

# Art and Socialisation

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## Abstract

This article discusses the impact of arts socialization on participation in arts. Arts participation is characterized by large social inequalities. We focus on early arts socialization by parents and later socialization at school and discuss two models that explain the link between social inequalities and arts socialization: the cultural reproduction model and the cultural mobility model. The models differ in the importance they attach to early socialization by the parents and later socialization in schools. In addition, we discuss the status theory and the information theory, which explain effects of arts socialization, respectively, by social context and cognitive capacities. Finally, we review some relevant empirical studies, noting their substantive findings and/or methodological shortcomings.

## Introduction

Visiting museums, going to the theater, attending a concert, or reading a novel are all expressions of personal taste. However, they are also reflective of a person's position in society, a connection that is much more salient in the arts than in any other lifestyle domain (Bourdieu, 1984[1979]). Those who enjoy the arts are often better educated and were exposed to the arts at home. The strong influences of both family and education on arts participation suggest that early socialization is decisive: cultural preferences start early, with parents and schools acting as socializing agents. Research shows that these effects endure over the life cycle and may even become stronger in early adulthood. This article examines the relative impact of family and education as socializing agents on participation in the arts in early and later life.

Socialization is the process by which skills, knowledge, values, and habits prevalent in a particular social group are conveyed to newcomers who become part of that group, either as the next generation or as new members. Parents are responsible for the socialization processes of early childhood, whereas school and peer groups gain importance as the child grows older. In adulthood, socialization processes continue, e.g., in friendship networks, in partner relationships, and at the workplace.

Studies on arts socialization distinguish between primary socialization, i.e., early socialization by parents, and secondary socialization, outside the family of origin, starting somewhat later in life, particularly in education (De Jager, 1967). Socialization processes are partly intentional, to the extent that parents or teachers overtly encourage and correct children's attitudes and behavior, and partly unintentional, to the extent that children observe (or model) others (Bandura, 1969).

Research on social stratification and social mobility identifies participation in the arts as a primary component of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990[1977]) that pays off in both educational and occupational attainment. The literature proposes two models explaining how people acquire such cultural capital (DiMaggio, 1982): the cultural reproduction model and the cultural mobility model (see Figure 1). The cultural reproduction model holds that family arts socialization induces arts participation and is used by high-status parents to ensure a similar social position for their offspring. The cultural mobility model implies that school and peers can compensate for a lack of cultural resources at home, and arts participation can become a means of upward mobility.

On the effective ingredients of arts socialization, two theories can be identified. Status theory considers arts participation to be a normatively driven activity and stresses the social context as the operative part of socialization. By way of

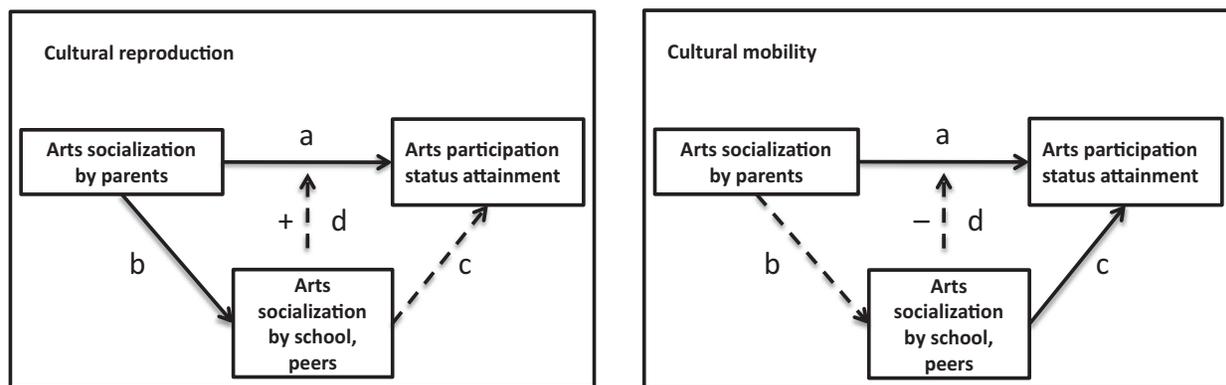


Figure 1 Cultural reproduction model and cultural mobility model.

contrast, information theory views arts participation as a cognitive activity and emphasizes instruction and the transmission of knowledge on art as crucial to socialization.

In what follows, we briefly discuss the cultural reproduction model and the cultural mobility model, before turning to basic theories of arts socialization. We then summarize the empirical evidence.

### Cultural Reproduction and Cultural Mobility

The cultural reproduction model and the cultural mobility model both stress the social advantages that accrue from cultural capital, but they disagree on how it is acquired: the former says it comes from parents (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990[1977]), and the latter points to influences outside the parental home (DiMaggio, 1982). In other words, they offer different views on the relative importance of primary socialization by the parents and secondary socialization outside the family of origin, especially in education.

#### Cultural Reproduction Model (Bourdieu)

The cultural reproduction model states that arts socialization is a key strategy by which parents pass their social position onto their children. In this view, arts socialization is exclusively provided by parents and is only effective when acquired at home. Bourdieu et al. (1991[1969]: 64–70) argue that the capabilities and attitudes needed to appreciate the fine distinctions that characterize art and art forms can only be acquired at home. In their view, appreciating art requires a process of gradual familiarization and regular exposure over a long period, and only parents can provide this. Children of culturally active parents, without being explicitly taught about art, regularly come into contact with various art forms and develop the attitude and knowledge required for appreciation. Bourdieu et al. (1991[1969]) argue that schools generally cannot provide the extensive and uninterrupted exposure necessary to develop a lasting appreciation of art. Schools may take their students to artistic events (plays, exhibits, etc.) and help them to appreciate certain works of art (books, paintings, etc.), but this can never be as extensive as the exposure provided at home. Dutch sociologist De Jager (1967) offers similar arguments, claiming that the impact of family socialization is much stronger; the influence of other socializing agents is only temporary and not comparable to the persistent and overriding parental influence.

According to cultural reproduction theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990[1977]), schools reproduce existing social and cultural inequalities. A school diploma represents a particular status culture that corresponds to the graduating students' social positions; the prestige of a school varies according to the students it attracts and the value of the diplomas it grants (Bourdieu, 1984[1979]: 25–26). In addition, teachers evaluate students not only by their cognitive abilities, but also by their fitness for future positions. Students who are familiar with culture and art are assessed as suitable for higher status destinations and are favored by teachers who belong to these status groups themselves. As a result, students from culturally active families do better in

school. The process is reinforced by the students who, in a process of anticipatory socialization (Roe, 1992), adapt their aspirations to accord with the social positions they are expected to assume.

According to the cultural reproduction model depicted in Figure 1, arts socialization in the parental family strongly affects arts participation in adult life (a) In addition, the model assumes that children who have been raised with art go to more prestigious schools where arts are valued and mix with peers from similar family backgrounds (b) The school environment may offer independent arts socialization, but its effects are minor (c) if arts socialization in school is at all helpful, it will help those who have already been familiarized with art at home, simply strengthening the effects of parental arts socialization (d) Arts socialization at school does not fill a gap for those children who have not acquired cultural capital in the parental family.

#### Cultural Mobility Model (DiMaggio)

A contrasting idea on the formation of cultural capital is offered by the cultural mobility model (DiMaggio, 1982). When DiMaggio (1982) empirically tested Bourdieu's cultural reproduction model in US high schools by examining whether students' cultural capital affected their grades, he found that over and above students' cognitive abilities, teachers gave higher grades to those with more cultural capital. Interestingly, DiMaggio also found that students' cultural capital was not or hardly related to the social position of their parents. He termed this latter finding cultural mobility.

While the cultural mobility model shown in Figure 1 acknowledges the role of cultural preferences in status attainment processes and does not deny the importance of the family in the formation of cultural capital (a) it assumes there are ample opportunities to acquire cultural capital outside the family, and these are open to lower status groups (b) It further assumes that cultural capital gained this way will be as effective as cultural capital gained at home (c) In other words, students who are not raised with art in their family of origin may find other opportunities to acquire cultural capital, particularly at school (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978). Opportunities include the school curriculum, extracurricular activities, and peer groups. As cultural capital is valued irrespective of how it is acquired, it can be used as a strategy to achieve upward mobility. Ambitious students from lower status families will be able to bring their cultural preferences and arts participation to a higher level to accord with their desired social positions. In such cases, schools compensate for a lack of parental influence (d).

#### Cultural Reproduction vs Cultural Mobility

Both models indicate the importance of participation in the arts for status achievement. Sensitivity to the arts is a key issue, especially for those lacking a high-status background. Particularly interesting in this respect, not just for academics and educators, but also for policy makers, is the role of the school and the extent to which the school offers students opportunities to learn about the arts, thereby increasing their chances of entering higher status groups.

## Two Mechanisms of Arts Socialization: Status Motives and Cultural Competence

While the cultural reproduction model and the cultural mobility model problematize the relative influence of family vs school (and other social contexts), they do not focus on the underlying mechanisms of socialization. Socialization processes inherent to the formation of cultural capital include the transmission of social norms and cultural competence. On the question which of the two is more effective in furthering arts participation, two competing theories have been proposed (Ganzeboom, 1982): status theory and information theory.

Status theory assumes that arts participation is normatively driven; therefore, a student's various social contexts (family, school, peer group), and their respective norms are the operative parts of the socialization process. According to information theory, however, arts participation is a cognitive activity and the transmission of knowledge (i.e., information transfer) is the crucial part of socialization. It also points to generic cognitive capabilities that are present before parental and/or school socialization starts. The literature on the effects of cultural capital on educational attainment proposes a similar distinction in mechanisms of arts socialization by differentiating between reading, assumed to be driven entirely by cognitive capacities, and other, more socially driven disciplines (Crook, 1997; De Graaf, 1986; De Graaf et al., 2000; De Graaf and De Graaf, 2002; Evans et al., 2010; Kingston, 2001).

### Status Theory

Cultural capital is defined by Lamont and Lareau (1988: 156) as consisting of "institutionalized, i.e., widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion." Status theory (Ganzeboom, 1982) emphasizes that arts participation, one aspect of cultural capital, provides a visible demarcation in the social hierarchy, and is driven by a desire to maintain these boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984[1979]). It expresses membership in higher social status groups and can be used to assess the suitability of newcomers to enter these groups. Thus, it maintains the boundaries between social status groups.

According to status theory, arts socialization includes learning definitions of correct taste or what is and what is not appropriate, in short, the social norms of arts consumption. Status theory assumes that social contexts in which the arts are valued and where arts participation is the norm will stimulate participation among their members. New members will gradually develop the tastes and behaviors that match the social group. Normative arts socialization starts in the parental family, but in a later stage, other social contexts – school, peers – add relevant socialization contexts. Status theory works for both the cultural reproduction and cultural mobility models: for those already socialized into the arts by the family, socialization at school accords with the family background; for others, introduction to the arts will start at school or in the peer group. The status mechanism can be reconciled with both cultural reproduction and cultural mobility. The two models differ in the relative importance they attach to early and later social contexts.

An important implication of status theory bears on participation in various art disciplines. To the extent that arts participation represents a single status culture, participation will occur in several art disciplines at the same time (DiMaggio, 1982: 191–192). In other words, normative arts socialization and its effects will be diffuse and involve multiple disciplines, as long as they procure prestige in the social status group.

### Information Theory

Information theory (Ganzeboom, 1982, 1984) emphasizes that the arts constitute complex sources of information and their enjoyment requires a considerable amount of cognitive capacity. Those who lack these capacities will experience art as difficult, making them likely to refrain from arts participation. An enhanced knowledge of art that leads to greater participation results from both intended and unintended instructions, and both acquired knowledge and generic cognitive abilities play a role. Information theory does not make predictions on the effects of the timing of arts instruction (i.e., in early or later childhood, or in adolescence), but as noted above, the cultural reproduction and cultural mobility models offer contrasting accounts of the value of arts instruction in childhood (by parents) and adolescence (by school and peers).

Although knowledge of art may be transferable from one art discipline to another (Bourdieu et al., 1991[1969]), to the extent that art socialization concerns the transfer of specialized knowledge, it will particularly affect the art discipline in which the instruction takes place. For the most part, discipline-specific arts lessons will lead to separate art publics. Information theory also predicts that the effects of arts socialization will be strongest for art practices for which more artistic competence is a prerequisite, hence, the more complex disciplines.

Finally, information theory asserts that generic cognitive abilities enhance the capacity to process the complexity of art works. Assuming these generic cognitive abilities are present early in life, this implies that differences in arts participation are due to differences in already existing cognitive capacities. This has important implications for assessing the empirical evidence. Because measures for generic cognitive abilities are scarce in research (see below), these abilities are generally represented by educational level. An effect of educational level, therefore, cannot directly be interpreted as an effect of arts socialization during schooling.

To the extent that generic cognitive abilities affect arts participation, there will be overlap between art forms; however, assuming that reading is a more cognitive activity, the effects of generic cognitive abilities will be stronger for reading.

### Methodological Challenges

Empirical research on the total and relative impact of family and school as socializing agents in arts participation faces many challenges. Ideally, determining the causal effects of arts socialization requires (quasi-)experimental designs, but their use is limited to assessing the effects of specific arts instruction programs. In practice, the effects of arts socialization can only be studied through observational survey designs in which respondents are asked to report on the issues of interest.

Information is collected on respondents' current arts participation and their education, but not always on the arts socialization they have experienced in different social contexts. For instance, the number of studies that include explicit measures of parents' arts socialization is limited (Sullivan, 2011: 197).

A first serious pitfall of arts socialization research is that education effects are attributed to normative socialization and instruction in schools, but they may simply reflect the filtering effect of education. In modern and meritocratic societies, one role of education is to sort students by their cognitive capacities. The differences found in arts participation between higher and lower educated persons in studies that only include education as a variable cannot be attributed to arts socialization by school. At best, education may reflect arts socialization if a measure of generic cognitive capacities is controlled, and measures of generic capacities, in turn, capture only part of the educational filtering effect.

Second, studies that include information on school socialization practices may suffer from selection bias: arts socialization provided by school in optional courses may be dependent on family background or prior interest in the arts. Therefore, to determine the effects of arts socialization in school, parental socialization practices should be controlled, or at least parents' level of education; otherwise, the effects of the school's arts socialization could be due to the parents' socialization. The problem of selection bias does not apply to the effect of parental arts socialization, because it can be safely assumed that parental participation represents independent family socialization, once education and parental education are controlled. Causality in observational research can be identified by applying longitudinal designs comparing respondents over time, before and after exposure to socialization contexts (Nagel et al., 2010). Such panel designs allow for controlling prior arts participation and assessing the additional influence of secondary socialization.

Third, an approach that uses only measures of arts socialization to assess the relative influence of primary and secondary socialization contexts remains necessarily incomplete. Ideally, to estimate the total and relative impact of family and education, all influences that children have been exposed to by the family and by school should be taken into account. Such total effects of family and school contexts can be established in multilevel models by comparing the degree of resemblance in arts participation between students and their siblings (family context) and their schoolmates (education context). However, it is virtually impossible to combine comparisons between siblings and schoolmates simultaneously in a single design. The family context is more or less stable, whereas children may experience several school and class contexts.

Fourth, most measurement of early socialization occurs retrospectively and by proxy and may be vulnerable to both random and systematic measurement error; as such, reports may contain too much noise or be biased toward current practices (De Vries and De Graaf, 2008). Researchers have occasionally been successful in obtaining nonproxy measures, i.e., by obtaining reports of the socializing agents themselves.

Fifth, the effects of parents' arts participation controlled for education are often interpreted as the normative dimension of arts socialization, while the effects of education controlled for parents' socialization are considered to represent the effect

of cognitive capacities. But part of the arts socialization by parents could be the transmission of cultural competence, and part of the effect of education could be due to social norms on arts participation. One way to learn more about the active ingredients in family and school socialization would be to include explicit measures of social norms or cultural competence. However, we do not know of any studies with such measures that can safely be assumed to be causally prior to actual arts participation. Another way to identify the active ingredients of arts socialization is to differentiate among various art forms in the degree to which they signal high status and cognitive capacity, and to see if the effects are stronger for one or the other.

## Empirical Evidence

Much of the existing empirical research is from the Netherlands, where a strong research tradition has developed, beginning with the work of Wippler (1968) and De Jager (1967) in the 1960s. This tradition continued with Ganzeboom (1984), De Graaf (1987), Kraaykamp (1993), and Van Eijck (1996), along with a number of other dissertation projects. As a consequence, in the Netherlands, many data sets on cultural participation are available, including arts socialization by parents and school. (Many of these are accessible via the Dutch data archive [www.dans.knaw.nl](http://www.dans.knaw.nl).)

## Family Socialization

Without exception, studies that include parents' arts participation report moderately strong effects. Typically, parents' arts consumption is measured by adult respondents' retrospective reports on their own parents' arts participation while they were growing up (usually between 12 and 16 years of age). These studies find that when education is controlled, parents' cultural participation is a strong determinant of the children's arts participation, with standardized effects around .30 years (e.g., Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta, 2000; Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Slightly stronger effects are reported in studies that control random measurement error (De Graaf and De Graaf, 1988; Ganzeboom, 1982) and systematic measurement error (De Vries and De Graaf, 2008).

Strong resemblances between parents' and children's contemporaneous arts participation are found in many studies (Crook, 1997; Damen et al., 2010; Jæger, 2009; Sullivan, 2001; Van Wel et al., 2006; Willekens and Lievens, 2014), albeit to a lesser extent when parents report on their arts participation independently (Nagel, 2010). Interestingly, Van Wel et al. (2006) and Willekens and Lievens (2014) show that a mother's influence is generally stronger than a father's influence. Van Wel et al. (2006) also find that her influence is stronger on her daughters than on her sons. Although arts participation in adolescence is part of the socialization process itself, the contemporaneous effects of family imply that cultural careers start and take decisive turns quite early.

Similar strong associations are found between parents' literary reading during the socialization period and later in life (Kraaykamp, 2003; Notten, 2011). Research using independent measures of parents' socialization also finds that parents'

reading levels affect the reading of prestigious books in adulthood (Verboord and Van Rees, 2003). Nagel and Verboord (2012) find that reading frequency among adolescents and young adults is strongly determined by parental reading and secondary education. In fact, the effects of parents' reading frequency increase a little in this period.

In addition to the effects of parental example (unintentional learning), Kraaykamp (2003) and Notten (2011) find effects for deliberate parental strategies to stimulate children's literary reading, such as reading to them, giving them books as presents, and showing interest in their reading. However, Notten (2011: 102) concludes that direct imitation is the main process by which parents transmit their preferences in reading and television to their children. Verboord and Van Rees (2003: 295) do not find additional effects of parents' reading socialization activities on the reading level of their children. Lack of effect of explicit instruction is confirmed by Kraaykamp and Dijkstra (1999) who, in a sample of book readers, find no effects of parents' socialization activities on reading level when the educational level is taken into account. By contrast, Verboord (2005) finds effects of parental socialization practices and attitudes on the frequency of reading, and Tepper (2000) finds positive effects of parental encouragement on reading fiction in the United States.

The above studies assess the impact of parental arts socialization by explicit measures of parents' arts participation or socialization practices, but parents may affect their children's interest in arts in other ways. Total effects of family of origin can be estimated by studying sibling resemblance in arts participation. The few studies that study arts participation by using a sibling design generally report stronger influences of families (Ganzeboom and De Graaf, 1991; Van Eijck, 1997; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Willekens and Lievens, 2014) than those using measured parental characteristics. Van Eijck (1997: 215) concludes that shared family characteristics account for 37% of the variance in the cultural consumption of adult siblings. Van Eijck (1997: 221) infers that parents' cultural resources 'are the strongest determinant of siblings' cultural participation,' more important than education.

Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002) find 38% explained sibling variance in a sample of former secondary school students aged 25–35 years; when the secondary school context is controlled, this figure drops to 28%, still far above the findings when explicit socialization measures are used. They also find that the family effects are rather stable in the period from adolescence to adulthood. Although these total effects include other shared family characteristics besides arts socialization practices (i.e., shared general cognitive ability), parents' arts participation explains a large part of these total effects; the stability in arts participation is mainly caused by family of origin. While the effects of parents' arts socialization are stable between adolescence and early adulthood, however, the effects of education increase in that period. By way of contrast, in a Belgian study, Vander Stichele and Laermans (2007) find no effects of cultural participation at age 12 or 14 years on later arts participation.

To summarize, many studies report moderately to strong effects of parental socialization on a person's participation in the arts, both in adolescence and in adulthood. Studies of reading suggest that the example set by parents is more

important than their intentional socialization practices. The available evidence also suggests that the family influence starts early in life and remains stable afterward. The strong effects of parental socialization fit both the cultural reproduction and the cultural mobility model; both predict that arts socialization by parents has an early and lasting effect on children's arts participation. However, the stability of the effects of parents' socialization (strong in adolescence and in adulthood) favors the cultural reproduction model.

### School Socialization

The school as a socialization context encompasses the level of education (lower/higher primary, secondary, and tertiary), the curriculum (including school-based arts instruction), the school climate (extracurricular activities), and the peer group. Of these, only the effects of arts education and the level of education have been researched systematically.

Research has found that parents' arts participation, next to their education, affects their children's type of schooling, more so in the early school career (Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997). Moreover, enrollment in school-based arts education turns out to be highly affected by prior interests in the arts and by parents' arts participation (Nagel et al., 1997). Finally, peers in school classes select each other partly because of similarity in their parents' arts participation (Nagel et al., 2011). Thus, parental and school contexts are often at least partly aligned, and to assess the effects of socialization at school, it is imperative to control the effects of parental arts socialization.

### Arts Education

Using the US Survey on Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA) 1992, Kracman (1996) finds that school-based arts education affects museum visiting and performing arts attendance later in life. The effects arise over and above those of the mother's and father's education and the educational level of the respondent, but the research is entirely based on retrospective reports. For the 2008 SPPA survey, Christin (2012) also reports a positive effect of art lessons in childhood on a broad spectrum of highbrow culture. However, as both analyses lack parents' arts socialization practices as a control, the effect of arts education may have been overestimated.

Nagel et al. (1997) use a prospective design in which enrollment in a specific arts examination program was measured by secondary school archival records. Although enrollment in this program was found to be selective according to parental socialization, prior arts participation, and humanities in the curriculum, it turned out that 10–20 years later in the life course, former secondary school students who had taken an exam in visual arts and music more often participated in visual arts and music (attendance at events and participation at home) than their schoolmates who graduated from the same schools but did not take these arts exams. Overall, the effects of arts education are smaller than the combined effects of prior and parental arts participation, but larger than the effect of the level of secondary education. The effects occur mainly within disciplines: visual art education enhances museum attendance; music affects concert attendance. Two other studies on the same data

reveal that the effects are smaller if arts participation is restricted to arts attendance (Nagel, 2004) or when a composite measure of different art disciplines is used (Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002). Nagel (2004) shows that the effects of arts education on arts attendance are highest in young adulthood and then fade away.

Nagel et al. (2010) evaluate an arts course in the Netherlands that compels secondary school students (age 15–16 years) to visit 6–10 arts events in several art disciplines. Two to six years after completion of the course there were no differences in arts participation between students who had been enrolled in the course and a previous cohort who had not. Damen (2010:31) characterizes the course as ‘too little, too late,’ pointing at the multidisciplinary character of the arts course and the timing (ages 15–16 years) in the curriculum.

With respect to reading literary works, positive effects of school socialization practices have been reported. Kraaykamp (2003) finds that literary reading is stronger among those who took more humanities courses in the secondary school curriculum and who reported a stronger interest in culture when they were in secondary school. In a sample of book readers, Kraaykamp and Dijkstra (1999) find (equally) positive effects of school stimulation on the complexity and literary prestige of reading preferences. Although measures of parental socialization practices are taken into account in these studies, the measure of school socialization will probably include some self-selection effects. Verboord and Van Rees (2003) find that the time spent at secondary school on literature enhances the reading of prestigious books in adulthood, over and above parental socialization. In this study, the direct effects of school socialization are comparable in size to the direct effects of parental socialization and secondary education (but as the model comprises intervening variables, the relative sizes of the total effects remain unclear). Verboord (2005) finds that reading frequency is not affected by the amount of literary education in secondary school, but by the didactic approach of the teacher (student-centered teaching methods enhance reading; teacher-centered methods have the opposite effect).

To summarize, art lessons in secondary school may enhance arts participation later in life, but the effects are weak and seem somewhat more convincing for reading than for arts attendance. The effects of art lessons appear to be confined to the same arts discipline in which instruction took place, suggesting that the active ingredient of art socialization by school is the specific cultural competence.

### General Education

Without exception, studies of educational effects on arts participation find strong associations with the level of education (DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Kracman, 1996; Christin, 2012), but it is important to control for parents’ arts socialization and educational filtering.

Studies including parents’ arts participation report effects of education that are roughly equivalent to the effects of parents’ socialization: while some report slightly larger effects of parents’ arts participation (Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta, 2000), others find somewhat stronger effects of education

(De Graaf and De Graaf, 1988; De Vries and De Graaf, 2008; Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Still, the level of schooling may largely represent cognitive abilities; thus, the effect of educational level cannot be interpreted as evidence of the effect of arts socialization at school. One way to overcome this problem is to include a measure of cognitive capacities. Unfortunately, survey data sets rarely contain such a measure.

Another approach to overcome selection problems is to use dynamic designs that compare arts participation before and after enrollment in education. For example, Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002) find that the effects of final attained education (over and above secondary schooling) are not yet present in adolescence, but do appear around the age of 30 years. Apparently, the effect of final education rises during the life course and can be interpreted as the consequence of schooling. Other studies of adolescents corroborate the finding that the short-term effects of educational level are relatively small compared to the effects of education in adulthood (Van Wel et al., 2006). Nagel (2010) finds that in the period from adolescence to adulthood, the effects of education partly exist at the beginning of adolescence and partly increase as the educational career progresses.

Nagel and Verboord (2012) assert that this does not hold for reading. Reading frequency varies more strongly with secondary education than with parental arts socialization, but the effects of secondary education are transitory and probably have to be attributed to actual school socialization practices. They say there are no additional school effects on reading frequency over and above those already existing early in adolescence (at 14 years of age).

Daenekindt and Roose (2013: 321) differentiate between private and public cultural participation. They find that cultural participation is determined more by attained education than by the parents’ education, more so in public participation (arts attendance) than private participation (media use). Although the larger effect of attained education could be due to educational filtering, the stronger effect on public than on private arts participation points to ‘social motives.’

To summarize, although the association of education with arts participation is comparable in size to that of parents’ arts socialization, only part of it can be attributed to the school as a socialization context. Educational differences in arts participation in adolescence, prior to completion of the educational career, are most likely caused by generic cognitive abilities but may also result from former education or be signs of anticipatory socialization (Nagel, 2010).

### Conclusions

When we look at the relative importance of cultural reproduction and cultural mobility processes, we derive the following conclusions from the empirical evidence.

First, there is a strong degree of intergenerational transmission of arts participation: parents’ arts participation is a strong determinant of their offspring’s arts participation. Their example (unintentional socialization) is especially important, not, or to a lesser extent, their intentional socialization practices. Differences in arts participation emerge early

in life: these are already present in adolescence and remain stable in adulthood.

The large effects of parental socialization fit both the cultural reproduction model and the cultural mobility model. The stability of the effects of parental socialization (strong in adolescence and adulthood) favors the cultural reproduction model, but these effects do not negate the cultural mobility model's contention that arts socialization outside the family can be equally effective. The differences between the models depend on the effects of education as a socialization context, as well as how the two contexts combine.

Although arts participation is strongly associated with education, drawing conclusions on the causal effects of education as a socialization context is difficult, as there are multiple selection problems in the available empirical evidence. To the extent that we can attribute the school socialization effects to school, there is limited evidence of cultural mobility. Arts instruction in school may enhance arts participation later in life, but the evidence is weak, albeit a bit more convincing for reading than arts attendance. The few studies that try to unravel the additional influence of schooling by using a dynamic design find additional influences of educational level on arts participation, suggesting that the education effects are not solely a matter of cognitive filtering.

While the results generally favor the cultural reproduction model over the cultural mobility model, future research should aim for more decisive conclusions on the tenability of either model. First, researchers should decompose the net effect of the level of education into its underlying mechanisms. This could be done by including (independent) measures of generic cognitive abilities (in childhood) and measures of the mechanisms of schooling, not only of arts instruction, but also of the social context, i.e., the social composition of the school and the peer groups in the classroom. Second, to differentiate between the status and information mechanisms, more detailed information should be collected on arts that differ in their requirement of cognitive abilities and their status-enhancing qualities. Finally, instrumental variables (i.e., effects of socialization that affect arts participation exclusively via education) should be used to explicitly model intervening variables and examine to what extent education enhances cultural competence or status motives. Such econometric designs have not yet been applied in the research literature on art socialization.

*See also:* Cultural Capital and Education; Cultural Participation, Trends In; Culture, Cognition and Embodiment; Embodiment and Culture; Leisure and Cultural Consumption: The European Perspective; Leisure and Cultural Consumption: US Perspective; Social Inequality in Cultural Consumption Patterns; Symbolic Boundaries.

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