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The effects of parents' lifestyle on their children's status attainment and lifestyle in the Netherlands

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ABSTRACT

We examine the extent to which parents affect their adult children's status attainment through parental lifestyle during their offspring's childhood. We also consider whether parents can be said to have 'passed on' their lifestyle to their adult children. Reflecting the Bourdieusian distinction between economic and cultural capital, we characterize the economic and cultural aspects of both parents' and children's lifestyles in order to better understand the pattern of lifestyle transmission and reproduction. Our paper does not try to explore cultural taste and consumption in an inductive fashion, rather it develops hypotheses from Bourdieu's theory and tests these in an analytical design through structural equation modeling (SEM).

The data, collected in 2000, refer to a sample of 399 young Dutch adults aged between 20 and 40 who were interviewed about a broad range of their lifestyle characteristics, derived from Bourdieu's 'Distinction'. Their parents reported retrospectively on the prevailing lifestyle of the parental home at the time their child was around 12 years of age.

We conclude that parents pass their lifestyle on to their children. Children raised by parents who had a more strongly culturally oriented lifestyle have, as adults, a more strongly culturally oriented lifestyle themselves, and those raised by parents who had a lifestyle that was oriented more strongly towards luxury have as adults a more strongly luxury-oriented lifestyle. We also find that both the cultural and economic dimensions of parents' lifestyle bring about relative advantage in terms of the education, occupation, and income of their adult children. As such, the cultural and economic dimensions of parents' lifestyle are mechanisms by which parents pass on their social status to their children. We also find some indications that the cultural status dimension is more important than the economic dimension in the intergenerational transmission of social status.

1. Introduction

In his book *Distinction* (1984[1979]), Bourdieu describes how in music, art, clothing, food, drinks, appearance, and leisure activities, the same styles are often expressed, and how these patterns of taste or lifestyles follow from one's position in 'social space'. In social space lower and higher status groups are positioned hierarchically from bottom to top, and within the higher status groups also a horizontal division is made between the financially well off and the cultural and intellectual elite. This way, Bourdieu presents a two-dimensional status-hierarchy of social positions and, accordingly, taste patterns and lifestyles, defined by the amount and composition of economic and cultural capital.

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Bourdieu presumes that people's taste and lifestyle find their origin early in life, during socialization in the parental family, and argues that these early developed tastes and lifestyles lead to advantages or disadvantages in status attainment, first in education, later in occupation, partner selection, and social networks (see also Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990[1977]; Bourdieu, Darbel, & Schnapper, 1991 [1969]). Bourdieu proposes that parents' tastes and lifestyles are an important mechanism in the reproduction process.

1.1. Parental lifestyle as a key mechanism in reproduction

In the literature on social stratification many researchers have been inspired by Bourdieu's proposition. One line of literature has studied on the effect of (early acquired) cultural capital on educational attainment, starting with DiMaggio's (1982) research in the United States, where high school students endowed with cultural capital were found to receive higher grades than other students, although their grades did not vary that much with family social background. A few years later, De Graaf (1986) found that the family's reading climate increased their offspring's education. Even though these early studies do not fully support Bourdieu's theory, generally positive effects on children's school outcomes have more recently been associated with parents participation in 'cultured' activities (i.e., Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; De Graaf & De Graaf, 2002; Jæger, 2009; Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010), although some authors suggest that the effect is restricted to the reading climate in the parental family (De Graaf, De Graaf, & Kraaykamp, 2000; Evans, Kelley, Sikora, & Treiman, 2010).

These studies are on the role of cultural capital and parents' cultural lifestyle in the reproduction process only. Only a few studies have examined the effects of economic capital and parents' material lifestyle. De Graaf (1986); De Graaf et al. (2000) and De Graaf and De Graaf (2002) examine the effects of parents' material lifestyle on their children's educational attainment, and find that the economic dimension is not so important in reproduction of education in the Netherlands. Flemmen, Toft, Andersen, Hansen, and Ljunggren, (2017) and Ljunggren (2016) find clear differentiation into cultural and economic orientations of higher status occupations that are steered by parents' cultural and economic orientation, but these studies are not on the role of (parental) lifestyle in the stratification process, which will be the focus of this paper.

Another line of literature has focused on the formation of cultural capital itself, by studying the family influence in cultural participation (i.e. Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002; Yaish & Katz-Gerro, 2012). Here, without any exception, strong similarities are found between parents' and children's cultural participation, unmediated by education. The strong resemblance in lifestyle is not only seen between parents and adolescent children (i.e., Jæger, 2009; Nagel, 2010; Van Wel, Couwenbergh-Soeterboek, Couwenbergh, Ter Bogt, & Raaijmakers, 2006; Willekens & Lievens, 2014), but also between parents and their adult children (i.e., Van Eijck, 1997; Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002; Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010; Li, Savage, & Warde, 2015; Yaish & Katz-Gerro, 2012). For popular culture (popular reading and watching television) similar effects of parental example-setting are also found (Notten, Kraaykamp, & Konig, 2012).

In this line of literature, material aspects of lifestyle and, consequently, the role of economic capital in the reproduction process, have hardly received attention. De Graaf and De Graaf's (1988) study is the only one on the effects of a luxury-oriented lifestyle of the parents on their children's consumption of luxury goods. In this study, no association between the luxury-oriented lifestyles of parents and children was found. This suggests that intergenerational transmission of the economic dimension of lifestyles is less common than it is for cultural dimension. This is a tentative conclusion, however, based on a single study. Also Sullivan (2011), in a literature review on lifestyle transmission from parents to children, concludes that most empirical literature is on cultural consumption and reading, and hardly outside the cultural domain, and not on lifestyles in several domains jointly, as in *Distinction*. Even in the cultural domain she found few studies containing measures of both parents' and children's lifestyles. With respect to other domains, Sullivan (2011) refers to Scheerder et al. (2006) who find intergenerational transmission in sports participation, and to Gerhards and Rössel (2002), who find a relation between healthy food consumption and the consumption of high culture, which is in turn strongly transmitted from parents to children.

Bourdieu's capital composition principle is addressed in many studies that explore dimensions in tastes and lifestyles. Generally, these studies report that tastes are linked to one general dimension of capital, but do not (as clearly) differentiate according to the composition of economic and cultural capital, as suggested in *Distinction* (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Coulangeon & Lemel, 2007; Gayo-Cal, Savage, & Warde, 2006; Kahma & Toikka, 2012; Prieur, Rosenlund, & Skjott-Larsen, 2008; Rankin, Ergin, & Gökşen, 2014; Roose, Van Eijck, & Lievens, 2012; Veenstra, 2015), but see the study of Rosenlund in this volume. This could be because luxury-oriented lifestyle indicators, and indicators of socio-economic position such as income and wealth, have not usually been included in the study design. Moreover, in these studies, the role of parents' lifestyle is generally not addressed. It is hard to find studies on the role of parental lifestyle in the reproduction process that address the capital composition principle.

1.2. Contribution of this paper

Since the amount of economic capital is an important aspect of defining people's position in Bourdieu's social space, and, consequently, the space of lifestyles, in this paper we will contribute to the literature by studying the effects of parents' luxury oriented lifestyle in the reproduction process, next to their culturally oriented lifestyle. We will do so by modelling both reproduction and

lifestyle transmission jointly. Most of the above mentioned studies focus either on the effects of parents' lifestyle on the children's social status position, or on the transmission of lifestyle from parents to children. Only a few studies model these processes simultaneously (Jaeger & Breen, 2016; Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010), yet only for cultural capital. We will also contribute by the research design we use. In most studies information of the parents' lifestyle was obtained by asking respondents retrospectively about their parents cultural behavior. In this paper we will use data in which information of the parents' lifestyle was, though retrospectively, independently collected from the parents, which would reduce any bias in the correlations between parents' and children's characteristics.

To sum up, in this paper, we examine the effects of parental lifestyles on social positions and lifestyles of their grown-up children, thereby including a wider range of activities than cultural taste and participation alone, in particular material aspects of lifestyle and indicators of economic position. Our research questions are:

- To what extent do cultural and economic¹ dimensions of parents' lifestyle affect the economic and cultural dimensions of the social position and lifestyle of their adult children?
- To what extent do cultural and economic dimensions of parents' lifestyle offer an explanation for the relation between parents' social position and the social position of their adult children?
- Is the influence of parents' lifestyle on the social position and lifestyle of their adult children stronger along either one of the two dimensions?

Our data derive from a survey conducted in 2000 of a sample of young adults in the Netherlands. The data set contains material on a broad range of lifestyle features of the young adults and their parents, informed by Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984[1979]). By comparing social position and lifestyle of both parents and their grown-up children we study lifestyle differentiation and social inequality across generations, thereby taking an over-time comparative perspective. In contrast to many studies on lifestyle, we use a theory-testing methodology, actually structural equation modeling (SEM). This method allows modeling the full causal model of reproduction and intergenerational transmission by including direct and indirect effects of the cultural and economic dimensions of parental lifestyle simultaneously. In our modeling strategy we follow a Dutch tradition in which Bourdieu's two-dimensional structure of social stratification is conceptualized as an economic and a cultural hierarchy, and in which parents' lifestyles are studied as an important cause of social inequality (e.g., De Graaf, 1986; De Graaf & De Graaf, 1988; Ganzeboom, 1990; Kraaykamp & Nieuwbeerta, 2000; De Graaf & De Graaf, 2002). Adopting a deductive approach and drawing on Bourdieu, in the next section we develop hypotheses regarding the effects of both the cultural and the economic dimension of parents' lifestyle, on their adult children's social status and cultural and economic dimensions of their lifestyle.

2. Hypotheses

In Bourdieu's model of social structure, there is not only one social status hierarchy that differentiates the higher- from the lower-status groups (Bourdieu, 1984[1979]), but also, within the middle and higher social strata, a horizontal division is present between those who owe their status to their financial resources and property, and those who owe their high status to their education or their artistic orientation. Social positions of high economic status are occupations in the financial sector, such as bankers and owners of large companies: occupations characterized by high earnings, but not necessarily by a high level of education. Occupations with high cultural status are characterized by a high level of education and a focus on information, knowledge and culture; these include scientists, academics, and teachers, and in the cultural sector, artists. Others, such as architects, have both high cultural status and high incomes.

In Bourdieu's view, lifestyles vary according to people's position in social space. Higher social status groups have lifestyles that display their favorable social positions. Their lifestyle choices are based on aesthetic judgements rather than on practical utility alone, as is the case for the lifestyle choices of lower social status groups. The lifestyle of the higher status groups would manifest itself primarily by their positive attitude towards art, but aesthetic judgements also apply to areas such as cooking, personal appearance, and home decor.

Within the middle and higher social status groups, a second lifestyle differentiation occurs (Bourdieu, 1984[1979]). In social status groups that are particularly high in economic status, lifestyles express a taste for *luxury*. Economic wealth would be manifested by expensive choices. In higher cultural status groups, lifestyles would express cultural knowledge and familiarity with highbrow culture. The *culturally oriented* lifestyles of these groups would be more innovative, experimental and also more financially restrained than those of higher economic status groups, reflecting the relative scarcity of economic resources, but also as a reaction against the overt economic consumption of the economic elite.

In Bourdieu's view, these lifestyle differences are grounded in class origins and persist for generations due to the strong intergenerational reproduction of tastes and lifestyles. We therefore expect to find strong intergenerational transmission of parental lifestyle to their adult children, both a culturally oriented and a lifestyle oriented at luxury.

¹ We refer to the cultural and economic dimensions of social position and lifestyles. We use 'culturally oriented' and 'luxury-oriented' to reflect the cultural and economic dimensions of lifestyle, i.e. to what extent the lifestyle is more strongly characterized by luxury or cultural elements.

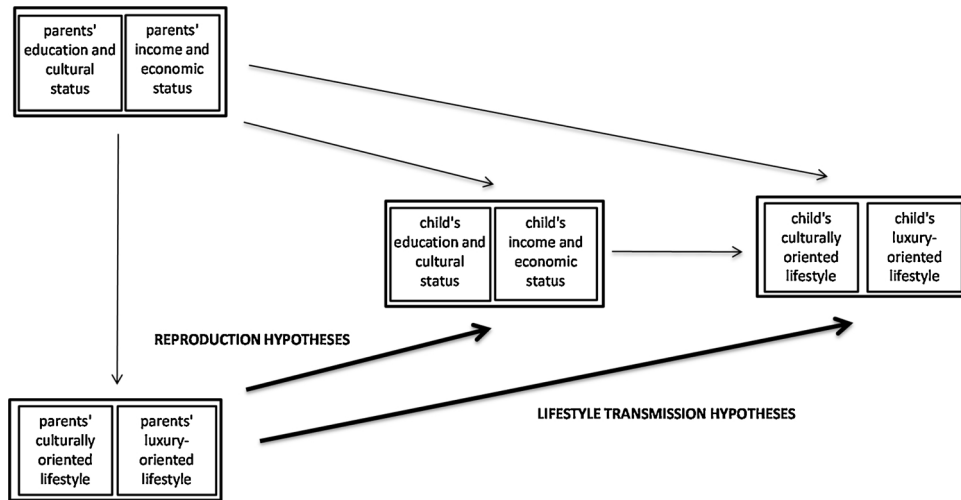


Fig. 1. Theoretical model.

Moreover, higher-status parents would use their lifestyle to help their children attain a similarly high status, first through education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990[1977]). As high-status culture corresponds to what is taught and valued in schools, children raised with highbrow culture in the parental home have an advantage in education. Teachers, as representatives of higher cultural status groups positions, evaluate their students' lifestyles to estimate the future positions they deem appropriate for them, a judgment expressed in the grades they award. As a result, the children of parents with a high cultural status are most successful in school, and consequently move on to higher cultural status positions, as their parents did.

The processes of cultural selection driving educational attainment are assumed to operate this way more generally, for example, in employment and in the selection of a life partner. Social status groups consider the lifestyle of potential new members and evaluate them as fit or unfit for membership of their groups. Where a more culturally oriented parental lifestyle will 'pay off' in education, and in occupations in the cultural field, we expect a luxury-oriented lifestyle to afford social advantages in more economically oriented, commercial occupations, in business and management, and to lead also to higher incomes.

According to Bourdieu, family class origins are so important because tastes and lifestyles are acquired in the parental family during socialization. Whereas in *Distinction* (1984[1979]) Bourdieu argues that family or class origins are important across all life-styles domains, in 'The Love of Art' (Bourdieu et al., 1991 [1969], 65) it is argued that family influences are most strongly visible in cultural knowledge and the appreciation of art. The authors attribute this to the presumed long-lasting, slow and gradual familiarization that is necessary to make the fine distinctions in art appreciation, and to develop the 'right' taste, which could only be developed by socialization in the parental family. This suggests that family influence would be strongest in the cultural dimension of the social space (cultural dominance).

Fig. 1 presents the basic causal model, including the assumed reproduction and lifestyle transmission processes, that are assumed to predominantly operate within the same – cultural and economic – dimension. The model also includes parental social background, which we control in our analyses. The hypotheses are as follows:

On reproduction:

1A: The more strongly *culturally oriented* the parental lifestyle was during socialization, the higher the *education and cultural position* of their adult children will be.

1B: The more strongly the parental lifestyle was *oriented towards luxury* during socialization, the higher the *income and economic position* of their adult children will be.

1C: Parental lifestyle will (at least partly) mediate the effects of parents' social position on their children's *social position*.

On lifestyle transmission:

2A: The more strongly the lifestyle of the parents was *culturally oriented* during socialization, the more strongly *the lifestyle* of their adult children will be *culturally oriented*.

2B: The more strongly the lifestyle of the parents was *oriented towards luxury* during socialization, the more strongly *the lifestyle* of their adult children will be *oriented towards luxury*.

On the relative impact of cultural and economic dimension:

3: The effect of the *cultural* dimension of parental lifestyle on the *education and cultural position* of their adult children and on the *cultural orientation of their lifestyle* is stronger than the effect of the *economic* dimension of parents' lifestyle on the *income and economic position* of their adult children and *their orientation towards luxury in their lifestyle*.

Table 1

Indicators of cultural and economic status (N = 399).

Source: Verboord and Nagel (2001).

EDUCATION (percentages):			Last completed education respondent	Highest attained education parents
Primary education (age 4-12)	2	Primary school		2.5 %
Secondary (age 12-16/18)	3	Prevocational (VBO)	3.3 %	13.0 %
	4	Junior general (MAVO)	3.0 %	11.8 %
	6	Senior general (HAVO)	3.0 %	1.3 %
	7	Pre-university (VWO)/gymnasium	4.8 %	3.3 %
Post-secondary education	5	Secondary vocational (MBO)	22.1 %	25.8 %
	8	Higher vocational (HBO)	37.3 %	25.3 %
	9	University	26.6 %	16.8 %
	Missing			.3 %
INCOME: (in euro's -originally in Dutch guilders: 1 guilder = .45 euro)			net income respondent	net income parents
Median			1575	1350
Mean			1402	1527
Standard deviation (SD)			744	929
Minimum			0	0
Maximum			2925	5850
Missing			8.0 %	19.3 %

3. Data, variable construction, and method

3.1. Data

We use the LISO-dataset (Verboord & Nagel, 2001)^{2,3}, obtained in 2000 from a sample of former secondary school students in the Netherlands who took their final secondary school examinations between 1975 and 1998. One parent of each student provided retrospective information on their own lifestyle at the time their child was growing up. For our paper, we selected 399 respondents who did not live with their parents and of whom information of the parents was available. More information on the data and the sampling procedure can be found in the online appendix of this paper and in Verboord and Van Rees (2003) and Verboord (2005).

3.2. Selection and construction of variables

The data contain several indicators of **social background**, representing varying degrees of cultural and economic status. The education and income of the respondents, who are secondary school graduates, and their parents, are described in Table 1. With respect to occupation, we use the information provided by respondents and their fathers via open questions. Two continuous occupational status scales were used, developed by Ganzeboom, De Graaf, and Kalmijn, (1987) and also described in Ganzeboom (1990), 206), in which occupations are characterized by a cultural and an economic status score (see the online appendix for more detailed information).

Parents were asked to report retrospectively on their own **lifestyle** at the time their child was around 12 years old. The adult children were asked to report on their current lifestyle, in particular on its cultural and economic features. The questions were intended to capture the cultural and economic dimensions of the lifestyle of the higher and lower social status groups. For the adult children these questions refer to a wider range of lifestyle domains that for the parents, who had to report in retrospective. The lifestyle domains are on cultural participation and taste, reading, food, table manners and decoration, appearance, holidays, housing and luxury goods. They were roughly derived from Distinction. Some question are from previous Dutch surveys on lifestyles (De Graaf, De Graaf, Kraaykamp, & Ultee, 1998; Ganzeboom, 1988). The questions include 'embodied' (taste and behaviors) as well as 'objectified' (cultural and luxury goods) indicators of lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1986), but we did not further distinguish between the two (unlike Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010). For a detailed description of the construction of the parents' and children's lifestyle indicators, all composite variables, we refer to the online appendix. Here we present an overview of the lifestyle indicators and their factor loadings on the two dimensions of lifestyle. Table 2 provides an overview of the indicators of **parental lifestyle**. Table 3 displays the

² Funded by The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) (Ganzeboom, H.B.G. "Veranderingen in literaire socialisatie en leesgedrag in de periode 1975-1995". NWO Stichting voor Literatuur-, Muziek- en Theaterwetenschap # 301-80-081, granted April 1997; and by Ganzeboom, H.B.G., Van Rees, K., Schram, D. "Cultural Canons and Cultural Competences". Subprogram of NWO Priority Theme "The Multicultural and Pluriform Society", granted January 1998).

³ The data are part of the project 'Youth and Culture' (Ganzeboom and Nagel, 1998-2002).

Table 2

Indicators of parents' lifestyle, factor loadings (N = 399).

	Exploratory factor analysis oblimin rotation ^a		Confirmatory factor analysis ^b	
	1	2	Culturally-oriented lifestyle	Luxury-oriented lifestyle
attendance perf. arts	.571	.016	.590	0
visits museums	.806	-.074	.750	0
cultural goods	.373	.463	.427	.430
books	.536	.306	.552	.316
size of house	-.015	.701	0	.731
luxury goods	-.108	.486	0	.409
Factor correlation		.546		.443

^a Sample size corrected BIC -2949.835; CHI-square 12.646 (df = 4); RSMEA 0.074; CFI 0.987; TLI .952; SRMR .018.^b Sample size corrected BIC -2953.812; CHI-square 14.283 (df = 6); RSMEA 0.059; CFI .988; TLI .970; SRMR .021.**Table 3**

Children's lifestyle, factor loadings (N = 399).

	Exploratory factor analysis oblimin rotation ^a		Confirmatory factor analysis ^b	
	1	2	Culturally oriented lifestyle	Luxury-oriented lifestyle
attendance perf. arts	.458	.186	.520	0
visits museums	.541	.207	.606	0
like classical music	.558	.173	.610	0
like Dutch folk music	-.470	.245	-.415	0
amount of reading	.526	.008	.526	0
reading literature	.736	-.026	.716	0
cultural goods	.499	.130	.538	0
watching tv	-.516	.045	-.498	0
cultural vacations	.432	.345	.424	.296
active vacations	.575	-.100	.538	0
luxury vacations	-.579	.355	-.630	.428
heavy meals	-.407	.127	-.359	0
healthy and exotic meals	.560	.216	.621	0
expensive meals	.147	.598	.0	.644
wine	.362	.411	.342	.390
table manners	.057	.545	0	.563
table decoration	-.036	.480	0	.441
appearance	-.273	.393	0	.304
luxury goods	-.314	.353	-.362	.422
Factor correlation		.212		.380

^a Sample size corrected BIC -4962.057; CHI-square 412.215 (df = 134); RSMEA 0.072; CFI .851; TLI .809; SRMR .049.^b Sample size corrected BIC -5111.639; CHI-square 516.106 (df = 147); RSMEA 0.079; CFI 0.802; TLI 0.770; SRMR 0.072.indicators of the adult *children's lifestyle*.

Because the aim was to scale the lifestyle indicators according to their position on an economic and a cultural dimension of lifestyle, we submitted parents' and children's lifestyle indicators (separately) to an exploratory factor analysis in MPlus, in which we asked for two-factor solutions allowing a correlation (oblimin rotation) between the two latent factors.

With respect to parental lifestyle, the results (Table 2) indicate that the model is a good fit. Visits to arts performances and museums, ownership of books and cultural goods load strongly on the first factor, which can therefore be interpreted as the cultural dimension of lifestyle, whereas the ownership of economic goods, housing, books and cultural goods, point to the economic dimension of lifestyle as the second factor. The cross-loadings of books and cultural goods, requiring money and cultural competence, illustrate that these are indicators of both a cultural as well as a luxury-oriented lifestyle. The correlation between the two lifestyles is strongly positive, $r = 0.546$.

Also, with respect to children's lifestyle, the outcome (in Table 3) reveals the expected underlying two-factor structure, although the fit is only moderate. For the first factor, there are strong loadings of attending museums and arts performances, liking classical music and disliking Dutch folk music, the amount of reading, reading literature, ownership of cultural goods, low levels of television

watching, a preference for cultural and active vacations, a dislike for luxury vacations, eating healthy and exotic rather than heavy meals, and drinking wine. Therefore, we interpret the first factor as the degree to which lifestyle varies on the cultural dimension of lifestyle. For the second factor, there are strong loadings of a preference for cultural and luxury vacations, expensive meals, drinking wine, table manners and table decoration, appearance, and the ownership of luxury goods. Although the strong loading of manners is not completely in line with Bourdieu's ideas – the importance attached to manners characterizes higher classes in general and not only the economic elite – we interpret the second factor as the degree to which lifestyle is focused on luxury, outward appearance and comfort, i.e., the economic dimension of lifestyle.

In subsequent confirmatory factor analyses, we considered items with loadings $< |.3|$ to be invalid indicators of either a cultural or an luxury-oriented lifestyle and restricted these to zero (the last two columns of [Tables 2 and 3](#)). We use the factor scores of the confirmatory factor analysis as measures of the two dimensions of parents' and children's lifestyles.

The indicators of parents' social position are entered as **control variables**, because they may be confounders for the relation between parents' lifestyle and children's social position and lifestyle. We also use the examination cohort (1975–1998) used in the sampling procedure, and an indicator of age, as a control variable.

3.3. Method

We use structural equation modeling (SEM) for the following reasons:

- First, it allows us to model both the direct and indirect hypothesized effects at the same time, i.e., parental lifestyle as an explanatory factor for children's social position and, partly indirectly through the children's social position, children's lifestyle. In contrast to the multi-correspondence technique used by Bourdieu, these methods allow to explicate the assumed causal order, in particular Bourdieu's assumption that parents' lifestyles affect the adult child's social position and lifestyle.
- Second, it allows us to model multiple dependent variables simultaneously, i.e., young adults' social positions and the cultural and economic dimensions of lifestyle. In contrast to the multi-correspondence technique used by Bourdieu, these methods allow us to specify the assumed positive correlation between the cultural and economic dimensions that make up social space and, accordingly, the space of lifestyles.
- Third, it enables us to correct for the attenuation of effects due to measurement errors by constructing the underlying latent variables of parents' and children's lifestyles behind the many indicators of behavior and taste that describe people's lifestyles. We model the cultural and economic dimensions of lifestyle through latent variables assumed to reflect the same underlying concepts among parents and children, although parents' and children's lifestyles are measured using different indicators. As clarified in the results section, generally parents' and children's cultural or economic dimensions of lifestyle correlate with each other and with cultural or economic social status position as expected, which is an indication of the validity of the measures.
- Fourth, by using latent variables only common elements of lifestyle items are modeled, which allows us to include items that are indicative of both dimensions of lifestyles. For instance, in the case of book ownership, the cultural aspect is analyzed as part of the cultural dimension of lifestyle, whereas its economic aspect is separately analyzed as part of the economic dimension.

We used Mplus 7.31 ([Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2015](#)) with a correction for the hierarchical data structure (the respondents are nested in 42 former secondary schools)⁴ and full information maximum likelihood (FIML) estimation. We used the factor scores obtained from the two confirmatory factor analyses as measures of the cultural and economic dimensions of parents' and children's lifestyles.⁵ The scores on the two latent factors that represent the cultural and economic dimensions of lifestyle could be used to define each respondent's position in a two-dimensional space, which can be considered as Bourdieu's space of lifestyles. In the baseline structural model, education is modeled prior to occupation and both are modeled prior to income, social background precedes lifestyle, and parents' social background and lifestyle affect both their children's social status and lifestyle. A correlation is specified between the economic and cultural dimensions of occupational status and the lifestyles of parents and children. The examination cohort is entered as the only exogenous variable. In this model (1), 104 parameters are estimated ($df = 78$).

In order to end up with a more parsimonious model, we restricted weak (standardized effects $< |.10|$) effects and correlations to zero if there were no hypotheses relating to these. We reran the model three times and removed any weak effects that turned up after removing them in a previous round. The resulting model contains 61 estimated parameters (CHI-square 54.228, $df = 43$) and has a

⁴ Although the model converged, there was a warning that the standard errors of the parameter estimates could not all be trusted, possibly due to having more parameters than the number of clusters, which is the result of our relatively small data set. When we compared the standard errors of direct effects of the analysis with cluster correction with those obtained from an analysis without correcting for clustering, two thirds of the former analysis were larger than those in the latter, but all were roughly the same size (the difference was a maximum of .014), and did not change the decisions on the hypotheses.

⁵ By using factor scores to represent the position on the cultural and economic lifestyle dimensions, we chose to create the measures of the lifestyle dimensions first, and then to estimate the structural model. This means that factor loadings of the lifestyle indicators do not depend (are not optimized) on the structural relations between social position and lifestyles. We did not take into account the uncertainty (unreliability) of the factor scores in the subsequent path analysis, because no standard procedure is yet available in MPlus. The standard reliability estimate, Cronbach's alpha, which does not take into account different weights of the items and cross-loadings, for the parents' cultural and economic lifestyle dimensions respectively, is .76 and .66; for the parents' cultural and economic lifestyle dimensions it is .78 and .59. We refer to [De Vlieger and Rosseel \(2017\)](#) for a discussion on how to handle the uncertainty of using factor scores in path modeling.

good fit (CFI = .995, TLI = .992, RMSEA = 0.025, SRMR = 0.035). This resulting model is discussed in the next section. The graph of the final structural model is in Appendix A. The syntaxes are available on request.

4. Results

In this section we will test the hypotheses on the effects of parents' lifestyle, controlled for parental social background. Analyses of the effects of parents' social position on their lifestyle are in the online appendix. The results are in line with Bourdieu's thoughts on the two-dimensionality of the relation between social position and lifestyles, be it that also the economic dimension of the parental lifestyle is not only related to their income but also - even a bit stronger - to their education. The cultural dimension of the parental lifestyle varies, most strongly with their education, and to a smaller extent with their income.

4.1. Effects of parental lifestyle on children's social position

Table 4a presents the structural relationships between parents' lifestyle and their social position on the one hand and the social status of their grown-up children on the other. The reproduction hypotheses predicted that a more strongly *culturally oriented* parental lifestyle would lead to higher *educational and cultural status* for their adult children (1A), and also that a parental lifestyle oriented towards luxury would enhance the *income and economic position* of their adult children (1B). The first column of Table 4a shows that the cultural dimension of parental lifestyle positively affects their offspring's educational level, controlling for parental level of education ($\beta = 0.235$). This is in line with the reproduction hypothesis 1A. In the second column, it is shown that the cultural dimension of the children's occupational status is positively affected by parental lifestyle. In fact, all parental influence runs through their lifestyle, not directly by parents' social background. A more strongly culturally oriented parental lifestyle enhances their children's occupational status along the cultural dimension, over and above the children's own education ($\beta = .104$). This is again a confirmation of the foregoing hypothesis on reproduction (1A). The child's own education is the strongest indicator of his or her status in the cultural field. The negative effect of the examination cohort indicates that older cohorts have attained a higher occupational status in the cultural field.

The child's economic status (third column) is related to the economic dimension of their parents' lifestyle. The more the lifestyle of the parents was oriented towards luxury, i.e., they owned a large house and luxury goods, the higher their children's occupational status on the economic dimension ($\beta = 0.114$). This is in line with reproduction hypothesis 1B on the effects of a parental luxury-oriented lifestyle on their child's economic status. The child's income (column 4) is influenced by the economic dimension of their

Table 4a

Child's social position: effects of parental social position and lifestyle. Standardized effects and standard errors corrected for clustering (MPlus) (N = 399).

	Education		cultural occupational status ^a		economic occupational status ^a		income	
	1		2		3		4	
	direct effect	total effect	direct effect	total effect	direct effect	total effect	direct effect	total effect
Parents' education	.278 (.069)	.422 (.055)	0	.256 (.040)	0	.242 (.039)	0	.197 (.042)
Parents' cultural occupational status	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents' economic occupational status	0	.007 (.004)	0	.006 (.003)	0	.009 (.004)	0	.011 (.005)
Parents' income	0	.044 (.015)	0	.039 (.012)	0	.057 (.016)	0	.064 (.019)
Cultural dimension parents' lifestyle	.235 (.062)	.235 (.062)	.104 (.045)	.211 (.049)	0	.101 (.033)	-.151 (.064)	-.074 (.061)
Economic dimension parents' lifestyle	0	0	0	0	.114 (.042)	.114 (.042)	.183 (.058)	.232 (.063)
Education			.456 (.047)	.456 (.047)	.429 (.049)	.429 (.049)	.343 (.059)	.426 (.052)
Cultural occupational status							-.219 (.049)	-.219 (.049)
Economic occupational status							.426 (.049)	.426 (.049)
Examination cohort	0	.065 (.026)	-.147 (.049)	-.108 (.050)	-.186 (.054)	-.149 (.057)	-.136 (.040)	-.153 (.051)
R ²	.213		.267		.247		.346	

Bold $p < .05$.

^a Correlation child's cultural and economic occupational status .446.

Table 4b

Child's social position and parents' social position: indirect effects through cultural and economic dimensions of parents' lifestyle, excluding the indirect effects between indicators of social position. Standardized effects and standard errors corrected for clustering (MPlus) (N = 399).

				child's			
				education	cultural dimension occ. status	economic dimension occ. status	income
parents' education	→	cultural dimension parents' lifestyle	→	.123 (.037)	.054 (.024)	0	-.079 (.034)
cultural dimension parents' occ. status	→		→	0	0	0	0
economic dimension parents' occ. status	→		→	0	0	0	0
parents' income	→		→	.044 (.015)	.019 (.009)	0	-.028 (.014)
parents' education	→	economic dimension parents' lifestyle	→	0	0	.042 (.017)	.068 (.025)
cultural dimension parents' occ. status	→		→	0	0	0	0
economic dimension parents' occ. status	→		→	0	0	0	0
parents' income	→		→	0	0	.038 (.016)	.061 (.020)

Bold $p < .05$.

parents' lifestyle as well ($\beta = .183$), which again lends support to hypothesis 1B. The effects of the economic dimension of the parents' lifestyle are over and above the child's own education level and the economic dimension of their occupational status, which are the strongest determinants of their income. An interesting observation is that a culturally oriented parental lifestyle seems here to impede a high income in their offspring. Similarly, given the economic dimension of the individual's own occupational status, a higher position on the cultural dimension lowers the income. Thus, those raised by parents with a culturally oriented lifestyle tend to have jobs in which the income is lower than would be expected given their social background. Generally, it seems that parental lifestyle affects the status attainment of their children, and that the effects mainly occur within the same dimension of social stratification, cultural or economic.

If we compare the strength of the reproduction effects, we notice that the effects of the cultural dimension of parental lifestyle on their children's education ($\beta = 0.235$) and occupational status along the same dimension ($\beta = 0.104$) are, when taken together, somewhat larger than those of the economic dimension of parental lifestyle on the economic dimension of their children's occupational status ($\beta = 0.114$) and their income ($\beta = 0.183$). If we take into account the negative effect of a culturally oriented parental lifestyle on their children's income ($\beta = -0.151$) as a further differentiation along the cultural dimension of social stratification, we can conclude that social reproduction is stronger along the cultural dimension of social stratification than along the economic dimension, as stated by hypothesis 3.

We also expected that parental lifestyle would (at least partly) mediate the effects of parents' social position on their children's social position (1C). Table 4b presents the extent to which the effects of parents' social position on their children's social position are mediated through the cultural and economic dimensions of parental lifestyle. The results show that the effect of parental education on their children's education through the cultural dimension of parents' lifestyle ($\beta = 0.123$) is 29% of the total effect of parental education on their children's education ($\beta = 0.422$, in Table 4a). The relationship between parental education and the cultural dimension of the children's occupational status is 21% explained by the cultural dimension of the parental lifestyle. Also, the income of the parents enhances their children's education and the cultural dimension of occupational status via the cultural dimension of the parents' lifestyle. The effect of parental income on their child's education is fully through the cultural features of their lifestyle ($\beta = 0.044$). The effects of parents' occupational status on their child's social position, which are small to begin with (Table 4a), are not mediated by the cultural dimension of their parents' lifestyle. The mediation effects of parental education and income on their children's income through the cultural dimension of their lifestyle are negative. This is because the direct effect of a culturally oriented parental lifestyle on their child's income is negative.

The economic dimension of parental lifestyle mediates the relationship between parents' and children's socio-economic status, which lends further support to hypothesis 1C. The effects only apply to the economic dimension of the children's occupational status and the children's income, not to their educational level and the cultural dimension of their occupational status. The effects of parental education on the economic dimension of the child's occupational status and income operating through the economic dimension of the parents' lifestyle are respectively 0.042 and 0.068, which are 17% and 35% of the total effect of parental education on these outcomes. The effects of parental income via the economic dimension of their lifestyle on their child's economic status, 0.038 for the child's occupational status and 0.061 for the child's income, largely explain the relationship between parental income and child's social position, respectively 67% and 95%. The effects of parental occupational status are also not mediated by the economic dimension of their lifestyle.

Table 5

Child's and parents' lifestyle. Standardized effects and standard errors, corrected for clustering (MPlus) (N = 399).

	Cultural dimension child's lifestyle ^a		Economic dimension child's lifestyle ^a	
	1		2	
	direct effect	total effect	direct effect	total effect
Parents' education	0	.420 (.044)	0	.248 (.034)
Parents' cultural occupational status	0	0	0	0
Parents' economic occupational status	0	.001 (.008)	0	.023 (.009)
Parents' income	–.104 (.039)	.005 (.046)	0	.139 (.021)
Cultural dimension parents' lifestyle	.498 (.036)	.614 (.039)	0	–.019 (.016)
Economic dimension parents' lifestyle	0	–.014 (.007)	.367 (.040)	.427 (.043)
Education	.299 (.053)	.370 (.046)	0	.110 (.022)
Cultural occupational status	.274 (.035)	.274 (.035)	0	–.056 (.015)
Economic occupational status	–.126 (.036)	–.126 (.036)	0	.111 (.022)
Income	0	0	.257 (.043)	.257 (.043)
Examination cohort	–.119 (.045)	–.071 (.064)	0	–.009 (.019)
R ²	.550		.245	

Bold $p < .10$.^a Correlation child's cultural and economic lifestyle .357.

4.2. Effects of parental lifestyle on their offspring's lifestyle

In Table 5, the structural relationships between parents' and children's lifestyles are presented. We expected that a more strongly *culturally oriented* parental lifestyle would lead to their adult offspring also having a more strongly culturally oriented lifestyle (2A). Conversely, we also expected that parents leading a more strongly luxury-oriented lifestyle would have adult offspring with lifestyles similarly oriented towards luxury and comfort (2B).

Our results support both hypotheses; there is strong intergenerational transmission of lifestyles. The more the parents' lifestyle is characterized as cultural, the more this also holds for their children's lifestyle (column 1). Also, the more the parental lifestyle is oriented towards luxury, the more the lifestyle of their children can be characterized as such (column 2). The direct transmission of the cultural dimension of the parents' lifestyle to their children's ($\beta = 0.498$) is somewhat larger than that of the economic dimension ($\beta = 0.367$). This also holds for the total effects ($\beta = 0.614$ and $\beta = 0.427$), which also include the indirect influence of the parents' lifestyle via the child's own status attainment. This result supports hypothesis 3 regarding the dominance of the cultural status dimension in lifestyle transmission.

The cultural dimension of offspring's adult lifestyle is also strongly associated with their own social position i.e., the education and cultural status of their occupation. Nevertheless, the effects of their own education are smaller than those of their parents' lifestyle. Remarkably, there are negative effects of parental income and the economic status of their own occupations. Apparently, when controlling for parental lifestyle and cultural status, having an occupation of higher economic status and having parents with a higher income is associated with leading a less culturally-oriented lifestyle as an adult. The cultural and economic dimensions of occupational status therefore relate to the cultural dimension of lifestyle in opposite directions. Finally, there is also a negative effect of cohort. This suggests that the lifestyle of younger generations can be characterized as less cultural.

The economic dimension of the offspring's adult lifestyle is related only to their own income and the economic dimension of their parents' lifestyle. Offspring with higher incomes are more likely to have luxury-oriented lifestyles. There are no other direct effects of either the parents' or the offspring's own social status. Thus, status groups high on the cultural status dimension (more highly educated and/or in occupations with greater cultural status) do not emphasize displays of wealth and a high economic status, but neither do they refrain from this.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we studied processes of reproduction and lifestyle transmission, thereby, following Bourdieu, including both the assumed cultural and economic dimensions of social status and lifestyle. We examined whether intergenerational transmission of cultural status was stronger than that of economic status. For this analysis, we used a detailed data set relating to parents and their adult children, that included luxury-oriented tastes and lifestyle elements, next to (more commonly examined) cultural practices and tastes. We used SEM because this kind of statistical modeling allowed us to study both reproduction and lifestyle transmission processes simultaneously and is better adapted to an analysis of assumed causal order between parents' and child's characteristics than a geometrical approach, such as multiple correspondence analysis, used by Bourdieu. It also allows a correlation between the two dimensions of social status (economic and cultural) in the study, which is not possible in multiple correspondence analysis.

Four main conclusions can be drawn from our results. First, through their lifestyle, parents affect their children's future adult lifestyle, and the effect only occurs within the same status dimension. Children whose parents had a more strongly culturally oriented lifestyle, characterized by cultural participation and ownership of cultural goods when they were growing up, themselves developed an adult lifestyle that is culturally oriented, i.e. participation in highbrow culture, preferences of cultural and active holiday preferences, and consumption of healthy or exotic food. For children whose parents had a lifestyle oriented towards luxury and comfort, as indicated by the size of their houses and their ownership of luxury and cultural goods, as adults they also have a lifestyle that is characterized by luxury in holidays preferences, food consumption, and table decoration.

Second, through their lifestyle, parents affect their adult children's social position, mainly within the same dimension of social stratification. The more the lifestyles of parents could be characterized as cultural, the higher the level of education attained by their children, and the higher the cultural status of their occupation, i.e. positions in science, university workers, teachers, and in the cultural sector, artistic professions. Within the economic dimension, children raised by parents whose lifestyle was more luxurious, attain as adults a higher economic status and a higher income, i.e. professions in the financial world, in banking, managers of large companies. The effects of parental lifestyle are not, however, completely restricted to the same dimension of social stratification. A more strongly culturally oriented parental lifestyle lowers the income.

Third, both the cultural and the economic dimensions of parental lifestyle operate as mechanisms of social reproduction. The effects of parental education and income on their offspring's education, adult income and the cultural dimension of their occupational status, are partly mediated by the cultural dimension of the parental lifestyle. The effect of parental education and income on the economic dimension of the adult offspring's occupational status and child's income operates partly through the economic dimension of the parental lifestyle. The reproduction of occupational status, which was initially small, does not operate via the parents' lifestyle.

Fourth, the influence of the parents' lifestyle is stronger along the cultural dimension than the economic. With respect to the offspring's social position, we find that the cultural dimension of parental lifestyle has a stronger effect on their child's education and the cultural dimension of occupational status than the economic dimension of parental lifestyle has on the economic dimension of the offspring's occupational status and income as an adult. With respect to the children's adult lifestyle, we find a stronger intergenerational transmission for the cultural than for the economic lifestyle dimension. This holds true particularly when taking account of the finding that the cultural dimension of parental lifestyle also has a relatively large indirect effect, via the children's future status position, on future adult lifestyle.

The effects of parental lifestyle on offspring's status attainment are in line with the positive effects of parents' cultural lifestyle on educational attainment as found in the literature (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; De Graaf & De Graaf, 2002; De Graaf et al., 2000; Evans et al., 2010; Ganzeboom, 1990; Jaeger & Breen, 2016; Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010). Although we find that parents' luxury-oriented lifestyle affects children's economic status and income, we do not find an effect of parents' luxury-oriented lifestyle on their children's educational attainment. Finding no effects of parents' luxury-oriented lifestyle on educational attainment, we arrive at the same conclusion as previous studies in the Netherlands, that the impact of financial resources in Dutch education is absent (De Graaf, 1986) or smaller than the impact of cultural resources De Graaf et al. (2000) and De Graaf and De Graaf (2002).

The strong intergenerational transmission of lifestyle is in line with previous research reporting a strong resemblance in cultural consumption between parents and their adult children (see Van Eijck, 1997; Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002; Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010; Yaish & Katz-Gerro, 2012). The relationship between parents' and children's lifestyles along the economic dimension has hardly been studied in the literature on lifestyle differentiation. In De Graaf and De Graaf (1988), no significant relationship was found between parents' affluence and their children's consumption of luxury goods as adults. Possibly, their measure of luxury goods, which is a more limited measure of a luxury oriented lifestyle than that in this paper, is the cause of the divergence of results.

Next to the relatively strong effects of parents' lifestyle on their adult children's lifestyle, we find independent influences of children's own education, occupational status, and income. In particular, the independent effects of occupational status and income may point at changes in lifestyle over the life course due to new and varying social environments (Daenekindt & Roose, 2013; DiMaggio, 1982; Lahire, 2008). Therefore, variations in lifestyle are not only caused by social and cultural reproduction processes, but also by the offspring's own status attainment.

6. Discussion

The effects of parental lifestyle on their adult children's lifestyles are stronger than those of education and other indicators of the children's social position, a result in line with the findings of Van Eijck (1997) and Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002). Bourdieu's suggestion of the persistent influence of early parental socialization on taste and lifestyle is therefore not significantly overstated, as is sometimes suggested (e.g., Daenekindt & Roose, 2013). To understand how lifestyles come about, it is crucial to include information

on parental background and lifestyle.

The strong influence of parental lifestyle also implies that lifestyles may not easily be changed in the context of new social environments. So the comparison of lifestyles between two successive generations will show a strong similarity.

With respect to the effects of highbrow culture, there is a debate in the literature on which elements of a culturally oriented lifestyle are particularly effective (De Graaf et al., 2000). There is a presumption that reading behavior is important. In our analyses we do not differentiate between the relative weight of lifestyle indicators, but in future these could be studied in more detail.

Some discussion of the context of our results is appropriate. First, the data refer to birth cohorts of former secondary school students who grew up in the second half of the 20th century in the Netherlands. The social positions and lifestyles of the offspring may be subject to change. One would expect that the resemblance between parents and children, in particular with respect to their social positions, would grow stronger over their lifetimes, particularly up to the point when the offspring attain their final social position. On the other hand, because of their relatively young age, their lifestyles might resemble those of their parents at the time of the survey, because they had only recently left their parental home. In research on cultural participation, however, there are no indications that the resemblance between parents and their adult children decreases over lifetime (Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002). Nevertheless, to increase the generalizability of our results, it would be worthwhile to replicate this study among an extended age range.

Secondly, the sample pertains to an average of the population of young adults and does not include many respondents at the extremes of the two status hierarchies. Bourdieu's propositions, however, give considerable importance to a more limited section of the population (i.e., the 5 or 10% at the top of the social hierarchy, who have large amounts of capital (whatever its exact composition). This group is not well represented in a sample of this size. The same holds for social groups with very limited economic and cultural capital. Future research could focus on the lowest and highest strata and study their lifestyles and reproduction (and mobility) strategies in more detail. It would also be interesting to see whether the reproduction strategies proposed by Bourdieu differ from the ways in which migrant parents aim to support their children's future success (see also Ganzeboom & Nagel, 2007).

Thirdly, for our measurement of lifestyles we used different indicators for parents and children. We believe that these capture in a similar way the degree to which lifestyle can be characterized as cultural and economic. The extent to which lifestyle indicators are expressions of a high cultural or economic orientation may change over time or with life stage. A color tv, for instance, was probably previously a good indicator of a luxury-oriented lifestyle, but is no longer a valid indicator of this. Similarly, house size may be a good indicator of the luxury-oriented lifestyle for older generations, but is less useful among younger generations who have not accumulated yet a similar amount of economic capital. In this paper the size of the house was excluded as an indicator of a luxury-oriented lifestyle, as it did not relate to other luxury-oriented lifestyle indicators, apart from luxurious goods. At first a surprising result, but not so if we consider that owning a (large) house is more dependent on the actual income than the other indicators of a luxury-oriented lifestyle like preferences for luxurious vacations, table decoration, appearance, that could be realized more easily. In the age range (20–44) of our sample, young adults of lower parental background may perhaps have settled down but those from higher status families, who postpone family formation (e.g. Blossfeld & Huinink, 1991) and are likely to be still in education and starting up their professional career. This could change later when those from a higher parental background have begun their professional careers with higher incomes.

Generally, variations in lifestyle indicators may vary historically, over the life course, and perhaps also between countries. Therefore, particularly comparing generations, time periods or countries, instead of striving towards measurement invariance, we should use methods that are able to grasp a similar latent concept – lifestyle – yet use different indicators for its measurement, appropriate for historical time and stage of life. We argue that latent variable modeling in SEM is a right method to accomplish this because it is able to handle these variations in observed indicators. Nevertheless, future research could compare the effects of measurement (in)variance in structural modeling and its variations over historical time, life course, and between countries more systematically.

Fourthly, in our structural model we used fixed factor scores as measures of lifestyle, and did not opt for the alternative method of estimating the latent lifestyle dimensions as part of the structural model. By using factor scores directly the number of parameters to be estimated is much smaller than with the latent variable approach, which is an advantage, considering the small size of the sample. Moreover, in our view, it is reasonable to construct the lifestyle dimensions by reference to the lifestyle indicators only, and not letting them depend on other variables. We note that modeling the scaling of the lifestyle dimensions and the structural model simultaneously leads to somewhat different results, particularly with respect to the correlation between the cultural and economic dimension of parental lifestyle (which is almost zero) and the effects of the parental culturally-oriented lifestyle (that are smaller). Given the considerations above however, we have confidence in our scaling of the lifestyle indicators independent of social position. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to explore further to what extent results vary according to whether the scaling of the lifestyle indicators is done before or after taking into account social position.

Fifthly, in our measures of lifestyle we left out two indicators of popular (youth) culture, because these turned out not to be valid indicators either of the cultural or the economic dimension of lifestyle. Popular cultural consumption does not differentiate in our sample, unlike the other (highbrow and lowbrow cultural) lifestyle indicators. This implies that popular culture consumption and taste is a part of many types of lifestyle. In future research, it would be interesting to examine to what extent appreciation of popular culture emerges early in life in the parental family, and thus to what extent popular cultural taste may be more malleable over the life course than the lifestyle indicators studied in this paper.

Finally, in this study we focused on the reproduction of lifestyles between parents and their children, comparing lifestyles of two generations across time. The strong intergenerational transmission of lifestyles we find implies that differentiation in lifestyles between social status groups are rather persistent over time, although the specific lifestyle elements may be different. Our finding that

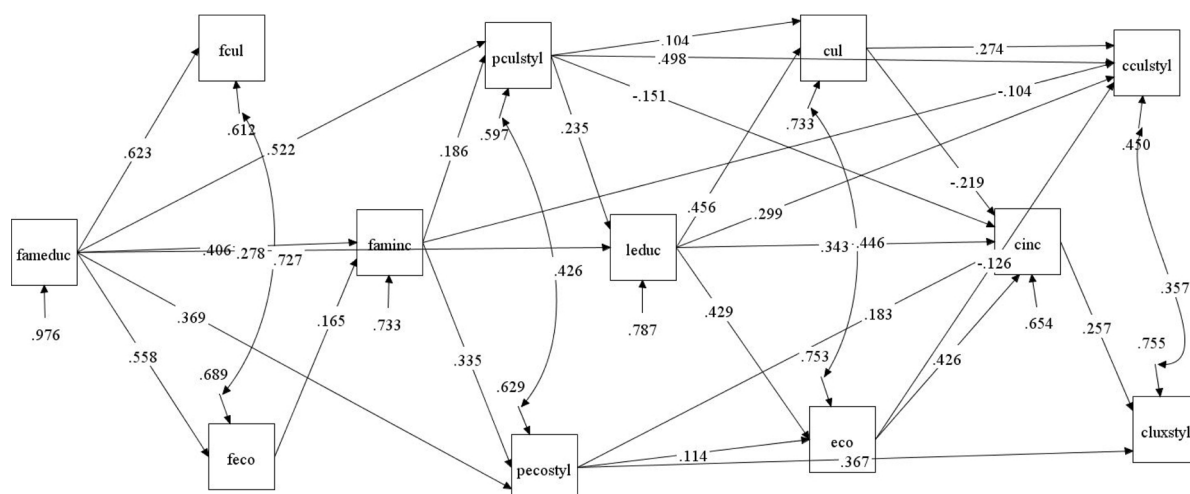
reproduction is stronger along the cultural dimension than along the economic dimension, suggests that luxury-oriented lifestyles expressing the economic position may be more dynamic than culturally oriented lifestyles. In other words, a luxury-oriented lifestyle would be to a larger degree accessible for those who have not been raised in such a lifestyle in the family. Van Eijck and Van Oosterhout (2005) study trends in material and cultural consumption in the Netherlands and find that a culturally oriented lifestyle is increasingly combined with material consumption, whereas a luxury-oriented lifestyle is gradually excluding cultural consumption. Subsequent research may examine whether this trend is due to the smaller intergenerational transmission of luxury-oriented lifestyle.

Generally, to examine historical changes in lifestyles, and the differences between social status groups therein, one would need longitudinal designs: panel data or repeated cross-sections of population samples. We would like to refer to Weingartner and Rössel in this issue, who compare samples of the Swiss population over time, and to Rosenlund who studies the Stavanger population at two points in time.

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Appendix A. Final structural model^a. STDXY standardized coefficients. Only significant values are shown



^aThe control variable exam-year (examination cohort) is not included in the figure.

Appendix B. Supplementary data

Supplementary material related to this article can be found, in the online version, at doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2019.03.002>.

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