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JARMO KALLUNKI

The Intergenerational Transmission of Socially Stratified Lifestyles

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
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Responsible supervisor and Custos	Professor Semi Purhonen Tampere University Finland	
Supervisors	Professor Taru Lindblom University of Helsinki Finland	Senior Research Fellow Riie Heikkilä Tampere University Finland
Pre-examiners	Professor Koen van Eijck Erasmus University Rotterdam Netherlands	Professor Susan A. Dumais City University of New York United States of America
Opponent	Professor Henk Roose Ghent University Belgium	

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Sociology is a rigorous empirical science of social life, and a sociologist's task, in the spirit of Max Weber, is to find out how things are and to explain why they are as they are. It is not a task for a sociologist to judge whether it is good or bad that the things are the way they are, for there are other vocations dedicated to normative judgment and social engineering. Such an extrapolation of David Hume's law to professions seems logical or natural to me, a person originally trained as a theoretical philosopher and a natural scientist – I am at ease with it. But while the social critique of judgment cannot undo Hume's law or threaten formal logic, neither can Weber's division of labour between academics and politicians stop the perennial bloodbaths amongst social scientists about the nature of things and how they should be worded, analysed and explained. These, perhaps, have been the key lessons that have been inscribed into me throughout the years, despite all the socialisation to the contrary.

Research is teamwork, even for a mostly single-authored work. The team on whose shoulders I have often stood with this work consists of my supervisors Semi Purhonen, Taru Lindblom and Riie Heikkilä as well as my peers Ossi Sirkka and Sara Sivonen. They have earned my deepest gratitude. Especially Semi, who has been my supervisor and mentor for almost a decade – starting with my master's thesis – has been an invaluable provider of continuous support and constructive criticism, the two assets that any researcher should be lucky to have. A host of other people, including pre-examiners, colleagues, attendees to the faculty seminars, conference audiences, anonymous reviewers, and of course my friends have provided me with both academic feedback and practical help over the years, of which I am grateful.

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Research consists mostly of perspiration, with occasional moments of inspiration, as they said. But I will not paint grey in grey now, for the owl of Minerva has only begun its flight. Besides, whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent.

In Lisbon, April 2023
Jarmo Kallunki

ABSTRACT

The correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyles stratification is a classical area of sociological research that originates in the work of the founders of the discipline. Recent decades have witnessed a proliferation of studies analysing the associations between social class positions and cultural lifestyles. One stream of studies analyses the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles, that is, how and to what degree are lifestyles transmitted from one generation to the next, especially from parents to their children. In this dissertation, we continue and expand this work by taking a broader view on intergenerational transmission of socially stratified lifestyles. Theoretically, we draw from the literatures on stratification, socialisation, cultural reproduction, and cultural mobility. The transmission of traditional 'highbrow' upper-class lifestyle is well-known in the literature by now, and we contribute to this extant literature by showing that overall cultural engagement is intergenerationally transmitted. We contribute to the emerging literature on the transmission of other lifestyles beyond the more typically studied upper-class lifestyle by showing that lifestyles oriented to popular culture and to mundane culture are also intergenerationally transmitted. Contributing to the cultural mobility studies, we show that parents' influence is long-lasting but social mobility is associated with lifestyle change, not only at the level of performing a new lifestyle publicly but at the level of personal preferences and dispositions too.

Our research questions are: (1) in what forms are lifestyles transmitted within families from parents to their children; (2) how permanent is the effect of childhood family socialisation; and (3) how does social mobility change the cultural lifestyle adopted during childhood family socialisation? We draw our data from two near-identical, nationally representative Finnish surveys conducted in 2007 and 2018. The data are analysed with various regression analysis techniques and other auxiliary quantitative methods.

We present six main results. Firstly, overall cultural engagement, in this case the total volume of cultural participation, is intergenerationally transmitted from parents to their children. Secondly, more specific patterns of lifestyles – that we call highbrow, popular, and crafts orientations – are also intergenerationally transmitted, and this transmission is symmetric in the sense that for all the orientations, children

are more likely to adopt the orientation that their parents have rather than a different one. Thirdly, lifestyle socialisation in the childhood family has permanent effects on individuals' cultural engagement in that its influence endures even after controlling for other factors influencing an individual's lifestyle, such as education, age, gender and social mobility. Fourthly, socially mobile individuals are also culturally mobile, even if the effect of the childhood family is still visible in their lifestyle. Fifthly, social mobility can change personal preferences and dispositions practised in private life, such as taste in music and habits of reading literature or watching television. Lastly, education and occupations are not only different domains of stratification, but they adhere to different cultural hierarchies in that different cultural tastes and activities are valued within the education system and in occupational positions, as our analysis of the socially mobile people demonstrates.

In this dissertation we broaden the scope of the research on intergenerational transmission of lifestyles in that we add the overall engagement aspect and specific patterns other than the classical highbrow pattern to the analysis. One of the most salient findings in contemporary research on the correspondence between social classes and lifestyles is that overall cultural engagement increases in tandem with social class position. Adding to this, we show that overall engagement is intergenerationally transmitted, which suggests that this form of cultural inheritance could be the most important contemporary form of lifestyle and status reproduction, for both the upper classes and the lower classes. Moreover, we discern the cores of the social classes – classes of individuals who have the same social class as both of their parents have – and find systematic lifestyle differences between the working class and the middle class in our research context, Finland. In this context, socially upwardly mobile people tend to align with the lifestyles of their social destination, but they also keep some lifestyles they were socialised into in their social origins. This results in dissonant lifestyles where the lifestyle of the upwardly mobile class consists of elements from both their social origins and their social destinations. The methodological contribution arising from this result is that if the socially mobile people are not systematically separated from the cores of classes in research in the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification, it could mask the significant differences that may exist between the cores of the classes – such as those we find in the allegedly egalitarian Finland – and thus bias the results so that the resulting lifestyle differences appear smaller than they really are. Overall, this dissertation makes several advances in understudied topics in research on the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyles stratification and its continuity and change over the generations.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Yhteiskunnallisten luokka-asemien hierarkian ja kulttuuristen elämäntyylien hierarkian yhteyden tutkimus on ollut sosiologian klassisimpia aiheita jo tieteenalan alkuajoilta. Viime vuosikymmeninä yhteiskuntaluokka-asemien ja kulttuuristen elämäntyylien yhteyden tutkimus on selkeästi vilkastunut monissa maissa. Eräs tutkimusalueen juonteista koskee elämäntyylien ylisukupolvista periytymistä, toisin sanoen sitä miten ja missä määrin elämäntyyli siirtyy sukupolvelta toiselle, erityisesti vanhemmilta lapsille. Tässä väitöskirjassa jatketaan ja laajennetaan elämäntyylien ylisukupolvisen periytymisen tutkimusta analysoimalla ilmiötä aiempaa laajemmasta näkökulmasta. Väitöskirjan teoreettinen perusta rakentuu sosiaalisen stratifikaation, sosialisaation, kulttuurisen reproduktion ja kulttuurisen liikkuvuuden tutkimusperinteitä yhdistelemällä. Aiempi tutkimus on osoittanut, että ylempien yhteiskuntaluokkien ”korkeakulttuurinen” elämäntyyli periytyy, ja tätä tutkimusta uudistetaan tässä väitöskirjassa osoittamalla, että periytyvää on myös kulttuurisen osallistumisen laajuus. Viimeaikaisessa tutkimuksessa on kiinnitetty huomiota myös muiden kuin korkeakulttuurisen elämäntyylin periytymiseen, ja tätä hitaasti kehittyvää tutkimusalaa vahvistetaan ja laajennetaan tässä väitöskirjassa osoittamalla, että myös populaarikulttuuriin ja jokapäiväiseen kulttuuriin orientoituminen periytyy. Kulttuurisen liikkuvuuden teorian näkökulmasta osoitetaan, että yhtäältä vanhempien elämäntyylin vaikutus lastensa elämäntyyliin on pitkäaikainen, mutta toisaalta sosiaalisen liikkuvuuden myötä myös yksilön syvälliset elämäntyylit ja taipumukset voivat osin muuttua uutta yhteiskunnallista asemaa vastaaviksi.

Väitöskirjan tutkimuskysymykset asetetaan seuraavasti: (1) Missä muodoissa elämäntyylit voivat periytyä vanhemmilta heidän lapsilleen? (2) Kuinka pysyvän vaikutuksen lapsuuden perheen sosialisaatio elämäntyyliin jättää? (3) Millä tavalla sosiaalinen liikkuvuus muokkaa lapsuudenkodista perittyä elämäntyyliä? Tutkimuksen aineistona käytetään kahta kansallisesti edustavaa, Suomessa vuosina 2007 ja 2018 lähes identtisellä lomakkeella kerättyä kyselyaineistoa. Aineistoa analysoidaan erilaisin määrällisin menetelmin, missä keskeisessä osassa ovat regressioanalyysit.

Tämä yhteenveto kokoaa tutkimuksen kuusi päätulosta. Ensinnäkin kulttuurisen osallistumisen laajuus, tässä tapauksessa erilaisiin kulttuuriaktiviteetteihin

osallistumisen määrä, periytyy vanhemmilta lapsille. Toiseksi spesifit elämäntyylilliset orientaatiot, jotka nimetään tässä korkeakulttuuriseksi, populaarikulttuuriseksi ja arkikulttuuriseksi orientaatioksi, periytyvät vanhemmilta lapsille. Orientaatioiden periytyminen on symmetristä siten, että kunkin orientaation osalta lapsi todennäköisemmin omaksuu vanhemmilla olevan orientaation kuin jonkun muun tarkastelluista orientaatioista. Kolmanneksi lapsuuden perheen sosiaalistumisella on pitkäaikainen vaikutus siten, että se säilyy, kun analyysissä vakioidaan muita elämäntyyliin vaikuttavia tekijöitä, kuten koulutustaso, ikä, sukupuoli ja sosiaalinen liikkuvuus. Neljänneksi alemmasta sosiaalisesta asemasta ylempään liikkuvassa ryhmässä havaitaan myös kulttuurista liikkuvuutta, vaikka lapsuuden aseman vaikutukset elämäntyylissä yhä näkyvätkin. Viidenneksi voidaan todeta, että sosiaalisen liikkuvuuden myötä elämäntyylissä voivat muuttua myös henkilökohtaiset syvällisemmät maut ja taipumukset kuten musiikkimaku ja tavat lukea kirjallisuutta tai katsoa televisiota, eikä kyse ole pelkästään ulkoisesta käyttäytymisestä uuden aseman edellyttämällä tavalla. Viimein kuudenneksi nähdään, että siinä missä koulutus ja työelämä asettavat yksilöitä sosiaalisesti eri asemiin, niissä on osin erilaiset kulttuuriset hierarkiansa ja elämäntyylien arvostustapansa.

Väitöskirja laajentaa elämäntyylien ylisukupolvisen periytymisen tutkimuksen alaa tuomalla mukaan kulttuurisen osallistumisen laajuuden ja muidenkin kuin vain korkeakulttuurisen elämäntyylin periytymisen. Eräs selkeimmistä yhteiskuntaluokkien ja elämäntyylien yhteen kietoutumista koskevista tuloksista on, että mitä korkeampi sosiaalinen asema yksilöllä on, sitä enemmän hän osallistuu kulttuuriin. Tähän peilaten väitöskirjassa osoitettu kulttuurisen osallistumisen laajuuden periytyminen saattaa olla nyky-yhteiskunnassa keskeisin elämäntyylin ja siihen liittyvän statuksen periytymisen muoto, ja se koskee kaikkia yhteiskuntaluokkia. Toinen väitöskirjan laaja kontribuutio on yhteiskuntaluokkien ytimien – ytimen muodostavat yksilöt, joilla on sama luokka-asema kuin heidän molemmilla vanhemmillaan – erottaminen sosiaalisen ja kulttuurisen liikkuvuuden analyysissä, mikä mahdollistaa systemaattisten elämäntyylierojen näkyväksi tekemisen keskiluokan ja työväenluokan välillä Suomessa. Suomessa työväenluokasta keskiluokkaan siirtyvät omaksuvat piirteitä keskiluokkaisesta elämäntyylistä, mutta samalla he säilyttävät osan siitä elämäntyylistä, johon he ovat sosiaalistuneet lapsuudenperheessään. Tilanne johtaa yhteiskuntaluokan kannalta epäyhtenäiseen elämäntyyliin, jossa yhdistyvät sekä uuden että entisen yhteiskuntaluokan elämäntyylit. Sosiologisen metodologian kannalta tämä merkitsee, että mikäli yhteiskuntaluokkien elämäntyylejä tutkittaessa jätetään sosiaalisesti liikkuvat yksilöt erottamatta yhteiskuntaluokkien ytimistä, mahdolliset systemaattiset ja syvälliset erot

yhteiskuntaluokkien ytimien välillä voivat jäädä havaitsematta. Tällöin tulokset voivat vääristyä siten, että elämäntyylilliset erot näyttäytyvät laimeammilta kuin ne tosiasiassa ovat. Kaiken kaikkiaan väitöskirja edistää yhteiskunnallisten luokka-asemien hierarkian ja kulttuuristen elämäntyylien hierarkian yhteyksien tutkimusta useissa aiemmin vähemmän huomiota saaneissa kysymyksissä.

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This dissertation is based on the following original publications:

Publication I Kallunki, J. & Purhonen, S. (2017). Intergenerational transmission of cultural capital in Finland. *Finnish Journal of Social Research*, 10(1): 101–111. https://doi.org/10.51815/fjsr.110769

Publication II Kallunki, J. (2023). Cultural reproduction in Finland: Symmetric intergenerational transmission of cultural orientations. *Acta Sociologica*, 66(1): 26–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/00016993211070980

Publication III Kallunki, J. (2022). Social and cultural mobility: Rising to the middle class and cultural practices in contemporary Finland. *European Sociological Review*, jcac049. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcac049

In the main text, these publications are referred to by their Roman numerals.

1 INTRODUCTION

How is the correspondence between social class position and cultural lifestyles transferred from one generation to the next? In what forms are the socially stratified lifestyles transmitted? What and how permanent is the influence of childhood family experiences on lifestyle, and how does lifestyle change as experiences accumulate later in life? These questions serve as the guidelines for this dissertation that belongs to the field of cultural sociology.

Social stratification, or hierarchical ordering of groups in a society, is perhaps the most classical subject of sociological research. In his famous essay, Max Weber (1946 [1922]) differentiated between three dimensions on which society is stratified: class, status and party. Classes, for Weber, are based on economic wealth and income; status groups are formed on the grounds of social esteem, prestige and lifestyle; and parties are groups aiming to secure community (political) power. After Weber, various areas of societal life have been analysed from the perspective of stratification, including social relations, civic rights and health (see Grusky & Weisshaar 2018 for an overview). Stratification in one area is often related to stratification in another area, such as educational stratification is correlated with occupational stratification, which in turn is associated with income stratification. The research undertaken in this dissertation is located in the intersection of social class stratification and cultural stratification, following a research stream originating in the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984).

In classical sociological class theories, social class is conceptualised through economic situation (Weber 1946) or ownership (see Morrison 2006 about Karl Marx). Later authors have stressed that occupational position and its properties – including managerial responsibilities, type of employment, level of autonomy and required skills and education – in labour markets are determining factors of social class (Blau & Duncan 1967; Eriksson & Goldthorpe 1993; Wright 1997). A broader definition of social class is offered by Bourdieu (1984; 1985; 1987; 1989), who suggests that a (theoretical) class can be defined through a set of (any) given properties, both material and symbolic; thus, we may consider not only occupational classes or wealth classes, but also, for example, educational classes, gender classes and age classes. Classes can be, by adding defining properties, further broken down

into class fractions, such as young male teachers or middle-aged, university-educated female engineers. In this dissertation, we adopt the Bourdieu-inspired multidimensional way of understanding a class, but empirically we define social class through education, occupation and income, following the idea – shared also by Bourdieu (1984; 1985) – that these factors are the central determinants of social position in the social space.

Culture, while in general having a variety of definitions (Kroeber & Kluckhohn 1952), refers here, following Bourdieu (1984), to the way of life – the lifestyle – of people. Lifestyle, in turn, is a collection or pattern of participation in various activities, tastes in, and knowledge, skills and competences about goods and services, including those especially useful for 'stylization of life' (Bourdieu 1984). While Bourdieu certainly was not the first author to theorise or empirically analyse the connection between social class and lifestyle (see Daloz 2010 for a historical overview), his work has inspired a wealth of research on the correspondence between social stratification and cultural stratification in various countries (see collections by Chan 2010 and Coulangeon & Duval 2015). Despite the arguments for loose or loosening the coupling of class and lifestyle (e.g. Featherstone 1991; Lahire 2008; Wright 2010), empirical research seems to repeatedly show close links between social stratification and cultural stratification, or put differently, that a homology prevails between these dimensions of stratification of societal life. Moreover, even amidst major social and cultural change, this correspondence seems to endure over time (e.g. DiMaggio & Useem 1978; Peterson 1992; Van Eijck & Bargeman 2004; Coulangeon 2013; Petev 2013; Rosenlund 2019; Weingartner & Rössel 2019).

Understanding the continuity and change in both social and cultural domains can be attempted by using socialisation theory. Socialisation, or the process through which individuals become members of social groups and, ultimately, of society (Grusec & Hastings 2014a), can explain how stratified social positions and lifestyles can be passed from one generation (of actors) to the next in everyday life. Starting from childhood family (e.g. Lareau 2011; Hoff & Laursen 2019) and continuing in adolescence (Kandel 1978; Smetana 2011), peer groups (Dishion et al. 1991; McPherson et al. 2001; Dishion & Owen 2002), schools (Bourdieu 1973; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Willis 1977; Calarco 2011; Khan 2011), work (Van Maanen & Schein 1979; Bauer et al. 2007) and so forth throughout their lives, individuals take part in differentiated and socially stratified social interactions that, through various ways of learning in everyday life (Rogoff et al. 2014), shape their thoughts, beliefs, behaviours, tastes and ways of participation in general and in respect to culture in

particular. Through socialisation, to put it plainly, individuals 'learn the way of life of their society' (Giddens 2004: p. 26), including what they are entitled to and what is expected of them. On the other hand, individuals, even toddlers, are always active participants in their socialisation (see the collection by Grusec & Hastings 2014b), and even young children can decide which parental messages they accept and which they reject (Grusec & Goodnow 1994). The importance of the individual's active role and agency in their socialisation is that it injects contingency to the transmission of existing social conditions, or an instability to the social reproduction, and opens the door to chances of social and cultural change.

The theme of this dissertation – the reproduction and change of socially stratified culture – emerges from these research streams. The dissertation consists of three scientific articles published in peer-reviewed journals (I, II and III) and this integrative summary chapter that outlines the key findings from the articles and discusses the findings in a more general fashion. This integrative chapter is structured as follows: section 2 contains the dissertation's theoretical underpinnings, and section 3 puts forward the research objectives and research questions. Section 4 describes the research context, data and methods, and in section 5, the results of the three articles are summarised and presented in a logical order. Finally, section 6 contains the synthetising discussion and conclusions.

2 CULTURE: THE INVISIBLE HAND WITHIN SOCIAL REPRODUCTION AND MOBILITY

In this section, we present and discuss the theoretical background of this dissertation. The theoretical base consists of research on the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification, socialisation, and the logics through which cultural lifestyles amalgamate with social and cultural reproduction and mobility. For the past 40 years, Bourdieu's (1984) *Distinction* has served as an unavoidable landmark – 'a necessary reference point', to quote Weininger (2005: p. 82) – for studies such as this one, and it serves a similar purpose here – though only as a starting point, not as a model to be uncritically followed or a subject of exegesis.

2.1 The correspondence between social stratification and cultural stratification

Sociological scholarship has theorised and analysed the correspondence of social position and lifestyle since the dawn of the discipline (see Daloz 2010), and despite his importance, during the time Bourdieu was not the only one studying the topic (see, e.g., Gans 1974 and Ganzeboom 1982). Nevertheless, Bourdieu's *Distinction* assumed dominance in the research field rather quickly after its publication (Coulangeon & Duval 2015a). Since its publication, according to Hjellbrekke and colleagues, it 'has been considered *the* authoritative work in sociological studies of the relationship between class and lifestyle differentiation' (Hjellbrekke et al. 2015: p. 18; emphasis in original).

Bourdieu (1984; 1985; 1987; 1989; 1998; 2000: p. 134–135) conceptualises the social world as a multidimensional 'social space', where social space is a 'geometrical' (1984: p. 169) or 'topological' (1985: pp. 723–724; 1989: p. 6) representation of the social world. The dimensions (in effect: fields) of the social space represent different forms of capital (properties or power) that differentiate the social agents (individuals or groups) occupying the space, and each dimension expresses the distribution of the form of capital it represents (1985: p. 724; 1987: p. 3–4). The positions of agents

in the space are determined by their relations to other agents in each dimension (1985: p. 724; 1987: p. 4; 1989: p. 17). In this construct, (theoretical) social classes are 'sets of agents who occupy similar positions and who [therefore] have every likelihood of having similar dispositions and interests and therefore of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances' (1985: p. 725). Notably, however, social class is not defined by any set of properties but by the structure of relations between the properties (Bourdieu 1984: p. 106). Finally, Bourdieu (1985; 1987; 1989; 1998) stresses that the theoretical classes are not automatically 'real' social classes found in empirical reality, because real class needs to be politically mobilised, and theoretical formulation, even if useful, is not sufficient for mobilisation. (See Weininger 2005 for a detailed overview of Bourdieu's class theory and Flemmen 2013 for a discussion about its uses.)

According to Bourdieu (1984; 1985; 1986; 1987; 1989), there are three main forms of capital, accumulated by labour: economic, cultural and social. Economic capital means assets that are immediately and directly convertible to money or property rights, while social capital refers to social networks with mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu 1986). Cultural capital, Bourdieu's 'signature concept' (Lareau & Weininger 2003), includes (1) long-lasting dispositions of mind and body (that is, the embodied state), (2) cultural goods such as books and musical instruments (the objectified state), and (3) educational credentials (the institutionalised state) (Bourdieu 1986). Capital existing in one form can be, depending on circumstances and with varying exchange rate, converted into another form (Bourdieu 1986). Because each field is associated with a specific capital, there are other kinds of capital too, such as literary capital (Bourdieu 1983) or academic capital (Bourdieu 1988). But when Bourdieu (1984) describes general social and cultural stratification of the social space, he uses economic capital and cultural capital as the main factors of differentiation. In this dissertation, while we acknowledge the benefit of a multidimensional construction of the social class, as described in the previous paragraph (see Flemmen 2013 for discussion), henceforth, we follow the narrower definition of social class through education, occupation and income.

Bourdieu's (1984) core thesis regarding the correspondence of social and cultural stratification is that both social positions and cultural lifestyles are differentiated and stratified by the same principles: (1) by the overall volume of capital (economic and cultural in total); (2) by the composition of the capital, that is, the relative weights or shares of economic capital and cultural capital among the overall capital; and (3) by the social trajectory of accumulation of the capitals, that is, change in volume and composition over time. Bourdieu (1984: p. 128–129) represents the stratification of

the social space with a two-dimensional Euclidean xy-coordinate system, where the y-axis represents the overall volume of capital, and the x-axis represents the composition of capital. Social positions (occupational classes) and lifestyles (represented by various indicators of cultural tastes, activities and possessions) are projected onto the coordinate system (for a detailed discussion about the methodology, see, for example, Bennett et al. 2009, Purhonen et al. 2014 or Rosenlund 2015). The closer the entries in the coordinate system are to one another, the closer is their correspondence in the social space. The emerging map, only a visual aid in itself, illustrates the homology between social and cultural stratification: social classes have differentiated lifestyles, or lifestyles correspond to different class positions. 'Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier', as Bourdieu (1984: p. 6) wrote. An important corollary of this homology and Bourdieu's definition of social class is that lifestyle is a factor determining a class position – lifestyle is not merely a reflection of social class, but an active property constructing class positions, a resource in symbolic class struggle.

Bourdieu's work inspired a vast stream of research literature concerning both the correspondence between social class and lifestyles and the principles that account for the correspondence in different countries and communities at different times (see collections by Chan 2010 and Coulangeon & Duval 2015 for a set of examples), but differences in research designs, concept operationalisations and measurements (e.g. Peterson 2005; Kirchberg & Kuchar 2014) complicate comparisons of results. Despite the comparison problems, empirical research overwhelmingly supports the general thesis that a correspondence between social class and lifestyle exists in different countries and time periods. The patterns of cultural consumption and the logics of lifestyle differentiation can, of course, vary both from country to country (Peterson 1992; Katz-Gerro & Shavit 1998; Virtanen 2007; Prieur et al. 2008; Bennett et al. 2009; Cveticanin & Popescu 2011; Bustamante & Garcia 2015) and over time (Weingartner & Rössel 2019; Ma 2021). However, patterns of lifestyle differentiation and the principles of correspondence can also be similar, at least in similar countries (compare Purhonen et al. 2014 about Finland to Flemmen et al. 2018 and Hjellbrekke et al. 2015 about Norway) and over time (DiMaggio & Useem 1978; Coulangeon 2013).

One of the most robust findings in various countries is that the volume of engagement with different forms of culture increases in tandem with rising social class position (e.g. Peterson 1992; Bennett et al. 2009; Purhonen et al. 2010; Prieur & Savage 2011; Kahma & Toikka 2012; Miles & Sullivan 2012; Coulangeon 2013; Petev 2013; Roose et al. 2015; Weingarten & Rössel 2019; Heikkilä & Lindblom

2023). This finding is often presented as a suggestion that cultural omnivorousness has replaced or is replacing highbrow snobbism as a form of elite distinction (Peterson & Kern 1996; Peterson 1997). The topic constitutes an area of heavy debate, although recent research tends to show that mixing various forms of culture has been an upper-class practice since the past (e.g. Jaeger & Katz-Gerro 2010; Brisson 2019; Kallunki et al. 2022). The result that cultural engagement increases with rising social class position – or put in another way, that the lower classes are more disengaged with culture – might be a consequence of how culture is understood in cultural sociology (see Heikkilä 2021; 2023), but it nevertheless is still a fact that members of the lower classes do not take part in the cultural activities typically studied in cultural sociology as much as the members of the upper classes do.

Our research interest here pertains, by and large, to the continuity and change in the correspondence between social stratification and cultural stratification, that is, between social class and lifestyle. While Bourdieu's focus in *Distinction* (and elsewhere, see for example Bourdieu 1996) was on the association and reproduction of the upper (dominant) classes and their lifestyles, our interest in this dissertation is broader and covers other social classes and lifestyles as well. There is an ample body of research on the reproduction of upper-class culture or cultural capital (see reviews by Sullivan 2011 and Jaeger & Breen 2016), but less is known about the reproduction of popular culture or mundane culture, and to this we tap into. Moreover, from the perspective of change, we look at the association between social mobility and cultural mobility. Before moving forward with theories and empirical research on reproduction and mobility, we need to consider the ways in which the social and cultural aspects are conveyed from one generation of actors to the next. For that purpose, we turn to the concept of socialisation.

2.2 Socially stratified socialisation

Socialisation was a key concept utilised by classical sociologists to describe the upkeep and reproduction of the social world (e.g. Simmel 1895; 1909; Durkheim 1956 [1922]; Parsons 1951; 1955; Berger & Luckmann 1966), but according to Guhin and colleagues (2021), the concept fell out of use in mainstream (anglophone) sociology after the 1970s due to its perceived (exceedingly) close links with Parsonian functionalism. Socialisation was replaced by other concepts; for example, Bourdieu used habitus (e.g. Bourdieu 1984) and symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron

1977). While socialisation remained in use in sociology's specialised subfields such as sociology of education (Guhin et al. 2021) and sociology of childhood (Corsaro 2018), Morawski and St. Martin (2011: p. 2) claim that by the mid-1950s, socialisation was studied mainly by psychologists. Nonetheless, research on socialisation has continued, especially in social and developmental psychology, where major advances have been made especially during the latter half of the 20th century (see Maccoby 1992; 2014 for reviews).

One version of the socialisation theory is provided by Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and symbolic violence (Jenkins 1992; Lahire 2011), even if Bourdieu 'appears to go to enormous lengths to avoid using the word [socialisation]' (Jenkins 1992: p. 69). Several critics of the concept of habitus (e.g. Nash 1990; Jenkins 1992; Alexander 1995; King 2000; Lahire 2011), however, have argued that habitus is highly deterministic and leaves little room for individual's agency, especially conscious deliberative action and reflexive thinking. Moreover, King (2000: p. 423) has argued that habitus as a structural determinant of action effaces the intersubjective, interactional dimension from social action. Furthermore, habitus develops primarily at an early age, after which it is so rigid and resistant to change that it hinders if not precludes both individual and social change (Jenkins 1992; King 2000). Adding to the problems, Alexander (1995: p. 136) notes that habitus is a systematically ambiguous concept (see also Reay 2004), and Sullivan (2002) even argues that habitus is theoretically inconsistent. While more positive re-interpretations of habitus are possible (e.g. Lizardo 2004; Reay 2004), this is not our purpose here. Instead, we note that habitus is a concept for a general social theory debate. Socialisation, by contrast, is closer to empirical sociological research and an empirical alternative to habitus. Thus, following Bourdieu's (1998: p. 1–3; Wacquant 1989: p. 50) own idea that concepts need not be studied for themselves, but concepts show their value through empirical research, here we discard habitus in favour of socialisation.

Given that socialisation has a complex and contested history as an interdisciplinary concept (Morawski & St. Martin 2011; Maccoby 2014; Guhin et al. 2021), we must specify precisely what we mean by it. We borrow our definition from Grusec and Hastings who, building on empirical research on socialisation, define it as follows:

> In the broadest terms, socialization refers to the way in which individuals are assisted in becoming members of one or more social groups. The word assist is important because it implies that socialization is not a one-way street but that newer members of the social group are

> active in the socialization process and selective in what they accept from older members of the social group. In addition, newer members may attempt to socialize older members. (Grusec & Hastings 2014a: p. xi.)

This definition has several preferable corollaries that merit unpacking here. First, it captures the essential meaning of socialisation in that it is a process of bringing new individuals into an already-existing social world or social structures and group cultures that predate them in the groups they enter, regardless of the degree of formality or informality of the groups (Guhin et al. 2021). Secondly, this definition grants the individual an agency in their socialisation, both in deciding what they accept and in the ability to push for changes in the group, even if the individual cannot control all aspects of their socialisation (Guhin et al. 2021; Grusec & Hastings 2014a). Thirdly, the definition extends socialisation to cover the whole life span of an individual, and, fourthly, the definition allows the concept to be used in various contexts, domains and periods of life, such as childhood family (including parents and siblings), peers and peer groups, school, occupation, organisations, and family of one's own (Grusec and Hastings 2014a). It is noteworthy, that an individual, at any given moment of their life, is a member of various social groups, and therefore, subject to various socialisation processes. These groups and processes may or may not overlap, and they can be consistent and concordant, but they can equally be conflicting and divergent. Moreover, the effects and strengths of different socialisation processes can be interdependent. Finally, for our purposes, because socialisation is defined through groups, it has a topological character (in set theoretical sense), and, as such, it fits very well with the concept of social space discussed in the preceding section.

From the perspective of social and cultural reproduction and change, the most pertinent issue is that socialisation both is socially stratified and produces social stratification, as we argue below using results from empirical research. In other words, all group memberships are not equally accessible to everyone, and conversely groups provide various opportunities and benefits to their members only. This double-edged stratification enhancement effect of social groups continues from early on until old age, yielding progressively differentiating socialisation paths to individuals over their life courses. The path begins with childhood family and parents.

Parents and childhood family have been regarded by many theorists as an especially important group for socialisation (e.g. Parsons 1955; Berger & Luckmann 1966; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1984), and empirical research supports

this theoretical stance. Childhood family is typically the first and often the most enduring group that an individual is a member of during their lives (Maccoby 1992; 2014). On the other hand, parents usually have and are assigned the primary responsibility of child-rearing, including that they (should) spend considerable time in both supporting and monitoring (including controlling) their children's activities (Grusec 2002). Parents also manage their children's peer socialisation by directly monitoring and advising their children and indirectly by structuring their children's social environment (Maccoby 1992; Lareau 2011; Smetana et al. 2014; Corsaro 2018). While older children start to perceive their peers' social support as more important than their parents' support (Furman & Buhrmester 1992), even in adolescence, according to Smetana (2011: p. 30), children tend to look to their parents for advice and 'typically hold similar values to those of their parents on political, social, and religious issues'. Thus, parents exert considerable influence over the socialisation of their children, so much so that Berger and Luckmann (1966) make the often-cited terminological distinction between primary socialisation, meaning the childhood family socialisation, and secondary socialisation, meaning all the subsequent socialisation. Children nevertheless are active agents in their socialisation, because they – even young ones during primary socialisation – can either accept or reject parental messages according to whether they understand the message and deem it appropriate (Grusec & Goodnow 1994). They can also develop their own culture in their peer groups (Corsaro & Rizzo 1988; Corsaro 1992; 2018).

Studies in childhood family socialisation and parenting have long ago established that parenting differs according to social class (e.g. Lynd & Lynd 1929; Duvall 1946; Bronfenbrenner 1958; Kohn 1959; 1963). A continuous stream of research (see reviews by, e.g. Hoff & Laursen 2019; Bornstein & Bradley 2003; Hoff et al. 2002) shows that parents' social class relates to their own beliefs about parenting, their goals for their children, specific parenting practices, the overall 'parenting style' (Baumrind 1971; see also Darling & Steinberg 1993) and 'cultural logic of childrearing' (Lareau 2011). Among the most robust results is that in everyday life, on average, higher-class parents are more conversational; that is, they talk to their children more often and use more complex language compared to lower-class parents (Hoff & Laursen 2019; Lareau 2011). Regarding children's behaviour, Hoff and colleagues (2002) summarise that, independent of societal-level culture, lower-class parents value conformity in their children whereas higher-class parents appreciate self-determination and having initiative. Higher-class parents are more democratic in their parenting, allowing their children more equal participation in family matters and using reasoning as a means of discipline; lower-class parents, on

the contrary, are more controlling, use directives instead of reasoning, and practise a more authoritarian parenting style. (Hoff & Laursen 2019; Hoff et al. 2002; see also Lareau 2011.) Observing these phenomena, Lareau (2011: p. 6) proposes that these socially stratified childhood socialisation paths result in upper-class children developing a 'sense of entitlement' – that is, they act as though they have a right to pursue their own preferences and to manage institutional encounters to their benefit, and their parents cultivate the children's knowledge, skills and experience to do so. Lower-class children, on the contrary, develop a 'sense of constraint' – that is, they more readily accept the actions of authority figures, are less likely to manage institutional interaction to their benefit and often are unaware of the techniques that could be used to manage institutional interactions (Lareau 2011; see also Lareau & Weininger 2003; Calarco 2014).

Childhood family is only the first group socialising an individual. Already present in childhood and adolescence, and continuing throughout their lives, peer groups are another key arena for an individual's socialisation. A body of literature has shown that individuals tend to select and befriend peers similar to themselves and, over time, become more similar to their befriended peers (e.g. Cohen 1977; Kandel 1978; Dishion et al. 1991; Dishion & Owen 2002; Selfhout et al. 2009; Nagel et al. 2011). Peer groups thus, already at youth, exhibit homophily, that is, 'a tendency for friendships to form between those who are alike in some designated respect' (Lazarsfeld & Merton 1954: p. 23). Homophily is, as discussed by McPherson and colleagues (2001), an important factor in the formation of social relationships or networks in general. One aspect of similarity between individuals is cultural taste, and an individual's social networks relate to their cultural taste in a bidirectional manner: larger network implies broader range of taste (DiMaggio 1987; Erickson 1996; Sirkka & Purhonen 2021) – and the higher the social position, the greater the network size (Campbell et al. 1986; see also Sirkka & Purhonen 2021) – and taste also shapes an individual's networks (Lizardo 2006a; Lewis & Kaufman 2018; Meuleman 2021). Thus, as Bourdieu (1984: p. 243) formulates it, 'taste is a match-maker' in social relations.

Schools and formal education offer yet another broad socialisation context; as already Durkheim (1956: p. 71) noted, 'education consists of a methodical socialization'. The social class of the childhood family influences school selection (Ball et al. 1996; Ball 2003; Van Zanten 2015; Kosunen 2016), student-teacher interaction (Nelson & Schutz 2007; Calarco 2011; Streib 2011; Lareau 2015), parent-teacher interaction (Reay 1998; Lareau & Calarco 2012; Young 2020), schooling outcomes (Chiu & Xihua 2008; Andersen & Hansen 2012; OECD 2019) and, as a

result, the level of education that an individual finally ends up receiving (Hertz et al. 2007; Pfeffer 2008; Marginson 2016; Chmielewski 2019). Across the board, as a rule, the higher the social class of the childhood family, the better the child fares in the education system. Moreover, education institutions operate as platforms for various peer groups (formal and informal, mandatory or voluntary), and progression within the system from one level to the next and from the comprehensive compulsory level to the differentiated levels predispose the individuals to different kinds of peer groups. Thus, if we consider education institutions and the education system in total as a 'social sorting machine' (Domina et al. 2017), they sort individuals not only into different educational and vocational careers, but also into different socialisation paths, and stratification is both embedded and emergent in this sorting process.

Lastly, working life in general – and workplaces and occupations in particular – consists of various groups and organisations that socialise their members and new entrants. Research on organisational socialisation has theorised and mapped several ways through which organisations assist individuals in becoming their members and how individuals use various 'tactics' to align with organisations (Van Maanen & Schein 1979; Jones 1986; Chao et al. 1994; Saks et al. 2007; Bauer et al. 2007). However, these studies rarely discuss differences in organisational socialisation based on social class. As an exception to this rule, Stephens and colleagues (2014) review literature on workplace socialisation from the perspective of social class and conclude that working-class occupations socialise their occupants to 'hard interdependence' whereas middle-class occupations socialise workers to 'expressive independence'. Amis and colleagues (2020) review organisational research on hiring, role allocation, promotion, compensation and structuring from the perspective of reproduction of inequalities as well as a host of organisational practices that differentiate individuals according to their social class. They note that individuals are socialised and rewarded in different ways depending on their properties, and although they do not mention social class explicitly, we may assume that social class is included. Occupations, moreover, may be stratified by class-based recruitment (e.g. Rivera 2012; Koppman 2016; Rivera & Tilcsik 2016; Friedman & Laurison 2019; Amis et al. 2020), which can be assumed to induce homogenising socialisation in those occupations. Finally, professional socialisation continues throughout an individual's career (Everitt & Tefft 2018).

In sum, individuals are subject to various socialisation processes in their life – at any moment – and some of the processes might be concordant, some divergent. Parents or childhood family has been seen as particularly central, both because it has a major effect when the individual is young, and it remains a socialising power in

later life too. An individual is always an active agent in the socialisation processes, which results in a continuous wrestle between forces of social reproduction and social change. Socialisation does not take place in a vacuum, but within institutional arrangements, structural conditions and other reproduction 'mechanisms' (Patterson 2010), and it varies across time and place (e.g. Bronfenbrenner 1958; Hughes et al. 2006; Stevenson–Hinde 2011; Bornstein et al. 2012; Maccoby 2014). Socialisation, we believe, can offer a solid ground for analysis of social and cultural reproduction and change. In the next two sections, we review recent cultural sociological literature pertaining to the association between culture and social reproduction and mobility.

2.3 Cultural lifestyle and social reproduction

The persistence of the correspondence between social positions and cultural lifestyles was discussed previously. Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction bundles together both the reproduction of social positions and the reproduction of lifestyles, offering 'one of the most influential explanations' (Jaeger & Breen 2016: p. 1079) for the intergenerational transmission of both positions and lifestyles, but also, consequently, for the perpetuation of their correspondence. Education and educational institutions are at the core of Bourdieu's reproduction theory (see Bourdieu 1973; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977), befitting to the fact that in the contemporary world, education is the key factor contributing to occupational position and income – essentially one's social class position (e.g. Breen 2004; Hout & DiPrete 2006; Björklund & Jäntti 2009; Erola et al. 2016; Torche 2015; Mastekaasa & Birkelund 2023). Bourdieu's theory relies on the concept of habitus, but here we use the concept of socialisation instead.

Cultural reproduction theory asserts, as is widely known, that individuals accumulate long-lasting cultural dispositions slowly in their childhood families, and due to class-stratified family socialisation, upper-class children acquire more capitalisable cultural dispositions (the embodied cultural capital) than lower-class children. Schools and educational institutions, which are not neutral institutions but favour upper-class cultural dispositions, build upon the cultural capital acquired in the childhood family by (mis)recognising family-inculcated cultural capital as academic ability, gift, or talent. Having more cultural capital at the start and being more accustomed to the upper-class lifestyle, upper-class children are more efficient learners – that is, their socialisation in education system is more effective – than lower-class children. Differences accumulate over time in the everyday school life,

and when education institutions ultimately award individuals with credentials (the institutionalised cultural capital), upper-class children gain better credentials, and thus education institutions effectively consolidate and reinforce the origin-dependent and further accumulated differences between upper-class and lower-class children. This way the education system converts original positional differences, including lifestyle differences, into accepted and legitimate academic hierarchies; as a result, the education system performs intergenerational transmission of both social positions and lifestyles in a difficult-to-escape manner. (Bourdieu 1973; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; see also Bourdieu 1984; 1996; see Jaeger & Breen 2016 for a detailed dynamic model of the theory. For critical assessments, see Kingston 2001; Sullivan 2002; Lareau & Weininger 2003; Goldthorpe 2007.)

Cultural capital in Bourdieu's different texts denotes different things (Lamont & Lareau 1988; Swartz 1997: p 43; Lareau & Weininger 2003; Purhonen et al. 2014), and subsequent research employing the concept has put forward a plurality of understandings, definitions and operationalisations (Lamont & Lareau 1988; Goldthorpe 2007; Davies & Rizk 2018). While Bourdieu includes in the embodied cultural capital knowledge about and propensities to hold taste for and consume prestigious culture, language use, physical appearance, posture, manners and the like (see, e.g. Bourdieu 1984; 1986), subsequent researchers have, for instance, narrowed cultural capital to refer to only indicators of an upper-class lifestyle (e.g. DiMaggio 1982) or defined cultural capital as knowledge, skills and competences that can be used, for example, to manage institutional interactions (e.g. Lareau & Weininger 2003). (For reviews, see Lareau & Weininger 2003 and Davies & Rizk 2018.) In every case, however, cultural capital is understood as a resource that can be used in various contexts to gain an advantage in the competition for social positions – not only in the field of education, but also in the field of occupations (e.g. Rivera 2012; Koppman 2016). In addition, because cultural hierarchies vary in time and place, what counts as cultural capital or, equivalently, what the content of cultural capital is in each society, must be identified empirically (e.g. Lamont & Lareau 1988; Holt 1997; Lareau & Weininger 2003; Purhonen et al. 2014).

Theory of cultural reproduction enjoys substantial empirical support, even with varying operationalisations of the embodied cultural capital. In their comprehensive review of empirical studies, Jaeger and Breen (2016) summarise that parents transmit cultural capital to their children, and children's cultural capital typically has a positive effect on educational success (test scores etc.) and attainment (years of schooling, completion, etc.) (for other reviews, with similar conclusions, see Dumais 2015 and Nagel & Ganzeboom 2015). However, the results concerning cultural capital's

influence on teacher's perception about students' ability are inconclusive (Jaeger & Breen 2016; but see also Jaeger & Mollegaard 2017). Besides the research focusing on individual societies, a few international comparative analyses have been conducted based on data from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) collected by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2000: Barone (2006) uses a sample of 25 countries, Tramonte and Willms (2010) use 28 countries, Xu and Hampden-Thompson (2012) study 22 countries, and Hu and colleagues (2022) use 41 countries. They all define cultural capital through conversation about cultural matters with parents and possession of cultural objects (e.g. art, dictionaries) at home. Further, Xu and Hampden-Thompson (2012) and Hu and colleagues (2022) use a third variable consisting of children's participation in upper-class culture (opera, theatre etc.). The dependent variable is always literacy (test scores), but Xu and Hampden-Thompson and Hu and colleagues also include math and science (test scores). All these analyses find that cultural capital variables have strong and positive effects on all test scores, albeit cultural possessions tend to have a weaker effect than the rest. These results apply practically to all the countries included, but there is some variation between the countries in terms of whether it is the upper-class or the lower-class children who benefit more from their family-inculcated cultural capital (see also Andersen & Jaeger 2015 about school environment). Even though cultural possessions in general have a weaker effect on school success in these studies, book collections at home have elsewhere been shown to have a strong effect on educational attainment (Evans et al. 2010).

Research on cultural reproduction has established the central roles that the childhood family and the education system play in the intergenerational transmission of capitalisable upper-class cultural dispositions. However, families do not reproduce only upper-class dispositions; intergenerational transmission applies to other dispositions too, such as taste for popular music (ter Bogt et al. 2011; Willekens & Lievens 2014), television watching habits (Notten et al. 2012), reading unappreciated literature (Notten et al. 2012) and luxury-oriented lifestyle (Nagel & Lemel 2019) (see also Leguina et al. 2022). In fact, Sullivan (2011: p. 198) concludes her review by noting that research has not found a domain of culture where intergenerational transmission would not occur. The dispositions not endorsed by the upper class in the mainstream understanding of cultural reproduction theory would not count as cultural capital. Nevertheless, their intergenerational transmission in families is important for the overall cultural reproduction theory. It is not entirely clear how the education system would treat these non-upper-class dispositions. On the one hand, if these dispositions are the cultural dispositions of the lower classes, per

Bourdieu's scheme, they are not recognised or rewarded by the education system; in fact, they may even be treated as signals for reprehension and exclusion. On the other hand, if the large overall cultural consumption and omnivorous taste represent the upper-class lifestyle, as suggested by many contemporary cultural sociologists (see section 2.1), then various kinds of cultural dispositions in children would accumulate cultural capital, and the education system would eventually adapt to recognise and reward these dispositions (see Khan 2011 for a discussion about how popular culture, as part of omnivorous lifestyle orientation, can be included in elite schools' curriculum through aesthetic appropriation). While the reaction of the education system to the non-upper-class dispositions is of considerable interest, it falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

In addition to downplaying the non-upper-class cultural dispositions, cultural reproduction theory places a heavy emphasis on the childhood family socialisation and on the conservative conversion function of education. While childhood family is a key group for early socialisation, individuals face a range of socialisation contexts over their life course (see section 2.2), and the effect of childhood family socialisation may fade over time (Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997; Georg 2004; Nagel 2004; Scherger 2009; Ho et al. 2021). Moreover, the education system not only sanctions and reward existing cultural capital, but also instils students with new cultural capital, independent of that transmitted by families (e.g. Nagel & Ganzeboom 2002; Nagel 2010; Horvat & Davis 2011). Furthermore, it is debated whether it is the upper-class children who reap more benefits from their cultural capital in the education system, as Bourdieu argued, or if it is the lower-class children whose cultural capital provides a greater rate of return in education (e.g. DiMaggio 1982; Aschaffenburg & Maas 1997; Andersen & Jaeger 2015) – or whether there are any class-related efficiency differences at all (e.g. Scherger & Savage 2010; Hu et al. 2022). These critical remarks point to a theory of cultural mobility, which is a competing theory regarding the correspondence between social positions and cultural lifestyles, or, in other words, between social and cultural stratification.

2.4 Cultural lifestyle and social mobility

Experiences accumulated in childhood and childhood family influence an individual's behaviour, including their cultural knowledge, taste, and participation, long into adulthood, and it seems that cultural tastes and participation patterns acquired early in life have substantial longevity over the individual's life course (e.g.

Nagel & Ganzeboom 2002; Lareau 2011; Vaisey & Lizardo 2016; Kiley & Vaisey 2020). Nevertheless, peer groups, education, occupational life and the socialisation processes embedded in them influence a greater part of an individual's life over time, and it is possible that the socialisation in the childhood family and the socialisation in school conflict and diverge (e.g. Lahire 2008; 2011; Lareau 2011). Furthermore, socialisation at the workplace can differ from both childhood family and education (e.g. Erickson 1996; Van Eijck & Mommaas 2004). These later-life or secondary socialisation processes can change the lifestyle and lifestyle trajectory adopted in and supported by the childhood family (see, e.g. Lahire 2011 for a discussion). A relatively clear setting repeatedly used by researchers to study the effects of later-life socialisation – and compare them to the effects of childhood socialisation – is provided by socially mobile individuals (e.g. Van Eijck 1999; Daenekindt & Roose 2013a; 2013b; 2014; Curl et al. 2018; Dumais 2019). These individuals encounter multiple and different socialisation contexts in their lives (Lahire 2008; 2011: p. 36–41), and already Sorokin (1959 [1927]) proposed that their cultural lifestyles differ remarkably from their childhood family lifestyles compared to the childhood and adult lifestyles of individuals who stay in the social class they were born into.

Regarding cultural capital, the cultural mobility theory departs the cultural reproduction theory in one key respect: while the cultural reproduction theory assumes that the upper classes possess and control most of the prestigious cultural resources and cultural capital – to the point of monopolisation (see Bourdieu 1973; 1986; see also Goldthorpe 2007) – the cultural mobility theory holds that prestigious cultural resources and cultural capital are available to and usable by individuals originating from other classes too (e.g. DiMaggio 1982; Swidler 1986; Erickson 1996; Emmison 2003; Scherger & Savage 2010). DiMaggio (1982), for instance, proposes that lower-class children can use cultural capital to their advantage in schools and do so more efficiently than the upper-class children (see also DiMaggio & Mohr 1985 and Xu & Hampden-Thompson 2012). On the other hand, as Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002) demonstrate, education equips students with cultural capital independently from children's class origin (see also Reeves & de Vries 2016 on the effect of the field of study). Furthermore, workplaces and individual jobs differ in their relationships with cultural lifestyles, especially with respect to what counts as capitalisable culture (compare Erickson 1996; Rivera 2012; Koppman 2016), and differences in cultural lifestyles due to socialisation in work organisations (Van Eijck & Mommaas 2004; Lizardo 2006b) suggest that individuals can use the cultural resources that are specifically valued in their workplaces. Thus, individuals could accumulate cultural capital and use it to advance in the social space, regardless of

their social origin. Viewing cultural resources and cultural capital from this perspective – as resources for mobility, and not only as means to enforce the intergenerational continuity of stratification – agrees well with the idea that an individual is an active participant in their socialisation processes. An individual's active agency combined with the available cultural resources brings contingency and instability to the reproduction process, which, in turn, opens possibilities for social and cultural mobility and change.

The link between social mobility and cultural lifestyles can be studied from two complementary perspectives: how culture fosters social mobility and how social mobility influences cultural lifestyle. According to Streib (2017; 2018), there is comparably less research on the link between culture and social mobility than on cultural reproduction – especially the cultural mechanisms causing downward mobility – and, moreover, cultural sociology has much better conceptual tools to understand cultural reproduction than cultural mobility. There is, however, a growing body of literature on the effects of social mobility on cultural lifestyles. For example, Van Eijck (1999) found that in the Netherlands the educationally upwardly mobile individuals, in their cultural lifestyle, retain popular cultural dispositions typical to their class of origin while simultaneously taking up upper-class cultural dispositions typical to their class destination, but importantly, the mobile did not reach the same level of consumption of upper-class culture that the upper-class originated upper-class individuals had. In addition, social mobility did not influence dispositions concerning popular culture (Van Eijck 1999). Dumais (2019), on the contrary, found that in the U.S., the educationally upwardly mobile adopted the upper-class lifestyle so thoroughly that their lifestyle was indistinguishable from the upper-class individuals with upper-class backgrounds. Similarly, several other studies have found that upwardly mobile individuals align their cultural dispositions and lifestyles to their social destination class: such evidence is found in music tastes (Daenekindt & Roose 2013b; Coulangeon 2015) and food consumption (Beagan et al. 2015; Domanski & Karpinski 2018; Curl et al. 2018). The situation for the downwardly mobile individuals is more contested, as the results are mixed on whether these individuals socialise into their class destination or retain their upper-class lifestyle despite social descent (see Van Eijck 1999, Daenekindt & Roose 2013b and Coulangeon 2015 for the former stance, and Daenekindt & Roose 2013a, Beagan et al. 2015 and Domanski & Karpinski 2018 for the latter). Moreover, a host of empirical studies evidence that socially mobile individuals retain some of the cultural dispositions they were socialised into in their social class of origin – or at least some degree of those dispositions – but add new dispositions to their cultural

'tool kit' (Swidler 1986) from their social class of destination. This mixing of dispositions, or cultural dissonance, has been observed in comedy tastes (Friedman 2012), dispositions towards films (Daenekindt & Roose 2013a), and several other fields of culture, including especially music tastes (Daenekindt & Roose 2014). In sum, the research on the influence of social mobility on cultural lifestyles seems to support the theoretical position that later-life or secondary socialisation changes lifestyle to a substantial degree.

One issue discussed within the research on the influence of social mobility in cultural lifestyles is the question of how 'deep' the influence of mobility is – that is, are the cultural dispositions of socially mobile individuals really changing or are the observed changes in their cultural behaviour performed by the individuals just for self-presentation and fitting-in purposes? Daenekindt and Roose (2013b) found that the cultural dispositions that are performed publicly – such as going to concerts or book fairs – have a stronger association to social mobility than dispositions that manifest in private life – such as liking musical genres and reading books (see also Roose & Vander Stichele 2010 about music). Similarly, Friedman (2012) found that socially mobile individuals expressed different comedy tastes in private and in public, and taste expression depended on what was appropriate in which social circumstances. Thus, a possibility remains that the mobility effects' influence on lifestyle are relatively limited, which would support primary socialisation over secondary socialisation.

What implications does the idea that social mobility influences lifestyle have for the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification? While this is relatively straightforward in the case of cultural reproduction theory – the theory simultaneously explains both the correspondence itself and also how changes in the cultural fields (Bourdieu 1983) or in the social structure are mediated to one another to perpetuate the correspondence (Bourdieu 1984) – the case for cultural mobility theory is more complicated. Some preliminary remarks can, however, be put forward. First, a high social mobility with associated cultural mobility might mean more rapid change of cultural hierarchies – but this, of course, does not necessarily lead to changes in the correspondence between social and cultural stratification (see Van Eijck & Bargeman 2004). Second, a more interesting implication concerns the effects of social and cultural mobility on the relationships between and within social classes: there might be clear class-associated lifestyles in a society, but a high rate of social mobility with associated dissonant lifestyles could, to some degree, muddle the lifestyle differences both between and within classes. In general, this could lower the society-level lifestyle hierarchies and

boundaries and thus ease the lifestyle tensions between social classes (see, e.g. Lahire 2008; 2011 for this line of thought). But on the other hand, high social mobility could also increase the tensions within classes. In case of high upward mobility, the new upper-class individuals could bring with them the lifestyle they were socialised into in their class of origin, which, in turn, would bring new tensions into the upper-class, between the new and the old upper-class members. One such tension could be the symbolic struggle between the snobs and the omnivores (e.g. Bellavance 2008). Another consequence within the upper class might be the waning distinction value of the old upper-class culture (for the meltdown of the status of old 'highbrow' upper-class culture, see Van Eijck 1999; DiMaggio & Mukhtar 2004; Van Eijck & Bargeman 2004; Yuksek et al. 2019; but see also Van Eijck & Knulst 2005; Nault et al. 2021). With downward mobility, if the downwardly mobile individuals retain their upper-class lifestyle, they might run into conflict with their new social environment (see, e.g. Curl et al. 2018). Overall, the correspondence between the social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification could be more complicated than proposed by the cultural reproduction theory. Notably, the idea of social mobility was conceptually present in Bourdieu's (1984; 1996) work, especially in the 'trajectory' dimension of the stratification of the social space (see section 2.1). His key concept habitus, however, is not well-suited to account for social mobility – in his final works, Bourdieu (2008: p. 100) used 'cleft habitus' to deal with the rigidity of the concept of habitus (see, e.g. Bennett 2007 and Friedman 2016 for a discussion) – and he does not address the points discussed here in sufficient detail, if at all. Next, we turn to the research questions of this dissertation.

3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

In the preceding section, we discussed the correspondence between social (class) stratification and cultural (lifestyle) stratification, and the two approaches – cultural reproduction theory and cultural mobility theory – that are employed in attempts to study and explain the correspondence, its stability and change. Our research objective in this dissertation arises from these research traditions, and our research questions are set as follows:

(1) in what forms are lifestyles transmitted within families from parents to their children,
(2) how permanent is the effect of childhood family socialisation, and
(3) how does social mobility change the cultural lifestyle adopted during childhood family socialisation?

Note that the specific research questions in the original articles are slightly differently formulated because of the article format (see section 5, Table 1), but the results contribute to the questions presented above.

The research questions limit the scope of this dissertation to only some aspects of the general theory presented in the preceding section. First, the direction of the analysis is how social position influences lifestyle, but the converse direction – how lifestyle contributes to position-building – is omitted from this dissertation. Thus, specifically, the role of education institutions as imposers of existing stratification or changers of lifestyles is left to other studies. Similarly, the effects exerted by peer groups (or spouses) is not analysed here. However, as argued in the preceding section, parents and childhood family are the most powerful socialisation forces on the one hand, and social mobility, on the other hand, provides a relatively clear setting to analyse cultural mobility and the limits of the effects of parental and childhood family socialisation. Thus, focusing on these two settings means focusing on both the classical and contemporary cores of the cultural sociology of lifestyles, as described in the preceding section.

4 DATA AND METHODS

In this section, we describe the data we use in research pertaining to this dissertation. In addition, a summary of the variables and methods is included. The articles use different variables and methods, and more detailed descriptions are given in the respective articles. Before going into the data and methods, however, we briefly describe the research context.

4.1 The research context: Finland

Finland, one of the Scandinavian countries, is often associated with a broad scope of public policy, universal basic social security, publicly funded social services such as education and health care, and high social mobility, among other characteristics (e.g. Kautto et al. 2001; Esping-Andersen 1999; Torche 2015). Like in other countries, social position is intergenerationally transmitted in Finland, but per international comparisons, social mobility has been relatively high in terms of education (Hertz et al. 2007; Pfeffer 2008; Kivinen et al. 2012; Pekkala Kerr & Rinne 2012), occupation (Erola & Moisio 2002; Härkönen 2010) and income (Sirniö et al. 2013) (see also Karhula & Sirniö 2019). Some studies, however, suggest that social mobility has started to slow down (Erola 2009; Härkönen & Sirniö 2020). Parents' education is a key explaining factor of intergenerational transmission of social position in Finland (e.g., Erola et al. 2016). Our goal here is to offer a context for this dissertation, and therefore our focus is on the Finnish social and cultural stratification and its development over time. From the perspective of our data, it is sufficient to cover the period starting from the 1950s, that is, the period after the Second World War.

In terms of social class stratification, four key interlinked processes have taken place in Finland since the 1950s: massive educational expansion, transformation from an agriculture-heavy economy to a service-led economy, urbanisation, and – for a lack of a better term – 'middle-classification'. These processes are associated with substantial economic growth and welfare state development (see, e.g. Karisto et al. 1997 and Vartia & Ylä-Anttila 2005), but these are of secondary interest here.

First, education in Finland has expanded in two dimensions: a progressively larger share of the Finnish population has been included in the education system, and the level of completed education of an individual has continuously risen over the latter half of the 20th century (Lampinen 2000). The expansion has taken place in primary education, secondary education, tertiary education, and to some extent in early childhood education as well (Kivinen 1988; Lehtisalo & Raivola 1999; Nevala 1999; Lampinen 2000; Nevala 2008; Kauko 2011; Kettunen & Simola 2012). A telling example of the scale of the expansion is that 74 per cent of the Finnish population aged 15 or more had completed a post-primary degree in 2020 (Statistics Finland 2021), while in the 1960s out of the population aged 15–64, only 14 per cent had more than a short primary education (Lampinen 2000: p. 23). Despite the massive expansion, the educational hierarchies and inheritance have prevailed in that the children of the lower-educated parents tend to enter vocational secondary-level education, while university-level education is pursued by the children of the university-educated parents (Kivinen 1988: p. 60–61; Kivinen et al. 2012; Karhunen & Uusitalo 2017). Like in other countries, in Finland, differences in their social class are reflected in families' relationship to schooling, in terms of the parents' role in choosing a school for their children (Kalalahti et al. 2015; Silvennoinen et al. 2015; Kosunen 2016), parent-school interaction (Metso 2004) and children's schooling outcomes (Vanttaja 2000; Härkönen & Sirniö 2020) (see also Thrupp et al. 2023). The educational expansion was in many ways associated with changes in the economy and labour markets and with the building of the welfare state (Rinne & Jauhiainen 1988; Järvelä 1991; Lehtisalo & Raivola 1999).

Economically, Finland experienced a rapid transformation from an agricultural society into a service-based economy in the 1960s and the 1970s (Alestalo 1986; Vartia & Ylä-Anttila 2005: p. 77–80; Karisto et al. 1997: p. 63–65). The exceptional development in Finland, compared to other Western countries, was that industrialisation spread late, and therefore industrial development and service-economy development took place simultaneously (Vartia & Ylä-Anttila 2005: p. 80). These developments were associated with massive and quick urbanisation (Karisto et al. 1997: p. 67; Valkonen 1985), leading into a situation where a large proportion of the newly-suburbanised blue-collar and white-collar Finns were first-generation paid workers with agricultural roots (Alestalo 1985; Pöntinen 1983: p. 55; Korkiakangas 1996; Alasuutari 2017: p. 63). The migrants from the countryside brough elements of their agricultural lifestyle into the suburbs they moved into, and socialisation to suburban life led their lifestyle to become a mix of agricultural and

urban elements (Eskola 1965; Kortteinen 1982; Ahponen & Järvelä 1983; see also Roos 1987).

Another consequence of economic change combined with the rising level of education was 'middle-classification', that is, in the Finnish occupational structure the share of the middle-class positions increased and became the most common occupational position over time. First, according to Alestalo's (1985: p. 185; 1986: p. 41) criteria and calculations, the share of middle-class occupations in the economically active population rose from around 15 per cent in 1950s to about 30 per cent in the 1970s and reached around 40 per cent in the 1980s. That is, in the 1980s, the middle-class occupations and manual occupations accounted for roughly an equal share of the economically active population (Alestalo 1986: p. 41). Blom and colleagues (1984: p. 58–60) reported similar statistics, although they did not equate the statistical classes with real social classes (see also Blom & Melin 2004). Either way, Blom and Melin (2014) concluded that the middle-class position eventually became the most typical occupational position from the 2000s onwards. Associated with the educational expansion, the core(s) of the middle class(es) has comprised of higher-educated people working in professional occupations in administration, trade, and public and private services, and since the turn of the millennium in information technology industries, too (Alestalo 1985; 1986; Kivinen 1987; Erola 2010; Blom & Melin 2014; see also Roos & Rahkonen 1985; Rahkonen 1999).

Cultural lifestyle stratification and its association with social stratification in Finland intrigued some Finnish sociologists in the 1950s (Allardt et al. 1957; Allardt et al. 1958a; 1958b; see also Piepponen 1960 and Eskola 1963). The research at the time, however, was quite sporadic and used data with limited generalisability (see Toiviainen 1970: p. 21 and Piepponen 1960: p. 6 for an overview and assessment), even though the working-class people and the bourgeoisie had organised separate, mutually exclusive associations for literature, music, theatre and sports since a long time (Alapuro 1985: p. 91). In the 1950s, Allardt and colleagues (1958a), for example, observed 'the cumulative nature of leisure activities', that is, the positive correlation between different leisure activities; Toiviainen (1970: p. 22) found the same cumulative nature in arts participation a decade later. As another example, Piepponen (1960), whose data only covered the city of Tampere, found that at the end of the 1950s, higher educated people read more literature and visited theatres and cinemas more than the less educated people. Quantitative research on the correspondence between lifestyle and social class stratification that used large and representative samples of the Finnish population begun at the turn of the 1970s with

Toiviainen (1970) and Eskola (1976). A major step forward was taken by Statistics Finland in 1977 when it collected data for the nationally representative *The Leisure Survey* for the first time. This survey that covers a broad range of lifestyle domains and information on socio-economic situation of the respondents was then repeated roughly every ten years (in 1981, 1991, 2002 and 2017); the questionnaire of the survey has varied over time, but a considerable number of items have been preserved (for further information: https://www.stat.fi/til/vpa/index_en.html). More recently, Purhonen and colleagues (2014) performed a study that replicated Bourdieu's (1984) original idea to test the distinction theory in Finland.

Research on the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification in Finland has repeatedly shown two trends that are relevant to our study: first, there seems to be a persisting difference between the lifestyles of the upper classes and the lower classes, and, secondly, popular culture has gained legitimacy over time. Regarding the latter, in Finland (and elsewhere), since the 1960s, popular culture such as pop and rock music, films and television have gained press coverage, and their critical treatment resembles the treatment of traditional upper-class culture such as classical concert music, theatre and visual arts, which can be interpreted as the legitimation of popular culture (Purhonen et al. 2018).

Regarding the persistence of lifestyle differences, it was shown already by Toiviainen (1970), and repeatedly corroborated over time by Eskola (1976), Seppänen (1993), Ekholm (2005) and Purhonen with colleagues (2014), that individuals with higher education levels and occupational positions listen more to the classical music and attend classical music concerts and opera more often than the people with lower education levels and occupational positions. Popular music, such as pop and rock, and later also heavy metal, electronic dance music and rhythm and blues, on the other hand, is not clearly related to social class but instead listened to by individuals across classes (Seppänen 1993; Ekholm 2005; Purhonen et al. 2014). Patterned differences in popular music consumption seem to be related to individuals' age: pop and rock tend to be popular among the younger age groups, whereas schlager and popular folk, still, tend to remain a preference among the older, less educated people (Toiviainen 1970; Seppänen 1993; Ekholm 2005; Purhonen et al. 2014; Haaramo 2021).

In terms of reading literature, while reading in general has been a popular pastime for the Finns (e.g. Eskola 1979; Sauri 2005; Hanifi 2021), the higher educated people read more books than the lower educated people (Eskola 1976; 1979; Purhonen et al. 2014; Hanifi 2021; see also Piepponen 1960 and Toiviainen 1970), and the type of literature and books read vary by social class (Eskola 1979; 1993; Purhonen et al.

2014). Similarly, visiting theatres, art galleries and museums has always been more common among the upper classes than the lower classes (Toiviainen 1970; Eskola 1976; Alestalo et al. 1977; Pääkkönen 1993; Liikkanen 2005; Purhonen et al. 2014; see also Piepponen 1960). Moreover, as far as there is evidence, reading more literature; visiting theatres, art galleries and museums; and listening to classical music and opera have always been interconnected. That is, practising one activity is positively correlated with practising another (Toiviainen 1970; Eskola 1976; Purhonen et al. 2014) to a degree that it seems fair to say that these activities jointly represent a certain upper-class cultural lifestyle in Finland. Conversely, mundane cultural activities such as handicraft, gardening, cooking and watching television are shown to be related, and this ensemble of activities is associated with older, less educated people (Eskola 1976; Purhonen et al. 2014). In a more recent study, Purhonen and colleagues (2014) found a third pattern of cultural lifestyle in contemporary Finland, consisting of modern popular culture (see also Kahma & Toikka 2012) which included, for example, listening to pop and rock music, attending cinema and going to gym. While going to the cinema and practising sports were popular across the Finnish social strata already in the 1970s (Eskola 1976; see also Kohvakka 2005), we lack precise knowledge about how the pattern of modern popular culture uncovered by Purhonen and colleagues (2014) was developed over time.

In contemporary Finland, cultural lifestyles are differentiated by gender and age, but also by education level and occupational position (Purhonen et al. 2014; Kahma 2011). In musical tastes, classical music, opera and world music are liked by the upper social classes but significantly less by the lower classes. Popular folk (schlager, folk, country, religious music) is, conversely, liked by the lower classes and not by the upper classes. Pop and rock music, as well as dance music, are not class related. (Purhonen et al. 2009; Purhonen et al. 2014.) Reading more literature is typical for the upper classes, while the lower classes read less (Purhonen et al. 2014; Hanifi 2021). Liking and attending classical fine arts events such as the opera, classical music concerts, theatre and art galleries also signifies an upper-class lifestyle, while the lower classes practise them rarely (Purhonen et al. 2011; Purhonen et al. 2014). Watching more television per day, on the contrary, is more typical to the lower classes, whereas the upper classes limit their viewing time (Purhonen et al. 2014). Lifestyle differentiation by class also extends to food tastes, where meat-heavy food is preferred by the lower classes whereas light-ethnic food is preferred by the upper classes (Purhonen & Gronow 2014; Purhonen et al. 2014; Lindblom & Mustonen 2015; Purhonen & Heikkilä 2017). Moreover, overall cultural engagement seems to

increase in tandem with social position, especially with education (e.g. Purhonen et al. 2010; Heikkilä & Lindblom 2023). In sum, Finland does not differ from other Western countries in terms of the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle differentiation. In fact, it seems that cultural lifestyle stratification exhibits surprisingly strong stability given the major educational and economic changes that have taken place. Against this background, we devise this dissertation.

4.2 Data

This dissertation is based on three empirical studies (I, II and III) that use quantitative data. The data came from two directly comparable, nationally representative Finnish surveys collected by Statistics Finland in 2007 and 2018 (excluding the Aaland Islands). The first dataset, titled 'Culture and Leisure in Finland, 2007' was collected for a research project funded by the Academy of Finland called 'Cultural Capital and Social Differentiation in Contemporary Finland' (Rahkonen et al. 2006; Purhonen et al. 2014). The second dataset, 'Culture and Leisure in Finland, 2018' (Nyberg et al. 2018) was collected for a project called 'The Dynamics of Cultural Stratification: How Cultural Classifications, Hierarchies and Tastes Change', which was also an Academy of Finland -funded project. Henceforth, the surveys (and the datasets) are referred to as Survey 2007 (Data 2007) and Survey 2018 (Data 2018), respectively. Both surveys were conducted in Finnish and Swedish (but not in English).

Survey 2007 was conducted as a postal survey, and a random sample of 3,000 persons were contacted from the mainland Finnish population aged 18–74. A total 1,388 responses were received, yielding a response rate of 46.3 per cent. The higher educated people, women and older men were slightly overrepresented among the respondents compared to the Finnish population, and to correct for these biases Statistics Finland calculated a post-stratification analysis weight. For a detailed description of the data, see Rahkonen and colleagues (2006), Kahma (2011) and Purhonen and colleagues (2014). The data and the survey questionnaire are openly accessible from the Finnish Social Science Data Archive (ID: FSD2953): https://services.fsd.tuni.fi/catalogue/FSD2953?lang=en&study_language=en

Survey 2018 used a combination of internet and postal data collection methods, and it targeted a random sample of 3,500 Finns (same age and geographical specifications as with Survey 2007). In the first instance, the respondents received

an invitation letter to participate in the survey that contained a link to the online survey questionnaire. For those who did not respond to the first call, a second letter was sent three weeks after the initial letter. To those who did not respond to the second call either, a third letter was sent three weeks after the second letter, and the third letter contained a printed survey questionnaire for a postal return. Two email reminders were sent ten and twenty days after the third call. Overall, the data collection phase lasted from the beginning of March until mid-May. The survey received 1,425 responses, yielding a response rate of 40.7 per cent. Of the responses, 1,061 arrived online, and 364 via post. Like Survey 2007, Survey 2018 had an overrepresentation of higher educated people, women and older men, and a post-stratification analysis weight was again provided by Statistics Finland. For more information about the data, see the detailed technical report by Nyberg and colleagues (2018) and publications by Purhonen with colleagues (2021), Heikkilä with colleagues (2022), Lindblom (2022), and Heikkilä and Lindblom (2023). The data collected by Survey 2018 will also be openly available from the Finnish Social Science Data Archive later.

Both surveys included a wide range of questions on the respondents' cultural tastes, cultural participation and knowledge about culture in various domains. Respondents were asked about, for example, their television viewing habits and favourite programmes; musical tastes and concert visits; habits and tastes in reading literature and newspapers; tastes in visual arts; tastes in food; frequencies of dining out and engaging in sports and exercise; visits to various events; vacations and travel, home and decoration; longstanding cultural hobbies; and opinions about culture. Survey 2018 included also questions about social media. To learn about the respondents' fathers and mothers, there was a retrospective question about their interestedness and participation in certain cultural activities (see below). From this abundance of information, a selected set of indicators of taste and participation were chosen for each separate study.

In addition to the questions pertaining to culture, the questionnaires included a standard set of questions about the respondents' socio-economic status and demographics, such as gender, age, education level, occupational class, income, area of residence and family structure. Education levels and occupations of the respondents' fathers and mothers were also requested to allow for the analyses of intergenerational transmission. We used the indicators of socio-economic status and demographics typically as controls because their effects on cultural tastes and participation are both previously known and not our main interest here.

4.3 Variables and methods

The three articles in this dissertation used different types of variables, and hence the analysis methods differed. While the variables to be explained or predicted varied, the explanatory and control variables were the same or very similar across the studies. Gender was always dichotomous (the small number of respondents identifying as non-binary gender in Data 2018 were excluded from analyses), and age was continuous or categorised in three classes. Education was categorised following the ISCED classification, and occupations were classified following the European classification of occupations (article I used the 2001 version, and the others used the 2010 version). Area of residence had four categories (city centre, suburbs, towns and countryside).

In the first article (I), we used Data 2007 to study the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital from parents to their children in embodied and institutionalised forms. In concrete terms, we studied how the respondent's education level and longstanding cultural participation are associated with the respondent's parents' education level and interestedness in upper-class culture (with socio-demographics controlled for). The research design followed closely an analytical scheme proposed by Van Eijck and Kraaykamp (2010). Because education level and longstanding cultural participation were categorical variables with multiple values, we used multinomial logistic regression. Multinomial logistic regression is an extended version of ordinary logistic regression, with the benefit that it places few restrictions on the explanatory variables (Tabachnick & Fidell 2014). Multinomial logistic regression produces odds ratios, which we converted to average marginal effects for comparison purposes and for easier interpretation (Mood 2010).

The second article (II) focused on intergenerational transmission of cultural lifestyle patterns from parents to their children and used Data 2018. For the parents and respondents, we chose lifestyle indicators that were either identical or as similar as possible (see (II), Table 1 for details). Preliminary analyses with latent class analysis (Collins & Lanza 2010) and principal component analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell 2014) showed – slightly surprisingly – that for both the parents and the respondents, the indicators cohered to three separable lifestyle patterns, which we termed 'highbrow', 'popular' and 'crafts', partly due to their obvious resemblance with the patterns found by Purhonen and colleagues (2014). The final variables for analysis were constructed as counts, and a suitable method for a regression analysis in this case was the Poisson regression (Cameron & Trivedi 2013; Dunteman & Ho 2006). A special 'pattern' of lifestyle is the overall cultural participation – in other words, the

volume of participation – and because the positive correlations of different indicators pointed to the 'cumulative nature of leisure activities' (Allardt et al. 1958a), we constructed a sum variable of all the indicators that represented the overall cultural participation to study its intergenerational transmission. The overall participation, in Finland, may be used as a proxy for omnivorousness, as Purhonen and colleagues (2010) have argued. For overall participation, general linear regression could be used (Cohen et al. 2003; Tabachnick & Fidell 2014).

In the third article (III), we studied the effect of social mobility on cultural lifestyles. For this study, we merged Data 2007 and Data 2018 to increase the analytical N. Social mobility was defined through both educational mobility and occupational mobility (see (III) Table 1 for a detailed description), and we used information from both parents (see Korupp et al. 2002, Beller 2009, Thaning & Hällsten 2020 and Ballarino et al. 2021 for discussion). We focused on the respondents with 'class-consistent' (Beller 2009) backgrounds, that is, respondents whose fathers and mothers were of the same social class. This enabled us to grasp the 'cores of the classes' (De Graaf et al. 1995: p. 1007), that is, respondents who themselves and whose parents were of the same class. This way we could discern the immobile working class and the immobile upper class in a clear and unambiguous manner (as cores of classes), and we could compare the socially mobile respondents – who also had class-consistent backgrounds – with the immobile cores of classes. This made the lifestyle differences more observable both between the cores of the classes and between the socially mobile and the cores of classes, amidst the presumed high social mobility in Finland. The number of downwardly mobile people, especially in terms of education, was small in our data, so we focused on the upwardly mobile people moving from the working class to the middle class. We studied the effects of both educational mobility and occupational mobility on ten cultural lifestyle indicators under five different domains of culture: literature (number of books read), television (number of hours spent on watching television per day), highbrow culture (participation in upper-class culture by index), music (tastes in highbrow music, popular folk, rock and dance) and food (tastes in meat-heavy, light-ethnic and fast food) (see (III) Table 2 for details). For preliminary analyses, principal component analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell 2014) and Kruskal–Wallis nonparametric analysis of variance (Gibbons 1993; Corder & Foreman 2009) were used. The main analysis, however, could be run with ordinary least squares regression (Cohen et al. 2003; Tabachnick & Fidell 2014).

5 SUMMARY OF RESULTS

In this section, we summarise the results of the articles. The articles themselves are briefly and technically summarised in Table 1 below. Six main results emerge from the articles, and this section is structured according to them, and not according to the articles. The main results are presented as subheadings, and the Roman numeral at the end of the subheading indicates the respective article(s) that contribute to the result. Synthetising discussion and conclusions are presented in the final section (6).

Table 1. Research questions, data, methods and results of the three articles.

Article	Research questions	Data and methods	Results
I	1. Are parents' embodied and institutionalised cultural capital associated with the institutional cultural capital of their children in contemporary Finland? How strong are these potential associations? 2. Are parents' embodied and institutionalised cultural capital associated with the embodied cultural capital of their children in contemporary Finland? How strong are these potential associations?	Data 2007 (N = 1,297) Multinomial logistic regression	1. Parents' institutionalised cultural capital is strongly associated with their children's institutionalised cultural capital, but parents' embodied cultural capital is not. 2. Both parents' embodied and institutionalised cultural capital are strongly associated with their children's embodied cultural capital.

II	How are cultural orientations intergenerationally transmitted in Finland?	Data 2018 (N = 1,236) Poisson regression, general linear regression	1. Overall cultural participation is intergenerationally transmitted from parents to their children. 2. Cultural orientations – highbrow, popular and crafts – are symmetrically transmitted from parents to their children.
III	Which cultural practices, if any, are influenced by upward social mobility from the working class to the middle class in contemporary Finland? Do educational and occupational mobility have similar effects?	Merged Data 2007 and Data 2018. (N varies) Ordinary least squares regression	Educational and occupational mobility relate differently to tastes and participation. Both educationally and occupationally upwardly mobile people tend to participate more in highbrow activities, watch less television and dislike meat-heavy food. The educationally upwardly mobile tend to read more books, like light-ethnic food and classical music, and dislike popular folk. However, occupational mobility is not associated with reading or liking light-ethnic food. The occupationally mobile retain their original tastes in classical and popular folk music.

5.1 Overall cultural participation is inherited (II)

As previously described (see section 2.1), one of the most robust findings in various countries is that the volume of engagement with different forms of culture increases in tandem with rising social class position (e.g. Peterson 1992; Bennett et al. 2009; Purhonen et al. 2010; Miles & Sullivan 2012; Coulangeon 2013; Roose et al. 2015; Weingarten & Rössel 2019; Heikkilä & Lindblom 2023; see also Heikkilä 2021; 2023). That is, the overall volume of cultural participation is stratified according to social class position. Few studies in cultural sociology have touched upon the intergenerational transmission of overall cultural participation (see Leguina et al. 2022 for an exception). As part of our first main research question – in what forms are lifestyles transmitted within families (see section 3) – we studied this issue in the second article (II). We built a measure of overall cultural participation by looking at the respondent's frequency of reading literature, visits to classical music concerts, art galleries, movie theatres, pop music concerts, frequency of physical exercise, doing handicrafts, gardening, and the respondent's opinion on the importance of cooking as a hobby. For the respondent's parents, the overall cultural participation measure targeted the same activities, but the restriction was that the parents had to have practised those activities with the respondent when the respondent was young. (For the details of the variable construction, see (II) Table 1.)

We found that the respondent's overall cultural participation and their parents' overall cultural participation were strongly correlated, and that this association prevailed in linear regression analysis that controlled for other factors known to influence cultural participation, namely the respondent's gender, age, education level, occupational position, (net) income level, area of residence and parents' education level. Moreover, the standardised regression coefficient for the parents' overall participation was greater than any of the coefficients of the controls, suggesting that the parents' overall cultural participation was the most important explaining factor of the respondent's overall cultural participation. (For more details, see (II) Tables 3 and 5.)

These results suggest that overall cultural participation is inherited; that is, the more the parents participate in cultural activities, the more their offspring participates too. In terms of the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification, if the main dimension of correspondence is volume of cultural participation – regardless of whether it is an emerging form of elite distinction – then our results indicate that this type of correspondence is

intergenerationally transmitted. The next question would then be whether more specific patterns of cultural participation are inherited too, and we turn to this next.

5.2 Cultural orientation is inherited, and intergenerational transmission is symmetric (II)

To continue with our first research question – the forms in which lifestyles are transmitted – we studied the intergenerational transmission of patterns of lifestyles. We constructed three cultural orientations for both the respondents and the parents: the 'highbrow', the 'popular' and the 'crafts' orientations. The highbrow orientation includes literature, classical music concerts and art galleries, whereas the popular orientation includes movies, popular music and sports. The crafts orientation, finally, includes handicrafts, gardening and cooking (see (II) Table 1 for details). The construction of these orientations was data-driven at first, but the history of Finnish cultural lifestyle stratification research (see section 4.1) supported the idea that these orientations have existed in the Finnish space of lifestyles at least since the 1960s; thus, their intergenerational transmission is plausible. The intergenerational transmission of the highbrow orientation is well documented (e.g. Jaeger & Breen 2016; Sullivan 2011), and recent literature has shown that the popular orientation can be intergenerationally transmitted too (e.g. ter Bogt et al. 2011; Notten et al. 2012) as can other patterns of lifestyles (Nagel & Lemel 2019; Leguina et al. 2022).

We found that cultural orientations are intergenerationally transmitted and that the transmission is symmetric. In other words, for all the three orientations, the correlation between the parents' orientation and the respondent's similar orientation was strong, and it prevailed under regression that controlled for other factors influencing in lifestyle (gender, age, education level, occupational position, income, area of residence and parental education level). Conversely, the correlations between dissimilar orientations of the parents and the respondent mainly vanished under regression. Parents' crafts orientation seemed to retain explanatory power for the respondent's overall cultural participation, but this is likely explained by the fact that many middle-aged Finns still have parents with cultural inheritance from an agricultural lifestyle (see section 4.1).

These results add to the slowly growing literature on the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles other than the upper-class lifestyle. A novelty introduced here is the intergenerational transmission of the crafts orientation – or, in other words, mundane culture – that has only recently attracted the attention of researchers

in our field (e.g. Leguina & Miles 2017; Heikkilä 2021; 2023). We also found indications that the respondents might be less likely to develop an orientation different from the one their parents have, but these results were only indicative, and the issue requires further research for proper assessment.

5.3 Lifestyle socialisation in childhood family has permanent effects (I, II, III)

Our second main research question was how permanent the effect of childhood family socialisation is. Socialisation in the childhood family has been argued to have enduring effects on lifestyle (e.g. Bourdieu 1984; Nagel & Ganzeboom 2002; Lareau 2011), and research on the role of parents as a socialising force long beyond early childhood (see section 2.2) and on the rigidity of early-adopted lifestyle (Vaisey & Lizardo 2016; Kiley & Vaisey 2020) support this view. In our research, some indications of the lasting effects of parents were included in the results reported in the preceding two subsections. More precisely, in the analyses of the intergenerational transmission of both the overall cultural participation and the orientations, we observed that the associations between parents' lifestyle and the respondent's lifestyle prevailed in the regression analyses after we controlled for the other factors influencing respondent's lifestyle, most importantly the respondent's age, education level and occupational position. Thus, parental influence lasted even among these later-life influences.

We studied the permanence of the influence of parental socialisation in yet another manner. We studied the association between parents' interestedness in highbrow culture and the respondent's enduring cultural participation. Here, we measured parents' interestedness in reading, classical music, movies, and visual arts. For the respondent, we measured their current memberships in various cultural associations and their regular, extracurricular studying of culture at some point of their lives (see (I) for details). The measure for the respondent was intended to reflect a longstanding, enduring commitment to and participation in culture. In the analysis, we again controlled for socio-demographic factors, most importantly, age, education level and occupational position. The result was that parental interestedness was strongly associated with the respondent's enduring cultural participation. Notably, the effect of parental lifestyle on the respondent's lifestyle was of similar magnitude as the effect of the respondent's own education level on their lifestyle. This analysis was originally performed with Data 2007 (see (I)), but it was later repeated with Data

2018 and yielded similar results (Kallunki 2019): the latter results were not published as a separate article because they did not add much to the already published results in (I).

In sum, our studies on the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles seem to suggest that the socialisation in the childhood family and by the parents has a permanent effect on an individual's lifestyle. The effects of the variables we have thus far considered only as controls are, of course, not negligible. Therefore, to counterbalance our analysis of intergenerational transmission, we must investigate the effects of later-life socialisation. To that end, next we studied socially mobile individuals.

5.4 The socially mobile are also culturally mobile but not completely (III)

Challenging the idea that lifestyles are mainly a consequence of childhood and family socialisation, a stream of research on cultural mobility has shown that the lifestyles of socially mobile people differ from the lifestyles that are common to their social origins (Van Eijck 1999; Friedman 2012; Daenekindt & Roose 2013a; 2013b; 2014; Coulangeon 2015; Curl et al. 2018; Dumais 2019). In this spirit, and to address our second and third main research questions, we studied the association of upward social mobility with ten lifestyle indicators from five different domains of culture: literature (number of books read), television (number of hours spent on watching television per day), highbrow culture (participation in upper-class culture by index), music (tastes in highbrow music, popular folk, rock, and dance) and food (tastes in meat-heavy, light-ethnic, and fast food). The lifestyle indicators were chosen to represent a broad range of lifestyles, but such that their correspondence with social class stratification was known from previous studies (see section 4.1). Social mobility was operationalised both as educational mobility and occupational mobility, and – for several reasons (see (III) for the explanation) – we restricted our study so that we studied the movement occupationally from the working class to the middle class and educationally from secondary-level education to university education. The upwardly socially mobile individuals were compared to the individuals who remained in their social position of origin, be it the lower position or the higher position, which were defined so that they represent the cores of their classes.

The main result was that social mobility is associated with some activities and tastes, but not with all and not in a uniform manner. Moreover, in most cases,

educational and occupational mobility had different associations with the activities and tastes. The empirical results can be summarised as follows (see (III) for details): first, in every taste and activity studied, except liking rock music and liking dance music, we found significant differences between the immobile lower-class members and the immobile upper-class members in terms of either educational or occupational measure, or both. With reading literature, participation in highbrow activities, and time spent on watching television, the upwardly mobile people tended to participate in these activities similarly to the people in their social destination. Regarding musical tastes, educationally upwardly mobile people tended to like highbrow music and dislike popular folk, similar to the people in their social destination; however, occupationally mobile people showed no such change in taste. Finally, with regard to food tastes, the educationally upwardly mobile people tended to dislike meat-heavy food and like light-ethnic food, similarly to the people in their social destination. Occupationally upwardly mobile people disliked meat-heavy food and disliked fast food, again, resembling the people in their social destination. In sum, we observed at least some mobility effects in most – but not in all – tastes and activities, even though the effect's strength seemed to vary.

The results support the general theoretical conjecture that social mobility leads to cultural mobility. A closer look at the empirical results (see (III) Tables 3–5) shows, nevertheless, that socially upwardly mobile people as a group still do not reach the same frequency of participation in highbrow activities, the same level of liking for highbrow music, the same level of dislike for meat-heavy food or the same degree for preference for light-ethnic food as the immobile upper-class people. In sum, this means that while the upwardly mobile adopt some of the elements of the lifestyle characteristic of their social destination, their social origins are still visible in their lifestyle. In other words, cultural mobility that follows from social mobility is not complete, or the transformation of lifestyle is not total.

5.5 Mobility is associated with changes in personal preferences, not only with performative behaviour (III)

One specific question that the cultural mobility studies have analysed is the 'depth' of cultural socialisation beyond the childhood family. That is, are the effects of social mobility only restricted to (public) performances of taste and participation, or are the effects 'deep' in the sense that the mobile people change their taste and participation in their private life too? In the first case, the mobile people would only

conform to the behaviour of the destination class without real changes in their personal preferences, while in the latter case, the real preferences and dispositions of the mobile people would also change (e.g. Roose & Vander Stichele 2010; Friedman 2012; Daenekindt & Roose 2013b). Because the indicators we used to study the effects of social mobility on cultural lifestyles included activities and tastes that are practiced both in public and in private, it was possible to address this issue as part of our second and third research questions.

We found that social mobility is associated not only with public performances but private tastes and activities too. The upwardly mobile people tended to watch less television, read more books and like classical music more than their immobile lower-class counterparts (see (III) for details); these are all activities and tastes that can be considered private in the sense that they are personal preferences or privately practised. Social mobility, thus, can lead to changes in deep dispositions, and not all deep dispositions are inheritances of the childhood family. Within the limits of this study, however, it was not possible to determine if social mobility had a stronger effect on publicly performed activities and tastes than on private activities and tastes.

5.6 The world of education and world of occupations adhere to different cultural hierarchies (III)

Our last main result relates to our third research question, but it is of a broader type. Research on cultural mobility has typically operationalised social mobility through either education (e.g. Van Eijck 1999; Daenekindt & Roose 2014; Chan & Turner 2017; Dumais 2019) or occupation (Coulangeon 2015; Domanski & Karpinski 2018), but not both. From the socialisation perspective, the education system and the occupational world are different socialisation contexts, and empirical evidence has shown that there are internal differences within the education system (Reeves & de Vries 2016) and the occupational world (Erickson 1996; Van Eijck & Mommaas 2004; Lizardo 2006b) in terms of the kind of lifestyles they are aligned with (see also Bourdieu 1984). With these differences in mind, in our analysis of the effects of social mobility on lifestyles, we operationalised social mobility through both education and occupation to see whether educational and occupational mobilities have different patterns of effects.

We found that educational mobility and occupational mobility had, not surprisingly, mostly different effects on the lifestyle of socially mobile individuals. The more interesting result was that they had similar effects on some cultural tastes

and activities, namely on (increasing) participation in highbrow or upper-class culture, (lesser) time spent on watching television and (dis)liking meat-heavy food. The concordance of socialisation in higher education and in middle-class occupation with respect to these cultural practices suggests that the educational system in its highest level prepares its students for the labour market positions of middle-class occupations in terms of lifestyle, but also that these cultural practices are likely to be widely recognised elements of upper-class lifestyle (in Finland) worth pursuing in both education and occupation.

The divergence in socialisation regarding other activities and tastes – such as reading literature, liking highbrow music, and liking light-ethnic food that are encouraged by higher education but not related to middle-class occupation – suggests that the education system and the occupational world adhere to different cultural hierarchies. In other words, the education system and occupational world place value on different kinds of elements of cultural lifestyles, or at least they place different value on the same lifestyle elements. These hierarchies are likely compounded in everyday life (e.g. Erickson 1996; Bellavance 2008). In methodological terms, the choice of operationalisation of social mobility is an important one that may lead to unbalanced results.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this final section, we first reiterate our research questions and summarise the answers that our results provide. Secondly, we evaluate our data and the limitations of the research pertaining to this dissertation. We then relate our results to the literature discussed at the beginning of this integrative chapter. Finally, we present some options for future research on intergenerational transmission of the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification.

6.1 The intergenerational transmission of socially stratified lifestyles

Informed by the research on the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification and the theories attempting to explain it (see section 2), we set out our research questions (section 3) as follows: (1) in what forms are lifestyles transmitted within families from parents to their children; (2) how permanent is the effect of childhood socialisation; and (3) how does social mobility change the cultural lifestyle adopted during childhood socialisation? These questions were studied in the context of Finland, where cultural lifestyle stratification seems to have been surprisingly stable since the 1960s despite major social changes that have taken place (section 4.1).

For the first research question, our results (sections 5.1 and 5.2) suggest that it is both the overall volume of cultural engagement and specific patterns of engagement that are intergenerationally transmitted. Moreover, perhaps even obviously, individual elements of lifestyle – literature reading or television watching habits – can be intergenerationally transmitted (section 5.4). As far as the individual elements, their patterning and overall volume correspond to social class hierarchies (sections 2.1 and 4.1), parents transmit their class-associated lifestyles to their children – and not just the much-studied highbrow pattern but other lifestyles too.

For the second research question about the permanence of the effects of childhood family, we found that parents' interestedness in upper-class culture predicts a longstanding commitment to culture in their children (section 5.3).

Moreover, when observing the lifestyle changes of the upwardly mobile (section 5.4), we found that even if their lifestyle comes closer to the lifestyle common to their social destination, the upwardly mobile do not reach the same 'levels' of taste and participation as the upper-class members with upper-class backgrounds. In other words, social origin continues to exert an influence over the lifestyles of those who change their social class position.

Lastly, regarding the third question about the effect of social mobility on lifestyle, we found that the upwardly mobile people adopt the lifestyles of their (upper) social destination (section 5.4), even if they do not reach the 'level' of the immobile upper-class members. We found this mobility effect in most tastes and activities, albeit to varying degrees. Moreover, social mobility can in fact change the private preferences and dispositions, and the effects of mobility are not restricted to performative behaviour only (section 5.5).

6.2 Limitations

Before turning to our conclusions, the limitations of the research pertaining to this dissertation should be considered so that excessively strong interpretations could be avoided. Limitations have also been addressed in the articles, and thus here we focus on the main issues. The first limitation comes from our use of cross-sectional data which, as a rule, prevents causal inference. Thus, even if the research and research questions were designed so that a causal direction was implied (section 3) – e.g. parents' cultural lifestyle predicting their children's lifestyle, or social mobility preceding lifestyle change – it needs to be recognised that these directions are assumed, no matter how logical they would seem. In reality, these associations can have effects in the other direction as well – for example, children influence their parents' lifestyle (section 2.2), and lifestyle contributes to position-building (sections 2.3 and 2.4). These latter directions, however, would have been impossible to study properly with our data. With cross-sectional data, one can ultimately only ascertain associations, and this is typical, according to Daenekindt and Roose (2013b), in this research tradition.

The second limitation arises from the use of retrospective memory data on part of the parents. The information regarding parents' interestedness in culture (Data 2007, used in (I)) and joint cultural hobbies with parents (Data 2018, used in (II)) were requested from the respondent, not from the parents themselves, and this information is vulnerable to memory failure and memory bias. Retrospective

questions such as these are commonly used in studies like ours (Sullivan 2011; Nagel & Ganzeboom 2015; Nagel & Lemel 2019), because they are often the only way of accessing past experiences (Korkiakangas 1996; Nagel & Ganzeboom 2015). To ameliorate the memory problem, the question in Survey 2007 was presented as a question of 'interestedness' so that it would enquire about parents' general feature and attitude to a specific cultural element, but not for example specific instances of participation. In Survey 2018, we enquired about joint hobbies with parents – that is, regular joint activities – to avoid overreporting of random instances of activities and inviting robustness to memory accounts. These cautionary measures aside, potential memory bias should be borne in mind to avoid excessive interpretations.

A third limitation pertains to our study on socially mobile individuals. The data for that analysis constituted a limited section of the entire data – the merged data – where the restriction arose from the condition that the mobility measures needed to be defined in the data that were analysed. Therefore, and because we had no information on the patterns of social mobility in Finland based on which we could have weighted the data we used so that it would represent the Finnish population, we cannot generalise the findings of the mobility study to the entire Finnish population. For the other studies, we had indexes calculated by Statistics Finland that we used to check generalisability, but for the mobility study, this was not the case. Therefore, the results of our study on socially mobile individuals must be treated as an initiation of that particular research topic in the Finnish context.

6.3 Conclusions

Our main contribution to the literature examining the intergenerational transmission of socially stratified lifestyles – or, in other words, the perpetuation of the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification (section 2.1) – is that we demonstrated the intergenerational transmission of both the overall cultural engagement and three different, more specific patterns of lifestyles. While Bourdieu (e.g. 1973; 1984; 1996) was predominantly interested in elite reproduction, subsequent research has paid attention to the intergenerational transmission of other lifestyles as well (e.g. ter Bogt et al. 2011; Notten et al. 2012; Nagel & Lemel 2019; Leguina et al. 2022). Our research and results offer a holistic empirical view in that the transmission of lifestyle from parents to their children takes place in all regions of the social space. In essence, intergenerational transmission of both overall engagement and specific patterns implies that the

structure of cultural stratification as a totality is transmitted intergenerationally and reproduced. Our specific novelty is the introduction of the crafts orientation – or, in other words, mundane culture – into the lifestyle patterns that are intergenerationally transmitted. While in the Finnish case the influence of the parental crafts orientation can be understood as an effect of lingering agricultural lifestyle, another interpretation is possible too: parts of mundane culture can be appropriated by the upper classes and turned into distinctive lifestyle elements. For example, gardening in a city requires space for a garden (wealth) and specific knowledge and skills that are essentially frivolous for upper-class urban life, meaning that gardening in a city is an activity with 'distance from necessity' (Bourdieu 1984: p. 53–56), a sign of distinction. Studying such appropriations of mundane culture, or put in another way, the transformation of elements of mundane culture from agricultural necessity into distinctive signs of urban life – both within and outside their intergenerational transmission – is timely given the recent increasing attention to the importance of mundane culture (e.g. Leguina and Miles 2017; Heikkilä 2021; 2023). In addition to the crafts orientation, the intergenerational transmission of overall cultural engagement should be emphasised as a key finding for two reasons that are valid across many contemporary countries: first, the volume of cultural engagement seems to be most saliently associated with social class stratification, and, secondly, the level of engagement seems to be a key organising principle of cultural stratification (regardless of whether it is a new or an old phenomenon). Therefore, the intergenerational transmission of overall cultural engagement could be the most important contemporary form of lifestyle reproduction for both the elites and the lower classes.

Regarding theories of cultural reproduction and cultural mobility (sections 2.3 and 2.4), we found support for both: childhood socialisation has long-lasting influence, and subsequent 'secondary socialisation' (Berger & Luckmann 1966) can alter the early-adopted lifestyle, including deep dispositions and personal preferences. This is hardly surprising – maybe even obvious – from the perspective of contemporary socialisation theory: socialisation does not stop at childhood. A second theoretical contribution of this dissertation is the systematic replacement of the concept of habitus with the concept of socialisation (section 2.2). Socialisation provides an empirical alternative to both habitus and theory of symbolic violence, and it has been used by many scholars of cultural reproduction and mobility (e.g. Van Eijck 1999; Daenekindt & Roose 2014). Evoking socialisation here is partly a response to a recent call by Guhin and colleagues (2021) to revive the concept in sociological use. The key insight of contemporary research on socialisation has been

the recognition of the active role of the individuals under socialisation efforts – or 'socializee', as Parsons (1951: p. 143; 1955: p. 59) called them. This active role destabilises reproduction, brings contingency and opens possibilities for change. Moreover, socialisation conceptualised here through groups (that is, in a set-theoretical manner) is compatible with Bourdieu's (1985; 1987; 1989) conceptualisation of social space as topology.

Our analysis on the effect of social mobility on cultural lifestyle contributes two points to the current literature. The first is methodological, and it stems from our decision to select the 'cores of classes' (De Graaf et al. 1995) – that is, people who themselves and whose both parents are 'class-consistently' (Beller 2009) of the same class – as our reference points against which we compared the socially mobile people. With this decision, we could make the lifestyle differences between the cores of the classes more clearly visible, unlike if we had included 'mixed-class' origins (Beller 2009), where parents would have been of different classes. This decision impacted the analytical N (and forced us to merge the data to secure sufficient N for the analysis), but in contemporary analyses of social mobility, information from both parents is required, and combining their information is a consequential decision (see Korupp et al. 2002; Beller 2009; Thaning & Hällsten 2020; Ballarino et al. 2021). Our choice highlighted the lifestyle differences between the class cores better – a suitable strategy for a presumedly egalitarian context – and we encourage the use of such a strategy by other researchers working with similar contexts, where a high share of mixed-class origins may disguise differences between the class cores. More generally, if the socially mobile class is not clearly discerned from the cores of the classes – and if class-consistency is not considered as part of the definition of who is mobile and who is not – in the analyses of correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification, a researcher runs a risk not being able to reveal clear lifestyle differences between the cores of the classes as a result of the blurring of such differences because of dissonant lifestyles of the socially mobile people. This can bias the analysis so that the resulting lifestyle differences appear smaller than they really are.

The second contribution of our study on the effects of social mobility relates to the discussion about change in the upper-class culture (section 2.1) and the hypothesised lowering of cultural lifestyle hierarchies among social classes. We found that upwardly socially mobile individuals adopt lifestyle elements common to their social destination, but that they also retain influences of their class origin in that they do not reach the same levels of taste and participation as the members of the upper class with upper-class origins. Thus, as a group, upwardly mobile people exhibit a

'dissonant' lifestyle (Lahire 2008; Daenekindt & Roose 2014) compared to their immobile lower-class and upper-class counterparts. Van Eijck (1999), with findings similar to ours, concludes that upwardly mobile people bring heterogeneity to the upper-class culture. In light of our results, this holds true for Finland as well. Taking this line of thought further, it could be argued that the socially mobile people with dissonant lifestyles function as a lifestyle bridge between the classes from and to which they move. A large number of mobile people – or a large share of mobile people in the total population – with dissonant lifestyles could lead to a real lowering of lifestyle hierarchies, but on the other hand, it may also lead to a perception of lowering hierarchies without any real changes in the hierarchies themselves. In both cases, however, a large number or share of dissonant lifestyles hide the potential undercurrent that there are remarkable differences between the cores of the classes. By hiding or perhaps mediating the differences between class cores, the dissonant lifestyles mediate the class-based cultural lifestyle conflict and thus integrate society. Simply put, the cultural mobility associated with social mobility abridges the lifestyle chasms or, at least, influences the perceptions – of both citizens and researchers alike – about the depth of those chasms.

Finally, the context of the research pertaining to this dissertation was Finland, a Nordic welfare state with relatively low economic stratification and wide equal access to free or low-cost public services, including especially education (section 4.1). There is a specific 'Finnish lesson' – to borrow a term from Sahlberg and Hargreaves (2011) – that this dissertation offers to the field of cultural sociology: even in a country with relatively equal conditions of life and high social mobility, there are still significant cultural lifestyle differences between the cores of the classes – perhaps one could speak of class cultures in an egalitarian country – and these differences are intergenerationally transmitted along with social class differences. As Heikkilä and Lindblom (2023: p. 136) conclude, 'the alleged egalitarianism [in Finland] does not reach cultural participation'. Already Kortteinen (1984: p. 96) had observed in his classic ethnographic study of a Finnish neighbourhood, that when the economic differences between the old middle class, the new middle class, and the working class were diminishing and the members of the old middle class could not assert their social superiority through wealth anymore, they started to use lifestyle distinction to impose their social superiority (see also Waris 1952: p. 180 presenting the same argument). It seems that, as Bourdieu (1984: p. 479) wrote, 'Social identity lies in difference, and difference is asserted against what is closest, which represents the greatest threat.' In this spirit, in a country where economic inequalities are (at least comparably) small, it might be the field of lifestyles where the status fights are fought

the hardest. Moreover, the egalitarian attitude itself, as Jarness (2017) has pointed out in Norway, can be weaponised in status fights. For these reasons, countries such as Finland as well as other Nordic countries should be keenly interesting to students studying the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification.

6.4 Invitations for future researchers

Two general issues pertaining to the persistence and change of the correspondence between social class stratification and cultural lifestyle stratification seem to be plaguing the research field to which this dissertation belongs to. These are: (1) how can we account for cultural change in the studies of intergenerational transmission, and (2) how does the contemporary education system respond to the elements of lifestyles that are not part of the traditional upper-class 'highbrow' culture? There is, of course, a continuous need for family-level and panel data with which causality can be properly addressed as well as larger sample sizes so that analysis of class fractions would be more reliable, but these are general problems and goals of quantitative research, and thus merit no further discussion here.

Regarding cultural change in the analyses of intergenerational transmission, research on cultural reproduction and mobility has studied how various elements of lifestyles and, especially the pattern of upper-class lifestyle, are intergenerationally transmitted within families, and how schools reward some aspects of upper-class lifestyle. In most of these studies (section 2), the upper-class lifestyle is defined through taste or participation in or knowledge about the highbrow culture, which refers to reading literature or visiting the attending theatre, opera, classical music concerts and so forth. However, since at least the 1990s – following Peterson's (1992) famous omnivore thesis – there has been a voluminous debate on whether the upper-class lifestyle is transforming, with the most famous of the threads of this debate focusing on the change from 'highbrow snobbism' to omnivorousness (section 2.1). But this debate has had limited consequences on the studies on intergenerational transmission of socially stratified lifestyles. In fact, one of the original sub-questions of this dissertation was 'do highbrow parents raise omnivorous children' (see the title of Kallunki 2019), but a more interesting issue of the intergenerational transmission of overall cultural engagement drew our attention. In fact, we believe that in the Finnish context, a more appropriate question would be 'do crafts-oriented parents raise omnivorous children', to which the answer is 'yes'

(see (II) for the importance of parents' crafts orientation to the overall participation of their children). Our suggestion for future research on intergenerational transmission of lifestyles is, then, that it should incorporate and integrate cultural change better in the research designs.

Incorporating cultural change into the research design forces the researcher to ask a difficult question: what, in fact, is inherited when we talk about intergenerational transmission of lifestyles or cultural capital? While some advances have been made in that children inherit or learn from their parents attitudes, behaviours and knowledge that they can put to use in order to navigate successfully, for example, in institutional settings (e.g. Lareau & Weininger 2003; Lareau 2011; 2015; Calarco 2011), we are still far away from understanding if and how judgement itself – or an aesthetic disposition, to borrow Bourdieu's (1984) key concept – is intergenerationally transmitted. A better understanding of how parents teach their children, intentionally or not, to evaluate and judge, would give us better tools to understand cultural change within the intergenerational transmission process. The same message, of course, is generalisable to all groups that socialise their new members.

The second plaguing question concerns the education system and its response to culture that does not belong to the upper-class lifestyle. Here, we do not refer to countercultures like those studied by Willis (1977) but to studies like Khan's (2011) analysis on how popular culture becomes subsumed under the elite school's curriculum. While it is of course possible that some schools do not value popular culture – or may even shun such culture and punish their pupils for displaying such culture – this certainly need not be the only logic with which a school approaches popular culture, as Khan (2011) demonstrated. For another example, the current Finnish national core curriculum for basic education (Finnish National Agency for Education 2014), which the Finnish elementary schools must follow, does not discriminate against popular music but instead encourages musical omnivorousness (see Kallunki 2022). To better understand the function that the school may have on both cultural reproduction and cultural mobility, especially amidst cultural change, we need more studies on how schools reward or punish cultural lifestyles other than the traditional highbrow culture.

The last intriguing prospect following from our research is offered to the scholars of the Finnish society. As is widely known in Finland, political mobilisation of occupational groups in Finland is controlled by the trade unions. Moreover, social class struggle in Finland takes the form of centralised negotiations over salaries and working conditions – percentage increases in salaries give relative advantages to the

upper classes, fixed euro-denominated increases reduce the relative advantage of the upper classes and thus benefit the lower classes – that are also controlled by the trade unions (both from the workers' and the employers' sides). The real social classes in Finland, therefore, in Bourdieu's sense, can be argued to be the occupational groups represented by the trade unions. The higher-educated upper class is represented by the central confederation for the university educated, and the working class is represented by their respective central organisation; the class fractions are represented by individual trade unions. Therefore, if one wishes to study class cultures in Finland, a starting point could be the trade unions and their members.

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Intergenerational transmission of cultural capital in Finland

Jarmo Kallunki & Semi Purhonen
University of Tampere

Cultural resources and assets inherited from one's family of origin can be an important source of social inequality. In Finland, research on the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital is very limited. To fill this gap, we ask whether there is an association between the cultural capital of parents and that of their children in Finland and, if so, how significant it is. We used a two-fold operationalization of cultural capital for respondents and their parents comprising educational attainment (institutionalized cultural capital) and interestedness or participation in highbrow culture (embodied cultural capital). Our multinomial logistic regression analysis of nationally representative survey data from 2007 (N=1,279) showed close links between respondents' cultural capital and that of their parents. Respondents' educational attainment was strongly influenced by their parents' education level but not their cultural interestedness; in contrast, respondents' cultural participation was influenced by both their parents' education and cultural interestedness.
Keywords: Cultural capital, social reproduction, intergenerational transmission, education, cultural participation

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Introduction

Research on intergenerational social mobility and reproduction has established that social position, whether measured through education, occupational class or income level, is transmitted from one generation to the next in every society, albeit to varying degrees. One of the best-established findings in the sociology of education is that in every society, the higher the education level of parents, the higher that of their children (Hertz et al. 2007; OECD 2015). Similar to the intergenerational transmission of education, occupational mobility follows common patterns across nations and over time, and education is the main factor in producing occupational intergenerational mobility and reproduction (Breen2004; Breen & Luijkx 2004; Hout & DiPrete 2006). The same conclusion can be drawn about income: there is intergenerational reproduction in income levels, and education is the main factor explaining this transmission (Björklund & Jäntti 2009; Bowles & Gintis 2002). Finland is no exception to these patterns, although in all three respects, the intergenerational transmission is weaker than in most other countries (Erola & Moisio 2002; Härkönen 2010; Kivinen et al. 2012; Pekkala Kerr & Rinne 2012; Sirniö et al. 2013).

Social stratification and social inequalities, however, are not only material and economic; they also constitute cultural phenomena (Weber 1946). Cultural resources and assets inherited from family can be an important source of social inequality. Thus, intergenerational transmission has drawn increasing attention in research on cultural stratification (e.g., Andersen & Jaeger 2015; Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010; Mohr & DiMaggio 1995; Nagel 2009; van Hek & Kraaykamp 2015; Willekens et al. 2014; Willekens & Lievens 2014; Xu & Hampden-Thompson 2011). Cultural sociology has established that cultural practices – that is, cultural tastes, activities and orientations – are unevenly distributed according to the hierarchy of social positions (measured by, e.g., education, occupational class and income (Bennett et al. 2009; Bourdieu 1984; Chan 2010). The main concern of research on the intergenerational transmission of cultural practices is therefore to probe the degree of cultural reproduction across generations and its overall significance for social inequality. While there is ample research on the stratification of cultural practices in Finland (e.g., Kahma 2011; Purhonen et al. 2014), to our knowledge, there are no quantitative studies on the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital in Finland, aside from the area of education (e.g., Kivinen et al. 2012; Pekkala Kerr & Rinne 2012; Witting & Keski-Petäjä 2016). We thus aim to fill this gap.

The conceptual framework operationalized in studies on the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital is often drawn from Bourdieu (Willekens et al. 2014). According to

Jarmo Kallunki (MA, M.Soc.Sci.) is an unaffiliated young researcher, whose research interests include the sociological, political, cultural, and economic aspects of education and education system. Semi Purhonen is Associate Professor of sociology and Academy Research Fellow at the University of Tampere. He is the director of an international research group studying how cultural classifications and hierarchies have changed in Europe since the 1960s. His research interests include cultural sociology, lifestyles, social stratification, age and generation, comparative research and sociological theory.

Corresponding author: Semi Purhonen, Faculty of Social Sciences Linna 5056 (Kalevantie 5) FIN-33014 University of Tampere Finland tel. +358503187313; email semi.purhonen@uta.fi

Bourdieu (2006), capital is accumulated labour, and cultural capital exists in three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized forms. The embodied form refers to long-lasting dispositions in a person's behaviour and taste, which are acquired by cultivation. The objectified form refers to material objects of cultural value, such as paintings and instruments. The institutionalized form refers to educational qualifications and credentials. (Bourdieu 2006, 1998; 1989; 1984; for a discussion, see, e.g., Jenkins 2014; Lamont & Lareau 1988; Robbins 2005) All three forms of cultural capital can be considered from the perspective of intergenerational transmission (Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010). Our focus here is on intergenerational transmission in terms of embodied and institutionalized cultural capital.

According to Bourdieu (1998; 1973), cultural aspects of reproduction – especially the inheritance of education and the way in which education is intertwined with embodied cultural capital – are highly significant in the reproduction of social inequalities. The effectiveness (productivity) of the education and upbringing (pedagogic work) of a child depends on his/her previous education and upbringing, ultimately extending and including pre-school family upbringing at home (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). The education system recognizes and rewards behaviour and dispositions that are characteristic of the higher social classes and legitimizes and objectifies these in the form of school success and education credentials. In this way, the education system converts existing social inequalities into authorized academic hierarchies and contributes to social reproduction. (Bourdieu 1973; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977.) While Bourdieu's view can be criticized for over-emphasizing the influence of children's social origins on their school success (Jenkins 2014), the framework is useful for theorizing how the education system might transform inherited embodied cultural capital into institutionalized cultural capital (e.g., Andersen & Jaeger 2015; Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010; Xu & Hampden-Thompson 2011) and, ultimately, into differences in labour market outcomes.

Embodied cultural capital is acquired through cultivation, which is part of socialization, or the 'ways[s] in which individuals are assisted in becoming members of one or more social groups' (Grusec & Hastings 2008, 1). Individuals are cultivated both by their families of origin and by social group memberships later on in life, such as educational groups, occupational groups, sports or hobby-related clubs and other peer groups. Both family cultivation and subsequent cultivation may influence individuals' embodied cultural capital (e.g., Daenekindt & Roose 2013).

Parents transmit their embodied cultural capital to their children in various ways. They may demonstrate interest in education and culture (Bourdieu 1984; van Hek & Kraaykamp 2015) and transmit their linguistic and cognitive skills to their children to help them succeed in school (De Graaf et al. 2000). They may be actively involved in their children's education by using their knowledge of the education system and influence over schooling (Lareau & Weininger 2003). They may also actively guide their children to appreciate and participate in cultural activities (van Hek & Kraaykamp 2015) and may finance expenses and provide transport (Dumais 2002). In general, parents influence the kinds of social groups, whether informal or institutional, that their children spend time socializing into during childhood (Lareau 2003). While family structure (Tanskanen et al. 2016), institutional school environment (Andersen & Jaeger 2015) and a country's welfare model (Xu & Hampden-Thompson 2011) may influence the outcomes of parental influence, early childhood experiences have a durable impact on individuals' later life experiences and outcomes (Heckman 2006).

Previous research has shown that parents' embodied and institutionalized forms of cultural capital may have independent effects on both the embodied and institutionalized cultural capital of their children (e.g., van Hek & Kraaykamp2015; Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010; Nagel 2009; Willekens et al. 2014; Willekens & Lievens 2014). Taking stock from these previous analyses, we separately measure parents' embodied and institutionalized cultural capital and separately analyse their associations with children's embodied and institutionalized forms. Thus, our research questions are as follows:

1. Are parents' embodied and institutionalized cultural capital associated with the institutional cultural capital of their children in contemporary Finland? How strong are these potential associations?

2. Are parents' embodied and institutionalized cultural capital associated with the embodied cultural capital of their children in contemporary Finland? How strong are these potential associations?

Empirical investigations should determine what kind of culture is capable of generating advantages or identify the specific 'content' of cultural capital in a given social setting (Holt 1997; Lamont & Lareau 1988; Lareau & Weininger 2003). While the case of institutionalized cultural capital is quite straightforward (the higher the degree the better), scholars have debated about what counts as embodied cultural capital. Participation and interestedness in classical 'highbrow' culture is often regarded as a prime indicator of embodied cultural capital in contemporary Western societies, including Finland (DiMaggio 1982; DiMaggio & Mukhtar 2004; Purhonen et al. 2014;). Highbrow culture enjoys substantial public funding and is strongly institutionalized (e.g., in curricula and professorships of higher education, museums, canons, prizes and criticism). Its prestigious status as a 'high status signal' (Lamont & Lareau 1988) is widely recognized.

Research design

Data

We used nationally representative survey data from 2007 (N=1,388) collected by Statistics Finland as part of the research project 'Cultural Capital and Social Differentiation in Contemporary Finland'. The data were drawn from a random sample of 3,000 Finnish citizens (excluding those from the Aaland Islands) aged 18–74, with a response rate of 46.3 per

cent. Women, older men and more highly educated people are slightly overrepresented in the sample compared to the Finnish population. To correct these biases, we weighed the data using an index calculated by Statistics Finland. The data are available from the Finnish Social Science Data Archive (ID: FSD2953) and have already been extensively analysed. A more detailed description of the data can be found elsewhere (e.g., Kahma 2011; Purhonen et al. 2014).

The questionnaire contained a wide variety of questions about respondents' cultural tastes, activities and practices. There was also a separate retrospective question for fathers and mothers on their cultural interestedness. Moreover, both respondents and their parents were asked about their education levels. Thus, we constructed measures for embodied and institutionalized cultural capital for both the respondents and their parents. There were no questions about the parents' objectified cultural capital, so we could not include this form in this analysis (cf. Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010). Regarding respondents' social position, the data contained information about respondents' occupations, income levels, areas of residence and current family structures.

Considering the above-mentioned data characteristics, and using the approach proposed by Kraaykamp and van Eijck (2010), we formulated our research design (see Figure 1). We acknowledge that the respondents' embodied cultural capital perhaps influences their institutionalized cultural capital (see, e.g., DiMaggio 2002; Dumais 2002; Merenluoto 2009; Xu & Hampden-Thompson 2011), but our data did not permit this inquiry.

The retrospectivity of the questions regarding parents' cultural interestedness is potentially problematic as the corresponding data are subject to biases depending on respondents' memory. Nevertheless, this type of retrospective question is often used in analyses of the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital due to the lack of suitable longitudinal and intergenerational data sets on embodied cultural capital (e.g., Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010). De Vries and de Graaf (2008) studied the impact of both random and correlated measurement errors on respondents' reports of parental highbrow cultural activities and, thus, on the analysis of intergenerational transmission of embodied cultural capital. They concluded that measurement errors tend to yield an underestimation of the parental effect – 'the total effect is underestimated, while the direct effect is not biased' (de Vries and de Graaf 2008, 324; see also van Hek & Kraaykamp 2015). Thus, in analyses without correction terms, it is more difficult to confirm the existence of parental effects. Therefore, such analyses provide a lower-bound estimate for the strength of the parental effect.

Variables

We used categorical variables to measure the levels of education (institutionalized forms). For parents, the variable took the maximum value from the fathers' and mothers' education levels, which had five values: less-than-basic education, basic education, secondary education, lower higher education (bachelor's degree or equivalent) and higher education (master's degree or higher). For the respondents, we used a variable comprising four values: basic education, secondary education, lower higher education and higher education. The difference in the number of categories reflects the general rise in the level of formal education in the Finnish population over the past few decades (Pekkala Kerr & Rinne 2012). In some cases, the value for parents' education level was missing; we excluded these cases from the analysis, with N decreasing to N=1,297.

The embodied cultural capital of a respondent's parents was measured by asking whether the parents were interested in the following cultural activities during the respondent's childhood: reading, movies, gardening, crafts, sports, pop music, classical music, cooking or arts. The question was presented separately for fathers and mothers, and the respondent could choose multiple activities. Corresponding with our commitment to empirically defining cultural capital, we used principal component analysis and found that for both fathers and mothers, interests in reading, movies, classical music and arts were associated but were separated from the rest of the activities (tables on file with authors). Adhering to the notion of capital being accumulated labour (Bourdieu 2006), we constructed a variable measuring the cultural interestedness of parents as a sum of the fathers' and mothers' interestedness in these four activities (Cronbach's alpha: 0.61; initial range: 0–8). We recoded the values to form a categorical variable with the following categories and content: no interestedness, slight interestedness (parents interested in one activity), intermediate interestedness (parents interested in two activities), high interestedness (parents interested in three activities) and very high interestedness (parents interested in four or more activities). Notably, this variable described parents' interestedness, especially in highbrow culture.

There were several options for measuring respondents' embodied cultural capital. One of the questions addressed whether respondents, at some point in their lives, had regularly studied certain forms of culture outside the school curriculum, for example, music and singing, acting and dancing, creative writing, photography and film, painting and drawing, crafts or some other artistic activity. Another question considered whether the respondents were currently members of a cultural club; the same seven choices above were used, plus literary clubs. Respondents could choose several options for each question. Principal component analysis demonstrated (tables on file with authors) that studying a given art form was associated with club membership in that same form and that studying one form positively correlated with studying another form, the latter being true for club memberships as well. This, together with the regularity of study, suggests that these questions measure enduring cultural participation. Thus, we constructed a measure for the respondents' embodied cultural capital (as accumulated labour) by summing up studies and club memberships to measure the respondents' enduring cultural participation (Cronbach's alpha: 0.62; initial range 0–15). We recoded the values to produce a categorical variable with three values: no participation, intermediate participation and high participa-

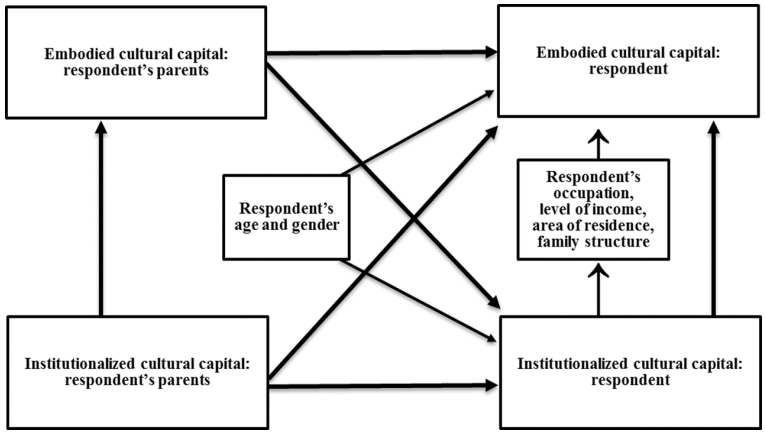

Figure 1. Research design.

tion. The 'no participation' category meant that the respondent had never studied any of the cultural forms specified and was not a member of any cultural club mentioned. Intermediate participation meant that the respondent had indicated one or two forms that he/she had studied or for which he/she was a member of a club, while high participation meant that he/she had indicated three or more forms.

In addition to the cultural capital variables, we used variables describing the respondents' age, gender, occupational class, income level, area of residence and family structure. These factors have been shown to influence both embodied and institutionalized cultural capital in Finland (using this same dataset; Purhonen et al. 2014); we thus used them as controls. We used age as a continuous variable, while the remainder were categorical variables (the distributions of all variables are presented in the Appendix).

Method

Our research questions and categorical variables led us methodologically to multinomial logistic regression analysis (MRA) (Nummenmaa 2004; Tabachnick & Fidell 2007). MRA is a flexible method that sets only three requirements for analysis: the cases must be independent of one another; the variable to be explained must be categorical; and there cannot be overly strong correlations (collinearity) among the explaining variables. All these requirements were met here. MRA produces models that use explaining variables, or predictors (Tabachnick & Fidell 2007), to predict whether a given case belongs in one or another category of the variable under scrutiny. In MRA, a separate logistic regression model is produced for each non-reference category of the explained variable. The goodness of fit of the MRA model is evaluated by the accuracy of the abovementioned predictions. MRA produces a set of odds ratios that can be used to evaluate the significance of the predictors. Because odds ratios are problematic to use in within-model and between-model comparisons, we calculated the average marginal effects (AME) to better grasp the practical significance of the predictors and to allow for more nuanced comparisons (see Mood 2010).

Table 1
Correlations between the cultural capital variables.

	RP	RE	PI	PE
Respodent's cultural participation (RP)	1.0			
Respondent's level of education (RE)	0.23***	1.0		
Parents' cultural interestedness (PI)	0.20***	0.15***	1.0	
Parents' level of education (PE)	0.27***	0.38***	0.35***	1.0

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001. (Spearman's rho, two-tailed tests.)

Results

To establish an association between the cultural capital of parents and that of respondents, we calculated the pairwise Spearman correlation coefficients for all cultural capital variables. Table 1 shows clear connections between the cultural capital variables. Cross-tabulations showed that both the level of education and the respondents' cultural participation increased approximately linearly when either the parents' education level or their cultural interestedness increased.

After establishing associations among the cultural capital variables, we used the Spearman correlation coefficient and

cross-tabulations to confirm that a respondent's age, gender, occupational class, income level and area of residence were associated with his/her education level and cultural participation accordingly (Figure 1). Slightly surprisingly, the respondents' current family structure had no statistically significant association with their cultural participation; we thus we omitted this variable from the MRA.

Following the preliminary analysis, we inserted the variables into the MRA model. The predicted variables were the respondents' level of education (Table 2) and cultural participation (Table 3). We used a stepwise modelling strategy: at Step 1, we used only one predictor; at Step 2, we inserted all the predictors (see Figure 1). Step 1 is reported as Models 1–2 in Table 2 and Step 2 as Model 3; correspondingly, in Table 3, Models 1–3 represent Step 1, and Model 4 is Step 2.

Table 2 shows the results of the MRA, in which the predicted variable is the respondents' education level, and the predictors at Step 1 are the parents' level of education (Model 1) and cultural interestedness (Model 2). At Step 2, Model 3 includes both parents' level of education and cultural interestedness, with the respondents' age and gender controlled for. The reference category in the MRA for the respondents' education level was set at the basic education level.

The model-fitting information presented in Table 2 suggests a decent fit for Model 3, with an overall prediction accuracy of 45.2 per cent and a pseudo-R2 of 22.8 per cent. Table 2 shows that parents' education level significantly influenced that of their children, and after controlling for parents' cultural interestedness and respondents' gender and age, this influence remained prevalent in terms of the AME sign, magnitude and statistical significance. This result was expected due to the well-known intergenerational transmission of education in Finland.

Our main finding is that parents' cultural interestedness has an effect on their children's level of education but that this effect almost vanishes after controlling for parents' education level and respondents' age and gender. More detailed modelling showed that the effect of parents' cultural interestedness can be explained by parents' education level. Thus, our analysis suggests that in Finland, parents' cultural interestedness has no independent effect on their children's education level.

Table 3 presents the MRA results for the respondents' cultural participation. At Step 1, the predictors are the parents' education level (Model 1) and cultural participation (Model 2) and the respondents' education level (Model 3). At Step 2, Model 4 included all the aforementioned variables, with the respondents' age, gender, occupational class, income level and area of residence controlled for. The MRA reference category was 'no participation'.

The model-fitting information for Model 4 again suggests a decent fit, with an overall prediction accuracy of 53.8 per cent and a pseudo-R2 of 23.4 per cent. Table 3 shows that both parents' education level (Model 1) and their cultural interestedness (Model 2) were significant predictors of the respondents' cultural participation. As expected, this was also true for the respondents' level of education (Model 3). For example, compared to respondents whose parents had a basic education, those with the most highly educated parents were, on average, 21.8 percentage points more likely to have high participation in cultural activities. Conversely, compared to children of parents with no cultural interestedness, children of parents with very high cultural interestedness were, on average, 25.1 percentage points less likely to participate in no cultural activities.

At Step 2, Model 4, as expected, we observed that all three cultural capital variables lost a considerable amount of their explanatory power: the magnitudes of the AMEs were, in general, halved, and their statistical significance decreased. Three main results can be drawn from Model 4: first, all three cultural capital variables retained substantial explanatory power; second, all three variables had similar patterns of influence; and third, all three variables yielded nearly the same magnitudes and statistical significance. Additionally, besides gender and a few sporadic exceptions, the control variables had no statistically significant influence over the respondents' cultural participation at Step 2. Most notably, the respondents' age and occupational status had no effect in Model 4.

Two general conclusions can be drawn from the analysis presented here. First, the analysis demonstrates the associations between the forms of cultural capital of parents and their children and that cultural capital also appears to be intergenerationally transmitted in Finland in an embodied form. Second, the intergenerational associations were relatively strong compared to the associations of the sociodemographic control variables with the respondents' cultural capital. Moreover, the intergenerational associations were substantially preserved when the sociodemographic variables were controlled for.

Discussion

Inspired by classical studies of social reproduction (DiMaggio 1982; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 2006), and following the example of more recent empirical studies (Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010; Mohr & DiMaggio 1995; Willekens & Lievens 2014), we analysed the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital in Finland. Our research questions concerned, first, the potential association of parents' embodied and institutionalized cultural capital with the institutional cultural capital of their children and, second, the association of parents' embodied and institutionalized cultural capital with their children's embodied cultural capital. We analysed cultural capital in terms of the education levels of both respondents and their parents, the cultural participation of respondents and the cultural interestedness of their parents.

We found that parents' education level strongly influenced that of their children but that parents' cultural interestedness had no independent effect on their children's education level. Recalling that we had no corrections, this was thus a lower bound, and a more nuanced analysis might have revealed the existence of such an effect (cf. de Vries & de Graaf 2008). It is somewhat surprising that parents' embodied cultural capital did not appear to influence the educational attainment of

Table 2
Multinominal logistic regression on the respodent's level of education (average marginal effects). N=1,279.

Respondent's level of education		Basic education	Secondary education	Lower higher education	Higher education
MODEL 1: Parent's level of education only					
Parent's level of education (reference: basic education)					
	Less than basic education	.122*	.003	-.091*	-.034*
	Secondary education	-.110***	-.020	.070*	.060**
	Lower higher education	-.171***	-.152***	.139***	.184***
	Higher education	-.187***	-.204***	-.012	.402***
MODEL 2: Parent's cultural interestedness only					
Parent's cultural interestedness (reference: no interestedness)					
	Slight interestedness	-.059	-.039	.030	.067**
	Intermediate interestedness	-.043	-.052	-.012	.107***
	High interestedness	-.045	-.141**	.080	.106**
	Very high interestedness	-.110***	-.089*	.047	.151***
MODEL 3: Parent's level of education and cultural interestedness; respondent's gender and age controlled for					
Parent's level of education (reference: basic education)					
	Less than basic education	.092*	.038	-.098*	-.033
	Secondary education	-.082**	-.067	.087*	.062**
	Lower higher education	-.144***	-.201***	.156***	.187***
	Higher education	-.162***	-.259***	.001	.420***
Parent's cultural interestedness (reference: no interestedness					
	Slight interestedness	-.021	-.018	-.012	.051
	Intermediate interestedness	.009	-.017	-.053	.062*
	High interestedness	.032	-.102*	.035	.036
	Very high interestedness	-.019	-.019	.011	.026

MODEL 1: -2LogLikelihood=75.73, $\chi 2$ = 241.52,df=12, p<0.001, Nagelkerke R2=18.7 %, Accuracy =43.8 %
MODEL 2: -2LogLikelihood=80.38, $\chi 2$ = 44.16,df=12, p<0.001, Nagelkerke R2=3.7 %, Accuracy =40.0 %
MODEL 3: -2LogLikelihood=2671.53, $\chi 2$ = 302.46,df=30, p<0.001, Nagelkerke R2=22.8 %, Accuracy =45. 2%

Table 3
Multinominal logistic regression on the respodent's cultural participation (average marginal effects). N=1,279.

Respondent's cultural participation	No participation	Intermediate participation	High participation
MODEL 1: Parents's level of education only			
Parent's level of education (reference: basic education)			
Less than basic education	.040	-.013	-.027
Secondary education	-.095**	.004	.091***
Lower higher education	-.250***	.080*	.170***
Higher education	-.307***	.089	.218***
MODEL 2: Parent's cultural interestedness only			
Parent's cultural interestedness (reference: no interestedness)			
Slight interestedness	-.097*	.054	.042
Intermediate interestedness	-.121**	.032	.089**
High interestedness	-.235***	.091	.144***
Very high interestedness	-.251***	.108*	.142***
MODEL 3: Respondent's level of education only			
Respondent's level of education (reference: basic education)			
Secondary education	-.120**	.071	.050
Lower higher education	-.223***	.108**	.116***
Higher education	-.343***	.156**	.187***
MODEL 4. Parent's level of education and cultural interestedness and respodent's level of education; respondent's gender, age, occupational class, income level and area of residence controlled for			
Parent's level of education (reference: basic education)			
Less than basic education	-.023	.023	.000
Secondary education	-.017	-.032	.050
Lower higher education	-.111*	.027	.084*
Higher education	-.127*	.025	.102*
Parent's cultural interestedness (reference: no interestedness)			
Slight interestedness	-.050	.029	.021
Intermediate interestedness	-.055	-.009	.064*
High interestedness	-.145**	.053	.092*
Very high interestedness	-.134**	.057	.078*
Respondent's level of education (reference: basic education)			
Secondary education	-.089*	.028	.061
Lower higher education	-.127**	.023	.104**
Higher education	-.191**	.086	.105*

MODEL 1: -2LogLikelihood=54.46, $\chi 2$ = 95.49,df=8, p<0.001, Nagelkerke R2=8.2 %, Accuracy =48.9 %
MODEL 2: -2LogLikelihood=55.94, $\chi 2$ = 48.66,df=8, p<0.001, Nagelkerke R2=4.3 %, Accuracy =47.2 %
MODEL 3: -2LogLikelihood=45.69, $\chi 2$ = 62.24,df=6, p<0.001, Nagelkerke R2=5.4 %, Accuracy =47.2 %
MODEL 4: -2LogLikelihood=2281.71, $\chi 2$ = 283.32,df=48, p<0.001, Nagelkerke R2=23.4%, Accuracy =53.8 %

their children, as reported elsewhere (e.g., Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010; Xu & Hampden-Thompson 2011). One explanation might be that mere interestedness is too moderate an indicator of parents' embodied cultural capital, and it would require a stronger measure, such as parents' actual participation in cultural activities, for the effect to emerge. Inquiring about parents' actual participation might, however, be more vulnerable to memory bias than more general questions regarding interestedness, and the analysis would require focusing the data collection on families with young children or using panel data (e.g., Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010; Willekens & Lievens 2014).

In the case of respondents' cultural participation, we found that both parents' level of education and cultural participation, together with the respondents' level of education, influenced their cultural participation and that these effects were mostly preserved after controlling for sociodemographic factors. Our results are concurrent with international studies on the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital (e.g., Kraaykamp & van Eijck 2010; Nagel 2009; Willekens & Lievens 2014). Importantly, the parents' forms of cultural capital seemed to be as influential as the respondents' education and more influential than the sociodemographic factors influencing the unequal distribution of cultural practices in Finland. This suggests an intergenerational transmission of a 'culturally oriented lifestyle' (Nagel 2009) in Finland, over which subsequent socialization may have limited influence. Either way, while an earlier analysis (Purhonen et al. 2014) has shown that individuals' education, age and gender are the most important factors in the unequal distribution of cultural practices in contemporary Finland, our results suggest that parental cultural capital should be featured amongst the most important factors.

Thus, without being an exception from the international point of view, cultural resources and assets inherited from one's family of origin appear to be a potential source of social inequality in contemporary Finland. Cultural capital contributes to social mobility and social reproduction not only through the intergenerational transmission of educational attainment but also through the transmission of embodied cultural capital, that is, participation and involvement in highbrow culture. This inheritance of embodied cultural capital can be seen as consolidating and reproducing cultural hierarchies and inequality of access to cultural services and engagement (their benefits to well-being are widely known; see, e.g., Wheatley & Bickerton 2017). This, along with the fact that culturally disengaged people most often come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, may also explain why Finnish lifestyles and tastes are still structured by a relatively traditional division between highbrow and popular culture (Purhonen et al. 2014).

The main limitation of our study is our use of cross-sectional data, which prohibited us from making causal inferences. Our results thus remain at the level of demonstrating existing associations. Conversely, cross-sectional data prohibit the tracking of historical changes. As Kivinen et al. (2012) note, there are indications that the inheritance of education has decreased during the past few decades, which suggests that the inheritance of embodied cultural capital might also be decreasing. This question is beyond our remit, but it remains significant for future studies. Moreover, our data concerning parental cultural capital came from retrospective questions that were sensitive to memory bias; thus, our results are somewhat tentative. Therefore, although we stayed on the safe side regarding the potential bias attributable to memory effects (which underestimates parental influence on respondents' cultural capital), we must remain cautious about the fact that 'it would be simplistic to assume that there is no need to be concerned about the biases caused by measurement error' (de Vries & de Graaf 2008, 324).

Another limitation stems from the rather modest response rate of our survey data, which makes it possible to call into question the representativeness of the sample. Although we used the data as weighted by an index variable (calculated by Statistics Finland) that corrected nonresponse biases in terms of gender, age and, most importantly, education level, one may ask whether the sample was capable of covering the most disadvantaged groups, as measured by embodied cultural capital. While recognizing this problem at a general level (the most culturally disengaged groups are most likely passive in responding to surveys on cultural matters), the problem is not severe in this study as the culturally 'passive' groups were substantial enough in the first place, in terms of both respondents' cultural participation and their parents' cultural interestedness.

These limitations notwithstanding, it appears evident that parental cultural capital plays an important role in the distribution of cultural practices in Finland and that this role needs further analysis. We therefore propose that parental cultural capital should be taken into account in future studies analysing the distribution of cultural practices in Finland.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Distributions of all variables used in the analysis.

Total	%	N
	100	1279
Parents' level of education		
Less-than-basic education	9.4	120
Basic education	28.6	366
Secondary education	31.0	397
Lower higher education	19.1	244
Higher education	11.9	152
Parents' cultural interestedness		
No interestedness	20.3	260
Slight interestedness	23.9	305
Intermediate interestedness	23.9	305
High interestedness	13.9	177
Very high interestedness	18.1	231
Respondent' level of education		
Basic education	14.9	189
Secondary education	39.3	501
Lower higher education	30.6	390
Higher education	15.2	194
Respondent's cultural participation		
No participation	44.3	567
Intermediate participation	37.1	474
High participation	18.6	238
Respondent's gender		
Male	48.2	617
Female	51.8	662
Respondent's age (mean, standard deviation)	44.54	15.43
Respondent's occupational class		
Working class	30.4	388
Intermediate	32.6	416
Professional-executive	24.9	318
Other	12.2	156
Respondent's net income		
Less than 500 eur/month	12.1	150
500–999 eur/month	17.9	222
1000–1499 eur/month	24.9	309
1500–1999 eur/month	21.7	270
2000–2499 eur/month	11.9	147
2500 eur/month or more	11.6	144
Respondent's area of residence		
Country	14.4	184
Village	17.5	223
Suburb	51.3	653
City centre	16.8	213

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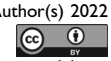

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Cultural reproduction in Finland: Symmetric intergenerational transmission of cultural orientations

Jarmo Kallunki
Faculty of Social Sciences, Tampere University, Finland

Abstract

Cultural reproduction has attracted the attention of cultural sociologists over the last few decades. While a body of research has shown that the orientation to highbrow culture is transmitted from parents to their children, research on the transmission of other cultural orientations has been scarce. In this paper, I study the intergenerational transmission of three cultural orientations—highbrow, popular, and crafts—in Finland. The data were derived from a nationally representative sample (N = 1425) surveyed in Finland in 2018, and it was analysed with regression techniques. For the respondent, I target current cultural participation, and for the parents I rely on retrospective data targeting joint cultural participation with the respondent during their childhood. I show that there is symmetric transmission of cultural orientation, namely that the respondent's current orientation is most tightly associated with the same orientation that they practiced with their parents, suggesting symmetric cultural reproduction in Finland. Additionally, parents' overall cultural participation is associated with their children's overall cultural participation. I reflect on the findings in the light of past and current research on cultural practices and suggest directions for future research.

Keywords

Cultural participation, cultural reproduction, intergenerational transmission, cultural capital, Bourdieu, Finland

Introduction

Cultural reproduction has intrigued cultural sociologists for decades. Sociological interest in studying cultural reproduction lies in its potency to mediate and channel social reproduction: cultural practices and lifestyles are socially stratified, and certain intergenerationally transmittable cultural practices and

Corresponding Author:
Jarmo Kallunki, Faculty of Social Sciences, Tampere University, Kalevantie 5, 33014 Tampere, Finland.
Email: jarmo.kallunki@tuni.fi

elements of lifestyles can operate as cultural capital that is convertible to social advantages (Bourdieu, 1973, 1984). The logic of cultural reproduction, according to Bourdieu, is that children learn cultural practices 'naturally' from their parents at their childhood home and, after entering formal ('scholastic') schooling, displays of socially appreciated practices are (mis)recognised, rewarded and further consolidated by schools, which in turn converts these practices into advantages in the education system (Bourdieu, 1973, 1984, 1996; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, 1979). Since Bourdieu's seminal work, a branch of cultural sociology has focused on studying how cultural practices and lifestyles are intergenerationally transmitted.

In this article I study cultural reproduction in Finland, where the stability of cultural stratification amid major social changes in recent decades offers a well-suited research setting. I focus on the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles from parents to their children. I operationalise lifestyle as cultural participation in various activities, and construct three cultural orientations—that is, dimensions of lifestyle: highbrow, popular, and crafts—as combinations of participation in closely related activities. I ask: how are these cultural orientations intergenerationally transmitted? My main result is that there is symmetric association between the cultural orientations of respondents and their parents. Additionally, while parents' overall participation is associated with their children's overall participation, parents' crafts orientation seems especially important. I thus broaden the horizon of cultural reproduction analysis in three ways: (1) add a new dimension—crafts—to the analytical scheme, (2) introduce the idea of symmetricity, and (3) show that parents' mundane cultural practices may be a key factor in an individual's overall cultural participation, an issue that has escaped analyses to date.

This article structures as follows: the next section contextualises the analysis by describing the history of Finnish society and cultural stratification since the 1950s, because I use cross-sectional data that could contain time-bound effects from that period. Third section describes the data, variables and methods, followed by the results section. The final section contains discussion and conclusions.

Cultural reproduction

Intergenerational transmission of cultural practices

Cultural reproduction, as outlined in the introduction, refers to the intergenerational transmission of cultural practices—that is, knowledge about, taste in and participation in various forms of culture—that can yield short-term and long-term advantages in various social fields. Simply put by Sullivan (2011, 207–208), parents pass their socially stratified cultural dispositions to their children, who benefit from acquiring certain dispositions both in school and later in labour markets that, in turn, consolidate dispositional stratification. Research on cultural transmission from parents to their children and children benefitting from culture in schooling has been extensive, with results typically supporting cultural reproduction theory (see Dumais, 2015; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2015; Sullivan, 2011 and Jaeger and Breen, 2016 for reviews), and cultural practices can be further capitalised on when competing for prestigious jobs (Hora, 2020; Koppman, 2016; Rivera, 2012). In this paper, I focus on cultural reproduction within the family, the setting where the process begins.

Cultural practices can be transmitted from parents to their children in various ways. These ways may differ in terms of families' socio-demographic factors, such as social class (Lareau, 2011) and race (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 1996), and their effects may be modified by the society's structural characteristics (Andersen and Jaeger, 2015; Xu and Hampden-Thompson, 2012). Nevertheless, a key distinction is the differentiation between parents actively guiding their children's cultural practices and children learning to appreciate culture by following the (passive) parental example (Jaeger and Breen, 2016; Mohr and DiMaggio, 1995; Van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2015). Parents' active efforts to guide their children's cultural practices, both encouraging some practices and discouraging others, can be understood as efforts to improve children's life chances (Lareau, 2011; Mohr and DiMaggio, 1995). For example, Lareau (2011) observed that middle-class parents enrol their children in organised activities under the conscious belief

that these activities not only offer valuable life experiences in youth, but also instil and refine skills and dispositions that secure advantages later in life. While it is debated whether active guidance or passive example is more important for intergenerational cultural transmission (Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2015; Notten et al., 2012; Van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2015), both ways can contribute to the transmission.

Various cultural domains have been analysed to assess whether taste and participation in them are intergenerationally transmitted from parents to their children. According to Sullivan (2011, 198), research has found no cultural domain without evidence of intergenerational transmission. The most well-documented phenomenon is the transmission of highbrow participation (Jaeger and Breen, 2016; Sullivan, 2011). However, there are other patterns of cultural taste and participation conceptualised as, for instance, 'cultural schemes' (Van Eijck and Lievens, 2008) or 'taste cultures' (Gans, 1974), yet there is limited research on their intergenerational transmission. From the few existing empirical studies, those by Ter Bogt et al. (2011), Notten et al. (2012) and Nagel and Lemel (2019) merit closer attention here.

Analysing intergenerational transmission of musical preferences, Ter Bogt et al. (2011) found that parents' musical preferences could be categorised as pop, rock, and highbrow patterns, whereas their children's patterns could be categorised as pop, rock, highbrow, and dance. They found that parents' preference for highbrow music was associated with their children's preference for highbrow music, and parental pop preference was associated with children's preference for pop and dance music. Finally, parental preference for rock was associated with their daughter's, but not their son's, preference for rock. Thus, in addition to the highbrow pattern, pop and rock patterns were also intergenerationally transmitted (see also Willekens and Lievens, 2014). Similar results were provided by Notten et al. (2012), who studied the transmission of reading and television watching habits. They found that parental orientation towards highbrow reading was associated with their children's orientation towards highbrow reading, but also that parents' orientation to lowbrow reading was associated with their children's similar orientation. Similarly, in television watching, parental orientation towards highbrow/lowbrow viewing was associated with the same type of viewing habits in their children. In a slightly different vein, Nagel and Lemel (2019) analysed the inheritance of lifestyle and showed that parents' culturally oriented lifestyle was associated with their children's culturally oriented lifestyle and that parents' luxury-oriented lifestyle was associated with a similar lifestyle in their children. They concluded that parents transmit their lifestyle to their children as one way of transferring their social status to their children. Taken together, these studies indicate that in addition to the inheritance of highbrow orientation, other cultural orientations, such as a popular orientation, can be inherited, too.

Social and cultural change in Finland since the 1950s

Finnish society has experienced major structural changes since the 1950s. Economically, Finland transformed from an agrarian society into an industrial and service-based economy relatively quickly (Vartia and Ylä-Anttila, 2005, 77–80; Karisto et al., 1997, 63–65). Compared to other Western countries, industrialisation in Finland spread late, and after the Second World War industrialisation progressed simultaneously with service economy development (Vartia and Ylä-Anttila, 2005, 80). Additionally, the post-War settlement policies delayed the structural change of Finnish agriculture (Karisto et al., 1997, 60–61), which increased pressure for further economic change. This led to rapid economic transformations in the 1960s and 1970s. Consequently, a large proportion of the industrial and white-collar service workers of the 1980s were first-generation paid workers with farmer parents (Alestalo, 1985; Pöntinen, 1983). Simultaneously with economic change, rapid urbanisation took place in the 1960s and 1970s (Karisto et al., 1997, 67; Valkonen, 1985). The lifestyle of the newly suburbanised Finns, 'the generation of the great transformation' (Roos, 1985) in the 1970s and 1980s was characterised by a mixture of urban/suburban and agricultural lifestyles (e.g. Ahponen and Järvelä, 1983; Kortteinen, 1982). As a result, many contemporary late-middle-aged Finns have 'agricultural roots' either themselves or through the experiences and stories of their parents (Alasuutari, 2017, 63; Korkiakangas, 1996).

Despite the major socio-economic changes in Finnish society, cultural hierarchies seem to have changed only little. Research in Finnish cultural practices throughout the last 60 years has constantly shown a homology between cultural participation and socio-demographic factors. Starting from the 1960s, Toiviainen (1970) showed that Finns' musical tastes were stratified according to education level, area of residence and age; the audience for classical music was older, more educated and urban, whereas the audience for (American) pop music was young, more educated and urban and the audience for schlagers was older, less educated and rural. Toiviainen (1970) also observed that listening to classical music was associated with visiting theatre and art galleries (listening to schlagers was not), amounting to an orientation towards highbrow culture. Similarly, Piepponen (1960) had already noted that serious reading and attending both theatre and movies were more common in people with higher levels of education. In the 1970s, Eskola (1976) re-captured the highbrow orientation including reading, going to classical music concerts and visiting theatre and art galleries. Additionally, she showed that mundane cultural activities, including handicrafts, gardening, cooking and watching television were related. Sports and outdoors formed a third orientation, whereas going to movies and listening to pop and entertainment music were popular across the population. Stratification-wise, highbrow orientation was characteristic of more educated upper-class people, while sports and outdoor activities were more typical for the young and men, and the orientation to mundane activities was typical for less educated middle-aged people. (Eskola, 1976.)

Using data from the 1980s and 1990s, Seppänen (1993) observed stratification patterns in musical tastes similar to those found by Toiviainen. With the same data as Seppänen, Pääkkönen (1993) showed that opera, theatre, art museums and galleries were visited more often by more educated people with higher occupational status. The same stratification prevailed at the beginning of the 2000s (Liikkanen et al., 2005). At the turn of the 2010s, Purhonen et al. (2014) found three profiles of cultural practices in contemporary Finland: highbrow, popular, and traditional. Of these, highbrow is associated with higher levels of education (and higher social position) and it is more typical for women, whereas the popular and traditional are differentiated mainly by age, popular being typical for younger people and traditional typical for older. Purhonen et al. (2014) concluded that Finnish cultural stratification was surprisingly similar to Bourdieu's (1984) results concerning France in the 1960s. In general, it seems that Finnish cultural practices have long been stratified in the same way, and this stratification has been quite resistant to social change. Attuned to this stability, Alasuutari (2017, 290–291) concludes that the long-term aim of Finnish cultural policy to 'democratize' highbrow culture has failed. While the general picture of Finnish cultural practices, their interrelatedness and their social stratification seems stable, there might have been more subtle changes in the mixing of practices into orientations, but to date no research sheds light on this issue. Overall, the stability of cultural stratification amid major social changes in recent decades makes Finland a well-suited research setting for analysing cultural reproduction.

Research questions

Research in cultural reproduction at the family level has focused largely on the intergenerational transmission of highbrow culture, but recently research in the transmission of other orientations has gained momentum. I aim to contribute to this emerging thread of cultural sociology, using Finland as an example. Research on Finnish cultural stratification suggests that for the past 60 years the stratification has remained surprisingly stable. In addition to a highbrow orientation, there seems to exist a clear orientation consisting of mundane crafts in Finland. Popular cultural practices were relatively loosely coupled in earlier decades, but later research shows that they have cohered, and in contemporary Finland a distinct orientation to popular culture is observed. Against this background, I set my research question as follows: how are cultural orientations intergenerationally transmitted in Finland?

Before entering the analysis, however, it should be noted that regardless of parents' efforts, individuals' cultural practices can be influenced by other factors. For example, schools and formal education

may—instead of only benefitting the privileged by consolidating pre-existing cultural stratification—be more beneficial to people with less privileged backgrounds and consequently boost cultural and social mobility (e.g. Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997; DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; Ganzeboom, 1982; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2015). Social mobility, in turn, can influence individuals' practices (Daenekindt and Roose, 2013, 2014). Parents and home upbringing are but one factor influencing individuals' cultural orientation and lifestyle, and its effects might diminish over the life course (Georg, 2004; Scherger, 2009). Bearing this in mind, analyses of cultural reproduction should control for factors known to influence individuals' cultural practices. Here, this means controlling for gender, age, education, occupational position, income and area of residence (see previous subsection). I also control for parents' education level, as it influences Finn's cultural participation (Kallunki and Purhonen, 2017).

Data, variables and methods

Data

The data (N = 1425) was collected by Statistics Finland in 2018, drawing from a nationally representative random sample of 3500 Finnish citizens aged 18–74 (excluding the Aaland Islands). The data were supplemented by register-based information regarding respondents' income, education and area of residence. There was an overrepresentation of women, older people and highly educated people in the data compared to the corresponding population. Statistics Finland provided an index to weigh the data to correct for these biases, and analyses were performed both with and without the index. Both ways produced essentially the same results, so I report results based on the unweighted data.

Variables

The questionnaire contained a wide array of questions enquiring about respondents' cultural practices, including knowledge about, taste in and participation in different cultural areas, genres, products and events. For the parents' practices, as is typical in this line of research, I must rely on the respondent's retrospective memory data (e.g. Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2015; Sullivan, 2011). I measure parents' practices through joint activities (worded 'hobbies' in the questionnaire) that the parents and the respondent practiced: repetition, regularity and continuity of activity implied by the word 'hobby' should bring robustness to the memory accounts. The question read 'In your childhood, were your (a) father or (b) mother interested in any of the following hobbies, and did you participate in any of those hobbies together with your (c) father or (d) mother' (yes, I 'hobbied' with my father/mother = 1, no = 0). The questionnaire enquired about nine such activities: reading, movies, gardening, handicrafts, sport, pop music, classical music, cooking, and visual arts. I use the indicators (c) and (d) that measure joint activities. These indicators capture two phenomena: both parents' own regular participation and their sustained effort to actively guide their child to participate in these activities. For the respondent, the questionnaire enquired about their current participation in the same activities.

I began the construction of variables by studying the nine activities that the respondents had participated in with their parents. Relatively strong correlations existed between reading, classical music, and visual arts for both fathers and mothers, separately and jointly. Similar correlations existed, on one hand, between movies, pop music, and sports, and, on the other hand, between handicrafts, gardening, and cooking. I studied these associations further with latent class analysis (LCA) (Collins and Lanza, 2010). I analysed the activities with fathers and mothers both separately and together and, in each case, tested solutions with varying number of latent classes. LCA showed that reading, classical music, and visual arts were linked, meaning that the item-response probabilities of these indicators varied across classes in different LCA solutions in the same way. That is, when reading had high/low probability in a class, so did classical music and visual arts. Similarly, handicrafts, gardening and

cooking were linked. Slightly less consistently, but still coherently, movies, pop music and sports were also linked. Observing the historical Finnish cultural participation patterns (see previous section), it seems valid to conclude that reading, classical music and visual arts form a highbrow cultural orientation for the parents. Handicrafts, gardening and cooking amount to an orientation that can be labelled crafts, whereas movies, pop music and sports can be categorised as a popular orientation. In other words, the data about the parents' activities produce results consistent with the existing knowledge about past Finnish cultural orientations. Notably, though, the latent classes produced by different LCA solutions were not always identical to these orientations but often combinations of them: for example, none of the solutions had a latent class that would consist solely of highbrow activities, and all solutions produced a sizeable class representing parents who had no joint activities with the respondents.

Informed by the preliminary analysis (LCA tables available on request from the author), I constructed variables measuring parents' cultural orientations as sum variables. Thus, the variable describing parents' highbrow orientation, for example, was formed by adding up respondent's participation in reading, classical music, and visual arts with either parent. This produced a variable with a range of 0–6 indicating how many highbrow activities the respondent's parents regularly participated in with the respondent during the respondent's childhood. Similar measures were constructed for parents' orientations to popular culture and crafts. These variables thus measured how many joint regular activities within each orientation the respondent had with either of his/her parents during childhood. While studying the different roles that the father and mother might have in the transmission process would be interesting (Mohr and DiMaggio, 1995; Willekens and Lievens, 2014), it falls outside the scope of this paper. The variables are summarised in Table 1 and their descriptive statistics are in Table 2.

Table 1. Variables measuring cultural orientations of parents and their children.

ORIENTATION	PARENTS / RESPONDENT	VARIABLE CONTAINS
Highbrow	Parents: father or mother regularly participated in, with the respondent	Reading Classical music Visual arts
	Respondent	Reading: how many books read during last year Classical music: how often goes to classical music concerts Visual arts: how often goes to art galleries
Popular	Parents: father or mother regularly participated in, with the respondent	Movies Pop music and/or schlagers Sport
	Respondent	Movies: how often goes to movies Pop music: how often goes to rock concerts or karaoke Sport: how often does sweaty exercises at least 30 min at a time
Crafts	Parents: father or mother regularly participated in, with the respondent	Handicrafts Gardening Cooking
	Respondent	Handicrafts: how often does handicrafts Gardening: how often does gardening Cooking: "Cooking is an important hobby for me"
Overall participation	Parents	All of the above
	Respondent	All of the above

To analyse the intergenerational transmission of cultural orientations, I constructed variables measuring the respondents' current cultural orientations that were symmetrical to the variables for the parents. That is, I took items measuring respondents' current participation in the same activities that I had for their parents: these nine items and the variables constructed from them are in Table 1 (details in Appendix Table A1) and their distributions in Table 2. An LCA procedure was conducted for this set of activities and it showed that reading, going to classical music concerts, and visiting art galleries amounted to a highbrow orientation. Symmetrically, going to movies and rock concerts and practicing sports amounted to a popular orientation, and doing handicrafts, gardening and cooking added up to a crafts orientation. This is consistent with existing knowledge about contemporary Finnish cultural orientations.

The cultural orientations are not mutually exclusive for neither parents nor the respondents. On the contrary, the correlations between the parents' activities (and orientations) were positive, as were the corresponding correlations for the respondent. That is, for both the parents and the respondents I observed the 'cumulative nature of leisure activities' (Allardt et al., 1958). This allows me to compose measures for overall participation (in these activities) for both the parents and the respondents by adding up the orientations. Because recent literature has considered that the volume of cultural participation is another key contemporary dimension of social stratification of cultural practices (e.g. Heikkilä, 2021; Miles and Sullivan, 2012; see also Peterson, 1992) I include the overall participation and its intergenerational transmission in the analysis. Due to lack of space I do not discuss cultural 'omnivores' (Peterson, 1992) theoretically in this paper, but noteworthily the overall participation might be interpreted as a measure of omnivorousness in Finland (Purhonen et al., 2010).

There is a clear difference in the distributions between the parents' and respondent's orientations, as the parents tend to have lower scores in all variables (Table 2). This could have been expected, as the questions regarding parents enquired about regular joint participation. First, if the respondents participated in several activities during their childhood, they probably participated in only some of them regularly with their parents. Second, it seems unlikely that parents took their children to all the activities they participated in, so these variables likely measure only part of parents' total activity. A third factor contributing to the difference is that the younger generations have more free time and likely face wider supply of activities than their parents, so they may be culturally more active than their parents.

The questionnaire produced a standard set of indicators regarding the respondents' gender, age, education level, occupational position, income level, area of residence and parents' education level (operationalised here as the maximum of father's and mother's education levels). These factors influence Finns' cultural practices, so I control for them in my analyses (see Appendix Table A2 for their distributions).

Methods

I have four dependent variables: the three variables measuring the respondents' cultural orientation and the overall participation. The distributions of variables for respondents' highbrow orientation and crafts

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for cultural orientation variables of parents and their children.

	Mean	Std. deviation	Range
Respondent Highbrow	1.94	1.70	0–6
Respondent Popular	3.80	1.71	0–6
Respondent Crafts	2.60	1.71	0–6
Respondent Overall	8.35	3.59	0–18
Parents Highbrow	0.46	0.90	0–6
Parents Popular	0.79	1.22	0–6
Parents Crafts	1.15	1.39	0–6
Parents Overall	2.39	2.68	0–18

N = 1425.

orientation follow approximately Poisson distribution and the variables' values are non-negative integers, so I use Poisson regression (Cameron and Trivedi, 2013; Dunteman and Ho, 2006). Respondents' popular orientation is somewhat underdispersed for the Poisson model, but when the variable's scale is inverted, the Poisson requirements are met. Thus, for methodological simplicity, instead of participation, I model non-participation in the case of popular orientation. I report parameter estimates and Wald chi-square statistics to assess the variables' explanatory power, and chi-square tests for the models.

The respondents' overall participation meets the assumptions of general linear regression. Hence, it will be modelled using general linear model (GLM). Recalling direct linear combination of the cultural orientations, it is not possible to enter that variable into the regression models simultaneously with the cultural orientation variables. Thus, for each respondent's cultural orientation, I need two models: one that has all the parents' cultural orientation variables except overall participation (Models 1) and one that has only overall participation but none of the orientation variables (Models 2).

Analysis and results

The results are presented in the following manner: first the basic correlations (with no controls) as this shows the symmetricity of transmission in the simplest way (Table 3). Then I present the results of the Poisson regressions (Table 4) which show that the symmetricity prevails under controls. These results leave me with an apparently peculiar result that parents' crafts orientation influences positively not only the respondent's crafts orientation but highbrow and popular orientations too. This gains explanation after performing the GLM for the respondent's overall participation (Table 5) as the GLM shows that parents' crafts orientation is the best predictor of respondent's overall participation. Thus, at the end of this section I can return to more nuanced interpretation of Table 4.

Correlations between the parents' cultural orientation variables and those of the respondent are in Table 3. The strongest correlations are found at the matrix's diagonal between the same cultural orientations of parents and the respondent. Steiger's (1980) test (calculator by Lee and Preacher, 2013) confirmed that the coefficients between parent highbrow and respondent highbrow, between parent popular and respondent popular, and between parent crafts and respondent crafts are statistically different from the rest of the coefficients between different orientations (excluding overall participation, see below). Thus, the correlations suggest symmetric intergenerational transmission of cultural orientations in the sense that the strongest associations exist between the same orientations of parents and the respondent (correlations at the diagonal), while the other associations are much weaker and statistically indistinguishable from one another.

In addition to symmetric associations, all the correlations between parents' and respondents' cultural orientations are positive. Parents' overall participation correlates highly with all the cultural orientations of the respondents, but this is explained to a large degree by it being a linear combination of the three orientations. Positive correlations nevertheless suggest that parents' cultural participation in general increases their children's cultural participation, so that besides the orientations, cultural participation in general seems to be intergenerationally transmitted.

Table 3. Correlations between the cultural orientations of parents and their children.

	Respondent Highbrow	Respondent Popular	Respondent Crafts	Respondent Overall
Parents Highbrow	0.28***	0.14***	0.13***	0.25***
Parents Popular	0.13***	0.28***	0.05	0.19***
Parents Crafts	0.18***	0.19***	0.42***	0.38***
Parents Overall	0.25***	0.28***	0.31***	0.39***

N = 1425, Spearman two-tailed, ***: $p < 0.001$.

Table 4. Respondent's cultural orientation by parental orientations and socio-demographic controls (parameter estimates (exp(b)) and wald chi statistics from poisson regression).

	Respondent Highbrow		**Respondent Popular Inverse**		**Respondent Crafts**	
	Model 1.	Model 2.	Model 1.	Model 2.	Model 1.	Model 2.
Parents Highbrow^{C} (Wald χ^2)	34.08***	–	3.71	–	2.58	–
Exp(b)	1.13***	–	1.06	–	1.03	–
Parents Popular^{C} (Wald χ^2)	0.16	–	11.10**	–	6.66**	–
Exp(b)	0.99	–	0.93**	–	0.96**	–
Parents Crafts^{C} (Wald χ^2)	3.87*	–	10.26**	–	150.85***	–
Exp(b)	1.03*	–	0.95**	–	1.17***	–
Parents Overall^{C} (Wald χ^2)	–	32.17***	–	17.17***	–	92.83***
Exp(b)	–	1.04***	–	0.96***	–	1.06***
Gender (Wald χ^2)	17.09***	20.81***	0.60	0.31	10.32**	20.15***
Female	1.20***	1.22***	0.97	0.98	1.13**	1.19***
Age^{C} (Wald χ^2)	106.56***	119.47***	42.34***	46.74***	37.57***	56.02***
Exp(b)	1.02***	1.02***	1.01***	1.01***	1.01***	1.01***
Education (Wald χ^2)	52.81***	52.65***	9.47*	9.11*	3.97	6.29
Secondary education	1.15	1.15	0.92	0.92	1.15	1.18*
Lower higher education	1.51***	1.51***	0.81**	0.81**	1.14	1.16
Higher education	1.84***	1.84***	0.80*	0.80*	1.10	1.09
Occupational position (Wald χ^2)	15.36**	16.76***	5.00	4.64	1.48	1.83
Intermediate classes	1.19*	1.19*	0.90	0.90	0.94	0.94
Professional – executive	1.37***	1.38***	0.85*	0.86	0.95	0.95
Other / miscellaneous	1.26*	1.26*	0.91	0.92	0.94	0.95
Net income level (Wald χ^2)	8.69	8.06	17.56**	17.60**	2.28	2.41
Less than 1000 €/month	1.18*	1.18*	1.08	1.08	1.00	1.01
1500–1999 €/month	1.05	1.05	0.93	0.93	1.06	1.06
2000–2499 €/month	1.06	1.07	0.82**	0.82**	1.05	1.04
2500–2999 €/month	0.94	0.95	0.85	0.85*	1.06	1.08
3000 or more €/month	1.07	1.07	0.83*	0.83*	1.07	1.08
Area of residence (Wald χ^2)	40.84***	42.21***	13.59**	13.31**	29.73***	31.87***
Village	1.03	1.02	0.97	0.97	0.93	0.91
Suburb	1.25**	1.23**	0.90	0.89*	0.93	0.90*
City centre	1.45***	1.45***	0.81***	0.82***	0.78***	0.76***

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

	Respondent Highbrow		Respondent Popular Inverse		Respondent Crafts	
	Model 1.	Model 2.	Model 1.	Model 2.	Model 1.	Model 2.
Parents' Education (Wald χ^2)	21.46***	24.96***	9.40	7.02	1.16	1.01
Less than basic education	0.96	0.96	0.95	0.95	1.04	1.06
Secondary education	1.11	1.11	1.03	1.02	1.01	1.02
Lower higher education	1.32***	1.33***	0.93	0.93	1.02	1.02
Higher education	1.26**	1.33***	0.82*	0.86	1.06	1.02
N	1236	1236	1236	1236	1236	1236
Deviance / DF	1.23	1.24	1.12	1.13	0.99	1.05
Likelihood ratio χ^2 for model	547.95*** (df = 23)	530.08*** (df = 21)	295.23*** (df = 23)	283.83*** (df = 21)	311.86*** (df = 23)	234.35*** (df = 21)

*: $p < 0.05$; **: $p < 0.01$; ***: $p < 0.001$.
[c]: Continuous variable.
Reference groups: gender = male, education = basic education, occupational position = working classes, net income level = 1000–1499 €/month, area of residence = countryside, parents' education = basic education.

To assess whether these associations prevail after controlling for other, potentially underlying or mediating factors that influence cultural participation, and to assess the relative importance of each parental orientation, I used Poisson regression: these results for each respondent's cultural orientation are in Table 4. Recalling that respondents' popular orientation has an inverted scale, the interpretations for that part were double-checked using cross-tabulations. Respondents' overall participation is analysed using GLM, and these results are in Table 5.

In Table 4, Models 1 include the parents' cultural orientation variables and Models 2 show the parents' overall participation. Two main results emerge from Table 4 (Models 1). First, each of the respondent orientations is associated to a different pattern of parental orientations: respondent's highbrow orientation is increased by both parents' highbrow and crafts orientations and unaffected by parental popular orientation. Respondent's popular orientation is increased by both parents' popular and crafts orientations and unaffected by parental highbrow orientation. Finally, respondent's crafts orientation is increased by parents' crafts orientation, decreased by parents' popular orientation and unaffected by parents' highbrow orientation. The second main result is that the parents' cultural orientations retain their independent explanatory power for the respondent's symmetric cultural orientations under controls. This suggests that parents' orientation has a lasting effect on respondent's cultural orientation in the sense that it influences their orientation regardless of education level, occupational position and other factors emerging later in life. Additionally, Models 2 show that the parents' overall participation increases the respondent's participation in all orientations, and the parents' overall participation also retains its explanatory power.

Like in Table 4, in Table 5 I have parents' cultural orientations in Model 1, and parents' overall participation in Model 2. The initial result is that parent's overall participation, under controls, retains its independent explanatory power for the respondent's overall participation. Notably, models 1 and 2 in Table 5 differ only little. Moreover, in Model 1, parents' crafts orientation has relatively strong coefficient (0.28***), similar in magnitude to parents' overall participation in Model 2. Thus, I re-ran the GLM, using only parents' crafts orientation (with controls): these results are Model 3. Model 3 shows that dropping the parents' highbrow and popular orientations changes the Model 1 only slightly (the main change being the small increase of parents' crafts orientation's coefficient). Thus, Model 3 seems to be the best model for the respondent's overall participation. The main (final) result of Table 5 is, then, that parents' crafts orientation is the best predictor of the respondent's overall participation. This is congruent with the results in Table 4, where parents' crafts orientation increases the respondent's participation in every orientation.

Returning to Table 4, knowing that parents' crafts participation increases the respondent's overall participation, what the table essentially shows is that after controlling for socio-demographic factors, the respondent's highbrow orientation is associated with parents' highbrow orientation, popular orientation is associated with parents' popular orientation and crafts orientation is associated with parents' crafts orientation. Thus, the regression analyses support the idea about the symmetric transmission of cultural orientation. The negative association (coefficient 0.96**) between respondent's crafts orientation and parents' popular orientation is a small sign that the respondent might be less likely to develop an orientation other than what their parents have, but the other parameter estimates suggesting this are not statistically significant.

Summarising the analysis, the symmetric associations between the respondent's cultural orientation and parents' cultural orientation remain significant after controlling for other factors. Additionally, parents' orientation to crafts is the best predictor of the respondent's overall participation. Controlled socio-demographic factors (Tables 4 and 5) have their own, previously known associations with the respondent's orientations, so I omit further discussion about them (for such discussion, see Purhonen et al., 2011 and Purhonen et al., 2014).

Discussion and conclusions

While research on cultural reproduction has focused mainly on the intergenerational transmission of highbrow culture, transmission of other types of cultural practices has recently gained ground. Drawing on

Table 5. Respondent overall participation by parental orientations and socio-demographic controls (standardised parameter estimates and t-values from GLM).

	Respondent overall participation					
	Model 1.		Model 2.		Model 3.	
	Standardised beta	t-value	Standardised beta	t-value	Standardised beta	t-value
Parents Highbrow[C]	0.10***	3.54	–	–	–	–
Parents Popular[C]	−0.01	−0.34	–	–	–	–
Parents Crafts[C]	0.28***	10.45	–	–	0.31***	12.30
Parents Overall[C]	–	–	0.29***	11.07	–	–
Gender						
Female	0.13***	4.70	0.15***	5.61	0.13***	5.02
Age[C]	0.19***	6.03	0.22***	6.94	0.19***	6.10
Education						
Secondary education	0.13**	2.75	0.14**	2.96	0.13**	2.74
Lower higher education	0.24***	4.53	0.25***	4.71	0.24***	4.56
Higher education	0.27***	5.21	0.27***	5.10	0.28***	5.32
Occupational position						
Intermediate classes	0.06	1.58	0.05	1.45	0.06	1.65
Professional-executive	0.12**	3.01	0.12**	3.00	0.13**	3.14
Other / miscellaneous	0.04	1.37	0.04	1.45	0.04	1.41
Net income level						
Less than 1000 €/month	0.03	0.81	0.03	0.84	0.03	0.77
1500–1999 €/month	0.07*	2.03	0.06	1.90	0.06	1.96
2000–2499 €/month	0.09**	2.89	0.09**	2.72	0.09**	2.82
2500–2999 €/month	0.04	1.26	0.04	1.41	0.04	1.20
3000 or more €/month	0.09**	2.68	0.09**	2.64	0.08*	2.56
Area of residence						
Village	−0.01	−0.31	−0.02	−0.54	−0.01	−0.35
Suburb	0.06	1.74	0.04	1.26	0.05	1.58
City centre	0.07	1.94	0.06	1.70	0.07*	2.00
Parents' Education						
Less than basic education	0.01	0.33	0.02	0.49	0.01	0.22
Secondary education	0.04	1.19	0.05	1.27	0.04	1.20
Lower higher education	0.11**	3.00	0.11**	2.97	0.11**	3.06
Higher education	0.11**	3.08	0.11**	2.85	0.14***	3.79
N	1236		1236		1236	
F	20.83*** (df = 23)		20.33*** (df = 21)		22.01*** (df = 21)	
Adjusted R squared	0.27		0.25		0.26	

*: $p < 0.05$; **: $p < 0.01$; ***: $p < 0.001$.
[C]: Continuous variable.
Reference groups: gender = male, education = basic education, occupational position = working classes, net income level = 1000–1499 €/month, area of residence = countryside, parents' education = basic education.

nationally representative data, I show that in Finland, individuals' cultural orientations are associated with the cultural orientations that they practiced in their childhood with their parents. This association is symmetric in that the respondent's orientation to highbrow culture has the strongest association with parents' highbrow orientation, popular orientation with parents' popular orientation, and crafts orientation with parents' crafts orientation. Additionally, the respondent's overall cultural participation is associated with parents' overall participation, with specification that parents' crafts orientation is the best predictor of respondent's overall participation.

Symmetric associations suggest that the intergenerational transmission of cultural orientations in Finland is symmetric. Overall cultural participation is similarly intergenerationally transmitted. This conforms to the existing knowledge about cultural reproduction. While earlier research has studied the transmission of highbrow practices (Jaeger and Breen, 2016; Sullivan, 2011) and popular practices (Ter Bogt et al., 2011; Notten et al., 2012; Nagel and Lemel, 2019), this analysis adds a third dimension—mundane crafts. This broadens significantly the horizon of cultural reproduction analysis, because the importance of mundane culture has only recently gained attention in this field (Heikkilä, 2021; Leguina and Miles, 2017; Miles and Sullivan, 2012), and potential significance of parents' mundane culture in encouraging offspring's overall cultural activity has escaped research attention to date. At general level, symmetricity of transmission underscores the need for research that analyses not only transmission of 'high status cultural signals' (Lamont and Lareau, 1988) but broader assemblages of practices and lifestyles.

The association of parents' orientation to crafts with all the respondent's orientations can be understood from the perspective of cultural change. Since a large proportion of Finns have 'agricultural roots' and crafts are typical practices for the rural Finns (Eskola, 1976; Purhonen et al., 2014), the joint activities the agriculture-rooted respondents had with their parents likely had a strong crafts-element. Therefore, crafts with parents could have been common to both those respondents who adopted crafts and those who eventually abandoned crafts for other practices. If this interpretation is valid, then the intergenerational associations between parents' crafts and respondent's orientations suggest Finnish cultural transformation at the level of individual cultural practices that is not captured by previous research.

There are two main limitations to this research. The first is the use of cross-sectional data, which prevents causal inferences. All causal inferences are, therefore, hypothetical. The second limitation is the reliance on retrospective data on part of the parents. Analyses in this field often rely on such data, and recommend caution against potential memory bias (e.g. Nagel and Lemel, 2019; Sullivan, 2011). My choice was to target regular joint activities ('hobbies') to both avoid overreporting random instances and to dismiss exact timing of practices. While I cannot ascertain the reliability of the memory data in any strict sense, memory data is usually the only way to access past experiences (Korkiakangas, 1996; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2015). Nevertheless, potential memory effects should be recalled to avoid excessively strong interpretations.

For the research on cultural and social stratification in a society such as Finland, my results offer two perspectives for further research. First, this analysis offers a snapshot of cultural reproduction in Finland and shows that cultural orientations are transmitted from parents to their children—despite the fact that Finland is known for a relatively weak transmission of social position in general (Erola and Moisio, 2007; Sirniö et al., 2013). Thus, cultural reproduction may play a role in social reproduction in Finland, and it should be considered, for instance, in the analyses of rediscovered educational inequalities (Karhunen and Uusitalo, 2017). Second, there is a paradox in that Finland has experienced rapid societal changes since the 1950s, but research on transformation of cultural practices suggests slow change. This paradox calls for further research.

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ORCID iD

Jarmo Kallunki https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3019-9706

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Author biography

Jarmo Kallunki is a doctoral researcher working in Tampere University (Finland) and preparing doctoral dissertation in sociology under the supervision of Semi Purhonen. His dissertation addresses the cultural reproduction and intergenerational transmission of cultural capital and lifestyles in Finland.

Appendix

Table A1. Construction of the variables measuring respondent's cultural orientation.

ORIENTATION	ITEMS INCLUDED AND VALUATION
Highbrow	Reading: How many books did you read during the last year? 2: 12 or more (22.2%); 1: 3–11 (35.2%); 0: 2 or less(42.6%). Classical music: How often do you go to classical music concerts? 2: Several times a year or more (10.3%); 1: Less often (20.6%); 0: Never (69.1%). Visual arts: How often do you go to art galleries? 2: Several times a year or more (19.5%); 1: Less often (34.1%); 0: Never (46.4%).
Popular	Movies: How often do you go to movies (in a movie theatre)? 2: Several times a year or more (54.4%); 1: Less often (33.1%); 0: Never (12.5%). Schlagers and pop music: consists of two parts A + B (suppressed to maximum of 2). A.) How often do you go to rock concerts? 2: Several times a year or more (18.2%); 1: Less often (34.2%); 0: Never (47.5%). B.) How often do you go to karaoke? 2: Several times a year or more (12.9%); 1: Less often (23.2%); 0: Never (63.9%). Sports: How often do you exercise at least a 30 min period? 2: Daily or several times a week (60.1%); 1: Once a week or less (18.7%); 0: Never (21.1%).
Crafts	Handicrafts: How often do you practice handicrafts? 2: Regularly (36.4%); 1: Every now and then (33.4%); 0: Never (30.2%). Gardening: How often do you practice gardening? 2: Regularly (22.7%); 1: Every now and then (40.5%); 0: Never (36.8%). Cooking: "Cooking is an important hobby for me" 2: Fully agree (20.8%); 1: Somewhat agree (26.5%), 0: All other values (52.7%).
Overall	All of the above.

Table A2. The distributions of control variables used in the analyses.

	%	N
TOTAL	100.0	1425
Respondent's gender		
Female	55.8	795
Male	43.9	625
(Missing	0.4	5)
Respondent's age (mean, standard deviation)	48.80	16.29
(Missing	0.0	0)
Respondent's level of education		
Basic education	8.7	124
Secondary education	32.4	462
Lower higher education	36.6	522
Higher education	21.9	312
(Missing	0.4	5)
Respondent's occupational position		
Working classes	21.5	307
Intermediate classes	46.0	655
Professional - executive class	23.6	337
Other / miscellaneous	8.8	126

(continued)

Table A2. (continued)

	%	N
(Missing	0.0	0)
Respondent's net income level		
Less than 1000 €/month	14.7	209
1000–1499 €/month	18.9	269
1500–1999 €/month	20.2	288
2000–2499 €/month	15.8	225
2500–2999 €/month	9.3	132
3000 €/month or more	11.5	164
(Missing	9.7	138)
Respondent's area of residence		
Countryside	19.4	276
Village	5.9	84
Suburban	36.0	513
City centre	38.7	552
(Missing	0.0	0)
Parents' level of education		
Less than basic education	11.3	161
Basic education	16.6	236
Secondary education	30.5	434
Lower higher education	22.9	327
Higher education	15.2	217
(Missing	3.5	50)

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Rising to the middle class and cultural practices in contemporary Finland

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Social and cultural mobility: rising to the middle class and cultural practices in contemporary Finland

Jarmo Kallunki

Unit of Social Research, Faculty of Social Sciences, 33014 Tampere University, Kalevantie 5, 33100, Tampere, Finland
Corresponding author. Email: jarmo.kallunki@tuni.fi

How does social mobility influence cultural taste and participation? Cultural reproduction theory predicts little change, while cultural mobility theory suggests more substantial makeover. This article explores the influence of upward educational and occupational mobility in reading literature, participation in highbrow activities, television watching, and music and food tastes, focusing on mobility from the secondary-level education and the working class to the higher education and the middle class. By analysing survey data (N = 2,813) collected in Finland in 2007 and 2018 with ordinary least squares regression, we show that educational mobility and occupational mobility are mostly differently related to tastes and participation. Both educationally and occupationally upwardly mobile people tend to participate more in highbrow activities, watch less television and dislike meat-heavy food, as is more typical to their social destination than to their social origins. Conversely, the educationally upwardly mobile, again more typical to their destination, tend to read more books, like light-ethnic food and classical music, and dislike popular folk, but occupational mobility is not associated with reading or liking light-ethnic food, and the occupationally mobile retain their original tastes in classical and popular folk music when education is controlled for. We discuss the implications of our results.

Introduction

Cultural stratification is one dimension of social stratification (Weber, 1946). Cultural practices—that is, cultural tastes, participation, competences, and knowledge—and their patterning are intertwined with other dimensions of social stratification, such as those related to gender, age, education, occupational class and status, income, and area of residence, with potential national and temporal variations (e.g. DiMaggio, 1982; Bourdieu, 1984; Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Purhonen *et al.*, 2014). One ongoing debate concerns the intermingling of intergenerational social mobility and cultural practices, with the issue being to what extent cultural practices are both the cause and the effect of social reproduction and/or social mobility (e.g. Bourdieu, 1973, 1984; DiMaggio, 1982; Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997; Van Eijck, 1999; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014; Jaeger and Breen, 2016; Curl, Lareau and Wu, 2018; Dumais, 2019). This paper focuses on one aspect of this debate: how intergenerational upward social mobility influences cultural practices.

Theoretically, our study situates in the debate between the theories of cultural reproduction and cultural mobility. Cultural reproduction theory holds that individuals' cultural practices result largely from early socialization (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Lareau, 2011; Vaisey and Lizardo, 2016), which we operationalize into a hypothesis that upwardly mobile individuals retain the cultural practices that they adopted in their social origin. An alternative hypothesis, based on the cultural mobility theory, which argues for changing cultural practices during later-life socialization (e.g. Swidler, 1986; Van Eijck, 1999; Lahire, 2011; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014), is that upwardly mobile individuals gravitate towards cultural practices common in their social destination, either in all or some of their practices. We operationalize social mobility through education and occupation to investigate whether educational and occupational mobility has similar associations to cultural practices, a study that, to our knowledge, has never been conducted.

Using data collected from two surveys in Finland (2007 and 2018), we analyze the associations of both mobility measures with ten domains of culture and show that upwardly mobile individuals gravitate towards the cultural practices of their social destination, but only regarding certain practices. Our results

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showcase the importance of including popular cultural practices in analyses of cultural reproduction and mobility. We also find asymmetric mobility effects which suggest a need for more nuanced analyses of class fractions in the future. Our results, secondly, show that educational and occupational mobility diverge in their associations with cultural practices. This suggests that the education system and the occupational world adhere to different cultural hierarchies; this difference should be accounted for in the analyses of cultural reproduction and mobility to better grasp the practices to which the socially mobile newcomers are socialized into (and out of), especially in the class-fractionalized education system and occupational world.

Theoretical background

Cultural reproduction

Cultural reproduction can be defined as the intergenerational transmission of (socially stratified) cultural practices from one generation to the next. Cultural reproduction theory holds that an individual's cultural practices are largely a result of early socialization in their childhood family, and differences in practices are reinforced by the school system (Bourdieu, 1973, 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; for a review, see Jaeger and Breen, 2016) and labour markets (Rivera, 2012; Koppman, 2016). Supporting reproduction theory, early experiences and socialization have lasting influences on skill formation, attitudes, and beliefs (Heckman, 2006; Lareau, 2011; Vaisey and Lizardo, 2016; Kiley and Vaisey, 2020).

In her review, Sullivan (2011: p. 198) noted that 'there is no lifestyle domain in which researchers have not found evidence of intergenerational transmission', albeit the evidence is stronger in some domains than in others. Research on cultural reproduction has focused on so-called 'highbrow' practices, such as reading literature or liking and attending operas, classical music concerts, museums, and galleries, and has shown that the intergenerational transmission of highbrow practices is well established (Sullivan, 2011; Jaeger and Breen, 2016). More recent studies have shown, for example, that musical preferences (ter Bogt *et al.*, 2011), television watching habits (Notten, Kraaykamp and Konig, 2012), and general orientation to popular culture (Kallunki, 2022) can also be intergenerationally transmitted.

Given that cultural practices are stratified by social class (operationalized as education and occupation; Bourdieu, 1984; Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Lareau, 2011; Purhonen *et al.*, 2014), and cultural reproduction posits that individuals' cultural practices are largely formed during early socialization, the result would be that regardless of their life trajectories, individuals retain cultural practices that are common in their social class of origin. This reasoning motivates our first hypothesis (H1a).

Social mobility and cultural mobility

A competing perspective is offered by the cultural mobility theory, which posits that valued cultural resources are neither possessed nor controlled solely by the upper classes; individuals from other classes can use such resources too (DiMaggio, 1982; Erickson, 1996; Emmison, 2003). Accordingly, children from less privileged families can use cultural resources as leverage for upward social mobility (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997). Another approach is to view cultural mobility as a consequence of or an adaptation to social mobility (e.g. Van Eijck, 1999; Friedman, 2012; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014; Curl, Lareau and Wu, 2018). An underlying idea is that individuals encounter and engage in various diverse socialization contexts in their lives, and their childhood home is but one context. Cultural socialization in the education system is not necessarily concordant with cultural socialization at home (Lahire, 2011; Lareau, 2011), and cultural socialization in the workplace can differ further (Erickson, 1996). Accumulating experience from multiple contexts changes and pluralizes an individual's cultural 'tool kit' (Swidler, 1986), possibly leading to incoherent or 'dissonant' cultural practices (Lahire, 2011; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014). Social mobility encompasses an assemblage of such contexts (Lahire, 2011: pp. 36–41). In sum, the significance of social origins diminishes as individuals progress in their lives, and social destination surpasses social origin in its influence over one's cultural practices.

While cultural mobility has been less researched than cultural reproduction (Streib, 2017), a body of research studying the effects of social mobility on cultural practices has emerged in recent decades. Studies often focus on one or two cultural domains (for an exception, see Daenekindt and Roose, 2013b) and use either educational or occupational mobility measure. At least domains of highbrow culture, music, food, film, and comedy have been studied. Van Eijck (1999) explored how educational mobility influences the consumption of highbrow culture (reading serious literature, visiting museums, attending plays etc.) and popular culture (watching television etc.). He found that educationally mobile people consume highbrow culture in a pattern somewhere in between their social origin and destination, but mobility does not influence their consumption of popular culture. Similarly, when studying the link between educational mobility and highbrow practices, Dumais (2019) found that the practices of upwardly mobile first-generation college graduates were more

similar to the practices of immobile second-generation college graduates than to the practices of immobile high school graduates.

In the domain of music, Daenekindt and Roose (2014) found that educationally mobile people tend to adopt music listening patterns characteristic of their social destination, which causes dissonance in their tastes (cf. Chan and Turner, 2017). Similarly, Coulangeon (2015) showed that occupationally mobile people tend to adopt the musical tastes characteristic of their social destinations. In the domain of food consumption, Domanski and Karpinski (2018) found that occupationally upwardly mobile conforms to upper-class habits in their food consumption, but downwardly mobile people tend to maintain the habits of their upper-class origins. Qualitative studies by Curl, Lareau and Wu (2018) and Beagan, Power and Chapman (2015) support this view. Regarding other cultural domains, Daenekindt and Roose (2013a) showed that educational mobility influences the evaluation of films such that upwardly mobile people adhere to the upper-class forms of evaluation, but downwardly mobile people tend to retain their upper-class forms. When analysing comedy tastes, Friedman (2012) observed that upwardly mobile people add highbrow comedy to their taste palette, yet they often retain their tastes for 'lowbrow' comedy.

A theoretical underpinning uniting the mobility research cited above is the status theory (Ganzeboom, 1982; Van Eijck, 2011; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2015). According to the status theory, cultural socialization includes learning of the social norms and habits of cultural consumption particular to the group one belongs to or is becoming a member of. New individuals to a group gradually adopt the group's typical tastes and participation patterns, and newcomers particularly learn to appreciate the practices the group values and shun the practices the group considers questionable. (Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2015.) Two debates within the status theory are of special interest for cultural mobility research: First, how 'deep' can cultural socialization be when it occurs alongside social mobility? Daenekindt and Roose (2013b) found that for the socially mobile individuals cultural practices performed in public spaces are more strongly tied to social mobility than privately practiced cultural practices, suggesting that the mobile overstress their conformity to destination class in public to better fit in (also Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010; Friedman, 2012). In other words, social mobility might not change the deeper-level long-lasting dispositions or stable preferences, but the change may be limited to the level of public performances. Therefore, we might find that social mobility is associated with publicly performed practices, such as going to the opera and to the theatre, but mobility has no influence, for example, in reading, watching television at home, or in musical preferences.

A second debate within the status theory concerns the symmetricity/asymmetricity of mobility effects. The question is whether social mobility has a similar effect regardless of the respondents' origin and destination (symmetric effect), or does the effect depend on either origins or destinations (asymmetric effect)? For an example of an asymmetric effect, the above-cited literature debates about the so-called maximization hypothesis, according to which the socially mobile adopt cultural practices associated with the highest social status they have occupied, whether origin or destination (Ganzeboom, 1982; Van Eijck, 1999; Daenekindt and Roose, 2013b). In other words, upwardly mobile people would adopt cultural practices typical to their destination, while downwardly mobile people retain practices typical to their origin. The above-cited literature is split on the issue, with some results supporting the maximization hypothesis (Daenekindt and Roose, 2013a; Beagan, Power and Chapman 2015; Domanski and Karpinski, 2018; Dumais, 2019) and some rejecting it (Van Eijck, 1999; Daenekindt and Roose, 2013b; Coulangeon, 2015; Chan and Turner, 2017). Cultural mobility theory, including the questions about the 'level of depth' and the symmetric/asymmetric effects inform our second and third hypotheses (H1b, H1c).

Studies analysing the effects of social mobility on cultural practices typically operationalize social mobility either as educational mobility (e.g. Van Eijck, 1999; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014; Chan and Turner, 2017; Dumais, 2019) or occupational mobility (e.g. Coulangeon, 2015; Domanski and Karpinski, 2018), but not both. Nevertheless, educational and occupational mobilities have potentially different associations to cultural practices: as Erickson (1996: p. 224) argues, 'there is no single cultural hierarchy that correlates with all forms of inequality'. The education system, according to both reproduction theorists (Bourdieu, 1973; 1984) and mobility theorists (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985), values high-status culture and both encourages and rewards pupils' participation in it. On the other hand, the education system might hypothetically shun television watching, and be indifferent about pupils' musical tastes. In this case, under the status theory, we would expect that the educationally upwardly mobile adopt more highbrow activities and reduce the amount of watching television compared to those immobile individuals who stay at the lower educational level. But this need not be the case for occupational mobility. As Erickson (1996) observed, highbrow culture can be seen as a waste of time in the business world, and breadth of taste and knowledge of sports may instead be valued (see also Rivera, 2012; Koppman, 2016). If this was the case, we

would expect that the occupationally upwardly mobile would at least not increase their participation in highbrow activities compared to the immobile stayers. Thus, the education system and the occupational field may have (at least partly) different cultural hierarchies, and it seems fruitful to study both educational and occupational mobility and whether their effect cohere or not (H2a, H2b).

The Finnish context

The context for our analysis is Finland. Per international comparisons, social mobility in Finland is high, whether mobility is measured in terms of education (Hertz *et al.*, 2007; Pfeffer, 2008) or occupation (Härkönen, 2010), even though recent studies suggest that mobility has started to decline (Erola, 2009; Härkönen and Sirniö, 2020). By contrast, cultural stratification in contemporary Finland follows patterns similar to other Western countries: education and occupation, along with gender and age, structure Finns' cultural tastes and participation (e.g. Kahma, 2011; Purhonen *et al.*, 2014), and signs of reproduction are observed (Kallunki and Purhonen, 2017). Empirical analyses of Finnish cultural stratification since the 1960s show that participation in highbrow culture has continuously been a preoccupation of the highly educated upper classes. Conversely, watching television has, since the 1970s, been more common for working-class and agricultural groups (e.g. Eskola, 1976; Liikkanen, Hanifi and Hannula, 2005; Purhonen *et al.*, 2014). Similarly, tastes in music have been socially stratified (Toiviainen, 1970; Seppänen, 1993). The long history of stable differences between upper-class and lower-class cultural practices suggests that socially mobile people encounter different practices in their origin and destination.

Finland can be described as a middle-class society. Historically, Finland experienced a fast transformation from an agriculture-dominated economy to an industrial and service-based economy in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Vartia and Ylä-Anttila, 2005). As one consequence, the share of middle-class occupations increased, first to about a third of all occupations until the end of the 1970s (Alestalo, 1985), and then becoming the most typical occupational class from the beginning of the 2000s onwards (Blom and Melin, 2014). The core of the middle class has consisted of higher-educated professionals working in administration, trade, public, and private services, and later also in information technology (Alestalo, 1985; Erola, 2010; Blom and Melin, 2014). According to Blom and Melin (2014), the traits of middle-class lifestyles and values dominate contemporary Finnish society, with most Finns having identified themselves as middle class for quite some time (also Erola, 2010; Kahma, 2010). These accounts not only point to the 'middle-classification' of Finnish society in recent decades but also reveal that the middle class has a certain gravitational pull in terms of identification in Finland. Whether this pull applies to cultural practices is not yet known.

Thus, focusing on the transition to the middle class in the Finnish context offers an interesting topic. This focus means that our analysis will cover only upward mobility: catching the downwardly mobile offspring of the small Finnish upper-most social class is not feasible here. Studying the upwardly mobile middle-class-destined Finns leads us to specify our research questions and hypotheses.

The research questions and hypotheses

Our general research questions are as follows: Which cultural practices, if any, are influenced by upward social mobility from the working class to the middle class in contemporary Finland? Do educational and occupational mobility have similar effects? We investigate these questions by positing two sets of hypotheses:

H1a: Upwardly mobile individuals retain the cultural practices they have adopted at their social origin. (Reproduction hypothesis.)

H1b: Upwardly mobile individuals gravitate towards middle-class cultural practices in all their cultural practices. (Uniform mobility hypothesis.)

H1c: Upwardly mobile individuals gravitate towards middle-class practices only in some cultural practices. (Non-uniform mobility hypothesis.)

H2a: Educational mobility and occupational mobility are similarly associated with the cultural practices. (Concordance hypothesis.)

H2b: Educational mobility and occupational mobility are differently associated with at least some cultural practices. (Divergence hypothesis.)

Data and variables

Data

Our data came from two similar, nationally representative Finnish surveys collected by Statistics Finland in 2007 and 2018 (excluding the Aland Islands). The first survey, titled 'Culture and Leisure in Finland, 2007', targeted a random sample of 3,000 Finns aged 18–74, with a response rate of 46.3 per cent (N = 1,388), while the latter, 'Culture and Leisure in Finland, 2018', contacted a random sample of 3,500 Finns (same age range) and had a response rate of 40.7 per cent

(N = 1,425). The surveys included a range of cultural domains in which the respondents were asked about their tastes and participation. Among those domains were reading literature, participating in highbrow activities, television watching habits, music tastes, and food tastes. The surveys also requested the education levels and occupations of the respondents, their fathers and their mothers. Regarding variables of interest, there were no major differences between the survey rounds in the variables' distributions or in their one-to-one associations. We thus merged the data (N = 2,813) to increase the analytical N (see below).

Variables measuring social mobility

In this paper we study both educational and occupational mobility. Respondent's social destination is measured by their current education level and occupational position. To measure respondent's social origin, we use information about both fathers and mothers. An ongoing methodological debate has suggested several ways of combining information about both parents (e.g. Korupp, Ganzeboom and Van Der Lippe, 2002; Beller, 2009; Thaning and Halssten, 2020). In this paper, we focus on respondents whose social origins are 'class-consistent' (Beller, 2009), that is, both parents have the same class, for two reasons. The first is empirical: constructing the educational mobility measure directs us to this focus (see below), and for the logical consistency of our analysis, we do the same for occupational mobility. Secondly, focusing on class-consistent origins better highlights the differences between 'the cores of the classes' (De Graaf, Nieuwbeerta and Heath, 1995: p. 1007), that is, groups of respondents whose destinations are the same as their origins, which, consequently, should make it easier to detect how the mobile differ from the class cores.

The education levels were measured by a seven-point scale, ranging from less than basic to post-graduate university. Transformations of the structure of the Finnish secondary and tertiary education systems in the 1980s and 1990s (Lehtisalo and Raivola, 1999: pp. 139–154; Lampinen, 2003: pp. 87–106) cause intergenerational comparability problems in our survey-based data, so we leave out the old post-secondary education (*opistoaste* in Finnish). Higher education characterizes the Finnish middle class; therefore, we defined the immobile higher educated (IHE) group as individuals and both of their parents having a university education (technically, ISCED 6–8). By contrast, we defined the immobile low-educated (ILE) group as individuals with a secondary education (ISCED 2–3) whose both parents have either a primary or secondary education (ISCED 1–3): we allowed for the parents to have a primary education to account for the education level increase in Finland (Pekkala Kerr and Rinne, 2012). The educationally mobile (UMED) group then consists of individuals with a university education but whose parents have a primary or secondary education. Leaving out the old post-secondary level led to few parent couples having mixed education levels (<8 per cent), so we focus on class-consistent origins. Thus, the educational mobility measure is a three-class nominal variable (Table 1). Through this construction, our educational mobility measure roughly corresponds to Dumais's (2019) measure.

Occupations were requested as open text fields. The responses were coded according to the European classification of occupations 2010 (Statistics Finland, 2011), ranging from 1 to 9 as follows: group 1 = top managers; group 2 = professionals; group 3 = technicians and associate professionals; group 4 = clerical support workers; group 5 = service and sales workers; group 6 = agricultural occupations; and groups 7–9 = various blue-collar occupations, ranging from industry and transport to elementary and unskilled occupations. We combined groups 2, 3, and 4 to represent the middle class and groups 5, 7, 8, and 9 to represent the working class (following Kahma, 2010 and Purhonen *et al.*, 2014). Group 6 was left untouched: agriculture is historically culturally close to the working class (Alestalo, 1985), but an agricultural childhood, when compared to a working-class childhood, has quite different and lasting effects on an individual's lifestyle (e.g. Kortteinen, 1982).

The occupational mobility measure was constructed as follows: The immobile middle class (IMC) comprised individuals and their parents being middle class, whereas the immobile working class (IWC) comprised individuals and both their parents being working class. The separation of working class and agriculture created two upwardly mobile groups: (i) middle-class individuals with working-class parents (UMWC) and (ii) middle-class individuals with agricultural parents (UMAG). The immobile agriculture group was expectedly small and therefore omitted.[1] Thus, the occupational mobility measure is a four-class nominal variable (Table 1).

Table 1 shows that the mobility measures captured only a portion of the entire dataset. While the analytical N decreased, merging the survey rounds ensured that N remained large enough. Notably, the mobility measures captured different subsets of the entire dataset. In the subset where both mobility measures were defined (N = 475), the measures were highly correlated (the gamma coefficient was 0.867).

Variables measuring cultural practices

The cultural practices we used as dependent variables are such that their social stratification in Finland is well known. We used measures for both participation and

Table 1 Educational mobility and occupational mobility measures.

	N	%	Description of the criteria
Educational mobility			
Immobile higher educated (IHE)	146	15.2	Respondent: university educated Parents: university educated
Upwardly mobile (UMED)	337	35.1	Respondent: university educated Parents: primary or secondary level educated
Immobile lower educated (ILE)	476	49.6	Respondent: secondary level educated Parents: primary or secondary level educated
Total	**959**	**100.0**	
Excluded from analysis	1,854		Other combinations: 65.9 per cent of the entire dataset.
Occupational mobility			
Immobile middle class (IMC)	294	25.0	Respondent: middle class Parents: middle class
Upwardly mobile from working class (UMWC)	296	25.2	Respondent: middle class Parents: working class
Upwardly mobile from agriculture (UMAG)	186	15.8	Respondent: middle class Parents: agriculture
Immobile working class (IWC)	400	34.0	Respondent: working class Parents: working class
Total	**1,176**	**100.0**	
Excluded from analysis	1,637		Other combinations: 58.2 per cent of the entire dataset.

taste. The variables are constructed below (statistics in Table 2).

Reading literature

The surveys asked how many books the respondent had read during the past year (open number). The original distribution was heavily positively skewed, and we recoded the variable into a six-point scale.

Highbrow activities

The respondents were asked how often they visit the following: (i) operas, (ii) classical music concerts, (iii) theatres, (iv) art galleries, and (v) museums. The options were: (i) every week; (ii) every month; (iii) a few times a year; (iv) less than a few times a year; and (v) never. To control for outliers, the variables were first recoded into three-point scales (0 = never; 1 = less than a few times a year; 2 = a few times a year or more) and then summed (Cronbach's alpha: 0.814).

Television watching

The respondents were asked how many hours per weekday (excluding weekends) they watch television (open number). The responses were rounded to integers, and responses of more than 5.5 h were lumped together.

Music tastes

The respondents were presented with 13 music genres and asked whether they liked them (a standard five-point Likert scale with a sixth option 'I haven't listened' was used). Principal component analysis (Kaiser normalization, Varimax rotation) was performed, resulting in four musical tastes: highbrow music (comprising opera, classical music, modern jazz, blues, and world music), popular folk (Finnish schlagers, folk, country, and religious), rock (rock and heavy metal), and dance (electro-dance, hip hop, and R&B). As this is a known pattern of contemporary Finnish musical tastes, we composed measures for each taste as a mean score of the genres belonging to a component.

Food tastes

The respondents were presented with nine food items and asked whether they liked them (same answering options as with music). The same procedures of principal component analysis and construction of tastes as means were performed. The resulting three well-known contemporary Finnish food tastes included meat-heavy (chateaubriand, Karelian stew, and Wienerschnitzel), light-ethnic (Greek salad, Chinese, and sushi), and fast food (pizza and hamburger).

Altogether, we had ten variables for Finnish cultural practices, three for activities, four for musical tastes, and three for food tastes. Research (Purhonen,

Table 2 Distributions and descriptive statistics for the cultural practice variables

	Subset for educational mobility analysis		Subset for occupational mobility analysis		Entire dataset	
Reading literature	**%**	***N***	**%**	***N***	**%**	***N***
0 books (within last year)	11.5	94	11.2	111	11.1	258
1–2 books	21.3	174	21.5	213	21.2	492
3–5 books	21.8	178	20.8	206	22.7	526
6–10 books	19.6	160	19.7	195	18.3	426
11–20 books	11.7	96	13.5	134	13.2	306
21 or more books	14.2	116	13.3	132	13.5	314
Total	100.0	818	100.0	991	100.0	2322
	Mean	**Std. dev.**	**Mean**	**Std. dev.**	**Mean**	**Std. dev.**
Highbrow activities (annual visiting intensity)	3.86	2.558	4.06	2.556	3.91	2.575
Television watching (hours watched per day)	2.12	1.283	2.29	1.300	2.28	1.334
Liking highbrow music	0.03	0.822	0.08	0.811	0.06	0.806
Liking popular folk	0.20	0.812	0.33	0.798	0.29	0.824
Liking rock	0.55	0.993	0.47	0.990	0.47	1.018
Liking dance	–0.04	0.960	–0.19	0.954	–0.12	0.977
Liking meat-heavy food	1.14	0.822	1.16	0.811	1.16	0.809
Liking light-ethnic food	0.97	0.779	0.99	0.782	0.98	0.783
Liking fast food	1.13	0.724	1.05	0.754	1.05	0.762

Note: All music and food tastes have an interval range [–2, 2], where –2 = dislikes a lot; –1 = dislikes a little; 0 = no like nor dislike; 1 = likes a little; 2 = likes a lot.

Gronow and Rahkonen, 2009; Purhonen *et al.*, 2014; Purhonen and Gronow, 2014; Lindblom and Mustonen, 2015; Purhonen and Heikkilä, 2017) has shown the following: (i) reading more literature is typical for the higher social strata (whereas the lower strata read less); (ii) highbrow activities are typical of the upper strata (others rarely participate); and (iii) watching more television per day is more common to the lower strata. For musical tastes, (iv) highbrow music is liked by the upper but not by the lower strata, whereas (v) popular folk is the opposite. Rock (vi) and dance (vii) are stratified by age but not necessarily by socio-economic factors. Finally, (viii) meat-heavy food is liked more by the lower than the upper strata, whereas (ix) light-ethnic food is the opposite. Fast food (x) is influenced mostly by age and not necessarily by socio-economic factors.

Methods

We used multiple ordinary least squares regression (Cohen *et al.*, 2003; Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). We controlled for gender, age, and survey round. Because education level explains both occupational mobility and cultural practices, in occupational mobility analysis we controlled for the respondent's education (dichotomized as: university vs. primary or secondary level). See Appendix for the controls' statistics.

Results

The results of the multiple regression are in Tables 3–5, where we report the unstandardized coefficients with confidence intervals and the standardized beta coefficients. Overall, the tables show that reading literature, participation in highbrow activities and liking highbrow music and light-ethnic food are positively associated with higher education and middle-class occupation, whereas watching television and liking popular folk music and meat-heavy food are negatively associated with higher education and middle-class occupation. Thus, the general picture corresponds to the literature on Finnish cultural consumption. Gender and age also show known associations with cultural practices. We henceforth focus on the mobility measures.

Table 3 shows that reading literature was tied more to the respondent's education level than to their social mobility: for educational mobility, both higher-educated groups (IHE, UMED) tended to read more than the immobile lower-educated (ILE) reference group (no difference between IHE and UMED) but, in the

Table 3 Multiple regression analysis of the associations of respondent's educational and occupational upward mobility with reading literature, participating in highbrow activities, and television watching (with controls): ordinary least squares coefficients

Educational mobility models	Reading literature: six-point scale			Highbrow activities: annual visiting intensity			Television watching: hours watched per weekday		
	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta
Educational mobility (ILE = 0)									
UMED	0.717***	[0.492; 0.942]	0.223	1.601***	[1.288; 1.915]	0.300	−0.454***	[−0.629; −0.279]	−0.170
IHE	0.855***	[0.551; 1.158]	0.199	3.247***	[2.823; 3.672]	0.451	−0.645***	[−0.882; −0.408]	−0.179
Controls									
Age	0.016***	[0.009; 0.023]	0.157	0.056***	[0.047; 0.065]	0.337	0.020***	[0.015; 0.026]	0.245
Gender (man = 0)									
Woman	0.361***	[0.151; 0.571]	0.114	0.747***	[0.461; 1.033]	0.145	0.128	[−0.032; 0.288]	0.050
Survey round (2007 = 0)									
2018	−0.649***	[−0.858; −0.440]	−0.205	−0.405**	[−0.690; −0.121]	−0.079	−0.183*	[−0.342; −0.024]	−0.071
Constant	1.440***	[1.056; 1.824]		0.060	[−0.457; 0.577]		1.492***	[1,204; 1.780]	
Model information	N = 814; R^2 (adj.) = 0.113			N = 928; R^2 (adj.) = 0.283			N = 924; R^2 (adj.) = 0.114		
Occupational mobility models	**Reading literature: six-point scale**			**Highbrow activities: annual visiting intensity**			**Television watching: hours watched per weekday**		
	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta
Occupational mobility (IWC = 0)									
UMWC	0.047	[−0.284; 0.379]	0.013	0.654**	[0.203; 1.105]	0.107	−0.098	[−0.346; 0.149]	−0.033
UMAG	0.275	[−0.131; 0.681]	0.056	0.538	[−0.010; 1.086]	0.067	−0.204	[−0.513; 0.104]	−0.050
IMC	0.327	[−0.011; 0.665]	0.096	1.876***	[1.409; 2.343]	0.327	−0.302*	[−0.558; −0.045]	−0.106
Controls									
Education (lower education = 0)									
Higher education	0.667***	[0.379; 0.956]	0.214	1.385***	[0.987; 1.783]	0.269	−0.424***	[−0.643; −0.204]	−0.166
Age	0.013***	[0.006; 0.021]	0.132	0.044***	[0.034; 0.055]	0.267	0.023***	[0.017; 0.029]	0.283
Gender (man = 0)									
Woman	0.427***	[0.206; 0.648]	0.134	0.923***	[0.623; 1.222]	0.176	0.07	[−0.095; 0.235]	0.027
Survey round (2007 = 0)									
2018	−0.491***	[−0.709; −0.274]	−0.156	−0.165	[−0.458; 0.128]	−0.032	−0.048	[−0.211; 0.114]	−0.019
Constant	1.276***	[0.857; 1.695]		0.050	[−0.513; 0.613]		1.454***	[1.142; 1.765]	
Model information	N = 751; $R2$ (adj.) = 0.116			N = 850; $R2$ (adj.) = 0.308			N = 845; R2 (adj.) = 0.152		

*: $P < 0.05$; **: $P < 0.01$; ***: $P < 0.001$.
Control variables: Age is continuous, all other controls are categorical 0/1-dummies.
Acronyms: IHE = Immobile Higher Educated; UMED = Upwardly Mobile from lower to higher EDucation; ILE = Immobile Lower Educated; IMC = Immobile Middle Class; UMWC = Upwardly Mobile to middle class originating from Working Class; UMAG = Upwardly Mobile to middle class originating from AGriculture; IWC = Immobile Working Class.

Table 4 Multiple regression analysis of the associations of respondent's educational and occupational upward mobility with musical tastes (with controls): ordinary least squares coefficients

Educational mobility models	Liking highbrow music: interval [–2, 2]			Liking popular folk music: interval [–2, 2]		
	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta
Educational mobility (ILE = 0)						
UMED	0.340***	[0.230; 0.449]	0.198	–0.148**	[–0.250; –0.046]	–0.087
IHE	0.678***	[0.531; 0.825]	0.294	–0.248***	[–0.387; –0.110]	–0.109
Controls						
Age	0.015***	[0.012; 0.018]	0.277	0.024***	[0.021; 0.027]	0.448
Gender (man = 0)						
Woman	0.205***	[0.105; 0.305]	0.124	0.239***	[0.145; 0.332]	0.146
Survey round (2007 = 0)						
2018	–0.026	[–0.125; 0.074]	–0.016	–0.169***	[–0.262; –0.076]	–0.104
Constant	–0.963***	[–1.143; –0.783]		–0.826***	[–0.995; –0.658]	
Model information		N = 937; $R2$ (adj.) = 0.149			N = 939; R2 (adj.) = 0.234	
	Liking rock music: interval [–2, 2]			**Liking dance music: interval [–2, 2]**		
	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta
Educational mobility (ILE = 0)						
UMED	–0.030	[–0.162; 0.101]	–0.015	–0.078	[–0.206; 0.049]	–0.039
IHE	–0.221*	[–0.399; –0.044]	–0.079	–0.087	[–0.260; 0.086]	–0.032
Controls						
Age	–0.025***	[–0.029; –0.021]	–0.392	–0.021***	[–0.025; –0.018]	–0.343
Gender (man = 0)						
Woman	–0.349***	[–0.469; –0.229]	–0.174	0.245***	[0.128; 0.361]	0.127
Survey round (2007 = 0)						
2018	0.158**	[0.039; 0.278]	0.080	0.423***	[0.308; 0.539]	0.221
Constant	1.850***	[1.635; 2.066]		0.598***	[0.388; 0.807]	
Model information		N = 934; $R2$ (adj.) = 0.159			N = 918; $R2$ (adj.) = 0.164	
Occupational mobility models	**Liking highbrow music: interval [–2, 2]**			**Liking popular folk music: interval [–2, 2]**		
	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta
Occupational mobility (IWC = 0)						
UMWC	0.067	[–0.089; 0.223]	0.035	–0.038	[–0.178; 0.103]	–0.020
UMAG	0.068	[–0.123; 0.258]	0.027	0.177*	[0.006; 0.348]	0.071
IMC	0.341***	[0.179; 0.503]	0.188	–0.151*	[–0.296; –0.006]	–0.085

Table 4. Continued

Educational mobility models	Liking highbrow music: interval [−2, 2]			Liking popular folk music: interval [−2, 2]		
	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta
Controls						
Education (lower education = 0)						
Higher education	0.345***	[0.207; 0.482]	0.212	−0.121	[−0.245; 0.004]	−0.076
Age	0.014***	[0.010; 0.018]	0.267	0.024***	[0.021; 0.028]	0.472
Gender (man = 0)						
Woman	0.204***	[0.100; 0.308]	0.123	0.156**	[0.063; 0.249]	0.096
Survey round (2007 = 0)						
2018	−0.121*	[−0.223; −0.019]	−0.074	−0.157***	[−0.249; −0.066]	−0.099
Constant	−0.924***	[−1.118; −0.729]		−0.798***	[−0.973; −0.623]	
Model information		*N* = 856; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.163			*N* = 866; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.290	
	Liking rock music: interval [−2, 2]			**Liking dance music: interval [−2, 2]**		
	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta
Occupational mobility (IWC = 0)						
UMWC	0.064	[−0.129; 0.257]	0.028	−0.110	[−0.300; 0.080]	−0.048
UMAG	−0.069	[−0.305; 0.167]	−0.022	−0.051	[−0.284; 0.182]	−0.017
IMC	−0.050	[−0.249; 0.150]	−0.023	−0.041	[−0.238; 0.155]	−0.019
Controls						
Education (lower education = 0)						
Higher education	−0.071	[−0.241; 0.099]	−0.036	−0.041	[−0.209; 0.127]	−0.021
Age	−0.022***	[−0.026; −0.017]	−0.339	−0.020***	[−0.024; −0.015]	−0.314
Gender (man = 0)						
Woman	−0.366***	[−0.494; −0.238]	−0.182	0.168**	[0.042; 0.295]	0.086
Survey round (2007 = 0)						
2018	0.164*	[0.038; 0.289]	0.083	0.371***	[0.247; 0.496]	0.193
Constant	1.707***	[1.468; 1.946]		0.547***	[0.308; 0.785]	
Model information		*N* = 853; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.140			*N* = 842; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.125	

*: $P < 0.05$; **: $P < 0.01$; ***: $P < 0.001$.
Control variables: Age is continuous, all other controls are categorical 0/1-dummies.
Acronyms: IHE = Immobile Higher Educated; UMED = Upwardly Mobile from lower to higher EDucation; ILE = Immobile Lower Educated; IMC = Immobile Middle Class; UMWC = Upwardly Mobile to middle class originating from Working Class; UMAG = Upwardly Mobile to middle class originating from AGriculture; IWC = Immobile Working Class.

Table 5 Multiple regression analysis of the associations of respondent's educational and occupational upward mobility with food tastes (with controls): ordinary least squares coefficients

Educational mobility models	Liking meat-heavy food: interval [−2, 2]			Liking light-ethnic food: interval [−2, 2]			Liking fast food: interval [−2, 2]		
	B	95% CI	beta	*B*	95% CI	beta	*B*	95% CI	beta
Educational mobility (ILE = 0)									
UMED	−0.174**	[−0.285; −0.062]	−0.102	0.193***	[0.084; 0.303]	0.119	−0.077	[−0.171; 0.017]	−0.051
IHE	−0.305***	[−0.457; −0.153]	−0.132	0.416***	[0.267; 0.564]	0.190	−0.087	[−0.214; 0.040]	−0.043
Controls									
Age	0.008***	[0.004; 0.011]	0.146	−0.002	[−0.005; 0.001]	−0.042	−0.020***	[−0.023; −0.017]	−0.426
Gender (man = 0)									
Woman	−0.365***	[−0.468; −0.263]	−0.222	0.242***	[0.142; 0.343]	0.154	−0.135**	[−0.221; −0.049]	−0.093
Survey round (2007 = 0)									
2018	−0.171***	[−0.273; −0.070]	−0.105	0.072	[−0.028; 0.172]	0.046	0.252***	[0.167; 0.338]	0.175
Constant	1.185***	[1.001; 1.369]		0.761***	[0.578; 0.943]		2.016***	[1.861; 2.172]	
Model information		*N* = 918; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.115			*N* = 910; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.069			*N* = 922; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.187	
Occupational mobility models	**Liking meat-heavy food: interval [−2, 2]**			**Liking light-ethnic food: interval [−2, 2]**			**Liking fast food: interval [−2, 2]**		
	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta	B	95% CI	beta
Occupational mobility (IWC = 0)									
UMWC	−0.053	[−0.213; 0.107]	−0.028	0.118	[−0.046; 0.282]	0.063	−0.103	[−0.248; 0.041]	−0.057
UMAG	−0.034	[−0.228; 0.161]	−0.013	−0.012	[−0.213; 0.188]	−0.005	−0.139	[−0.314; 0.036]	−0.058
IMC	−0.259**	[−0.425; −0.093]	−0.142	0.165	[−0.005; 0.335]	0.093	−0.164*	[−0.314; −0.014]	−0.095
Controls									
Education (lower education = 0)									
Higher education	−0.121	[−0.262; 0.020]	−0.074	0.155*	[0.010; 0.299]	0.097	−0.113	[−0.241; 0.015]	−0.073
Age	0.009***	[0.005; 0.013]	0.174	0.000	[−0.004; 0.004]	−0.002	−0.021***	[−0.025; −0.017]	−0.424
Gender (man = 0)									
Woman	−0.393***	[−0.499; −0.287]	−0.237	0.286***	[0.177; 0.395]	0.177	−0.133**	[−0.229; −0.037]	−0.085
Survey round (2007 = 0)									
2018	−0.206***	[−0.310; −0.102]	−0.127	0.071	[−0.035; 0.178]	0.045	0.337***	[0.243; 0.430]	0.219
Constant	1.203***	[1.004; 1.403]		0.636***	[0.430; 0.841]		2.124***	[1.944; 2.304]	
Model information		*N* = 840; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.146			*N* = 833; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.059			*N* = 846; *R*2 (adj.) = 0.215	

*: $P < 0.05$; **: $P < 0.01$; ***: $P < 0.001$.
Control variables: Age is continuous, all other controls are categorical 0/1-dummies.
Acronyms: IHE = Immobile Higher Educated; UMED = Upwardly Mobile from lower to higher EDucation; ILE = Immobile Lower Educated; IMC = Immobile Middle Class; UMWC = Upwardly Mobile to middle class originating from Working Class; UMAG = Upwardly Mobile to middle class originating from AGriculture; IWC = Immobile Working Class.

occupational mobility model, occupational mobility was not associated with reading when controlling for the respondent's education. Regarding our first hypotheses, we observed only the educational mobility model and concluded that the educationally upwardly mobile (UMED) group gravitated towards the immobile higher-educated (IHE) group. This evidences against the reproduction hypothesis (H1a) and aligns with the mobility hypotheses (H1b, H1c). Because mobility measures have different associations with reading, results suggest rejecting the concordance hypothesis (H2a) and accepting the divergence hypothesis (H2b).

Participation in highbrow activities differentiates the mobility groups clearly: for educational mobility, the immobile higher-educated (IHE) group was the most likely to participate, the immobile lower-educated (ILE) group was the least likely, and the upwardly mobile (UMED) group was in between (all differences significant). Similarly, occupationally the immobile middle-class (IMC) group was the most likely to participate, followed by the group of upwardly mobile originating from working class (UMWC). The other mobile group originating from agriculture (UMAG) did not differ from either the immobile working class (IWC)—the most passive group—or the upwardly mobile originating from the working class (UMWC). In terms of the confidence intervals, the agriculture-originated upwardly mobile (UMAG) group was somewhere between the upwardly mobile originating from working class (UMWC) and the immobile working class (IWC). Thus, occupational mobility might have a stronger influence on the working-class originated upwardly mobile (UMWC) group than on the agriculture-originated upwardly mobile (UMAG) group. These results evidence against the reproduction hypothesis (H1a) and align with the mobility hypotheses (H1b, H1c). Moreover, both educational and occupational mobility seemed to have a similar pattern of associations, aligning with the concordance hypothesis (H2a). Overall, upper-class origin—in both mobility measures—seemed to be the most powerful factor predicting participation in highbrow activities.

As for television, higher education decreased the amount of watching: both the immobile higher-educated (IHE) and educationally upwardly mobile (UMED) groups differed from the immobile lower-educated (ILE) but not from each another. The strong association of higher education was also seen in the model for occupational mobility. Observing occupational mobility, the immobile middle class (IMC) differed from the immobile working class (IWC), while both upwardly mobile groups (UMWC and UMAG) were in between and indistinguishable from either immobile group. Thus, the reproduction hypothesis (H1a) is rejected, and the mobility hypotheses (H1b, H1c) survive. Furthermore, for both educational and occupational mobility, the upwardly mobile groups gravitated towards the immobile upper groups, in line with the concordance hypothesis (H2a).

Table 4 shows the results for music tastes. Liking highbrow music was clearly associated with educational and occupational factors. For educational mobility, the upwardly mobile (UMED) group gravitated towards the immobile higher-educated (IHE) group and away from the immobile lower-educated (ILE) group (all differences significant), just as with participation in highbrow activities. Regarding occupational mobility, the immobile middle-class (IMC) group differed from the other groups, and the mobile groups did not gravitate towards the immobile middle class (IMC) (small overlap of the confidence intervals). For highbrow activities, occupational mobility had a stronger association in the case of the upwardly mobile originating from working class (UMWC) group compared to the agriculture-originated upwardly mobile (UMAG) group, but there was no difference between the groups regarding liking highbrow music. Overall, higher education seemed to be the most potent predictor. Regarding our hypotheses, educational mobility and occupational mobility have different association patterns (reject H2a, retain H2b), and educational mobility lent support to the mobility hypotheses (H1b, H1c) but not to the reproduction hypothesis (H1a), while occupational mobility, conversely, rejects the mobility hypotheses and supports the reproduction hypothesis.

Liking popular folk music follows an inverse pattern compared to liking highbrow music: for educational mobility, the immobile lower-educated (ILE) group liked popular folk the most and the immobile higher-educated (IHE) group the least, while the upwardly mobile (UMED) group were close and indistinguishable from the immobile higher-educated (IHE) group. Occupational mobility was also associated with liking popular folk: the immobile middle-class (IMC) group liked popular folk less than the other groups, and the agriculture-originated upwardly mobile (UMAG) group liked it the most. What is exceptional is that while the working-class originated upwardly mobile (UMWC) group gravitated slightly towards the immobile middle-class (IMC) group, the agriculture-originated upwardly mobile (UMAG) group diverged away from the immobile middle class (IMC). The reason is that we lacked a group of immobile agricultural occupations in our mobility measure (see above): popular folk was liked far more by agricultural people than people in other occupations, and the mean for the agriculture-originated upwardly mobile (UMAG) group (0.69) was approximately the same as the mean for people in agricultural occupations in the entire dataset

(0.70) or the mean for the immobile agricultural group (0.83). Knowing this, Table 4 shows that the agriculture-originated upwardly mobile (UMAG) group did not gravitate towards the immobile middle-class (IMC) group but retained their popular folk preference. In sum, the occupationally mobile groups did not gravitate towards the immobile middle-class (IMC) group in liking popular folk, aligning with the reproduction hypothesis (H1a). In contrast, the educationally upwardly mobile (UMED) group gravitated towards the immobile higher-educated (IHE) group, in line with mobility hypotheses (H1b, H1c). Overall, this suggests rejection of the concordance hypothesis (H2a) in favour of the divergence hypothesis (H2b). Liking rock or dance were not associated with either educational or occupational mobility (nor education or occupation), showcasing that not all tastes are stratified according to class or mobility.[2]

Table 5 shows the results for food tastes. For the meat-heavy food, the immobile higher-educated (IHE) group liked it significantly less than the immobile lower-educated (ILE) group, and the upwardly mobile (UMED) group was located in between, being indistinguishable from the immobile higher-educated (IHE) group. The same pattern was observed for occupational mobility, although the difference between the immobile middle class (IMC) and the mobile groups (UMWC, UMAG) seemed more pronounced, and the mobile groups did not significantly differ from the immobile working class (IWC). This aligns with the mobility hypotheses (H1b, H1c) and the concordance hypothesis (H2a). Liking light-ethnic food was associated with educational but not occupational mobility. The immobile higher-educated (IHE) group liked light-ethnic food the most and significantly more than the immobile lower-educated (ILE) group, while the upwardly mobile (UMED) group was again in between and indistinguishable from the immobile higher-educated (IHE) group. Thus, educational mobility suggests cultural mobility (H1b, H1c), and the difference between the association patterns of mobility measures aligns with divergence hypothesis (H2b). Lastly, liking fast food was not associated with educational mobility, but its association with occupational mobility suggested cultural mobility (H1b, H1c), with the mobile groups gravitating towards the immobile middle-class (IMC) group in disliking fast food. The difference in the associations between the mobility measures aligned with the divergence hypothesis (H2b).

We summarize our results in Table 6. Overall, the reproduction hypothesis only survived in musical preferences and only in terms of occupational mobility. The mobility hypotheses prevailed in most practices, and educational mobility seemed to be a key factor in cultural mobility. While analysing individual cultural

Table 6 Summary: hypotheses in the light of the results

	Participation			Musical tastes (liking)				Food tastes (liking)		
	Reading literature	Highbrow activities	Television watching	Highbrow music	Popular folk	Rock	Dance	Meat-heavy food	Light-Ethnic food	Fast food
Cultural reproduction hypothesis (H1a)				O	O	–	–			
Cultural mobility hypothesis (H1b or H1c)	E	E, O	E, O	E	E	–	–	E, O	E	O
Concordance hypothesis (H2a)		X	X			–	–	X		
Divergence hypothesis (H2b)	X			X	X	–	–		X	X

Abbreviations: E = educational mobility supports hypothesis; O = occupational mobility supports hypothesis; X = hypothesis supported; – = no effect.

practices provided little information about whether upward mobility had a uniform impact on all cultural practices (H1b) or not (H1c), Table 6 offers an overview. Support for the reproduction hypothesis in musical preferences (and no associations with rock or dance) allowed us to conclude that mobility is associated with some practices but not all in a uniform way. Thus, we rejected the uniformity hypothesis (H1b) and retained the hypothesis (H1c) that upward mobility influences practices in a non-uniform way.

Finally, Table 6 shows that the concordance hypothesis (H2a) was rejected in all but three cases: participating in highbrow activities, watching television, and liking a meat-heavy diet. Conversely, the divergence hypothesis (H2b) largely prevailed, underscoring that educational mobility and occupational mobility are differently associated with cultural practices.

Discussion and conclusions

We set out to study the effects of social mobility on cultural practices and focused on upward mobility from the working class to the middle class in Finland. We operationalized social mobility through both educational and occupational mobility and studied their associations with reading literature, participating in highbrow activities, watching television, and musical and food tastes. We found that social mobility is associated with cultural mobility in some cultural practices but not in all, that is, association is not uniform across practices. Moreover, educational mobility and occupational mobility typically have different associations with cultural practices.

In general, our results mainly concur with the cultural mobility theory and the status theory as far as the upwardly mobile groups are concerned: for both educational and occupational mobility, the upwardly mobile groups were closer to the practices typical to their destination in the domains of highbrow participation, watching television, and disliking meat-heavy food. Moreover, in terms of educational mobility the upwardly mobile group was closer to the immobile higher educated group in the domains of reading literature, liking highbrow music, disliking popular folk music, and liking light-ethnic food. While it is hardly news that the upwardly mobile adopt the valued practices of the higher-status destination group, our results concerning television, popular folk and meat-heavy food suggest that the newcomers to higher-class destination also shun practices considered questionable among the destination group (see also Van Eijck, 1999; Curl, Lareau and Wu, 2018). If we follow Bourdieu's (1984: 56) thought that 'tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by (…) the tastes of others', then our results support the inclusion of popular, 'illegitimate' and 'banal' cultural domains in the future analyses of cultural reproduction and mobility: without knowledge of culture that gets abandoned our understanding of cultural hierarchies and cultural socialization remains incomplete.

Our results also shed some light to the question of the 'depth' of cultural socialization of the socially mobile: that is, does it influence the deep-level dispositions and stable preferences, or are the effects limited to the level of public performances? From the highbrow activities we see that mobility is associated with public practices; but mobility is equally associated with television watching, and educational mobility, moreover, is associated with reading literature and two musical tastes. That is, mobility is associated with private practices and preferences too. While we cannot ascertain whether mobility effects are stronger for public practices than for private practices (Daenekindt and Roose, 2013b), it certainly seems that cultural socialization that occurs in concert with social mobility is not limited to public performances only.

Another debate within the status theory that our results feed is the question of symmetricity of mobility effects. The occupational mobility analysis shows that the upwardly mobile group originating from agriculture participated less in highbrow activities and liked popular folk music more than the upwardly mobile group originating from working class. This showcases asymmetric mobility effects. Contemporary cultural mobility research has often studied global mobility effects (e.g. Daenekindt and Roose, 2014; Coulangeon, 2015; Chan and Turner, 2017), but our findings suggest that more nuanced analyses could be the next step in this line of research. Cultural practices vary not only according to class but also according to class fractions (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Van Eijck and Mommaas, 2004; Purhonen *et al.*, 2014), and origins and destinations may alter the mobility effects in ways that the global-level analysis leaves hidden. For example, conceivably highbrow culture is more valued in culture-laden occupations such as teaching and creative industries (Koppman, 2016) compared to, for example, information technology and security business administration (Erickson, 1996). Thus, one might expect stronger concordance in the effects of educational and occupational mobility when studying the culture-laden occupations. On the other hand, the education system is not monolithic either, but the fields of study may operate as diverse destinations. In this spirit, one shortcoming of our study is that we could not distinguish between fractions of origins or destinations, either professional fractions or fields of study within education. Such a study remains to be conducted.

Following the idea that the education system and the occupational field may adhere to different

cultural hierarchies, we operationalized social mobility through both educational and occupational mobility. Unsurprisingly, they have different associations with cultural practices. Rather, the concordance in highbrow activities, television watching, and liking meat-heavy food might be surprising. One interpretation could be that participating in highbrow activities, watching less television, and liking less meat-heavy food are widely recognized core features of the (Finnish) middle-class lifestyle so that socialization to them occurs both within the education system and after graduation in middle-class employment. The divergence in other practices (reading literature, highbrow music, light-ethnic food) would then suggest that these practices have a status value worth acquiring within the education system (and for the educated) but not in employment (in line with Erickson, 1996). If so, then the general strategy of devising two measures for social mobility simultaneously could help to identify those cultural practices that enjoy the most recognized and valued status in a society.

The limitations of our study follow from our focus in the transition to the middle class and our use of cross-sectional survey data. Regarding the latter, cross-sectional data do not allow causal inference. Because the link between social mobility and cultural practices can clearly operate in both directions—mobility may influence practices, and practices can foster mobility—with cross-sectional data we could only ascertain associations that, according to Daenekindt and Roose (2013b) is typical for this tradition. However, we know no study using robust long-term panel data in this area. Another limitation follows from our focus in the middle class and cores of the classes. First, due to this focus, we are unable to say anything about the other movements in the mobility table: an interesting topic would be, for example, mobility from agriculture to working class (Kortteinen, 1982), but this is left for upcoming analyses. Similarly, we left individuals with mixed-class origins for upcoming analyses. Second, like Dumais (2019), we could not analyze downward mobility; but downward mobility was uncommon in our data anyway. To capture downwardly mobile individuals, we would likely need surveys that oversample or specifically target the lower classes and their cultural practices, which is another niche that lacks studies. Despite these limitations, we believe that this study offers accumulating knowledge to the literature.

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Data availability statement

Part of the data (the 2007 dataset) underlying this article are available in the Finnish Social Science Data Archives at https://services.fsd.tuni.fi/catalogue/FSD2953?study_language=en, and can be accessed with an identification number FSD2953 (visited: 13.10.2022). The rest of the data (2018) will be available from the Archives after an embargo in 2023 (identification number not available yet).

Notes

1. The differences between the immobile agricultural group (IAG; $N = 59$) and the IWC were that IAG liked popular folk substantially more and rock less than the IWC, but their other cultural practices were similar.
2. Association of educational mobility with liking rock is spurious (confounded by age).

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Author biography

Jarmo Kallunki is a doctoral researcher currently working in Tampere University (Finland) and preparing his doctoral dissertation under the supervision of prof. Semi Purhonen. His dissertation addresses cultural reproduction, cultural mobility and intergenerational transmission of cultural practices in Finland.

Appendix

Table A1 Distributions and descriptive statistics for control variables

	Subset for educational mobility analysis		Subset for occupational mobility analysis		Entire data	
	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*
Gender						
Male	44.5	425	39.2	459	42.7	1,198
Female	55.5	530	60.8	713	57.3	1,610
Age (mean, std. dev.)	44.89	15.404	49.23	15.205	48.08	16.024
Survey round						
2007	47.5	456	49.4	581	49.3	1,388
2018	52.5	503	50.6	595	50.7	1,425
Respondent's education level						
Higher education	50.4	483	49.8	442	44.1	961
Lower education	49.6	476	50.2	446	55.9	1,217