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Cultural Capital Reproduction in the UK

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Abstract

This paper studies the transmission of cultural capital between parents and children in UK. To that end, I examined the intergenerational effects of parents' embodied and institutionalized cultural capital on their children's cultural capital. The findings show that cultural capital is inherited within families in the UK today, but also that this general statement has to be qualified. In accordance with previous contributions, it is demonstrated that cultural transmission is "type-specific", that is, while parents' educational achievements tend to affect those of their children, parents' own tastes are mainly reproduced through their children's tastes. Although these findings on the whole support Bourdieu's general thesis regarding the cross-generational transmission of cultural capital, they point to some important distinctions that need to be drawn between subtypes of this kind of capital. Furthermore, the effect of gender is also found in the regression models. Mothers' and fathers' cultural behaviour and level of education are both important, but their impact varies according to the type of cultural capital.

Keywords: Cultural Capital, Social Reproduction, Cultural Reproduction, Social Mobility, Educational Inequality

Introduction

The role of parents' education and occupation in shaping their children's educational and occupational achievements is a classic focus within studies of social inequality and social mobility. In recent years, scholars have sought to disentangle the effects of parents' formal education, cultural engagement, class background, and involvement in their children's education on the latter's educational and occupational outcomes. Much of this work is indebted to Bourdieu's (1970, 1979, 1989, 1997) complex theory of social reproduction. Bourdieu contended that family-based socialisation was central to children's educational outcomes, an idea which scholars very often interpreted as suggesting a relationship between parents' formal education and children's educational outcomes (P. De Graaf, 1988; van Eijck 1997, 1999; DiMaggio, 1982). However, a more recent strand of research has focused more on the transmission of tastes and participatory cultural practices (Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Kraaykamp, 2003; terBogt et al., 2011; Nagel and Verboord, 2012; Daenekindt and Roose, 2011; Willekens and Lievens, 2014; Wollscheid, 2014). Working around ideas either of education, on the one hand, or cultural practice, on the other, these two approaches contributed to develop thinking mainly on two Bourdieusian types of cultural capital: embodied (cultural practices, taste) and institutionalised (education).

The sociological exploration which follows attempts to combine both traditions of studies, aiming at making a contribution to an empirical determination of how cultural capital functions across generations. This contribution is offered here through the analysis of a national survey in the UK. In order to do that, the relationship between parents' and children's formal education and cultural practices is examined. This study has two main research questions. The first is whether parents' cultural capital significantly affects their children's cultural capital. Besides that, taking into account that previous studies have concluded that cultural capital transmission is 'type-specific' (Crook, 1997; Kraaykamp and van Eijck, 2010), the second research question asks whether children's taste is mainly shaped by that of their parents, whereas parents' level of formal schooling is significant principally in relation to children's subsequent educational outcomes. In addition, as a secondary type of hypothesis, I also echo some studies which emphasise the effect of gender in cultural transmission (Reay, 2005; Wollscheid, 2014). These results have implications for Bourdieu's often-questioned concept of habitus, insofar as they permit an assessment of the role of family in shaping childhood socialisation, as well as having significance for educational policy.

In order to do that, the paper is structured as follows: first, I unpack Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and cultural reproduction, and outline how they are operationalised in the present research. Next, contemporary research on the various ways in which parents' characteristics affect their children's educational outcomes and cultural activities is explored, with an emphasis on contributions focused on cultural capital. Finally, after sketching the principal features of research design and methodology, I present the main analytical findings regarding educational and cultural reproduction, and tease out some of their key implications.

Bourdieuian understanding and conceptual approach

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital

Bourdieu (1979, 1997) differentiated between economic, social, and cultural types of capital. Besides that, he further developed the idea of cultural capital by specifying three main forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalised. Embodied cultural capital refers to all learning incorporated by people, including manners, accent, tastes, and practices of cultural participation. This is the type of cultural capital that is most directly and strongly linked to Bourdieu's idea of "habitus", understood as a set of structured dispositions towards action. The embodied nature of habitus means that knowledge of actual practices is essential in order to understand how habitus is historically constituted. This is a key argument in Bourdieu's thinking about social reproduction. On the other hand, institutionalised cultural capital refers to educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1997). While objectified cultural capital refers to objects (artworks, books, machines) possessed by an individual which might be understood as a product or expression of specialised knowledge. The latter is not considered in this paper.

Bourdieu's theory aims to explain not only educational success but also social reproduction, the process by which the dominant classes maintain their privileges over time (Bourdieu 1970, 1979, 1989; Bourdieu and Passeron 2003). This production may, according to Bourdieu, take various forms and use various pathways. The particular configuration of social reproduction in a given case will depend on the volume (total amount) of capital that confers advantage on members of a particular social class, as well as on the internal composition of this capital (for example, the mix of economic and cultural subtypes). In this paper, I focus on reproduction occurring via intergenerational transmission of cultural capital. This is the process for which Bourdieu is best known.

The variables and mechanisms posited by the theory of intergenerational transmission are well known. The first variable is family background or family cultural capital. For Bourdieu, family is a key setting in which people unconsciously internalise the knowledge, attitudes and dispositions that he terms "habitus". He understands the habitus as a scheme of perception that children learn through family and school, and which allows them to navigate the social world while simultaneously reflecting the economic and cultural capital possessed by their family (Bourdieu, 1979). Habitus would provide children belonging to dominant classes or class fractions with advantages when they enter the school system. This is because curricula are based largely on types and forms of knowledge possessed and valued by the dominant class. In this conception, educational attainment would reflect cultural inequalities present at the moment that children enter school. As a consequence, schools would be regarded primarily as institutional mechanisms for legitimating initial differences in aptitudes and skills. Schooling here is not primarily a process of learning, but one where domination is confirmed¹. Working from that perspective, this paper tries to test whether parental cultural capital has been significantly influential on children's cultural capital in United Kingdom (Hypothesis 1 or H1).

Educational and cultural reproduction

I understand Bourdieusian theory as an account of social and cultural reproduction within which educational attainment has a very important role. However, cultural capital is a result, as well as the starting point, of this process, the outcome of which cannot be reduced to educational achievement alone. In other words, parents' cultural capital affects their children's cultural capital, and not only their educational success. This means that people with identical or equivalent levels of educational achievement will nevertheless show differences in levels of possession of embodied cultural capital, correlated with that of their parents.

¹Note that, while Bourdieu initially claimed that schools operate primarily as vehicles of reproduction by conferring titles that are unequally valued in the job market, in his last work on education, *La Noblesse d'Etat* (1989), he also considered schools as places where skills are developed (see: Lareau and Weininger, 2003: 581-82). In his later work, Bourdieu (2003) showed more flexibility about the effects of habitus, underlining its ability to adapt to new circumstances.

For the purposes of this paper, and in accordance with the distinction between institutionalised and embodied cultural capital, I use the terms “educational (institutionalised) reproduction” and “cultural (embodied) reproduction”. I do so to avoid the misunderstandings that could produce ideas such as “social reproduction”, “cultural mobility”, or even “cultural reproduction” conceptualised in a broader way (DiMaggio, 1982; Nagel, 2010; Nagel and Verboord, 2012; Daenekindt and Roose, 2011, 2013, 2014), as those terms might potentially refer to the transmission of either type of cultural capital. Making a clear distinction between two different types of cultural capital reproduction is important for at least three reasons. One has to do with the conceptual and theoretical proposal of Bourdieu, as it was mentioned above; that is, he distinguished very clearly between different types of cultural capital. The other two reasons are based upon the actual research done until now. Firstly, the studies can be classified according to the explained variable. On the one hand, there are those who are mainly focused on accounting for educational achievement (Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997; De Graaf et al., 2000; Barone, 2006; Jackson et al., 2007), and, on the other, there are also some which aims at explaining cultural practices (Kraaykamp, 2003; Nagel, 2010; Daenekindt and Roose, 2013). The second reason is that it is a common conclusion that transmission of cultural capital is “type-specific” or “domain specific”; that is, the specific habits, practices or levels of education of parents are those predominantly transmitted to their children and much less others (Crook, 1997; Kraaykamp and van Eijck, 2010; Nagel and Verboord, 2012). This does not mean by any means that different types of cultural capital are not related to each other. On the contrary, many of those studies mentioned clearly demonstrate that those relations are in place, and they are also taken into account in this article. Otherwise, I would not be able to test whether cultural capital transmission is or is not type-specific.

In the first process of transmission, which I term “educational reproduction”, parents transmit their level of education to their offspring. To demonstrate the operation of this transmission, I will show that parents’ and children’s levels of education are statistically associated when educational levels are measured by acquisition of formally recognised certificates or diplomas, and having controlled for the effect of other independent variables. Amongst these latter, occupation is used as a proxy for social class, and indicators of embodied cultural practices have also been added to the models. That rationale produces hypothesis 2 (H2):

H2: Children’s educational achievement depends significantly on their parents’ level of education.

The second term, “cultural reproduction”, refers to the process by which those parents with high or low levels of cultural capital can be expected to have children with similar cultural profiles. Testing for this phenomenon requires demonstrating a positive association between parents’ and children’s levels of cultural capital, once educational attainment of both parties has been controlled for (H3):

H3: Children’s involvement in legitimate cultural practices is significantly dependent on their parent’s degree of participation in high culture activities.

Research on cultural capital and inequality: The effects of family background on children

Explaining educational outcomes

It has been considered particularly important to disentangle the effects of family background from what have been understood as more individualised sources of educational achievement. In other words, the attempt to separate ascribed from achieved social status has become a key enterprise for scholars working on the social basis of inequalities. It is generally accepted that two types of variable have an impact on educational outcomes (Lampard, 2007). One type has to do with social origin, while the other demonstrates the social significance of people's social characteristics. In other words, people's destinies are the product of their social origins, on the one hand, and a consequence of their achievements and individual histories on the other.

Education can be understood in narrow or broad terms. In a narrow sense, education refers to formal educational attainment, understood as, or measured by, the highest level achieved by each individual within the formal system from primary or elementary school through to postgraduate degrees. Conceived more broadly, education can refer to learning derived from a range of sources, very often not formally validated by the State or by any other institution. This learning may include specific areas of knowledge such as languages, mathematical reasoning, etc. (Sullivan, 2007). It can also include attitudes or even the abstract notion of "cultural capital".

One stream of related research, focused on the family unit, has produced an abundant literature in which the family frequently appears as a key independent variable capable of explaining cultural practices, educational attainment, or cultural knowledge (Jonsson, 1987; Bernstein 1988, 1989; P. De Graaf 1988²; van Eijck 1997, 1999; N. D. De Graaf et al. 2000; López Sintas et al. 2002; Gayo-Cal et al., 2006; Sullivan, 2007; Gayo and Teitelboim, 2010). In general, these studies find a positive association between parents' educational and economic background and children's education, cultural practices and tastes. The particular weighting given to educational and economic resources varies depending on the individual study. However, studies also exist, some of them longitudinal, that question the validity of these findings (DiMaggio, 1982; P. De Graaf, 1986)³. DiMaggio (1982) is a case in point here. Using data from white populations in the United States during the 1960s, he measures family background via father's educational level. When this variable is analysed in OLS regression models, using students' grades in different subjects (English, History, Social Studies and Mathematics) as the dependent variables, the effects of parental background were only found to be

² This study does not focus precisely on school success, but on the type of secondary school chosen by students in Germany. However, this selection is in itself predicated on levels of attainment.

³ A critical summary of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital can be found in Kingston (2001). Many of Kingston's assertions and comments are, however, quite speculative, lacking an explicit evidence base or logical pathways. I would not share many of his interpretations.

significant for daughters, and not for sons. From that finding, Di Maggio concluded that father's education has a limited impact on children's grades and, by implication, on their opportunities in a wider sense.

The debate has evolved over the years, with "family" becoming an ever more complex institution for researchers to dissect and understand. The multiple meanings that the term "family" has acquired demand conceptual and definitional clarity from researchers. For example, some scholars have explored the effects of family structure on education (van Eijck and de Graaf, 1995; Jaeger, 2008). In these approaches, family is understood not, primarily, as a locus in which parent-to-child cultural transmission occurs according to parental educational background, but rather as a social group whose structure affects children's educational outcomes. Van Eijck and de Graaf (1995), for example, consider aspects of family structure such as family size, birth order, and age differences between children⁴. In addition, it can be argued that the parental unit needs to be disaggregated since the effects that father and mother have on their children differ in both intensity and character (van Wel et al., 2006)⁵. Besides, the same authors suggest that the category "children" should be disaggregated into sons and daughters⁶ as they demonstrate that influences on cultural development can differ based on children's gender as well as the gender of the parent or parents with whom they are in contact⁷.

Regarding this gender issue, there are studies in Britain which show that mothers are more involved than fathers in students' schoolwork, decisions about schooling, and decisions regarding higher education choices (David et al., 2003; Reay, 2005). Social class has an important effect on this relationship between motherhood and parental involvement in schooling. Middle-class mothers are the most inclined to share homework or intellectual activities with their children, taking for granted the resource investment required. By contrast, working-class mothers are more prone to emphasise the amount of work required of them in order to provide the economic or material conditions that allow their children to go to school. The provision of more academic kinds of support is largely beyond these mothers. In relation to this gender issue, although an in-depth study of all possible gender differences is beyond the scope of the present study, the research does consider distinctions between mother and father and the possible relationship between levels of education and cultural engagement in high culture activities, leading to hypothesis 4 (H4):

H4: The effect of parents on children's educational achievement depends significantly on the different involvement of mother and father, and, therefore, that influence differentiates between the effects of them both.

⁴ "that is, the age-intervals between subsequent siblings" (van Eijck and de Graaf, 1995).

⁵ For an interesting study of female teachers in the Galicia region of Spain, offering data on both mothers' and fathers' roles within households in relation to their differential effects on cultural transmission, see Sánchez Bello (2006).

⁶ In the already-mentioned study on the influence of cultural capital on school success, DiMaggio (1982) differentiates between sons and daughters.

⁷ A recent study in the UK on occupational attainment also demonstrates that the gender of parents and children has important effects on the analysis (Lampard, 2007).

Bringing together education and cultural practices

Even though we can clearly separate out most of the studies taking into account their dependent variable, being, as discussed above, either level of education or cultural practices, there are cases in which those variables are intermingled in the analysis. One contribution that exemplifies efforts to bring together different notions of cultural capital is by Christopher Crook (1997) for Australia. Crook draws on socioeconomic attainment and cultural reproduction theories, arguing that the combination of the two offers a stronger theoretical basis than any previously available. He arrives at some important conclusions regarding social reproduction. First, he finds that cultural practices (interest in fine arts and scholarly reading) are strongly reproduced across generations. Second, he finds that their intergenerational stability is “domain specific” - that is, parental interest in fine arts affects children’s interest in fine arts, while the parental practice of scholarly reading positively influences children’s propensity to read. Third, not all cultural practices are found to be major factors in explaining educational achievement. In fact, Crook finds an effect mainly for scholarly reading, with a significant effect of reading on grades achieved in school, and concludes that this is the indirect way in which cultural inheritance acts on educational attainment. Fourth, he also finds that parents’ education is significant in accounting for children’s level of education. Overall, he concludes that cultural reproduction is occurring in Australia, although Crook is careful to describe it as a contingent, open-ended process, the continuity of which can never be taken for granted.

While Crook’s work is analytically focused on socioeconomic attainment, there are other studies that similarly mix education and cultural participation. These are treated variously as both independent and dependent variables, albeit, in the latter case, with little reference to occupational success. The work of DiMaggio (1982) can be interpreted in a similar way. Although DiMaggio admittedly focused heavily on school-based dynamics and topics, it is also very likely that some of these activities - such as reading, art and music – cannot easily be confined to the school-institutional framework. Accordingly, such measures of educational achievement are, at the same time, indicators of cultural involvement beyond the school system. In this sense they are measures of both institutional and embodied cultural capital, thereby demonstrating how cultural capital acts both in and outside of school, and that the boundary between institutionalised and embodied forms of cultural capital is blurred. Hypothesis 5 (H5) tests this sort of combined effect:

H5: Children’s involvement in legitimate cultural practices is significantly dependent both on their parents’ level of education and their degree of participation in high culture activities.

Other contributions exist which incorporate a broad understanding of cultural capital, seeking to include its different dimensions (see Table A.9 in Appendix). The work of Kraaykamp and van Eijck (2010) is a case in point here. They measure cultural capital in its three commonly mentioned states: institutionalised, embodied and objectified. They do this for parents and for children, with children’s capital as the dependent variable.

Their conclusion is that, while the transmission of cultural capital across generations is diminishing (except in the case of the embodied type), it is still strong. They further argue that transmission should be considered “type-specific” in the sense that parents transmit their attributes to children within subtypes of cultural capital, and not so much between different types. This is here spelt out as hypotheses 6 (H6) and 7 (H7), which are developed further in the next section:

H6: Children’s institutionalised cultural capital is above all dependent on their parents’ level of education.

H7: Children’s embodied cultural capital is above all dependent on their parents’ degree of involvement in high culture activities.

Explaining cultural engagement

Over the past 10 years, several scholars have made a signal contribution to an emerging line of research that aims to produce a full account of cultural activism from within the tradition of studies of cultural capital. Although education was not completely left out of the picture, such explanations have been mainly oriented toward understanding the social basis upon which embodied cultural capital takes shape (Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Kraaykamp, 2003; Nagel, 2010; ter Bogt et al., 2011; Nagel and Verboord, 2012; Daenekindt and Roose, 2011; Daenekindt and Roose, 2013; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014; Willekens et al., 2014; Willekens and Lievens, 2014). By and large, these contributions arrived at very consistent conclusions (see Table A.12 in Appendix). On the one hand, they all recognise that cultural transmission is taking place - that is, cultural practices are inherited across generations. On the other hand, they find that a good school and a well-educated family are both important factors in developing children’s engagement with high culture. Moreover, as mentioned above in relation to Crook’s findings, transmission of cultural capital is found to be type-specific. In other words, the type of capital possessed and practised is the type of capital transmitted, where the content of cultural capital consists of particular objects, certain practices or tastes, or specific levels of educational achievement. While doubtless there are circumstances or occasions in which some types of cultural capital significantly influence other types, this process is not centrally addressed by the works cited here. In addition to those conclusions, and similar to what I presented in the section on explaining educational outcomes, scholars have occasionally found that making distinctions between father and mother within families is important to understand how the intergenerational transmission of cultural practices works. A good example is the research conducted by Wollscheid (2014) on reading behaviour in Germany, in which it is demonstrated that parental reading practices increase the probabilities of their children being good readers. However, those influences vary according to whether we refer to daughters or sons, or whether it is considered a father’s or mother’s effect. In order to follow this line of research, focusing on parents’ impact, hypothesis 8 (H8) is included:

H8: The effect of parents on children's involvement in legitimate cultural practices depends significantly on the different involvement of mother and father, and, therefore, that influence differentiates between the effects of them both.

Data and methods

The data source for this study is a survey on cultural attitudes and practices that was conducted in the United Kingdom in 2003 as part of the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion project (CCSE), itself part of a study involving researchers based at the University of Manchester and the Open University (UK). A total of 1,564 people living in UK was interviewed about their preferences, knowledge and practices in cultural domains as different and wide ranging as television, films, visual arts, music, reading, sport and eating out. The study was a corrective response to the limitations of previous data on cultural capital and related social processes. Participants aged 18 or over were selected on the basis of a nationwide random sample, which included England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland⁸ (for details, see Thompson, 2004).

Surveys do not usually provide much information about parents' practices and views. The CCSE survey directly addressed this limitation found in previous questionnaires, allowing researchers to work with family background by using two different sorts of variable. On the one hand, data were collected about educational level of both mother and father. On the other hand, the CCSE questionnaire also asked interviewees about their mothers' and fathers'⁹ hobbies, pastimes and interests, offering the following alternatives: reading, cinema, gardening, handicrafts/ DIY/machinery, sport, popular music, classical music, cooking, and art. Interviewees were not limited in the maximum number of options that they could select. All alternatives were binary (yes/no) and they all could be chosen if appropriate. The survey therefore equips us with knowledge not just about parents' level of education but also about how they spent their leisure time while their children were growing up¹⁰. I use two methodological strategies and two measures of cultural capital to interrogate these data. First, I focus on the transmission of formally recognised measures of educational achievement such as certificates/diplomas or levels of education. Second, I explore the association between scores of parents and children on indicators measuring possession of legitimate cultural capital. The analysis is only performed with people over twenty four years of age. This decision allowed me to work with a whole population for which any remaining classificatory errors were not significantly associated with age, since 24 was assumed as the maximum expected age of university graduation for participants. Although university education in the UK can in some cases be finished by the age of twenty-one, the choice of twenty four as the cut-off

⁸An ethnic minority boost of about 200 people was also conducted, but is not reported here.

⁹This means that we did not have to select one or other (mothers' or fathers') cultural capital, as Sullivan (2007) and Barone (2006) were obliged to do. They worked with the parent with the highest amount of cultural capital. Neither are we forced to follow Crook (1997) in using a composite measure combining fathers' and mothers' cultural practices.

¹⁰The actual question was: "Thinking back now to the hobbies, pastimes and interests that your parents had when you were growing up; looking at this card, which if any of these was your father (mother) interested in?" (for more details, see Thompson, 2004).

age allowed for the incorporation of fairly common circumstances that often act to increase age at graduation. The average UK degree course lasts three years, with university entrance traditionally beginning at age 18. Nonetheless, in some subjects – such as engineering or architecture – first degrees always take more than 3 years. Additionally, students who are enrolled on three-year degree courses often take more than the allotted time to complete their studies. For present purposes, three additional years were allowed in order to incorporate variations in completion time according to these structural or other personal circumstances.

Besides that consideration, several measures of cultural capital for parents and children were developed for this study with the purpose of analysing cultural reproduction - that is, the relationship between parents' and children's cultural capital. Table A.1 shows the items and procedures used. Survey data on parents' hobbies were used to assess their embodied cultural capital. Since the first goal was to find out whether a measure of cultural capital could be built up inductively and in an exploratory fashion from the analysis of parents' cultural practices (hobbies, pastimes and interests), principal component analysis (PCA) was used. PCA is a statistical technique that allows the detection of latent or unobserved factors or dimensions lying behind or below the answers to a set of correlated observed variables. It exposes factors that statistically explain an important percentage of the observed variance in those relevant variables¹¹. Because the work was done with binary variables, instead of relying on Pearson's correlations, more adequate for continuous variables, I first performed polychoric correlations, and then conducted PCA analysis on the resulting matrix of correlations¹².

In this case, factors were obtained through the separate application of this procedure to mothers' and fathers' reported patterns of cultural practice, as they were two separate modules or sets of questions within the questionnaire. The resulting scores were used as measures of interviewees' exposure to legitimate culture¹³ at home¹⁴. This could be done because a legitimate cultural capital factor was identified for both mothers and fathers, although it was not scaled identically for each of the two cases. In the case of fathers, classical music, art and reading were the defining items (see Table A6). For mothers, legitimate culture was defined above all by listening to classical music and showing some interest in art (see Table A8). Even though these two scales are very similar, they are not identical and do not have to be, as the purpose was to have an indicator that differentiated among mothers, on the one hand, and among fathers, on the other, according to a gradient of involvement in high culture through a measure of taste. In this case, having done the

¹¹ For a similar methodological approach, see Crook (1997).

¹² In any case, one way or the other - that is, with Pearson's or polychoric correlations - the results show more coincidences than significant differences.

¹³ "Legitimate" is not understood here as opposed to "illegitimate". Influenced by Max Weber, Bourdieu's notion of legitimacy refers rather to a practice by which those who perform it obtain recognition from others. The 'performers' are usually a few or a minority (the dominant class), with the 'recognisers' as the majority (the dominated class). In his theory, legitimacy is very much connected to ideas of "distinction" and "social field", meaning that what is legitimate becomes historical (time specific) and relative (dependent upon what others in the same society have or do).

¹⁴ For more information about the PCAs conducted for this analysis, see Tables A5 to A8 in Appendix.

principal components analysis, reading amongst mothers does not seem to be as distinctive as it is amongst fathers.

Table A.1. Items and techniques used in the construction of the cultural capital measures

	Parents	Children
<i>Items</i>	Information was available about fathers' and mothers' interest in any or all of the following hobbies: 1. Reading 2. cinema 3. gardening, 4. handicrafts/DIY/machinery 5. sport 6. popular music 7. classical music 8. cooking 9. art (see section 5 for further information)	A measure was calculated by using forty likes (reported by Warde and Gayo, 2009). These include: 1. Art of Kahlo, 2. Films of Almodovar, 3. Art of Warhol, 4. Films of Campion, 5. Modern literature, 6. Four Seasons (Vivaldi), 7. Symphony No 5 (Mahler), 8. Van Gogh, 9. Art of Picasso 10. Art of Turner 11. Art of Warhol, 12. Kind of blue (Miles Davis), 13. Einstein on the Beach (Glass), and 14. Art of Emin, as items with higher loadings on the measure.
<i>Procedures</i>	As the variables were binary (1/0), a principal component analysis (PCA) with polychoric correlations was conducted. From this analysis, two different scales of legitimate culture were derived (separately for father and mother) (see Tables A5 to A8 in Appendix).	As the variables were binary (1/0), a principal component analysis (PCA) with polychoric correlations was conducted. Since original results were very complex, with many different dimensions that could be associated with expressions of high culture, all items were represented in one axis, generating a gradient that could very clearly be interpreted as an indicator of legitimate culture. Additionally, reliability was checked by correlating this variable with alternative scales for the culturally highbrow. In all cases, correlations were over 0.8.

With regard to the construction of an indicator of legitimate culture for children, I worked with items included in the CCSE survey that have previously been identified as good representatives of high culture (Warde et al., 2008; and, above all, Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009). In order to identify those items, I also used tetrachoric (for binary variables) correlations and PCA. Finally, working with items that people reported liking, I produced a dimension representing a gradient of preference for high culture which formed the indicator later used in my linear (OLS) regression analysis as the dependent variable. The column for children in Table A.1 (above) shows some additional details about the items that were chosen for purposes of analysis and the procedures used.

Cultural reproduction

In order to develop an account of cultural achievement, measures of cultural capital for father, mother, and children were used as variables in linear regression models estimating

the association between parents' and some children's characteristics, on the one hand, and children's cultural taste on the other. Models were specified in an effort to approximate as closely as possible the logic of causal sequencing: parents' features go first, and respondents' (i.e., children's) characteristics follow. The indicators of legitimate culture for father and mother were placed first because the study is particularly interested in the intergenerational transmission of embodied cultural capital - that is, cultural reproduction and what it might mean for the building of a particular "habitus". In Bourdieusian theory, this process is related to practices within families, and if this is the case, parents' cultural capital should have a significant effect on children's taste. Findings suggest that this is indeed the case, although more commentary is needed if we wish to understand properly the process by which cultural capital has been reproduced across generations in the UK during recent decades.

Table A.2 contains standardised or Beta coefficients. Therefore, we can compare the relative explanatory weight of each variable (or category) in each model. With this in mind, Table A.2 leads us to draw the following conclusions. First, legitimate culture factors for both father and mother are statistically significant variables in all of the models¹⁵, confirming H3 (and, more generally, H1). Mothers' involvement in high culture seems to be very influential in producing children with 'highbrow' tastes as compared with other potential influences, including fathers' participation in culturally legitimate activities (H8). Second, the influence of parents' formal education is only statistically significant in the first three models, that is, just up to the introduction of variables that refers directly to the people surveyed. In other terms, the effects of fathers' and mothers' education are explained by the educational attainment of their children. This does not mean that parents' institutionalised cultural capital is not important, but that its relevance depends upon the success of their children at school. Therefore, parents' educational influence is in line with H7. Third, using this as a control variable, the occupation of the head of household (primary earners' work: see table A.11 for frequencies) shows some effects, but they disappear when respondents' social class is included. Fourth, when respondents' education and social class are added to the models, important changes are observed. This does not mean that family is no longer important, but suggests either that other variables begin to acquire more explanatory power than parents' cultural capital, or that the effect of parental cultural capital is mediated through

¹⁵Correlations between mothers' and fathers' cultural capital indicators were checked. In the case of measures on cultural involvement in high culture, the Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0,3. Regarding level of education of both mother and father, Cramer's V is 0,4. I also looked at the stability of the coefficients in the regression models when doing the analysis separately for mothers and fathers, and all the results for all the variables are stable. However, if we run models taking only into account the level of education of either mothers or fathers, those coefficients of educational level included in the models increase their size and significance, giving the impression that they have a higher impact than they probably have. Taking those reasons into consideration, in this article I report full models - that is, those with level of education for both mother and father. In the British dataset that was analysed in this research, there is a high concentration of answers for parents in the "no educational qualifications" level of education (Tables A9 and A10 in the Appendix). For that reason, in order to make sure that my findings were strong, I also did the same analysis presented in the paper with a proxy of level of education - the age of father and mother when they completed their continuous full-time education. In this latter case, the correlation between the fathers' and mothers' indicator was 0,59. The results were consistent with those that I report in this article.

children's success in school and in the labour market. In particular, having a university degree comes out as the most influential category explaining interviewees' legitimate taste in the full model. When we compare models 4 and 5, this impact of educational attainment is partially explained by the occupational success of the interviewees. In other words, respondents' education is extremely relevant. Fifth, it must be emphasised that social class makes an explanatory contribution, above all when people belong to the managerial/professional and, to a lesser extent, the intermediate classes. This means that working-class people have a lower cultural profile than members of the intermediate and middle classes. Finally, I conclude overall that, while family background, above all parents' cultural practices, has a significant impact on interviewees' cultural taste, this effect has to be understood in the context of other personal characteristics which are quite often at least as important. This does not contradict H1 and H3, but these results clearly implied that cultural capital transmission from parents to children has to be contextualised and not over-emphasised.



Table A.2.¹ Linear regression coefficients for models with a legitimate culture scale as the dependent variable

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Fathers' legitimate culture factor(a)	0,14**	0,11**	0,10**	0,10**	0,08**
Mothers' legitimate culture factor(b)	0,25**	0,20**	0,19**	0,15**	0,15**
<i>Fathers' education(c)</i>					
GCSE		0,08**	0,07**	0,04	0,05
GCE A-level		0,03	0,01	-0,02	-0,02
University		0,09**	0,08**	0,02	0,03
<i>Mothers' education(d)</i>					
GCSE		0,11**	0,11**	0,04	0,04
GCE A-level		0,11**	0,10**	0,06*	0,05
University		0,09**	0,09**	0,03	0,03
<i>Primary earner's work(e)</i>					
Manager, professional, small business and clerical			0,08**	0,05*	0,04
<i>Respondent's education(f)</i>					
GCSE				0,16**	0,12**
RSA/OCR				0,16**	0,14**
GCE A-level				0,15**	0,11*
University				0,39**	0,30**
<i>Respondents' social class(g)</i>					
Middle class (managers and professionals)					0,15**
Intermediate					0,10**
Never worked					-0,07**
Adjusted R square	0,10	0,16	0,17	0,25	0,27

¹Table A.2 presents the statistically significant standardised or Beta coefficients. The statistical probabilities are provided at two levels: * p<0.05, and ** p<0.01. Baseline categories are those that are not included in the table because they are redundant: 1. Fathers' education: no educational qualifications; 2. Mothers' education: no educational qualifications; 3. Primary earner's work: technical, craft and routine occupations; 4. Respondents education: no educational qualifications; 5. Respondents' social (occupational) class: working class. Model 1 = a+b, model 2 = model 1+c+d, model 3 = model 2+e, model 4 = model 3+f, model 5 = model 4+g.

Table A.3. Frequencies of dependent variable in multinomial logistic regression

	N	%
<i>No educational qualifications</i>	405	29.1
<i>GCSE, CSE, O-level, NVQ/SVQ Level 1 or 2</i>	328	23.6
<i>GCE A-level, RSA/OCR</i>	313	22.5
<i>Uni/CNAA Bachelor Deg, Master Deg/Ph.D./D.Phil</i>	344	24.8
Total	1418	100.0

Educational reproduction

In order to know whether educational reproduction is present, and what variables might contribute to explain educational achievement, a multinomial logistic regression analysis was performed on the available survey data. The dependent variable, participants' educational level, was composed of the following categories: 1. "No educational qualifications"; 2. "GCSE"; 3. "GCE A-level"; 4. "University" (see details in Table A.3, in the Appendix). My working hypotheses were H1, H2, H4 and H6. This data analysis appears in Table A.4 below. Model 1 (M1) shows the results of the multinomial regression for all the categories of education. Model 2 (M2) and model 3 (M3) only present the comparison between consecutive educational steps - that is, M2 compares "GCSE" with "GCE A-level", and M3 shows the coefficients for "GCE A-level" against "University". These latter results are to be compared with those in Column 1 regarding the comparison between "no qualifications" and "GCSE".

Table A.4. Multinomial logistic regression coefficients for educational reproduction

	GCSE, CSE, O-level, NVQ/SVQ level 1 or 2 (M1)	GCE A-level, RSA/OCR (M1)	Univer/CNAA Bachelor Degr, Master Deg/Ph.D./D.Phil. (M1)	GCE A-level, RSA/OCR (M2)	Univer/CNAA Bachelor Degr, Master Deg/Ph.D./D.Phil. (M3)
	B(Wald)Exp(B)Sig	B(Wald)Exp(B)Sig	B(Wald)Exp(B)Sig	B(Wald)Exp(B)Sig	B(Wald)Exp(B)Sig
<i>Father's education</i>					
GCSE	1,96(13,68)7,09**	1,6(8,66)4,94**	1,87(12,22)6,5**	-0,36(1,36)0,70	0,28(0,84)1,32
GCE A-level	1,07(6,74)2,92**	1,36(11,71)3,9**	1,46(13,53)4,32**	0,29(0,87)1,34	0,10(0,14)1,11
University	1,10(1,48)3,01	1,92(5,17)6,83*	3,09(14,37)21,99**	0,82(2,34)2,27	1,17(11,59)3,22**
<i>Mother's education</i>					
GCSE	2,31(15,15)10,04**	2,4(16,52)11,07**	2,98(25,97)19,77**	0,10(0,12)1,10	0,58(5,12)1,79*
GCE A-level	0,45(0,51)1,56	1,4(6,41)4,05**	1,72(9,93)5,58**	0,95(4,25)2,59*	0,32(0,98)1,38
University	1,67(5,95)5,31*	1,91(8,25)6,76**	2,72(17,58)15,24**	0,24(0,35)1,27	0,81(6,47)2,26**
<i>Primary earner's work</i>					
Manager, professionals, small business and clerical	0,30(3,35)1,35	0,32(3,67)1,38	0,67(14,0)1,96**	0,02(0,02)1,02	0,35(3,91)1,42*
Father's legitimate culture factor	-0,1(0,17)0,9	-0,27(1,14)0,76	0,23(0,83)1,26	-0,17(0,42)0,85	0,51(4,35)1,66**
Mother's legitimate culture factor	0,33(1,8)1,38	1,18(25,88)3,26**	1,01(17,06)2,74**	0,86(14,78)2,35**	-0,17(0,74)0,84
Nagelkerke's R square			0,31		

This table presents the statistically significant coefficients. The statistical probabilities are provided at two levels: * $p < 0.05$, and ** $p < 0.01$. The reference category of the dependent variable in model 1 (M1) is “No educational qualifications “. For model 2 (M2), the baseline category is “GCSE, CSE, O-level, NVQ/SVQ level 1 or 2”, and in the case of model 3 (M3) “GCE A-level, RSA/OCR”. (see Table A.3). The baseline categories for the independent variables are not included in the table because they are redundant. They are the following: 1. father’s education: no educational qualifications; 2. mother’s education: no educational qualifications; 3. Primary earner’s work: technical, craft and routine occupations; 4. Respondent’s social (occupational) class: working class. M1: model 1; M2: model 2; and M3: model 3.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this table. First, looking at M1, as previous studies show (DiMaggio, 1982; Crook, 1997; Kraaykamp and van Eijck, 2010), parents’ educational attainment has an important effect on children’s educational success (H1, H2). Fathers’ education has usually a positive effect on children’s education across all the different levels of interviewees’ educational achievement. That impact of education increases, particularly when the father has a university degree or equivalent. In the case of mothers, there is a positive effect on children’s educational attainment when mothers have at least some education at secondary level or above. But, regarding fathers, university degrees do not show a particularly higher influence regarding having “GCSE” or “GCE A-level” educational levels. This finding suggests that, as well as thinking in terms of middle-class or working-class mothers, as does Reay (2005), we should also think specifically about mothers’ and fathers’ levels of education (H4).

Second, however, generally speaking the higher the levels of interviewees’ education that are compared, the lower the influence of both fathers’ and mothers’ education. This means that parents’ background contributes more to explaining why children have some rather than no educational qualifications than it does to predicting whether the same children will go on to university. In other terms, parents’ institutionalised cultural capital has a declining effect on their offspring as the latter move through the school system towards university. This pattern is clearly reflected in the logistic coefficients and odds ratio reported in Table A.4, when M1 (column 1), M2 and M3 are compared. If we look at the first numerical column, headed “GCSE, CSE”, we can see that parents’ education effect is very significant and has a greater size for both mother and father. M2, however, clearly shows a dramatic decline in these previously important effects - that is, a child with well-educated parents will have a much higher probability of attaining some qualifications than will another boy or girl with “non-educated” parents. Differences are less pronounced among children whose level of education is above the minimum - that is, above the ‘no educational qualifications’ (GCSE against GCE A-level), and the latter (GCE A-level) against having a university degree. There is an exception in the case of fathers with a university degree, as they have a very significant impact on the chances of children going to university as opposed to remaining with a GCE A-level education. Previous findings support these results for the UK and other countries (Halsey et al., 1980; van Eijck and De Graaf, 1995)¹⁶. In any case, it is easy to understand that

¹⁶There are also works that focus on particular stages of education (Sullivan, 2001; Mastekaasa, 2006; Jackson et al., 2007). Working on reading behaviour, Wollscheid (2014) also found that mothers’ reading practices have a stronger effect on younger children, and fathers’ impact is stronger on older children.

differences between GCSE and GCE A-level are the smallest of all of the different educational steps compared, as they are both types of secondary education.

Third, if the household head (primary earner) has a middle-class occupation, there is a positive effect on their children's education. That influence seems to be more significant in differentiating probabilities when we compare having a university degree with the alternative of not having any qualifications, although the difference is also significant when we compare university education with GCE A-level attainment. On the whole, this effect of parents' occupational class would be in the mid-range alongside other influences (see Wald statistic in Table A.4), some of which are clearly more significant. Fourth, if we examine the measures of parents' involvement in legitimate culture, we find that fathers' cultural involvement only affects the relatively minor differential between children who complete university and those who only complete GCE-A level studies (in practice, the next step 'down' the ladder of formal educational achievement). By contrast, mothers' cultural engagement profile is more significant and has a positive effect in differentiating between children who attend university and those who have no qualifications; and between the latter and children who complete GCE A-level studies. This finding is important as it reinforces the idea that fathers and mothers have different effects on their children's educational success (H4), and that these influences change as children go through the different steps in the school system. If this finding is correct, mothers' impact in education would be more significant during the first steps at school, and probably during their adolescence, and fathers' influence would be more significant in later stages, above all in university (that is, during young adulthood). The former is consistent with those findings reported by David et al. (2003) and Reay (2005) about mothers' involvement in children's education. Both of these works also concluded that the role or impact of fathers is more difficult to detect.

Conclusion

To conclude, one particularly significant finding should be highlighted: family's cultural capital is important in explaining interviewees' cultural taste and education, but other personal characteristics – namely, education and (occupational) social class - are at least as relevant. This finding is consistent with work done by previous researchers (van Eijck, 1997; Crook, 1997; Sullivan, 2001; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Nagel, 2010; ter Bogt et al, 2011; Nagel and Verboord, 2012; Daenekindt and Roose, 2013; Willekens et al, 2014). People's habitus might constrain how they approach culture, but this constraint is not absolute: it can be often overcome. Consequently, cultural achievement has to be explained using both family background and other personal characteristics. This finding is in accordance with H1, at least if we consider a minimum or intermediate version of it, meaning that it is excluded to over-emphasise the influence of parents' cultural capital.

It is not enough simply to distinguish between different types of capital (Bourdieu, 1997), nor to stress that there are different sorts of cultural capital (embodied, objectified and institutionalised). It is also important to understand that the logic of reproduction or

transmission changes according to the type of cultural capital that we are studying¹⁷. In the present study, parents' institutionalised cultural capital (educational qualifications) better explains children's institutionalised cultural capital than do parents' cultural practices, even though the latter show some very significant effects, as is the case with mothers' legitimate culture profile, which has an important influence on children's educational achievement. That is a partial confirmation of H6. On the other hand, parents' cultural practices contribute more to explaining children's tastes than children's institutionalised cultural capital, which is in accordance with H7.

From my analysis and in accord with previous findings (van Wel et al., 2006; Willekens et al, 2014; Willekens and Lievens, 2014), gender emerges as a relevant factor influencing children's cultural capital (H4 and H8). It is accordingly insufficient, in any discussion of children's cultural training, to refer only to 'family influence' per se. We should also look to differentiate between mothers' and fathers' influences on children. In this case, if we look at educational attainment (see Table A.4), it seems particularly important and beneficial to have a father with a university degree and a mother with any level of education above 'no qualifications' (H6). However, on the whole, the influence exerted by both parents lessens as children's educational attainment improves. The pattern is quite different when we turn to the question of cultural practices (see Table A.2). Here, parents' education seems relatively unimportant. On the contrary, parents' cultural practices emerge as a very significant explanatory variable (H7) (along with respondents' educational levels, above all the experience of having undergone university training). Mothers' cultural practices, moreover, appear as more significant than fathers', suggesting that cultural transmission within families is particularly related to gender roles, and specifically to children's experiences with their mothers. All of these findings are highly consistent with H4 and H8, and also with those reported by Reay (2005) for Britain, Willekens and other colleagues for Flanders – Belgium (Willekens et al, 2014; Willekens and Lievens, 2014), and Wollscheid (2014) for Germany.

Turning to the issue of social class background (understood as the primary earner's occupation), we can see that it has a statistically significant impact on children's cultural capital in its institutionalised and embodied forms. The effect is, however, always small. In other words, what counts is parents' education, and to a much lesser extent their occupational class, which might imply that cultural capital is primarily the product of a family's educational resources, not of its financial position. Similarly, it is important to underline the fact that parents' cultural engagement better explains children's cultural capital than does parents' occupational class, and that other social characteristics of interviewees are also very relevant for understanding children's cultural practices and educational attainment. This finding should not, however, be taken to imply that the educational success of British children depends exclusively on a mix of parental goodwill and children's own decisions. Like Gillies (2005), I resist suggesting that parents are

¹⁷In relation to cultural practices, Crook (1997) calls this form of reproduction "domain specific". Kraaykamp and van Eijck (2010) make a similar argument, although in this case they detect changes across time that indicate that the transmission might have been diminishing during the last decades, a process would not affect the continuous reproduction of the embodied form of cultural capital.

responsible for their children's educational failure¹⁸. In Bourdieusian terms, culture is a structure that cannot be changed by individuals at their convenience. This is the "materiality" or real weight of culture. That said, it is clear that reproduction is a process that is not inescapably determined by the social class of origin or the cultural environment in which people grow up¹⁹. Every individual life follows a trajectory that includes a set of surmountable barriers, but not every individual is equally able to transcend them, nor culturally equipped to understand what to do and how to do it²⁰.

Bourdieu's work attempted to account for social reproduction, and he sought to denounce mechanisms that, while unconsciously assumed, had important effects on people's life chances. He particularly stressed the influence of family background through the constitution of an internalised habitus that individuals retained across the life course. However, one problem with this view was that it did not provide a satisfactory explanation of social mobility, one of the main processes transforming society at the very moment when Bourdieu was writing. His inability fully to account for this phenomenon not only constituted a theoretical problem but also completely ruled out giving serious consideration to the role of individual agency, despite the fact that individual strategies and rationality have often been considered a central explanatory element by other scholars in the field. Goldthorpe (2000) stresses individual agency perhaps to the opposite extreme, falling into the trap of treating cultural childrearing as a residual phenomenon in a world of almost purely rational individuals. In dialogue with the individual-centric contributions, but framed within a Bourdieusian line of research, my analysis demonstrates that social origin and other personal characteristics each have a role in explaining educational attainment and cultural practices, as other studies have done before (Crook, 1997; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Nagel, 2010; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014). This means that a theoretical account of people's cultural capital formation has to consider both types of variable and theoretical approach, viewing them as complementary²¹. In other words, social reproduction is only one side of that process.

Finally, if we are able to differentiate between two types of reproduction, cultural and educational, it should be possible to assess whether we ought to pay equal attention to both of them, or to concentrate mostly, or even exclusively, on just one. I am inclined to favour the latter approach. In principle, this suggests that educational reproduction is the

¹⁸The UK has a recent history of public policies attempting to involve parents in their children's learning process, effectively sharing responsibility for students' future success between schools and families. For a critical description of these policies, see Reay (2005).

¹⁹For a report of the experience of successful working-class students in the UK higher education, with very interesting reflections about the effects of institutions or the type of university understood as frameworks of the learning process, see Reay et al. (2010) and Crozier & Reay (2011).

²⁰I am not suggesting here that everyone participates in the competition: I agree that a counter-school culture, as Willis (1977) calls it, can take root and emerge in specific settings. I simply assume that many, if not most people, participate in this competition, and those involved vary in family background.

²¹Lampard (2007: 3) comes close to this conclusion when he claims that "Bourdieu's ideas about cultural capital and its intergenerational transmission constitute a useful counter-balance to Goldthorpe's emphasis on the role of economic resources in class reproduction, although the ideas of both authors are open to criticism". I would only add that they are also available to supplement each other.

more significant. First, it is directly related to economic advantage: in many cases, economic well-being or occupational success reflect educational inequalities. Second, education is not available to the same extent for everyone. Third, under these conditions, there is an ongoing social struggle for educational attainment between individuals and, above all, between families (Devine 2004). The current historical constitution of social classes, in fact, depends on the results of that everyday struggle. If occupational success, social mobility, and meritocracy are intimately related to education, it would follow that most political and intellectual efforts should be dedicated to addressing the area of educational reproduction. It is, however, possible to make a counter-case to the argument that educational reproduction is more important than cultural reproduction in giving opportunities to people during the life course. It seems that the production of highly valued manners and cultural habits does not come only or even mainly from the experience of schooling, but above all from the family of origin. Particular styles and forms of childrearing are, therefore, still important, and can help us explain the limits of social intercourse occurring within culturally-based status groups. Rendering education equally accessible, even if it were possible, would not automatically be accompanied by an equalisation of manners and tastes. The broader social impact of any such equalisation will have to remain a matter for future reflection and research. It is, however, a matter of empirical fact that cultural transmission of habits, practices and accents is taking place in today's Britain, and that the impact of this transmission remains largely ignored or understudied.²²

²²Erickson (1996: 219), referring to ideas from Granovetter and Lin, focused on "forms of culture that can be used to advantage in seeking a better class position or conducting class relationships. These uses are social: people make a better or worse impression in job interviews, in social relations on the job, or in building up social networks that can help in doing jobs or getting them".

Note

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Appendix

Table A.5. Father's PCA: components

	<i>Eigenvalue</i>	<i>Proportion explained variance</i>
Component 1	2.08	0.23
Component 2	1.5	0.17
Component 3	1.17	0.13
Component 4	0.99	0.11
N	1448	

Table A.6. Father's PCA: Rotated components' loadings

	<i>Component 1</i>	<i>Component 2</i>	<i>Component 3</i>	<i>Component 4</i>
Reading	0.43	0.21	0.07	0.37
Cinema	-0.01	0.6	-0.10	0.08
Gardening	0.04	-0.22	0.63	0.25
Handicrafts/DIY/Machinery	-0.08	0.07	0.64	-0.11
Sport	-0.06	0.02	0.02	0.83
Popular music	-0.04	0.64	-0.01	0.02
Classical music	0.65	-0.05	-0.1	-0.03
Cooking	0.06	0.35	0.41	-0.27
Art	0.61	-0.05	0.06	-0.15

Table A.7. Mothers' PCA: components

	<i>Eigenvalue</i>	<i>% explained variance</i>
Component 1	2.32	0.26
Component 2	1.22	0.14
Component 3	1.1	0.12
Component 4	1.01	0.11
N	1448	

Table A.8. Mothers' PCA: Rotated components' loadings

	<i>Component 1</i>	<i>Component 2</i>	<i>Component 3</i>	<i>Component 4</i>
Reading	0.29	0.36	0.03	0.13
Cinema	0.1	0.63	-0.14	-0.16
Gardening	0.18	-0.16	0.59	0.13
Handicrafts/DIY/Machinery	0.40	-0.17	-0.24	0.47
Sport	-0.06	0.07	0.73	-0.04
Popular music	-0.12	0.64	0.12	0.19
Classical music	0.61	0.01	-0.03	-0.06
Cooking	-0.1	0.06	0.05	0.8
Art	0.56	0.02	0.15	-0.18

Table A.9. Frequencies of father's level of education

	N	%
<i>No educational qualifications</i>	734	51.8
<i>GCSE, CSE, O-level, NVQ/SVQ Level 1 or 2</i>	108	7.6
<i>GCE A-level, RSA/OCR</i>	116	8.2
<i>Uni/CNAA Bachelor Deg, Master Deg/Ph.D./D.Phil</i>	100	7
<i>Other qualifications</i>	359	25.3
Total	1418	100.0

Table A.10. Frequencies of mother's level of education

	N	%
<i>No educational qualifications</i>	794	56
<i>GCSE, CSE, O-level, NVQ/SVQ Level 1 or 2</i>	149	10.5
<i>GCE A-level, RSA/OCR</i>	69	4.9
<i>Uni/CNAA Bachelor Deg, Master Deg/Ph.D./D.Phil</i>	97	6.8
<i>Other qualifications</i>	309	21.8
Total	1418	100.0

Table A.11. Frequencies of primary earner when interviewee was about 14 to 16 years old

	N	%
<i>Managers, professionals, small business and clerical</i>	496	35
<i>Technical, craft and routine occupations</i>	863	60.9
<i>Other</i>	59	4.1
Total	1418	100.0

Table A.12. Synthesis of contributions on cultural capital transmission research

Author(s)	Topic	Method	Key concepts and variables	Findings
<i>DiMaggio (1982)</i>	Family background, cultural capital and school success of white population in high school students in United States. The survey was conducted in 1960.	OLS linear regression.	<p><i>Concepts:</i> distinction between cultural reproduction and cultural mobility.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. Scales of cultural capital as measures of involvement in art, music and literature; 2. Father's educational attainment. B. Dependent: Students' grades in English, History, Social Studies, and Mathematics, and a composite of all of them.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender differences between sons and daughters. The latter are more affected by a high educational level of their parents; 2. Limited impact of father's education.
<i>Crook (1997)</i>	Influence of parents' cultural practices on socioeconomic attainment in Australia. Data come from the 1990 and 1993 panel and nationally representative Australian National Social Science Survey, that includes the adult	OLS linear regression and logistic regression.	<p><i>Concepts:</i> socioeconomic attainment and cultural reproduction.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. parental cultural practices (fine arts, on the one hand, and scholarly reading, on the other); 2. Parents' level of education (average of mother's and father's years of education); 3. Parental encouragement; 4. Parental material capital; 5. Father's occupation; 6. Secondary school success; 7. Adolescents' and adults' cultural practices (fine arts and scholarly reading). These latter activities are dependent variables in some models. B. Dependent: 1. educational achievement; 2. Occupational attainment.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cultural practices are reproduced within cultural domains (fine arts, reading), and they continue over the life-course; 2. Only scholarly reading affects educational attainment; 3. Parents' education influences their children's educational attainment.

	population. The wave conducted in 1993 was more extensively used.			
Nagel & Ganzebom (2002)	Family and school impact on participation in legitimate culture of young people in The Netherlands. People around 30 years of age were surveyed.	Analysis of panel data using longitudinal double context model.	<p><i>Concepts:</i> family and school effects.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. closest in age sibling' cultural participation; 2. parents' cultural participation; 3. index of schoolmates' cultural participation; 4. two points in lifetime: ages 14 and 30; 5. highest educational level; 6. arts education; 7. parents' cultural activities. B. Dependent: index of cultural participation</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parents' cultural practices and level of education has a significant influence on children cultural participation; 2. In this regard, parents' cultural practices are more important than their level of education; 3. School also improves the chances of being engaged with legitimate culture; 4. The effects of family and school are independent of each other and quite stable over time in the life cycle.
Kraaykamp (2003)	Influence of socialisation in adult reading preferences in The Netherlands. National survey conducted in 1998. People over the age of 25 were selected for the analysis.	Binary logistic regression.	<p><i>Concepts:</i> effects of socialisation during childhood on adults' reading preferences.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. Parental reading practices (an average for father and mother); 2. library membership in childhood; 3. Secondary school curricula on reading B. Dependent: Children at adult ages reading preferences on three different and separate alternatives: 1. Literary novels; 2. romance fiction; and 3. detective, science fiction, or war novels.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parental reading practices influence their children's reading preferences; 2. Reading promotion by parents particularly improves the chances of their children opting for high-quality alternatives, above all, books with literary merit; 3. Experiences with libraries during childhood, and the type of secondary school selected have also significant effects on reading in adulthood.

<p><i>Kraaykamp & van Eijck (2010)</i></p>	<p>Intergenerational transmission of cultural capital in The Netherlands. Data from three waves of national surveys conducted in 1998, 2000 and 2003, in which people between 18 and 70 years old were interviewed.</p>	<p>OLS linear regression.</p>	<p><i>Concepts:</i> reproduction of the three states of cultural capital. Restriction to legitimate cultural capital.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: parental cultural capital in its three states: 1. Institutionalised: educational attainment; 2. Embodied: cultural behaviour; and 3. Objectified: cultural possessions. B. Dependent: Children cultural capital in its three states: 1. Institutionalised: educational attainment; 2. Embodied: cultural behaviour; and 3. Objectified: cultural possessions.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strong transmission of cultural capital, above all within every specific type; 2. the three states of cultural capital show in most of the cases significant correlations amongst each other; 3. That transmission is diminishing over time; 4. The most relevant type of cultural capital is its embodied form, and its influence is not getting weaker in the span of time analysed.
<p><i>Nagel (2010)</i></p>	<p>Family and school impact on cultural participation of youngsters between 14 and 24 in The Netherlands. Survey panel data of students collected during the period 1998-2004.</p>	<p>Regression coefficients obtained through multivariate hierarchical linear panel model.</p>	<p><i>Concepts:</i> cultural reproduction or intergenerational transmission, and cultural mobility.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. Parents' cultural participation index (mean of father and mother); 2. Parents' education (mean of father and mother); 3. Educational level of interviewees; 4. Art education in secondary school. B. Dependent: cultural participation index of those interviewees with ages between 14 and 24.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Intergenerational transmission of cultural capital is very significant; 2. Parents' educational level has a relevant impact on interviewees' cultural practices; 3. Education has a positive effect on cultural engagement;

Daenekindt & Roose (2011)	Impact of intergenerational social mobility on aesthetic dispositions towards films in the Flemish population of Belgium. Survey conducted in Flanders in 2003-2004.	Diagonal reference models in order to study the effect of social mobility.	<p><i>Concepts:</i> intergenerational social mobility, and aesthetic dispositions.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. social mobility measured as educational mobility; 2. Parents' education: average of father and mother; 3. Respondent's educational level. B. Dependent: three factors as a product of a factor analysis measuring disposition toward watching movies: 1. Disposition toward innovation or originality; 2. Emotional disposition; and 3. Disposition toward action</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The innovative disposition is very much related to higher social strata; 2. Emotional and action factors are preferred by lower strata; 3. Innovative disposition is a characteristic of those with origin in higher strata groups, or those who are upwardly mobile; 4. In the case of emotional and action dispositions, both origin and destination are important; 5. The same effects for both men and women.
ter Bogt, Delsing, van Zalk, Christenson, & Meeus (2011)	Intergenerational transmission of music preference between parents and adolescences in The Netherlands. Two-parent family sample conducted in the province of Utrecht.	Structural equation model.	<p><i>Concepts:</i> Intergenerational effects of parental musical taste on their children musical preferences.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. Educational level of mother; 2. Educational level of father; 3. School level of adolescents; 4. Music preferences' (factors) mother; 5. Music preferences (factors) father B. Dependent: children musical preferences. Four types of musical tastes: pop, rock, highbrow and dance.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parents' musical tastes influence their children musical tastes; 2. No important differences were found between the effects of mother and father; 3. Educational level for both parents and children are associated with musical preferences; 4. Over time, pop roots in the lower strata become weaker, and rock became a preference particularly strong in highly educated adolescents.

<p>Nagel & Verboord (2012)</p>	<p>Family impact on reading behaviour (reading of fiction books by young people between the ages of 14 and 23 in The Netherlands. Survey panel data of students collected during the period 1998-2004.</p>	<p>Hierarchical linear model for panel data.</p>	<p><i>Concepts:</i> cultural reproduction and cultural mobility.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. parents' reading behaviour (including number of books read in the last 12 months and the number of books at home), as an average of both mother and father; 2. Mean of parents' education; 3. Students' education; B. Dependent: measure of reading behaviour as the mean of books read during the last 12 months, and the frequency of reading.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parents' reading practices and educational level influence their children's reading behaviour; 2. Students' education affects reading; 3. The effects of family and school are significant and independent of each other.
<p>Daenekindt & Roose (2013)</p>	<p>Impact of social mobility on cultural practices in private and public spheres in the Flemish population of Belgium</p>	<p>Diagonal reference models in order to study the effect of social mobility.</p>	<p><i>Concepts:</i> social mobility, private and public tastes.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. social mobility measured as educational mobility; 2. Parents' education: average of father and mother B. Dependent: variables for: 1. Public cultural practices; and 2. Private cultural practices.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For higher social strata, public and private practices are consistent; 2. The previous point means that people behave according to their educational level (destination); 3. For lower social strata, public practices are associated with interviewees' educational level (destination), and private practices are equally explained by origin and destination; 4. As a whole, public practices have a particularly strong association with social mobility, what authors consider evidence of a phenomenon that name "chameleon socialisation".

Daenekindt & Roose (2014)	Impact of social mobility on (dissonant) cultural practices in the Flemish population of Belgium. Survey conducted in Flanders in 2003-2004.	Diagonal reference models in order to study the effect of social mobility.	<p><i>Concepts:</i> social mobility and dissonant cultural profiles.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. social mobility measured as educational mobility; 2. Parents' education: average of father and mother B. Dependent: clusters of musical taste (profiles from a latent class analysis).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A high educational level is associated with a more dissonant cultural profile (musical taste); 2. Upwardly mobile individuals are particularly affected by their social destination, and they are more dissonant than people with the same origin; 3. Downwardly mobile individuals stick more to their cultural profiles at origin, and show more dissonant profiles than those people at destination.
Willekens, Daenekindt, & Lievens (2014)	Impact of educational level of mother and father on cultural participation of adolescents in the Flemish population of Belgium. Subset of household survey conducted in Flanders in 2003-2004.	Diagonal reference models.	<p><i>Concepts:</i> intergenerational transmission of cultural capital</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. Father's educational level; 2. Mother's educational level; 3. Adolescent's educational level; 4. Adolescent's gender. B. Dependent: adolescents' cultural participation in: 1. Arts and heritage activities in the last 12 months; and 2. Pop and rock concert or festival (attendance in the last 12 months).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Children with highly educated parents are more engaged with both art activities and pop/rock concerts; 2. For arts and heritage activities, mother's educational level is more important when she has a higher level of education than her husband; 3. For pop/rock concerts and festivals, father's educational level is more important when he has a higher level of education than his wife; 4. There are no effects of gender regarding the children's propensity to engage in cultural activities.

<p>Willekens & Lievens (2014)</p>	<p>Effects of three forms of cultural capital at the family level, and impact of social characteristics at the individual level, on cultural participation of adolescents in the Flemish population of Belgium. Subset of household survey conducted in Flanders in 2003-2004.</p>	<p>Multilevel logistic regression model. It distinguished between two levels: individual and family.</p>	<p><i>Concepts:</i> cultural reproduction, and intergenerational transmission of cultural capital. Family-level and individual-level effects.</p> <p><i>Variables:</i> A. Independent: 1. Father’s educational level; 2. Mother’s educational level; 3. Father’s cultural participation (in arts and pop/rock, separately, in the previous six months), 4. Mother’s cultural participation (in arts and pop/rock, separately, in the previous six months); 5. Objectified cultural capital in household; 6. Adolescent’s educational level; and 7. Adolescent’s gender. B. Dependent: adolescents’ cultural participation in: 1. Arts and heritage activities in the last 12 months; and 2. Pop and rock concert or festival attendance in the last 12 months.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Females and highly educated interviewees participate more in cultural activities related to arts and heritage than other adolescents with lower educational attainment; 2. Mother’s educational level and involvement in cultural activities both have very significant effects on children’s cultural participation in arts and heritage activities, on the one hand, and on pop/rock concerts attendance, on the other, while those same variables for fathers do not show any important influence; 3. Objectified cultural capital in the household has a positive effect on children’s arts activities. Only having a musical instrument has this kind of impact on attending pop/rock concerts; 4. Multimedia goods are negatively related to cultural engagement.
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While this Table endeavours to be as complete as possible regarding the explanation of cultural reproduction, it does not cover all the variables in the literature which account for cultural participation.