position which determined musical tastes. The authors explain the dominance of parental influence in terms of the importance of the family as an institution in Israeli society, meaning that the family is fundamental to the transmission of cultural codes, symbols and

repertoires, and this influence remains dominant even when individuals have experienced social mobility.

Television

Studies of TV viewing have confirmed that parents who watch a lot of TV socialise their children into being heavy TV viewers (Johnsson-Smaragdi 1994; Roe 2000). Roe discusses the neglect of social class in most studies of media use, and examines the effect of social background on TV viewing in Belgium. Looking at both hours of TV viewing and children's preference for soaps, Roe found that mothers' education is strongly linked to these outcomes, as the children of more educated mothers watched less TV and were less likely to state a preference for soaps.

Television, like literature, needs to be differentiated qualitatively, rather than just in terms of quantity. Kraaykamp (2001) examines preferences for popular and serious television viewing and book reading. The analysis found that children 'imitate' their parents' tastes for both popular and serious TV viewing and reading.

Few studies have examined the mechanisms through which parents transmit their cultural preferences to their children, so Notten and Kraaykamp's (2009) study is a welcome addition to the literature. The results of this study show that parents from the higher occupational and educational status groups consumed more highbrow television and less lowbrow television. Both high-brow and low-brow reading were more common among parents from the higher social strata. Higher educated parents guided their children's media use more intensively, and this effect was mediated by the parents' own reading and TV viewing behaviours. In other words, parents with a taste for reading and high-brow TV viewing were motivated to transmit these activities to their children. Children from large families and divorced parents reported lower levels of media guidance from their parents, which is likely to reflect limited resources in terms of time.

Computers and new media

Regarding digital media, clear differences in usage according to occupation and education, as well as gender, have been found among adults (Eurostat 2005). However, perhaps because computer and internet usage are relatively high among the young, the 'digital divide' has rarely been modelled in intergenerational terms. An exception is Broos and Roe's study (2006), which finds that parents' education has no impact on computer use or internet use for boys, but the educational level of the mother is relevant for girls. Given the importance of this cultural medium, it is surprising that researchers interested in social class and intergenerational transmission have not given it more attention.

Sports

Both sports participation and spectatorship have been shown to be stratified according to social class, gender and race (Washington and Karen 2001). Overall participation is higher among the higher social class groups, and the type of participation also varies according to class status (Stempel 2005, Warde 2006). However, despite Bourdieu's interest in sport as one of the activities that reflect holdings of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1978, 1984), few studies examine the intergenerational transmission of sporting participation. Scheerder et. al.s (2006) analysis is an exception. Using structural equation modelling, the authors show that parental SES and parental sports participation are correlated, and both had direct impacts on the respondents' adolescent sports participation, and both direct and indirect impacts (via adolescent participation) on adult sports participation. However, the majority of the variance remains unexplained in their models.

Popham's (2009) study examines the link between social mobility and adult participation in sport and exercise. He found that the highest age adjusted rate of sport and exercise was seen amongst those who were in the highest social class in both childhood and adulthood (62.8%) while those in the lowest social class at both stages had the lowest rate at 25.8%, 37% points lower. This gap was wider than if the assessment of participation had been based solely on childhood or adult social class.

Food

Food - including tastes; cooking skills and practices; eating at home and outside the home – is arguably an increasingly important arena of cultural expression and differentiation. As ready-prepared meals have changed the status of cooking from a necessary activity to a leisure activity for many, food has become a special interest for some. This interest in food is catered to by a huge volume of 'lifestyle' TV, journalism and books.

Concerns have been expressed that cooking skills are in decline, especially among the poor, leaving people dependent on unhealthy pre-prepared foods (Lang and Caraher 2001). Comparative data shows a general decline in the amount of time spent on cooking and eating at home (Warde et. al. 2007). At the same time, books and TV programmes on food and cooking have proliferated, suggesting that cooking is increasingly seen as an expression of lifestyle. Since cooking is a domestic skill, the home is an important site for the transmission of knowledge and tastes regarding cooking and food. Caraher et. al. (1999) show that gender and social class are both strongly linked to individuals' confidence in their ability to cook, and those with higher educational qualifications are more likely to feel confident in cooking certain foods, such as oily fish, pulses, pasta and rice. The intergenerational transmission of cooking skills is clearly highly important, as mothers were cited as the prime source of information on cooking skills early in life across social classes. However, more educated respondents were more likely to use cookery books to advance their knowledge later in life. Television was cited as a source of cookery learning by only 5% of women and men, compared to 25% of women and 15% of men citing books. The authors stress the policy implications of this finding regarding the importance of hands-on cookery lessons at school, especially for those students who are less likely to be able to use books to make up for a lack of practical exposure to cooking early in life.

Gerhards and Rossel (2002) link food consumption to other aspects of lifestyle. They find that participation in high culture is transmitted strongly from parents to children, and in turn is linked to the consumption of healthy food. Thus, food consumption can be seen as part of a wider set of cultural dispositions.

Of course, an increasing proportion of meals are consumed outside the home. Warde et. al. (1999) examine survey data on the dining-out habits of people in three British cities. They found that, controlling for individual background variables such as social class, income and education, fathers' social class was significantly linked to a 'curiosity' index indicating the number of different types of non-English restaurants the individual had visited in the past year. Individuals with service-class fathers ate at a wider range of 'ethnic' restaurants, although fathers' service-class status was not significantly linked with the frequency of dining out in a model containing the same background controls. The authors conclude that eating at a wide range of ethnic restaurants indicates possession of high levels of cultural and economic capital, and the significance of father's class implies a degree of inter-generational transmission of cultural capital.

2. Discussion of theory and mechanisms

The review provided above summarises a wide range of work on the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles. Since a broad array of aspects of lifestyle are considered, it is not surprising that the theoretical underpinnings of these studies are disparate, and in some cases not even apparent. In some studies, the attempt to understand the link between the lifestyles of parents and their offspring appears to be an end in itself. Yet surely the study of the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles can only be justified by the context of a theoretical framework in which the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles is linked to wider social inequalities. This is the framework provided by Bourdieu's work, which is used as a reference point here.

Three questions of broad theoretical and empirical interest arise from these studies, and will be discussed below. 1. What mechanisms give rise to the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles? 2. What is the link between lifestyles and social reproduction and mobility? 3. What is the link between social mobility and lifestyles?

2.1 Mechanisms for the intergenerational transmission of life-styles

Mohr and DiMaggio (1995) suggest three mechanisms for the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital:

1. Facility with high culture may be transmitted directly from parent to child in the course of daily interactions between parents and children.
2. Parents with high levels of cultural capital respond strategically by investing time and or money in their children's cultural capital.
3. Cultural capital may also be transmitted in the broader social milieu. For example, children may be exposed to prestigious cultural forms in the homes of their peers.

Of course, none of these mechanisms are mutually exclusive, and they may very well be mutually reinforcing. The parents who, without thinking about it, use a wide vocabulary and discuss cultural topics in front of their children, are likely to be the same parents who deliberately cultivate their children's cultural capital through investing in extra-curricular activities. Similarly, the cultural climate that children experience in the houses of their friends is often likely to be similar to that which they find in their own home. As well as cultural capital, these mechanisms may also apply to other dimensions of life-style.

Notten and Kraaykamp's (2009) study shows the ways in which highly educated parents actively guide their children's media consumption, and also points to the way in which parents who have limited time and resources (for example in larger families and single-parent families) are less able to do this. Clearly, parents do not only transmit their lifestyles more or less unconsciously, but also actively engage in investing in their child's cultural capital and wider attributes and skills. For example, Ball (2003) describes the efforts of middle-class parents to produce their child as the perfect 'educational subject', a process which Lareau (2003) describes as 'concerted cultivation'. These parents are clearly aware of the difference that non-school knowledge can make to performance within the academic system. They can also invest in cultural capital through their choice of school. At least in the British context, one of the selling points of the private (fee-paying) schools is that they do not simply focus on academic attainment, but also produce 'well-rounded' individuals through their provision of sporting and cultural activities, which is much more extensive than in the state sector.

The value of investing in children's activities and life-styles has arguably been increased due to the expansion of academic participation and qualifications. Taking part in the right sports and cultural activities, and sharing the manners, dress and demeanour of the employer class, alongside being

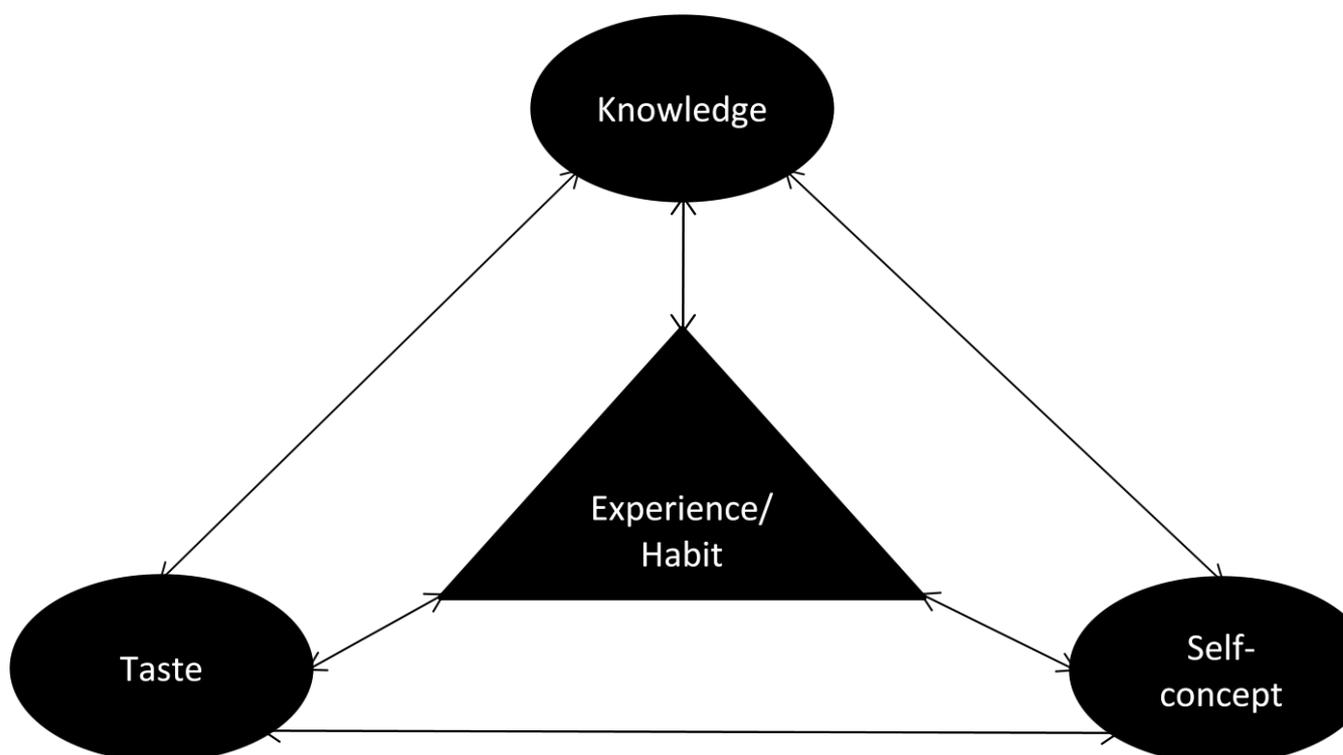
part of the same social networks, has no doubt always conferred an advantage. But it can also be argued that, as employers find it increasingly difficult to discriminate between candidates for jobs using academic credentials alone, they increasingly look to indicators of ‘soft skills’. In addition, such attributes may be deemed more important as the service economy has grown.

Alongside these instrumental arguments for investing in a child’s cultural capital, parents are also likely to see an inherent value in producing a child who is ‘like us’. And this alone would be sufficient reason for the most educated parents to invest most heavily in this asset.

Early socialisation has a strong and abiding influence on lifestyles, perhaps because of the importance of early experiences in the formation of tastes, knowledge and self-beliefs. The theory of social learning (Bandura 1977) points to the way in which human beings learn by imitation, first of all with their parents. Tastes drive participation in activities, but cannot be formed without exposure to these activities. Cultural participation also demands appropriate knowledge in order to allow appreciation, and a few studies have measured forms of cultural knowledge in order to start to assess its role (Becker 2009, Emmison 2003, Sullivan 2001). Cultural participation can also be seen as being driven by self-image or self-concept - the view of oneself as a ‘cultured person’ (DiMaggio 1982).

No doubt the relationships between all of these factors are reciprocal. Habits of participation in a particular activity lead to knowledge of and ability at the activity, while knowledge and ability also encourage participation. A taste for a particular activity cannot be formed without participation in the activity, and taste also drives participation. Taste in turn drives the development of knowledge and ability, and likewise, greater knowledge and ability produces greater appreciation. Activity is internalised as the self-belief that ‘I am the sort of person who does this sort of thing’, thus driving further activity – for example, in the case of the person who, seeing herself as bookish, feels guilty at not having read a novel for months – and resolves the dissonance between self-image and activity, not by changing her self-image, but by making time to read. Thereby, identity forms one source of action (Stryker and Burke 2000). Thus, one can propose a model where *experience and habit* are at the centre of a feedback loop of *taste; knowledge or ability* and *self-concept*.

Figure 1: Cultural Feedback Loop Model



Parents' role in this model will vary across social strata and across cultures. For example, the extent to which parents direct their children's activities, and set out to ensure their children acquire certain knowledge and skills. A potential avenue for comparative research in this area is the question of why 'concerted cultivation' among the middle classes is particularly intense in certain countries and at certain times, and to examine the forms it takes.

Most studies focus only on participation, leaving knowledge, taste and self-concept aside. I suggest that this limits our understanding of both the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles and the consequences of lifestyles in terms of both social reproduction and wider outcomes. This is both because a consideration of knowledge, taste and self-concept is important to understanding people's habits, and because activity is not necessarily the most important aspect of lifestyle in any given context. Although tastes and behaviours are likely to be closely related, they are not identical. For example, Yaish and Gerro (2010) show that cultural participation is constrained by tastes and economic resources, while tastes are constrained by cultural resources but not by income.

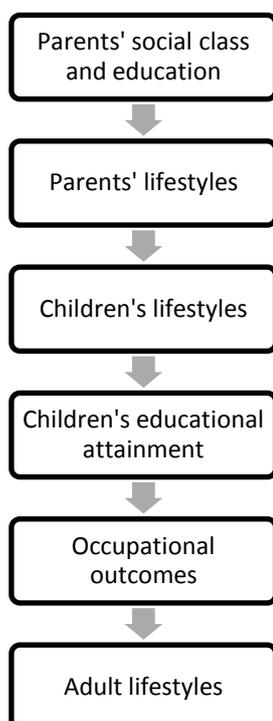
2.2 The culture-social mobility/reproduction link

Much interest in cultural participation is inspired by Bourdieu's theory regarding the importance of cultural capital in driving educational and social reproduction. Bourdieu attempts to demonstrate the importance of cultural capital to social reproduction by giving evidence on the link between the grades of students at the grandes ecoles and their parents' educational attainment (Bourdieu, 1977, Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1981). For a general review of the literature on cultural capital and education, see (Sullivan 2002).

For the cultural reproduction thesis to be supported, it is necessary not just that cultural capital should be strongly transmitted from parents to children, but that this should have an impact on occupational attainment, whether indirectly via educational success, and/or via direct impacts on occupational attainment. Few studies actually examine the link between cultural participation and economic rather than educational outcomes, an exception is Robson (2009).

A simple, linear model of the role of the transmission of lifestyles in social reproduction is outlined in figure 2. According to this model, parents' social class and education determine parents' lifestyles, which in turn determine children's lifestyles. Certain aspects of the children's lifestyles help to determine their educational attainment – these aspects of lifestyle are termed cultural capital. Educational attainment in turn is reflected in subsequent occupational attainment in adulthood. Finally, the occupational level achieved is reflected in the individual's lifestyle. Of course, in reality, many more direct and indirect relationships than are represented here may be in operation. This model, though simple, includes both intergenerational and life-course elements, and few studies in the literature actually address more than one or two of the steps in this chain. Note that the final link in this model, between occupational outcomes and lifestyles, will be discussed in the next section.

Figure 2: Cultural and Social reproduction: a simple model



Cultural participation has been found to be associated with academic success, and several studies have attempted to unpack the mechanisms underlying this. Ganzeboom (1982) contrasts Bourdieu's view that participation in high-culture is an assertion of elite status with the 'information-processing' view, according to which the type of cultural participation engaged in by different groups is explained by the information-processing capacities of individuals in those groups. A potential explanation of the association between cultural participation and academic success, which is linked to the 'information-processing' view, is that participation in cultural activities leads to the development of knowledge or skills, which in turn enable pupils to succeed at school. For instance, one might expect reading novels to contribute to both linguistic competence and cultural knowledge, and to therefore be associated with school success.

Some studies have refined the cultural reproduction approach by breaking 'cultural capital' down into its constituent parts, in order to examine the mechanisms through which it operates. Public cultural participation (e.g. theatre visits) tends to be seen as 'status-seeking', while reading is seen as developing and/or reflecting cognitive skill (Crook 1997, De Graaf 1988, De Graaf 1986, De Graaf et al. 2000, Sullivan 2001). These studies have tended to support the information processing view, as the main cultural activity which is consistently found to affect educational attainment is reading, whereas relatively elitist activities such as attending galleries or classical concerts have not consistently been found to have any direct link to academic attainment. I have argued previously that the important distinction is not that between 'public' and 'private' cultural participation, but that between verbal or literary forms which use words to transmit content (including cultural information) and visual or musical forms which are not based on words or the transmission of information, and are therefore less likely to develop the skills which are rewarded within the school.

There is little evidence that schools have a direct prejudice in favour of children who engage in 'beaux arts' participation. On the other hand, schools may reward particular social styles and behaviours, including students' and their parents' styles of interaction with the school (Lareau 1987).

A problem with Bourdieu's theory as it relates to social stratification is that studies have found that cultural participation is more strongly linked to education than to social class, and hence the effect of parents' cultural capital on children's academic attainment may mediate the effect of parents' education but not the effect of their class. Thus, it can be argued that cultural participation is less central to social stratification than is suggested by its central role in Bourdieu's theory. For example, Van Eijck and Kraaykamp (2010) find that, controlling for occupational status, both parents' education and parents' cultural participation are strongly linked to children's educational attainment, and the effect of parents' education is substantially mediated via cultural participation, but parents' cultural possessions are not linked to this outcome.

Bourdieu suggests that lower-class individuals who attempt to appropriate high culture should not reap the full benefit. On the whole, the evidence does not support this view. DiMaggio (1982) finds that, among males, educational returns to cultural capital are restricted to students from lower and middle class homes, whereas among women, returns to cultural capital are greatest to those from high status families. De Graaf et al. (2000) find that educational returns to cultural participation are highest to the children of parents with low levels of education. Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (1996) present cultural capital as a route to social mobility for disadvantaged ethnic groups, as the authors find that the faster increase in cultural capital among blacks compared to whites has contributed to the convergence in educational attainment. Only two studies examine the question of whether there is a direct impact of cultural participation on social mobility beyond the effect on educational attainment, and the results are conflicting (Crook 1997, Scherger and Savage 2009). Crook's Australian study does not find any such direct impact. Scherger and Savage find an impact of childhood cultural socialisation on later upward social mobility. However, the dataset they use has some limitations, in that it is cross-sectional and relies on adult recall of childhood cultural socialisation. Hence this area would benefit from more research, ideally using longitudinal data. Possible mechanisms for such a direct link would include social networks, as well as the tendency of employers to select 'people like us', often explicitly demanding lifestyle information regarding sports and other activities on job application forms (Jackson et. al. 2005).

2.3 The social mobility-culture link:

The relationship between lifestyle mobility and social mobility is difficult to disentangle, as it is hypothesized to operate in two directions – i.e. cultural participation may contribute to social mobility, but social mobility may also change the individual's lifestyle.

Lifestyle stability despite social mobility is typically explained with reference to childhood socialisation. Several studies show that parental social status and/or parental cultural practices are linked to individuals' adult lifestyles, even when the individuals' educational and/or occupational attainment is taken into account. Thus, childhood socialisation is seen as central to determining cultural consumption. For example, Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002) find a strong and stable influence of family socialisation, which persists through the lifecourse. It is possible that this stability is due to the early formation of tastes for particular activities.

However, studies also typically find that socially and educationally mobile individuals have lifestyles which are somewhere in-between the lifestyles of the immobile members of their class of origin and the immobile members of their class of destination (Van Eijck 1999, Popham 2009). Van Eijck (1999) investigates the relationship between educational mobility and cultural participation. The analyses showed that parents' education had a direct impact on the consumption of highbrow culture. Upwardly mobile respondents participated less in highbrow culture than their immobile peers within the highly-educated group. The upwardly mobile also consumed more popular culture than their immobile highly-educated counterparts. Thus, the expansion of the education system has led to a more culturally heterogeneous population of highly educated people, whose cultural

preferences are less predictable than in the past. So, Van Eijck points out, the more heterogeneous and omnivorous consumption pattern that is observed among the 'new middle-class' at the aggregate level may be accounted for largely by social mobility. This in turn is likely to lead to more omnivorousness at the individual level, as social norms regarding cultural participation become more flexible in response to greater diversity within the reference group.

So, how do we explain lifestyle change in response to social mobility? Bourdieu's view is that participation in culture is an expression of status. The socially mobile need to adopt the lifestyles of the social class they join in order to fit in with their new status. For the socially mobile, new social networks will lead to new social norms regarding lifestyles and tastes.

Roe puts forward a particular version of this argument, based on the theory of *anticipatory socialisation*. This suggests that individuals who anticipate experiencing upward or downward social mobility, for example based on their performance at school, will come to identify with the tastes of the group they expect to join.

An alternative view is the 'information-processing' theory (Ganzeboom 1982), according to which the type of cultural participation engaged in by different groups is explained by the information-processing capacities of individuals in those groups. On this view, individuals who perform well in education, and are upwardly mobile, are more likely to have the ability to engage in more 'difficult' activities such as literary reading. However, Ganzeboom's description of cultural stimuli as sources of complex information seems less apt when applied to the visual arts or music, let alone sports (Sullivan 2007).

Perhaps, rather than (or as well as) information-processing capacity or social status, both upward mobility and omnivorous cultural tastes may be partly driven by a common characteristic – curiosity or openness. A willingness to leave one's community, travel, and try new experiences could drive both social mobility and omnivorousness to a degree. Pettit (1999) finds a link between cultural capital in high school (using PROJECT TALENT and operationalising cultural capital in terms of cultural interests, self-image and activities), and residential mobility eleven years later, even controlling for factors such as education and income, which are also linked to cultural capital. Of course, we may also expect educational experiences, as opposed to educational credentials, to have an impact on cultural openness. For example, the experience of leaving home to go to college and of being exposed to a new peer group, as well as the educational experience per se, constitute exposure to new cultural experiences, which may lead the individual to greater cultural eclecticism.

A further set of factors which is not much mentioned in the literature is that the practicalities of daily life, and a lack of both time and money, limit people's possibilities. The downwardly mobile will find their options for cultural participation constrained, while the upwardly mobile find new opportunities for participation (Miles and Sullivan 2010). As Rossel (2008) points out, the salience of cultural preferences in determining lifestyles varies according to the costs of the activity, as well as the possibility of using the activity to express one's aesthetic tastes.

In summary, financial and time constraints; peer group norms; status seeking; intellectual resources, and personality differences, have all been suggested as mediators of the relationship between social status and lifestyles. These various explanations do not appear to be contradictory or mutually exclusive. Further research in this area could address questions such as the extent to which adult lifestyles are predicted by parental and childhood lifestyles, and, controlling for this, what is the additional impact of the individual's achieved educational and occupational level.

Conclusions

To think that there are idiots who derive consolation from the fine arts (Sartre 1938, Nausea).

The literature provides ample evidence that cultural participation and tastes are transmitted intergenerationally, in the sense that parents' social position affects the cultural characteristics of the offspring, either directly or indirectly. Many studies also at least suggest that this intergenerational reproduction of lifestyles *matters* in some way, but of course the way in which it matters may differ according to the lifestyle domain being considered – e.g. reading matters for educational attainment, food matters for health inequalities, etc. But few studies are able to examine lifestyles across a range of domains, and still fewer allow an examination of both the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles and the consequences (whether short or long term) of this transmission. Thus, what emerges from the literature is a wealth of information, but much of it rather fragmented, and difficult to relate back to the whole. It is not easy, for example, to address questions regarding the relative strength of intergenerational transmission across lifestyle domains.

The quality of the data sources used in the studies cited here of course varies, both in terms of the nature of the samples used and the quality and variety of the variables. Some studies also use proxy reports on parental lifestyles, and sometimes recall data on childhood is used. Such evidence as we have does not suggest that the strength of intergenerational transmission is greatly overestimated because of these issues (Van Eijck 1997). However, few of the studies cited here use high-quality longitudinal data of the sort that would be required to unpack the complex relationships outlined in the preceding discussion. In order to move this research agenda forward, the ideal would be to incorporate rich information on lifestyles in large multi-purpose prospective longitudinal datasets (Miles and Sullivan 2010).

One gap in the literature reviewed here is the lack of focus on gender and ethnicity. Fathers may be more important in affecting boys' lifestyles, and mothers more important for girls. But most studies neglect this question, which may have implications for intergenerational transmission in different domains - for example, fathers teaching sons about sport, mothers teaching daughters about cooking. Ethnic diversity presents a new dimension for research on the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles. But as yet, few studies examine the role of ethnicity (Becker 2009 is an exception).

The study of the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles has, on the whole, been rather limited in the cultural forms which it has considered. Most studies consider participation in high-brow culture, and only a few venture to consider other areas such as TV viewing and food tastes. The wider literature on lifestyles has examined a wide range of cultural forms, including styles of dress and choice of holidays for example (Katz-Gerro 2004). Aspects of lifestyle such as cooking, gardening and home improvements are important vehicles for the expression of tastes (Holt 1998). As tastes and cultural participation in a wide range of domains, from sports to internet use, may affect life-chances in an equally wide range of domains, from health to social capital for example, intergenerational transmission of resources within these domains should also be of interest to social scientists who are concerned with unequal life chances. There is tremendous scope to broaden the research agenda in this regard, and to use the sociological insights generated in this research field in a multi-disciplinary context.

Aspects of lifestyle are linked to educational and social mobility, and educational and social mobility in turn have their effect on lifestyles. The extent to which the link between social mobility and lifestyles is driven by status-seeking, information processing, openness, or practical constraints is still unclear. More well-theorised research into these mechanisms is needed, as well as better data sources.

Research into the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles must surely gain its impetus from the view that aspects of lifestyles are important – either for social reproduction and mobility, or for other outcomes such as health and well-being, or else that certain tastes and activities are valuable in their own right and should be promoted as such. It should be clear by now that beaux arts participation does not play a central part in the social stratification of contemporary societies – after all, such participation is the preserve of a minority even among the highest status groups (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007). But it may be that a more general omnivorousness is linked both to social mobility and to wider outcomes, and we may also want to argue that cultural openness is intrinsically valuable. Finally, it is not surprising that there should be a strong link between parents' lifestyles and those of their offspring. But the question arises – which educational curricula and policies, and which cultural policies are effective in promoting cultural openness or omnivorousness among the whole population?

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Appendix

Table A1: Summary of studies, samples and measurements

Study	Sample	Country	Parents' demographics	Children's demographics/ attainment	Parents' lifestyles	Children's Lifestyles
Becker (2009)	1, 227 pre-school children (3-4 years old). Random sample.	Germany	Education Social class Home ownership Ethnic group		Activities with the child: reading, singing, playing, trips to library, museum, zoo, etc.	Test of cultural knowledge.
Broos and Roe (2006)	1 145 Flemish adolescents	Netherlands	Education			Computer and internet use
Bukodi (2007)	Way of Life and Time Use Survey' n=10,000. Analyses restricted to 20-64 year olds.	Hungary	Father's status	Education Social status Social class		Reading at all, and reading 'serious' literature: classical and modern novels, drama and poetry, and non-fiction literature
Caraher et. al. (1999)	1993 Health and Lifestyles Survey of England, a random sample of 5, 553	England		Social class Education		Cookery skills, knowledge and practices.
Crook (1997)	Australian National Social Science Survey 1993, a random sample of adults (n = 2,760)	Australia	Education Fathers' occupation Material resources	Educational attainment Occupational attainment	Beaux arts participation Reading	Beaux arts participation Reading
Damen, Nagel and Haanstra (2010)	See: Nagel (2009)					

De Graaf and De Graaf (1988)	415 respondents aged 25-79. Report on parents' when respondents were aged 12-15.	Netherlands	Father's occupational prestige Parents' affluence Parents' education	Education Occupational prestige Income	Retrospective data from offspring. Concerts; theatre, cabaret, ballet; museums or art exhibitions.	Concerts; theatre, cabaret, ballet; museums or art exhibitions. Material lifestyle: household luxury goods Values: postmaterialist values
Di Maggio 1982	Project Talent: Survey of 11th Grade students in US high schools in 1960.	US	Fathers' Social Class		Home cultural resources: books, media; records; equipment; musical instruments, etc. Parents' participation in clubs.	Participation in, attitudes toward, and knowledge about the arts and literature. Includes 'cultivated self-image' inventory.
Di Maggio and Mohr (1985)	See: Di Maggio 1982					
Ganzeboom (1982)	347 adults (over 17)	Netherlands	Education Occupation	Education Occupation	Retrospective data from offspring. Theatre and concerts Museums and exhibitions Books and magazines Historical places	Theatre and concerts Museums and exhibitions Books and magazines Historical places Knowledge of architecture and history
Gerhards and Rossel (2002)	420 pupils aged 13-17.	Germany	Education, SES	School grades	Information from children. Music tastes, reading, museum and theatre attendance, cinema, pubs, restaurants, sports.	Information from children. Music tastes, reading, museum and theatre attendance, cinema, computer games, hanging out, sports. Eating habits.
Jungbauer-Gans (2004)	PISA 2000, n=5073 15 year olds	Germany	SES, education,	Reading ability.	Books in the home	Visits to museums, art galleries, opera, ballet,

			migration status			classical concerts and theatres
Katz-Gerro et. al. (2007)	Representative sample of Jewish population. N=808.	Israel	Father's social class and social status	Education Social class and social status		Musical tastes.
Kraaykamp (2001)	Family Survey Dutch Population of 1998, a nationally representative sample of the Dutch population aged between 18-15. N=1, 714	Netherlands		Education	Retrospective data on parents' TV viewing and reading habits.	Popular and serious TV viewing and reading.
Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta (2000)	Social Stratification in Eastern Europe after 1989' (SSEE) data refer to a national random probability sample of each population. 25-70 year olds. Bulgaria n=3542 Czech n=4662 Hungary n=3339 Poland n=2635 Slovakia n=3777	Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia	Education Occupational prestige	Education Income Occupational prestige	Retrospective data from offspring. Museums and plays, listening to classical music, reading 'serious' literature, library visits.	Museums and plays, listening to classical music, reading 'serious' literature, library visits. Material consumption: housing quality; ownership of consumer durables.
Kraaykamp's (2003)	Representative data for individuals over the age of 25 who had left the parental home 1998, N=1 762.	Netherlands	Education	Education	Retrospective data from offspring. Parents' literary reading and popular reading, parents' active promotion of children's reading: reading to children; giving books as presents; recommending books, discussing books that have been read and	Literary and popular reading.

					taking an interest in reading preferences.	
Leseman and de Jong (1998)	89 4-7 year olds	Netherlands	SES Ethnicity		Home reading practices	
Mohr and Di Maggio (1996)	See: Di Maggio 1982					
Nagel (2009)	2547 14-16 year olds. Three cohorts: 1998, 2000, 2001. Follow up postal questionnaires carried out annually/biannually until 2004. Parents postal survey.	Netherlands	Education	Education	Scale based on frequency of attendance at: theatre; cabaret; classical concerts; ballet; museums.	Scale based on frequency of attendance at: theatre; cabaret; classical concerts; ballet; museums.
Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002)	1033 adults who were around age 30 at interview, but originally sampled from examination records at 31 secondary schools.	Netherlands	Education	Education	Parents' independently interviewed at wave 1. At least one parent regularly went to: theatre, cultural history museums, art museums, classical concerts, listened to classical music, owned classical music, owned art books.	Art museums; cultural history museums; theatre; cinema; classical concerts.
Notten and Kraaykamp (2009)	3 waves of the Family Survey Dutch Population (FSDP), a nationally representative sample of the Dutch population aged 18-70, conducted in 1998, 2000 and 2003.	Netherlands	Education Occupational Status		Retrospective data from offspring. Highbrow reading Lowbrow reading Highbrow TV, Lowbrow TV, Reading guidance: parents reading to children, giving books as	

	N=2, 608.					gifts, expressing interest in child's reading. TV guidance: discussing television programs.	
Popham (2009)	2003 Scottish Health Survey of 2770 Scottish men and women aged 35 to 54	Scotland	Social class	Social class			Participation in sport and exercise.
Roe (1992)	1, 334 adolescents aged 15-16	Sweden	Father's social class				Musical tastes
Roe (1994)	Swedish Media Panel Program. Sweep 1, 15-16 year olds in 1985, sweep 2 20-21 year olds in 1990. N=201	Sweden	Social class Education	Educational attainment by 20-21			Musical tastes
Roe (2000)	Representative sample of Flemish 10-11 year olds, n=890	Belgium	Education Occupational status	School attainment	TV viewing Number of TVs		Amount of TV viewing Preference for soaps
Rossel and Beckert-Zieglschmid (2002)	See: Gerhards and Rossel (2002)						
Scheerder et. al (2006)	257 adolescent girls. The respondents were surveyed in 1979 and again between 1999 and 2002, when they were aged 32-41	Belgium	Education Father's social class	Education Labour market position (employed/unemployed)	Sports participation		Sports participation
Scherger and Savage (2010)	Taking Part' representative sample of 13,779 adults (over 16).	England	Social class	Educational attainment Occupational attainment Ethnicity	Retrospective data from respondents: Parents' encouragement to take part in activities, and		

					adults taking respondent to activities.	
Sullivan (2001)	465 year 11 students	England	Education Social class	Educational attainment	Reading behaviour, number of books in the home, newspapers taken, music and radio stations listened to, subjects discussed in the home, art gallery, theatre and concert attendance	Reading: type and amount TV viewing: type Music: playing and listening Public: gallery, museum and concert attendance Cultural knowledge Vocabulary
Van Eijck (1997)	Netherlands Family Study 1992-1993. 1000 primary respondents and one random sibling of 65% of the sample completed a shorter questionnaire.	Netherlands	Occupation Education Number of siblings	Education	Retrospective data from offspring. Housing and household commodities. Visiting art galleries, visiting museums, attending ballet, classical concerts, plays or cabaret, reading poetry, reading Dutch literature, reading foreign literature in translation, reading untranslated foreign literature.	Visiting art galleries, visiting museums, attending ballet, classical concerts, plays or cabaret.
Van Eijck (1999)	1995 Time Budget Survey (TBO), national cluster sample of 3,227 respondents	Netherlands	Education	Education		High culture: reading literary books; visiting museums or exhibitions; attending plays, concerts, etc. Popular culture: reading romantic novels; time spent watching Dutch commercial television

						as a proportion of all television viewing; attending football matches.
Van Eijck and Kraaykamp (2010)	Family Survey Dutch Population (FSDP) 1998, 2000, 2003. Random survey of population aged 18-70.	Netherlands	Occupational status father Parental education in years	Education in years	Activities: classical concerts, historical museums, art museums, popular theatre, serious theatre Objects: musical instruments, art, antique furniture	Activities: classical concerts, historical museums, art museums, popular theatre, serious theatre Objects: musical instruments, art, antique furniture
Warde et. al. (1999)	N=1,001 16-65 year olds	Britain	Father's social class	Social class Income Education		Eating out.
Zimdars et. al. (2009a, 2009b)	Oxford Admissions Study, N=1,700 Majority of sample aged around 17	England	Education Social Class	Ethnic group	Books in the home	Beaux arts participation Reading Cultural knowledge