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***Status Attainment in the Czech Republic after 1990:  
Role of Cultural and Socioeconomic Resources and Upbringing in  
the Family of Origin***

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**Status Attainment in the Czech Republic after 1990:  
Role of Cultural and Socioeconomic Resources and Upbringing in  
the Family of Origin <sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract:** The study focus on mechanisms that have arisen behind status attainment process in newly established social stratification of Czech society after 1989. We employ data from the survey *Distinction and Values* 2008 which population design of the cohort aged 30–34 yields two circumstances: it is first generation which could complete higher education under the new regime and simultaneously the respondent's social status and personality is achieved. We examine role of family status/class, economic, social and cultural capital, influence of significant others and family milieu during the adolescence (encouragement, upbringing) in the status attainment process. Two main theoretical explanations are assessed: cultural capital theory and sociopsychological model of parental involvement. Different determinants of status were assessed in regression models of respondents' status primarily for occupational attainment (socioeconomic status, ISEI) as well as for origin of its symbolic dimension: highbrow cultural capital (prestigious leisure time activities in adulthood). The Results point out that socioeconomic status is influenced by all spheres except for social capital (mutually beneficial connexions). When controlled for other factors the background of the family (parents' status) remains essential, whereas after introducing the key component of cultural capital – reading climate promoting cognitive skills the parental distinctive cultural capital (highbrow culture consumption) have only insignificant effects. Also extra-curricular activities are considerably contributing to occupational achievement. However, cultural resources operate differently in different classes of origin: For

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working-class offspring when both components of cultural capital—highbrow and cognitive—are present, they serve as significant agents of intergenerational mobility. On the other hand, extra-curricular activities help their middle class counterparts who are significantly more often involved in them. Parenting styles which were included in the survey to capture a broader family milieu in which socialization operates prove to be a somewhat poor predictor in addition to all previous agents. Thus apart from ascriptive characteristics with significant effect of the father's status occupational status, the major explanation of the status transmission process in the mid-1990s Czech society can be considered in parental involvement and encouragement in educational aspirations together with academic performance of a child and his/her reading habits (cognitive cultural capital). To interpret these findings in light of the theoretical models of cultural capital, validity of the cultural mobility argument [DiMaggio 1982] was corroborated for Czech society after 1990 since we have demonstrated that various forms of cultural capital can also promote the success of people whose parents are not endowed with direct educational and socioeconomic assets. Yet we must remember that these resources are not available to all strata/classes equally.

**Key words:** social status, status attainment cultural capital, social capital, parenting styles, cultural resources, social classes, social and cultural reproduction

**Klíčová slova:** sociální status, dosahování statusu, kulturní kapitál, sociální kapitál, výchovné styly rodičů, kulturní zdroje, sociální třídy, sociální a kulturní reprodukce

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Two decades have passed since the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia removed the Socialist regime. The process of transition to capitalism has brought considerable changes in the stratification system. Significant attention has been paid by Czech sociology to issues of social mobility, status attainment, and educational reproduction in the context of their particularity created by the Socialistic regime [e.g., Matějů 1999, 1993; Wong 1998, 2002] and later transformations in society [e.g., Matějů, Straková et al. 2006; Simonová 2009]. Besides the outcome differences among different types of secondary schools and the influence of socio-economic and cultural family milieu on school performance (test results in reading proficiency) [Matějů, Straková 2005], researchers have investigated the influence of socioeconomic background on education aspirations [ibid.; Katrňák 2006; Matějů, Basl, Smith 2008], choice of secondary school type and chances of attaining a college education [Matějů, Řeháková, Simonová 2003]. In a somewhat different angle using a qualitative perspective, in-depth attention has been paid to the background of educational reproduction mechanism in families with members from different classes, in particular with respect to the parent-school relationship, availability of cultural capital in the family and parental involvement in upbringing [Katrňák 2004; Vojtíšková 2009].

Taken together, the studies suggest, that parental cultural resources were, along with the particular contribution of social capital, an essential vehicle for the intergenerational transmission of education and occupational status during the Socialist era [Matějů 1990; Wong 1998, 2002]. Also compared with the origin of a family's socioeconomic resources, cultural resources were more important in routes of reproduction of high-culture participation and material consumption [Kraaykamp, Nieuwbeerta 2000]. Contemporary studies observe then a relatively stable trend in the transmission of a family's educational status in Czech society after 1990 [Simonová 2009]. Moreover, the above-mentioned qualitative surveys suggest the continuing, perhaps even rising, importance of (broadly conceived) cultural resources in shaping educational aspirations and thus playing significant role in the intergenerational reproduction of status [Katrňák 2004; Vojtíšková 2009]. However, overall longitudinal mobility analysis of the access to tertiary education before and after 1989 pointed out that a growing inequality in access to a university diploma in the 1990s can be attributed to the increasing role of the socioeconomic dimension rather than the cultural dimension of stratification (indicated by the father's education) [Matějů, Řeháková, Simonová 2003].

All of this taken together poses a question: What specific mechanisms have arisen behind the status attainment process in the newly established capitalist society? Our project tries to identify the different agents of status reproduction by focusing on the different kinds

of resources available to families and the influence of the parenting climate during childhood/adolescence.

### **Intergenerational transmission of socioeconomic status**

There are two theoretical streams explaining intergenerational transmission of status—both take into consideration basic effect of ascriptive socioeconomic background and role of social networks—by means of generally speaking parental investment into their offspring. These approaches are in our view rather complementary. According to cultural capital theory (Bourdieu) children from upper status families are advantaged by acquiring specific cultural resources – habitus of dominant (elite) group (values and taste, abilities and knowledge such as language skills, style of interaction) which are valued and favoured by school system. At the same time, parents can also influence offspring's life chances via their involvement, such as parent-child relationships and interests/ encouragement in education and aspirations. This facet was originally elaborated in sociopsychological Wisconsin model [Haller, Portes 1972] and later developed in qualitative studies on social class reproduction [e.g. Lareau 1987]. The theory of socioeconomic attainment process claims that not only socioeconomic resources of a family are one principal direct vehicle for status transmission together with actual academic performance of a child, but that the most important for educational attainment are mediating sociopsychological factors such as educational (occupational) aspiration and encouragement which are formed by family members and school environment (i.e. role of significant others in influencing aspirations). Educational goals are viewed as “one outcome of the socialization process and the family as a major agent of socialization” [Kerckhoff, Huff 1974: 307].

Families influence children's educational aspirations in various ways. Apart from genetically transmitted academic potential and in/direct influence on local community setting (choice of neighbourhoods and schools which influence social relationships in which a child grows up), “families represent micro-social environments that influence how children experience the larger social world. Thus, patterns of parent-child and sibling interaction set the context within which events and circumstances in the outside world are evaluated and acted on.” [Teachman, Paasch 1998: 705]

Both above mentioned theoretical approaches emphasize role of social networks (social capital) in status attainment, however in a rather different manner: whereas for sociopsychological explanation parental involvement and family-school relationships are in focus [Coleman 1988; Lareau 1987], the cultural reproduction theory views social capital in terms of access to the prestigious and influential positions [Bourdieu 1984; Lin 1982] which

is available particularly to upper-class families and helps finding (the first) job. This standpoint was further developed for a particularity of socialistic societies where social capital was specified as mutually beneficial connexions usable in economics of shortage goods and political restraints in access to both educational system (secondary and tertiary school entrance exams) and labour market [Možný 1991; Matějů, Lim 1995].

In the present study we research on effects of various resources available in the family of origin on occupational status attainment as well as on symbolical status dimension, i.e. cultural capital. Besides the material and social capital, we focus mainly on the role of the cultural resources – the concept which we try to join with a parallel social psychological tradition of parenting styles. Concerning role of cultural resources in occupational and status attainment process we suggest distinguishing two types of cultural capital: highbrow/distinctive (highbrow cultural activities of parents and highbrow activities with children in their adolescence) and cognitive (reading, extracurricular activities promoting social and cognitive ability). Both concepts—cultural capital and parenting styles—will be introduced in detail.

### **Cultural capital: Conceptualization and typology according to effects**

Within the stratification systems of late modern, consumerist societies, valuable resources for status attainment are represented by economic advantage as well as cultural competence and educational privileges. The latter two are referred to as cultural capital and can be converted into other forms of capital. People invest in cultural capital in order to increase their economic capital and vice versa. The culturalist approach to class analysis studies the ways investment in education and cultural competencies becomes a key strategy in class competition [Bottero 2005]. However, in our opinion, different types of cultural capital should be distinguished according to their effects in order to study the processes of status attainment.

The most frequently used definition of cultural capital refers to Bourdieu's [1973, 1984] original concept which viewed cultural and social inclusion/exclusion as its key functions. In this perspective, inclusion/exclusion helps higher classes (the dominant class or fractions thereof) establish a collective identity through cultural distance from other groups. Bourdieu stated the following about the importance of culture, and more specifically, the social learning of an aesthetic competence to perceive arts, for intergenerational transmission of total capital within family. Embodied form of cultural capital comprises cultural competencies and skills such as style of dining, conversation ability understanding classical

music or even proper articulation. “The embodied cultural capital of the previous generations functions as a sort of advance (both a head-start and a credit) which, by providing from the outset the example of culture incarnated in familiar models, enables the newcomer to start acquiring the basic elements of the legitimate culture, from the beginning, that is, in the most unconscious and impalpable way—and to dispense with the labour of deculturation, correction and retraining that is needed to undo the effects of inappropriate learning.” [Bourdieu 1984: 70–71]

In this frame of reference, cultural competencies become essential equipment for passing through the education system, which ensures social mobility or intergenerational stability within the highest, dominant class. The dominant cultural code represents a point of reference for social behaviours and action and determines legitimate culture. By dominant we mean the fact that the cultural code results from the so-called symbolic violence, rather than being held by most people. The highest class enforces the code—a certain worldview—within the society, while others adapt to it in ways that are more-or-less unconscious and voluntary, and as a result, find the code natural. To paraphrase Bourdieu’s idea, higher classes adapt the elements of legitimate culture as natural, while middle classes “merely” strive to adapt to them in order to improve their positions within the symbolic space.

At the empirical level, Bourdieu focused most of his attention on the embodied form of cultural capital, as indicated through a wide range of questions on cultural distinctiveness and taste. More specifically, people were asked about their preferences (or lack thereof) for high (or low) culture, including music genres, film, literature, home equipment, clothing, and aesthetic ratings of objects in photographs presented [Bourdieu 1984]. However, his approach has been criticized for overemphasizing the finesses and cultural signals of high culture (orientation on beaux arts), exclusive focus on popularity of genres, lack of attention for popular/mass cultural activities, and ignorance of individual practical skills [Lamont, Lareau 1988; Bryson 1996]. Furthermore, Bourdieu neglected the importance of morals for delimiting the symbolic boundaries between classes and fractions thereof. The indicators he applied in his 1960s research primarily reflected the dominant intellectual culture of the Paris metropolitan area [Lamont 1992]. His interpretation of struggling for identity through cultural consumption within middle class fractions also ignored the role of organizational resources and the advantages of career seniority available to middle class members working in large corporations [Savage et al. 1995]. Broadly speaking, the original concept of cultural capital needs to be further disentangled and updated; for example notions of other forms of cultural

capital valuable in times of postmodern fluid culture are notable: technical, affective, national and subcultural [see Benett et al. 2009].

In order to define symbolically status in a present-day society characterized by diffused culture hierarchy, and in particular the intergenerational reproduction thereof, we must take into consideration cultural resources beyond elitist high culture consumption and taste. Generally then, cultural capital can be defined as „institutionalized, i.e., widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion“ [Lamont, Lareau 1988: 156]. With respect to this operationalisation, cultural capital may become much broader vehicle than the common sociological Bourdieuan aesthetic concept measured primarily on the level of participation in legitimate/high culture namely art (e.g. visits to theatres or galleries). However, the latter are generally considered to be indirect (proxy) indicators of those forms and expressions of cultural capital that cannot be measured with standard instruments such as self-presentation or the ability to speak appropriately. From the theoretical perspective, as noted by DiMaggio [2001], one should distinguish between the cultural resources facilitating social success, i.e., social mobility, and the more general institutionalized forms of cultural capital such as orientation in high art. According to the ways cultural capital has been conceptualized and applied in empirical surveys, it can be divided into three types according to its effects for individuals (see Table 1).

**Table 1. A typology of cultural capital according to its functions**

Type of cultural capital	Definition	Examples of indicators
Highbrow culture /distinctive	Un/conscious consumption of dominant – elitist culture, high culture taste	Attending galleries and concerts
Cognitive (cognitive abilities)	Cognitive abilities and parental development of child’s verbal abilities (vocabulary) (emotional capital)	Raising practices such as reading to children, education of specific activities
Competence (cultural communication resources)	Ability to carry conversation about prestigious goods, ability to navigate the cultural diversity of highbrow/popular culture (multicultural capital)	Orientation in socially relevant themes Omnivorous knowledge and taste

Source: [Šafr 2008].



1. *Highbrow culture/distinctive cultural capital*<sup>2</sup> facilitates cultural and social inclusion/exclusion based on the knowledge of and ability to apply the symbols of dominant/elitist culture. In class stratified societies, legitimate culture is “a product of domination predisposed to express or legitimate domination” and appropriation of the cultural heritage serves as “cultural capital, i.e., as an instrument of domination” [Bourdieu 1984: 228]. It is represented by taste associated with the dominant (socially accepted) cultural code. It includes participation in high art and corresponding aesthetical preferences as well as discretion and practices like speech forms and interaction forms [Bourdieu 1984]. The most important here is, that as an invisible tool, it is considered to operate as delineator of one’s class position and as Bourdieu asserted its content in fact can be independent of inner aesthetical value of corresponding artistic objects which are arbitrarily defined to be “highbrow” by upper/dominant class members.

2. *Cognitive cultural capital* – cultural skills that are transferred from parents to children (vocabulary, verbal abilities, reader competence, etc.). Activities like reading to children stimulate cognitive abilities and intellectual competencies [De Graaf et al. 2000]. In this connection B. Bernstein [1964] demonstrated that children of different social classes acquired within their families different ways of language use (speech codes and forms, i.e. principles which regulate the verbal planning function) and thus different abilities to verbalize ideas. As a result, they are differently equipped for school success. Later when children pass subsequent school stages parents still furnish them with human and material resources that can affect development of their academic skills and orientations [Teachman 1987]. The family’s “knowledge base” [Mareš 1999] which parents are able to give to their children is also important as well as more tangible, rather material, educational resources that parents are able to provide their children, for instance regularly received broadsheet, academic books, computer facility, etc. [Teachman 1987; Roscigno, Ainsworth-Darnell 1999]. At general and most capturing level, J. Goldthorpe [1980] built on Bourdieu’s work introduced the concept of “cultural resources”, which refers to family environment conducive to child education. However, not only books (objectivized social capital) and knowledge itself but also the time and emotional support devoted are important. Here one can speak of the emotional capital, defined as parental emotional involvement in raising a child and support in doing school

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<sup>2</sup> R. Collins [2004] calls it “general social capital”. As such, it is determined by the dominant culture shared by higher classes. It is differentiated from “specific social capital” which corresponds to our Type 3 (competence cultural capital).

homework [Reay 2000]. We will touch more upon this issue in a later section when discussing parenting styles.

3. While it is less relevant from the perspective of studying intergenerational mobility, in particular as regards the early stages of educational attainment, we find it important for our conceptualization to distinguish not only high culture related signals (Type 1) and cognitive cultural abilities (Type 2) but also Type 3, *cultural competence resources*. Those represent practical abilities supporting mobility and success (“get ahead” cultural capital) [DiMaggio 2001] as well as the ability to communicate during interaction with others. Cultural competence is a stock of member symbols circulating within one’s social network and shaping his/her emotional energy that, from the micro-sociological perspective, is a fundamental source of inequalities [Collins 2004]. Since contemporary society demands efficient mobility within floating networks, cultural competence becomes a source of the symbolic status that is equally important as the highbrow/distinctive cultural taste (if not even more), notably broad range of preferences and knowledge—omnivorous cultural taste and consumption—which one can refer to as multicultural capital [Bryson 1996].

*Theoretical models of cultural capital effects and conceptual framework for studying intergenerational transmission*

The above forms of cultural capital are of course not mutually exclusive. In fact, they are interlinked. Therefore, rather than classical types, they represent the different functions of cultural capital that have different effects on shaping and maintaining the stratification system in different environments. According to the *cultural reproduction* theory [Bourdieu 1973, 1984], the education system helps reproduce social inequalities by preferring and appreciating those preferences, values, attitudes, and actions which predominate in higher classes and are adopted by their members during early childhood socialization (the highbrow culture and cognitive types are primarily applied here). In contrast, the *cultural mobility* theory [DiMaggio 1982] understands cultural capital, and in particular the competence and cognitive types, as an avenue to upward social mobility for children of lower socioeconomic strata. According to this theory, cultural capital does not produce further advantages for children of higher classes since cultural resources are “directly translate(d) into a student’s ability without the student having to be rewarded or evaluated by other actors or institutional mechanisms in school setting” [Roscigno, Ainsworth-Darnell 1999: 161]. The cultural reproduction thesis, at least in its most pronounced version as a sort of “permanent class cultural struggle” to use Bourdieu’s term, has been hardly validated anywhere. Yet the surveys on teachers’ evaluation

of students show relatively small social class bias so that we can barely speak about „conspiracy of dominant class” to which teachers belong to and act as a sort of “gatekeepers” (for detailed review of failure of the cultural capital theory see [Kingston 2001]).

Czech sociology often mistakes cultural capital for education attainment. While the latter may serve as an indirect indicator of cultural capital in some broad analyses,<sup>3</sup> it does not embrace the essence of the cultural reproduction theory, which emphasizes the role of adopting dominant cultural practices, skills, and tastes as a way of achieving advantage over the parents’ formal educational credentials (i.e. academic capital to use Bourdieu’s term or human capital to refer to economic point of view). Thus in our opinion, in order to study the intergenerational transfer of cultural capital, we must pay attention varying levels of available cultural resources in different social strata, whether it takes the form of cultural participation, parental support for intellectual cultural knowledge (e.g., playing music instruments, attending theatres and art exhibitions, going to after-school art classes), material investment in child skill development (e.g., computers, sports equipment, after-school art classes), or supporting the children in activities developing practical skills that are primarily useful for future employment. It is important to study the forms of parents’ non-economic investment in their children’s cultural (and human) capital. Not only is it important to cultivate courteous manners and knowledge of high art (cultivating highbrow culture capital) but also provide emotional support, invest time in learning with children, communicate with school, and strive to provide children with information that is either not provided by school or is provided in unintelligible forms by different social environments.

At the empirical level, we will apply two approaches to measuring intergenerational transfer of cultural capital and, more specifically, Types 1 and 2 separately (for similar standpoint see [De Graaf 1986; Crook 1997; De Graaf et al. 2000; Scherger, Savage 2009]). On one hand, research has mapped the issue of parent cultural participation in high art (e.g., attending theatres and exhibitions), which is assumed to shape a family environment that helps children acquire cultural equipment which gives them advantage at school later on. This is because, as the cultural reproduction thesis holds, school success depends not only on academic performance (derived from cognitive ability and diligence) but also the knowledge and use of the dominant cultural code which signals the well-educated and cultivated family backgrounds to teachers and thus refer to in-group membership (teachers are assumed to be members of the middle class). Therefore, school rewards knowledge acquired before coming

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<sup>3</sup> In fact education represents institutionalized state of cultural capital objectified in the form of academic qualifications [Bourdieu 1986].

to school and, furthermore, justifies such knowledge by transforming it into the child's school success. As a result, children of less educated families, who are not familiar with this kind of socialization, experience school as a hostile environment [De Graaf et al. 2000] and consequently they are often seen by teachers as less talented or competent for further study.

On the other hand, research has focused on education resources and learning in the family. For instance, parental reading is seen as facilitating cognitive abilities (while the latter are not directly related to the dominant cultural code). Literary socialisation has a direct impact on interest in subject matter and school success. "If children grow up in a household where reading is a frequent way of spending leisure time, or where numerous books are available, they are used to written texts and probably to writing. As a consequence, they will be more apt to be attracted to educational programs where a substantial part of the curriculum is devoted to High Culture." [Werfhorst, Kraaykamp, de Graaf 2000: 192] In brief, the difference between the high culture and cognitive types of cultural capital can be illustrated as follows: in the wake of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, pupils can better perform at school based on their ability to read and search/become oriented in literature, rather than encyclopaedic knowledge of classical literary works or ability to understand abstract forms of literary language in communication.

As a further specific empirical category, we will identify leisure activities shared by parents and children. Here we suggest also distinguishing between high culture related activities and other activities that rather support social competencies and/or practical skills (However, due to low item reliability we could not construct a specific scale in the latter case.) Parent-child interaction is a specific aspect that is further associated with general parenting styles and parental involvement (encouragement) as well the emotional climate at home.

### **Parenting styles and parental involvement**

Most studies of status attainment have focused on the role of cultural resources within the family and/or social environment (encouragement, aspirations etc.). According to V. Bengtson, children's educational and occupational aspirations are not only determined by parental investment in children (above all, their cultural capital), role modeling, and learning, but also the parent-child relationship duality [Bengtson et. al. 2002: Chapter 4]. Therefore, our research attempts to describe the influence of educational and cultural climate as well as different approaches to raising children, based on the psychological concept of parenting styles.

We draw on the parenting style typology identified by D. Baumrind [1966]. Three basic models of parental control on child behavior were distinguished. The *authoritarian* style is characterized by strict enforcement of obedience and lower levels of verbal communication. On one hand, parents are protective of the child, and on the other hand, they are ready to use punishment in case of conflict. In contrast, the *authoritative* style is characterized by high levels of communication, continuous explanation of actions, and rational problem solving. Parents try to provide models and support to their children. They want the children to understand their demands well, knowing what they aim at and why they are raised. Finally, the *permissive* style is characterized by maximum freedom, minimum demands and constraints, and elimination of punishment. Parents do not actively shape the children's future actions. They assume that the children will ultimately become sensible. The children themselves must know what they want.<sup>4</sup>

Further studies demonstrated that the latter approach was not entirely coherent and suggested distinguishing between freedom in terms of indulgence and high level of understanding, on one hand, and a resigned and neglectful approach, on the other hand. The latter parenting style is characteristic for the below in detail described “floating cork plugs” position peculiar to socialization in working class families, i.e., not motivating children to an active approach to life (in particular, as regards school), placing no high demands on children, and practically leaving children to themselves. Parents do not facilitate schoolwork and the world of culture to children, expecting them to help themselves [Katrňák 2004]. Since according to Bernstein [1964] different linguistic codes or speech systems are generated by particular form of social relationships we can argue that the authoritative parenting style is promoting open code characterized by person (rather than status) orientation and which is typical for middle class families. Given that schooling system generally demands rather open code, we can also hypothesize that this type of parental control will be not only typical for middle class families but also could provide upper mobility channel for children from lower classes in which such a parental approach is exercised.

Similarly to other countries (cf. [Lareau 2000] for the U.S.), different parent approaches to school can be found among people from different classes in the Czech Republic. Separation from school is typical for working class families and interconnectedness for upper middle class families. However, T. Katrňák [2004] found somewhat different parent

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<sup>4</sup> The original three styles were further specified in psychology. For instance, one approach mapped not only the educational guidance dimension (demands versus freedom) but also the dimension of emotional relations [Čáp, Boschek 1996; Gillernová 2009].

positions in his comparative study of working class families and middle class families with two college educated parents. A “loose relationship” was typical for working class families and a “cohesive relationship” for college educated middle class families. The results of his semi-structured interview study demonstrate that children of working class families are left alone in their school relationship. Their parents care little about school and do not facilitate their learning. These children must cope with school on their own. “Parents do not communicate the importance of learning to children. They do not explain why and do not show how they should learn” [ibid: 108]. Parents do not motivate children to learn and the latter do not see reasons to prepare for school. They often resign themselves to average or underaverage grades, gradually losing interest in school. Similarly, parents interfere little in their children’s decision making about future job life. They leave their children decide on their own whether to attend vocational apprentice training centre or high school, which is key to one’s educational career in the Czech educational. The children often choose programs they or their friends like. They aspire to start earning money and become independent as early as possible after vocational training [cf. Willis 1977]. Parents assume that their children should do what they like. The parental approach to schoolwork is characterized as “freedom” and their approach to career choice as “own way”. Katrňák fittingly uses the following metaphor for working class child raising: their children are like “cork plugs floating on water”. In contrast, middle class parents not only emphasize homework but also support their children’s cultural activities such as book reading or after-school classes. They see this as sources of relaxation and socializing but also as conducive to their interest in education and future career. However, this study drew only on working class families which were intergenerationally stable. The question is whether same conditions and mechanisms of socialization typically employed by middleclass, when they are present in a working class family they could promote their descendants upward mobility and thus compensate for their parents’ lack of academic qualifications. In other words, in the following empirical part we ask whether in the nowadays Czech society there are stronger mechanisms of cultural reproduction with cultural capital serving as means of class closure or cultural mobility with culture resources operating as sort of status lift.

The Czech Republic is one of the countries where education aspirations are very strongly determined by family socioeconomic background [Matějů, Smith, Basl 2008]. Due to the strong class division in aspirations, parental encouragement becomes an important factor of class reproduction. While members of the working class typically have low aspirations (are satisfied with average earnings and do not require their children to excel), college educated

parents place high demands on their children, expect them to continue to high school after primary school, and talk to them about college studies [Katrňák 2004: 149].

### **Data and measures**

Our empirical research is based on the data from the survey “Distinction and Values” conducted in 2008 which surveyed cohorts ages 30–34 (along with their parents). The sample size for children generation who responded is 1,021.<sup>5</sup> This population design yields two circumstances: First-generation people who completed secondary and tertiary education under the new regime after 1989, and at the same time the social status of an individual was achieved as well as his/her personality is already rounded at the age of thirty. The survey focused mainly on the effects of the cultural milieu in the family of origin (parental practices, various forms of capital as well as encouragement), socialization mode (parenting style, relationships, parent/child interaction) and cultural practices of adolescents on the outcomes in their adulthood (education, class destination, psychological traits, cultural consumption, values and norms). Here the mechanism of status reproduction is examined: We pursued the role of status/class origin (parental status), socioeconomic and cultural resources (economic and various forms of cultural capital), social-psychological indicators (influence of significant others, educational aspirations) and family milieu (relationships, parenting style), as well as academic achievement on achieved status.<sup>6</sup>

The individual’s status is considered in terms of occupational socioeconomic status and, complementary in its symbolic dimension, highbrow cultural capital (leisure activities associated with the dominant culture code). Therefore there are two dependent variables in the analysis which accords with two-dimensional conception of stratification: economic conditions and property (class) and symbolical standing – status (Stände) arising from prestige, common lifestyle and cultural practice [Weber (1921/22) 1980].<sup>7</sup> First, as the most pivotal variable in this study, we researched the differences in the material dimension of status derived from an individual’s occupation position in the labour market which is appropriately

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<sup>5</sup> The data from the parents’ study is not the object of the present study. It consists of only 610 cases where both the children’s and a parent’s responses are available. However, some partial analyses used this intersectional data to verify the validity and reliability of the children’s responses. The survey used a representative quota sample for the children’s generation in terms of age, education, gender, size of community and regions NUTS II. For more information about the survey, including the questionnaires, visit < <http://www.sdilenihodnot.soc.cas.cz> >.

<sup>6</sup> Not surprisingly, we ignored the influence of student-teacher interaction, especially in primary school. (i.e., teacher assessments of students’ work habits, ability to signal cultural competence (habitus), etc. [see e.g., Farkas et al. 1990]) which should be preferably incorporated when assessing cultural reproduction hypothesis.

<sup>7</sup> Resembling multidimensional conception of status, in which lifestyle was one dimension, proved to be a substantial tool in the analysis of stratification system under the socialistic regimes [see Machonin 1970].

captured in the index of International Socioeconomic Status (ISEI) [Ganzeboom, De Graaf, Treiman 1992]. Second, the symbolic dimension of status is here indicated as highbrow cultural capital measured as participation in leisure activities associated with the dominant culture code. These are: attendance at theatres, concerts or exhibitions; reading books; reading magazines and amusement literature; study (languages, professional literature); attendance to coffeehouses or restaurants; meeting with relatives; meeting with friends and acquaintance (Cronbach's Alpha 0.61).

The social-origin variables used in the analyses include the fathers' and mothers' occupations (ISEI) and their education levels. We also used social class of origin and destination. Both the respondents' and parents' occupational positions were included in 16 categories which are, for the sake of simplicity, conceptualized here as threefold schema: working class (un/skilled manual and routine non-manual), intermediate classes (routine non-manual and self-employed) and the service class (salaried). Due to the small number of cases the later two were collapsed into one for elaboration in the regression analyses. Education was measured by four categories: elementary, vocational training at apprentice training centers, secondary with diploma (*matura*) and university degree. For the subsequent multivariate analyses the first two and latter two categories were collapsed, delineating the major educational threshold – secondary school-leaving diploma. Also the gender of the respondents (indicated as males) and the rural/urban residence division at the time when the respondent was a child/adolescent were included as dummy variables.

All the independent variables indicating various resources and circumstances of parenting approaches were measured as self-reported retrospection by the respondents and mostly refer to their adolescence at the ages of 14 to 15.

*Social capital* was operationalised as the parents' accessibility to mutually beneficial connexions. The survey question was: "At that time (respondent's age of 14-15), if your family got into difficulties, e.g., somebody needed a good physician, a better job, admission to some school or goods that were in a shortage, how often did your parents use such a possibility to turn to an acquaintance and ask him/her for help? The ordinal scale consisted of five categories of frequency.<sup>8</sup> *Economic capital* was an account of the material consumption situation on a five point Likert-type scale, ranging from: (1) we used to have barely enough

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<sup>8</sup> The answers were (1) quite often, (2) often, (3) occasionally, (4) seldom, (5) never and (6) we didn't need such contacts; however, our family used to have such useful connexions. The last category was combined with the first.



money, before a payday we didn't have much money left, even for food or consumables, to (5) even necessary purchases didn't exceed the financial capacity of our family.

The following variables reflect culture resources. First, *highbrow/distinctive culture capital* was captured with answers to the question: "How often did your parents spend their leisure time on the following activities?" From the seven activities surveyed for fathers and mothers separately, here the item "visiting theatres, concerts and galleries" was employed (sum for both parents). Also from the opposite angle, cultural passivity or rather mass culture consumption was indicated by the parents' frequency of watching TV.<sup>9</sup>

Cognitive cultural capital was identified by *reading climate*. This cumulative scale consisted of the father's and mother's reading during leisure time (from the previous item battery), number of books a family had<sup>10</sup> and specific answers about media consumption and child/adolescent reading:<sup>11</sup> 'Parents talked to me about the books I read', 'I read magazines for children and youth (e.g., Ohníček, ABC, Sedmička pionýrů)', 'I read books' and 'At pre-school age, how often did your parents read fairytales or rhymes to you?' The principal component analysis of these items revealed that there is only one dimension capturing the reading climate. The corresponding additive scale was constructed (Cronbach's Alpha 0.80).

*Parents cultural activities with children outside-the-home* were obtained from an item question battery asking about 14 activities which parents (possibly only one or grandparents) did with children.<sup>12</sup> Since the principal component analysis revealed that there are more latent dimensions in parents-children activity, only the following seven items were included in the additive index of cultural/outside-the-home activities: going to the theatre, cinema, pop/folk music concerts, visiting cultural events, taking outdoors trips, doing sports and going to zoos/botanical gardens (Cronbach's Alpha 0.80).<sup>13</sup> Respondents were also asked about their own *participation in extra-curricular activities* during adolescence in five types of clubs/circles: cultural, language, sports, Boy Scouts/Young Pioneers and computer/technical.<sup>14</sup> The cumulative index was constructed using the duration of participation in a club for more than two years.

The above-mentioned parenting activity and control (*parenting styles*) have been operationalised through an item in the question battery with the following introductory question 'When you recall your childhood, to what extent do the following characteristics fit

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<sup>9</sup> The answers to this item battery were (1) quite often, (2) often, (3) occasionally, (4) seldom and (5) never.

<sup>10</sup> The categories are (1) 0-25, (2) 26-100, (3) 101-200, (4) 201-500 and (5) more than 500.

<sup>11</sup> For the answers, see note 9.

<sup>12</sup> For the answers categories see note 9.

<sup>13</sup> The second dimension comprises activities such as working in a garden, cooking or bike/car repairing.

<sup>14</sup> Here the answers were (1) never, (2) 1 year, (3) 2-3 years and (4) more than 3 years.

your family?’ Three dimensions in accord with the theoretical typology were identified through PCA. Table A.2 in the Appendix outlines the results. First, latent dimension, the authoritative style, was saturated by items such as that the parents spoke with the children a lot, tried to understand the children and explained why. Second, dimension 2, authoritarianism or ‘firm hand’, was characterized by the ‘parents’ decisions were not subject to discussion’, ‘parents placed high demands’, and ‘parents cared a lot about maintaining order’.<sup>15</sup> Third, parenting style, permissive, was saturated by ‘parents did not care about what I did’ and ‘parents wanted to know how I spent my leisure time’ (the item, ‘Parents let me plan things my way’, was finally removed from the scale due to low item reliability). In our view, this approach reflects the above mentioned position in upbringing described by the image of “floating cork plugs”. Corresponding additive scales *authoritative*, *authoritarianism* (firm hand) and *permissive* style converted to z-scores were constructed.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from parenting involvement in upbringing, the quality of relationships among parents and with children was captured in a single additive index—*bad relations in family*—comprised of answers to the following questions: ‘How would you describe the relationship between your parents when you were 14 years old?’ with the answers on a Likert-type scale: ‘Parents liked each other, they respected each other’; (2) ‘They stand each other well’; (3) ‘They were indifferent to each other’; (4) ‘Parents had bad relationship, they couldn’t stand each other’; ‘Can the mutual coexistence in your family during your childhood be termed as happy?’ and ‘Would you like to have family which would resemble the one you grew up in?’<sup>17</sup> (Cronbach’s Alpha 0.89). In addition the *number of siblings* was considered and information as to whether the respondent had an *older sibling with university diploma* (dummy variable). Whereas the first variable indicates a sort of restriction, namely in parental emotional involvement, the second reflects the important role model for educational attainment from one of the closest significant others.

For *educational aspirations and encouragement by parents* this question was applied: ‘Without any reference to your education attained, at the time you were maturing (at about the age of 14–20 years), did your parents want you to start working as soon as possible or did they want you to first attain a university degree?’ Respondents were given five response

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<sup>15</sup> The question battery on parenting styles also included a question on punishment: ‘Parents used corporal punishment’. However, this item did not distinguish clearly between parenting styles and, moreover, decreased the scale’s item reliability. Therefore, it was removed, along with the item ‘Parents let me plan things my way’.

<sup>16</sup> In fact the item’s reliability is insufficient in case of authoritarianism (Cronbach’s Alpha 0.56) and permissive style (0.59), for authoritative style it has reasonable value (0.84).

<sup>17</sup> The answers to the last two questions were: (1) definitely yes, (2) rather yes, (3) rather no, and (4) definitely no.

categories on a Likert-type scale, three of which were as follows: (1) definitely first finish the school and go to work, ..., (3) neither one and, ..., (5) definitely first achieve the university degree. Finally, *school marks* were surveyed with the question: ‘What was your academic performance in the last year at the elementary school? Roughly, what were your average school marks?’<sup>18</sup> The descriptive statistics for the variable in the analyses are presented in Table A.1 in the Appendix.

## Results

Before we examine the effects of different family resources and upbringing circumstances on attained status in the Czech Republic, we will briefly describe the educational and class structure of the cohorts born from 1974 to 1978 and sometimes called ‘Husák’s children’ (baby boomers born during the process of normalization after the Soviet occupation in 1968). For this generation the Velvet Revolution in 1989 opened unprecedented horizons and opportunities.

Compared to their parents who were entering their adolescence during the relatively politically and culturally open mid-1960s the generation under review achieved higher levels of education. In the parental generation 51 percent attained a secondary education in vocational training, typically at apprentice training centers, and 30 percent received a diploma (*matura*), and yet only 8.4 percent graduated from a university. However, there are some gender differences with mothers being at a disadvantage. The main shift was in the expansion of secondary education with a diploma and the substantial increase in women’s education [see also Simonová 2009]. Still, in the younger generation, vocational training is more typical for men and women are characterized by secondary education with a diploma. Notable is that women compared with their mothers’ generation outdistance their male counterparts in obtaining a university diploma.

Taking into consideration the significant changes in educational structure, the shift in occupational structure seems less pronounced. The younger generation has attained on average about 10 percent higher status than their fathers and mothers (average ISEI of respondents is 43.6, for fathers 39.2 and for mothers 38.9). Thus, in terms of class position, there is only a mild trend towards structural upward mobility: In the mostly enlarged service class (*salariat*) there is in both generations about one-third (it expanded about 3 percent) in intermediate classes (routine non-manual and self-employed) and roughly one-fifth and

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<sup>18</sup> The ordinal answer categories (1) 1-1.5 (i.e., distinction), (2) 1.5–2.5 and (3) less than 2.5 were converted into corresponding metrics.

around half the population consists of working class (un/skilled manual and routine non-manual). On the whole it lessened in between the two generations about 1.2 percent. Approximately 17 percent of the sample born into the working class witnessed individual upward mobility (9.5 percent even to the upper service class), whereas only 6.4% from the service and 7 percent from the intermediate classes dropped to the working class. Noteworthy is that when we consider the relative chances of people from the working class to experience upward mobility they had a twice smaller chance of entering the intermediate classes compared to those who were born with this background. In contrast their chance to ascend to the upper service class was 4.6 times less in comparison with offspring from this class in keep their position of origin.

The main question in focus is: At the end of Socialist era, were families from different social classes endowed with different amounts of capital and did this uneven distribution affected the status of their children in adulthood? Furthermore, is status attainment substantially influenced by the emotional and upbringing climate in a family? The simple association in Table 2 shows how patterns of various family resources and factors of upbringing are related to social class of origin. Except for cultural inactivity indicated by watching TV, all resources and practices are unequally distributed among all classes. The significant interclass differences can be observed in parental highbrow capital (going to theatres/museums), their educational aspirations, reading climate (cognitive when we consider the stratification output—respondents own class in adulthood). The highest effect can be attributed to their own efforts, and perhaps at least to some extent also to their talents, as indicated by school marks by the end of the elementary school.

Regarding the parenting styles the differences are rather less pronounced. The steepest class gradient in parental control is attributed to authoritarian ‘firm hand’, most intensively exercised by the upper service class. We can also assume that it has the most positive effect on status attainment (see correlations with respondents’ status in the third panel of the Table 2); however, this will be subject of testing in multivariate analyses where status of origin will be controlled. As we expected, the authoritative style—emotional support and serving as an example—is again mostly typical for the service class, though to smaller extent. Finally, the permissive mode is less clear, mostly typical for intermediate and working classes.<sup>19</sup> It also slightly reduces attained occupational status. These results only partly resemble the findings

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<sup>19</sup> In the view presented here, further examination of parenting styles is required, for example typology designating the predominating style in the family.

among families with teenage adolescents in contemporary Britain [see Chan, Koo 2008] where the authoritarian style, as operationalised, is markedly less dependent on social class.

**Table 2. Family assets and upbringing styles by social class of origin. (means, one-way Anova, coefficients of association)**

	all		by class				association		
	mean	SD	Service	Interm.	Working	sig. <sup>+</sup>	Class Family <sup>†</sup>	Class Resp. <sup>†</sup>	ISEI Resp. <sup>‡</sup>
Social capital – parents' connections	2.68	1.32	2.96	2.65	2.54	.000	.020	.008	.07
Economic capital – income situation	3.01	0.99	3.40	3.03	2.77	.000	.075	.038	.20**
Parents: watching TV	8.19	1.53	8.04	8.20	8.28	.132	.005	.006	-.09**
Parents: theatres/museums	3.91	1.71	4.81	4.10	3.31	.000	.149	.105	.32**
Reading climate	22.29	5.14	24.60	23.16	20.43	.000	.134	.124	.35**
Cultural activities w/t parents	17.62	5.11	19.76	18.46	16.12	.000	.102	.083	.31**
Extra-curricular activities	1.55	1.19	2.02	1.59	1.26	.000	.077	.064	.28**
Bad relations in family	5.41	2.41	4.99	5.35	5.67	.001	.015	.026	-.18**
Authoritarian raising	0.00	1.00	0.41	0.12	-0.27	.000	.089	.079	.32**
Authoritative raising	0.05	1.00	0.13	-0.05	-0.05	.046	.007	.015	.16**
Permissive raising	0.00	1.00	-0.21	0.11	0.07	.000	.018	.018	-.07*
Parental educational aspirations	3.00	1.11	3.59	3.16	2.61	.000	.149	.173	.49**
Older sibling w/t university dgr.	0.06	0.25	0.12	0.09	0.02	.000	.035	.037	.16**
Number of siblings	1.08	0.79	0.95	1.04	1.17	.001	.015	.014	-.16**
School marks	2.11	0.72	1.85	2.01	2.30	.000	.081	.232	-.47**

Source: Distinction and Values 2008 (N<sub>min</sub> = 752).

Note: <sup>+</sup>one-way Anova, <sup>†</sup>Eta square, <sup>‡</sup>Pearson correlation, sig. \*  $p > 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p > 0.01$ .

In sum, the bivariate analysis has indicated that there were significant differences in cultural resources as well as in social and economic capital among families from different strata in the early 1990s and, except for social capital, they individually contributed to the respondents' status in adulthood. The results show, in general, that working class families are less equipped with various resources applicable during the course of children's socialization and educational attainment, and that the service and the intermediate classes to a certain

extent resemble each other in cultural climate. The question arises as to what extent they operate in relation to the parents' educational and socioeconomic status? To answer this question we will turn to multivariate analysis of status attainment in the next section.

### **Multivariate analysis results**

To gain detailed insight into the relative weight of the factors that determine the status attainment, I present the results of regression analyses (OLS) using additive models with parental background characteristics as well as individual features, firstly for the whole sample, and then separately for two classes of origin: working (manual/blue collar) and middle (non-manual/white collar). The dependent variable in the analysis is first—as the most important part of the status—the respondent's occupation measured as socioeconomic status (ISEI) and second his or her participation in highbrow culture, i.e. symbolic status in the weberian sense. In view of the fact that occupational position is the most general component part of the status and most results for highbrow cultural capital are identical, I will therefore limit the elaboration and discussion to more general cases.

The models for the principal component of the status—occupational achievement for ISEI—are presented in Table A.3. In the base model, education and occupation as an objective parental position, together with gender, account for 21.5 percent of the variance. Since women in the sample feature a higher ISEI, males are about three units lower (the main reason to include gender as explanatory variable was to control for its effect in the analysis). The most important determinant of status attainment is the father's occupation, whilst the effect of the mother's ISEI is only half (but insignificant at  $p$  0.05). On the other hand, the mother's secondary or university diploma has a bearing on occupational status; however, there is no direct influence by the father's education. Also at the general level, the rural/urban residence division had no effect on the status of the thirtyish generation (however, we shall see later that this is dependent on the class of origin).

The second model focuses on the parental resources – various capitals as proposed by Bourdieu. No effect whatsoever is observed for social capital in terms of mutually beneficial connexions and economic capital as a retrospective account of a family's household expenses.<sup>20</sup> However, there is a strong influence of the parents' highbrow cultural capital—

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<sup>20</sup> These results were reaffirmed using data obtained directly from the parents' responses (N= 610). In case of beneficial connexions the parents were surveyed with a five-item battery. As a matter of fact, not only was utilised operationalisation of social capital proven to have no effect, but it also seems to be poorly reliable since the correlation between the answers of the parents and the children was only 0.18, whereas for economic capital the correlation was 0.48 (both groups were asked the same questions).

attendance at theatres, concerts or exhibitions—during a respondent’s childhood, even when parental education and occupation are controlled. To what extent cultural capital is an advantage for the offspring of the privileged class will be a matter of elaboration among the classes of origin.

The main goal of this study is to assess the effects of different components of cultural capital. Therefore, Model 3, besides distinctive highbrow activities, adds cultural capital supporting the cognitive abilities and social skills during the respondent’s childhood and/or adolescence expressed as a reading climate in the family, cultural activities of parents with their children and participation in extra-curricular activities. Surprisingly, once cognitive culture capital is taken into account, parental participation in legitimate culture diminishes. At the same time we can see that somewhat ‘negative cultural capital’, i.e., cultural passivity and generally absence from legitimate culture here indicated as watching TV, proved to decrease a person’s status. A reading climate in a family and extra-curricular activities contribute substantially to occupational attainment, though less than the father’s ISEI. What is important here is that both highbrow and cognitive types of cultural capital contribute to an individual’s status, even after the influence of the parents’ socioeconomic status and education is taken into account.

In the next step (Model 4) different parenting styles are considered together with the father-mother-child relationship climate. As a result incorporating upbringing and emotional circumstances into the complex model hardly improves our explanation of the individual status (in spite of the observed effect in bivariate association in which an authoritative style turned out to be most effective). Only the authoritarian style, i.e., ‘firm hand’, seems to have, all other assets taken into account, limited positive impact (we shall see that it is important for status attainment in working class families).

Model 5 and Model 6 focus in addition on socio-psychological variables and individual achievements. These show that the key agent in status attainment is parental educational aspirations, i.e., desire and encouragement of a child to study at a university, along with academic performance, here measured as school marks at the final period of the elementary school. Also the number of siblings, conducive to fractionalization of parental vigour in upbringing, lowers the ISEI, whereas an older brother or sister entering into university proves to be an insignificant status mediator.

In addition to these six models interaction terms were tested, especially the combinations of various forms of cultural capital under consideration and upbringing styles by parental ISEI and education qualification as well as urban/rural place of residence.

Detection of an accumulative advantage could illuminate the process of class distinction. Surprisingly, interaction terms turned out to be mostly insignificant; notable exceptions were the direct effects on a positive cumulative outcome of an urban residence combined with the mother's ISEI supplemented by a reading climate. Apart from other reasons this result might be due to low sample size when models are overloaded with a high volume of elements (consequently resulting in multicollinearity). In this regard I turned to an elementary elaboration model in which the regressions are estimated separately for men and women as well as for two different classes of origin.

### **Different paths of boys and girls?**

In order to examine whether the process of status attainment is identical for men and women or whether the cultural resources in a family have gender-specific impacts, the same regression analysis was run once again for men and women separately (see Table A.4 and A.5 in the Appendix). The basic outline is the same; however, there are some notable gender divergences. Firstly, regarding the base ascriptive model, as compared with women for whom not only the fathers' job but the mother's job as well is important, for men the parents' education seems to be more influential, namely the mothers' secondary level with a diploma or university degree. Furthermore, their status attainment is dependent on parental highbrow cultural capital and their extra-curricular involvement. Also it is an advantage when a boy can model himself on his older brother or sister who attends university.

Since women do better at elementary school than men,<sup>21</sup> when academic performance accounted for, the 'firm hand' (authoritarian parenting style) is necessary to promote their status attainment. On the other hand, for girls competition with other sibling appears to be obstacle. Their upbringing is more devoted to affective factors which, compared to other resources (for example number of books), cannot be shared by virtue of the indivisibility of the parents' time. At the general level, the results indicate that when growing up boys need to be exposed to a more stimulating and controlled environment during the socialization process. Unfortunately the small sample size does not enable the running of a regression for social classes of origin further split by gender to see whether there are class and gender specifics in the status attainment process. However, further bivariate analyses of upwardly mobile individuals from the working class into the middle class indicate that girls compared to boys need to be exposed to stronger parental aspirations on their educational achievement.

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<sup>21</sup> Women report better total average marks at the end of elementary school: 1.96 compared to men's 2.29 (t-test sig. 0.000).



### **Status achievement in different social classes**

To explain class of origin-specific functioning of different forms of cultural resources—that means to assess the differing role cultural capital may play in mobility strategies of different class segments, and to compare the influence of cultural capital in different kinds of educational and occupational settings—I further estimated the same regression models separately for two ultimate social classes of origin: working and middle. The latter comprise intermediate classes and service class to use Goldthorpe’s typology [Goldthorpe 1980]; however, unluckily due to an insufficient number of cases, it was not possible to split it further (finally there are 215 cases with working class backgrounds and 221 with middle-class backgrounds). The results are shown in Table A.6 and A. 7.

We have seen that respondents’ ISEI depends the most on the parents’ status (besides the father’s ISEI effect for men, it was primarily the mother’s education); however, here it turns out that the parent’s education contributes strongly only for people with a middle-class background. Here we expected secondary education (specifically the mother’s) to first assist people from working classes to improve their status via educational attainment<sup>22</sup>. However, the most important finding from the class split in the first model is that growing up in an urban residence constituted a significant advantage for individuals from working classes. But let’s turn to the main point here: various dimensions of cultural capital. Model 3 shows the most striking findings of inter-class divergence of occupational attainment: There is no effect of highbrow cultural capital in the middle class (above their parents’ formal education) as the cultural reproduction thesis argues. On the other hand, participation in legitimate culture strongly promotes occupational status in working-class families. In addition, it is rather a sort of negative cultural capital (inactivity) indicated by watching TV which lowers middle-class descendants’ status.

Turning next to the Model 4, the tendency is alike, yet cognitive component of cultural capital: A reading climate directly affects occupational success only in working-class families and concurrently their highbrow cultural capital keeps a significant effect. However, we can observe the high effect of extra-curricular activities on the middle class. Here it is worth noting that respondents growing up in working classes attended during their childhood on

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<sup>22</sup> The parents’ education classification—presence of secondary education diploma—was sensitively designed not to merely duplicate applied class division which is derived from a parent with a higher-class position. There are 16.2% respondents with working-class origins whose at least one parent had attained a secondary education with a diploma which is broadly considered to be the boundary between qualification for manual and non-manual work in the Czech society (compared to 83.8% among their middle-class counterparts).

average 1.3 of language, sporting etc. clubs for at least two years, compared to 1.9 clubs/organisations in the middle classes. This result perhaps indicates that middle-class parents are able to involve a broader circle of socialization agents in their struggle to transmit status to their children. So far we have seen the insignificant effect of parenting styles when other factors, namely cultural capital, are considered. However, when class split is applied, it turns out that authoritative supervision ('firm hand') has a convincing effect on individuals from the working classes.

Besides the six models presented here I estimated one in addition which utilised another form of social capital influencing occupational attainment somewhat more directly: a contact that provided information about the first job. It was constructed as a weak tie (acquaintance) mobilized contact to a person from the upper class which combines social capital conceptualization by both Bourdieu [1984] and Lin [1982]. Firstly, these upper-status contacts due to the homophily principle were used more often by individuals from the middle classes. The results of multivariate analysis, which have to be interpreted very carefully because of the issue of small numbers at this level of disaggregation, are somewhat puzzling: Overall there is a small but statistically significant contribution of an upper-class network contact, but when the two classes of origin are considered separately it proved to be functioning only in the case of working-class ascendants. This preliminary result thus once again rather reject the cultural reproduction model according to which middle-class families use exclusively various assets in their status attainment which are supposed to not to be available to the their working-class counterparts.

### **Highbrow culture participation: intergenerational transmission of cultural capital**

Since an individual's status is not only defined in terms of occupational position and its returns but also as a symbolic standing which is not necessary derived from one's occupation (however, in sociology it is mostly conceptualized as occupational prestige), the other component of status (symbolic dimension, or in Bourdieu's term highbrow cultural capital here operationalised as highbrow culture leisure activities during adulthood) has been regressed onto the same variables as ISEI was previously. We will discuss the results only briefly with a focus on significant departures from the occupational attainment model.

Here we have to remind that both status components are intertwined to a certain extend: Correlation of ISEI and highbrow culture is 0.34<sup>23</sup>. Thus it comes as no surprise that

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<sup>23</sup> Respondents' ISEI is strongly correlated with education 0.70; relation of education and highbrow culture capital is 0.39 (Spearman's Rho). ISEI and income (economic capital) as the third main component of social

the outcome pattern from the replication of regression is quite similar (see Table A.8). However, there are some interesting departures. Firstly, highbrow culture consumption is markedly less dependent on parental socioeconomic status (13 percent of explained variance compared to 22 percent for ISEI in base Model 1); only the education of mother having somewhat moderate, albeit insignificant effect. A negative parameter estimate for males shows that compared to women, Czech men are less engaged in highbrow culture (this is consistent with findings from other surveys [cf. Špaček, Šafr, forthcoming]). Not surprisingly highbrow cultural capital is heavily dependent on the same kind of capital of the parents. This effect is perhaps unexpectedly only about 15 percent less for those with working-class origins compared to middle-class origins (class-separate results are not presented). However, the effect of parents going to theatres/concerts drops by nearly half when we consider the influence of cognitive type of cultural capital indicated by a reading climate in childhood which proved to be by far the strongest predictor of highbrow cultural capital in adulthood. In view of the fact that this indicator is comprised of the parents' reading and by the individual's reading activity during childhood, together with the mentioned small interclass difference in intergenerational transmission, both facts once again indicate the validity of the cultural mobility model.

### **The social space of socialization: cultural, socioeconomic resources and upbringing in the family of origin**

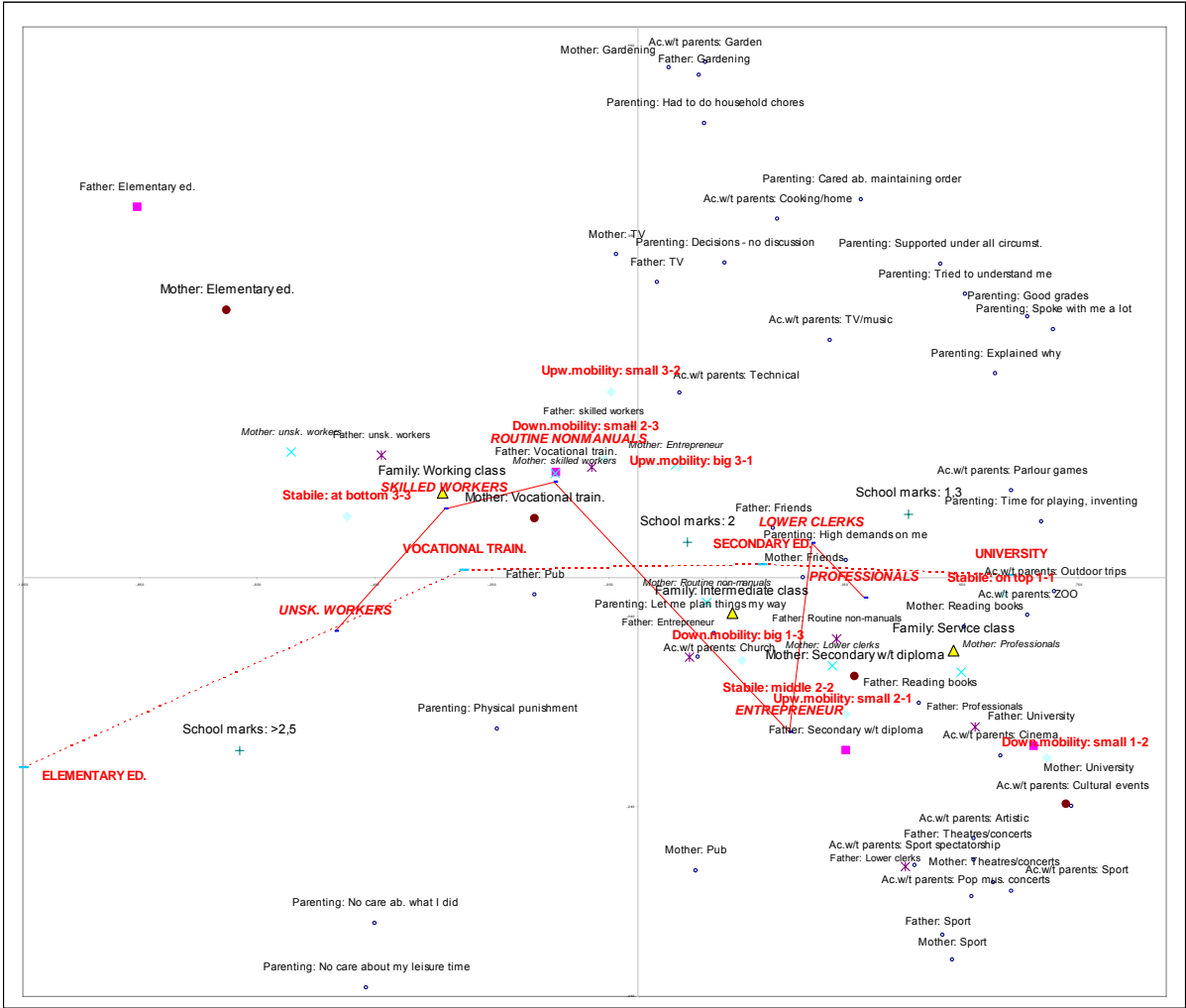
Finally, to summarize the results in a comprehensive and relational manner, the categorical principal component analysis of the family of origin climate was conducted in which the coordinates determine the social space of parental resources, activities, rearing styles, etc. in an individual's childhood onto which the stratification results were projected: education attained and main occupation groups, i.e., class of destination as well as intergenerational mobility patterns for the three classes. Thus the original items behind the indices are examined in a detail<sup>24</sup> which were subjected to rigorous statistical tests in multivariate regression analyses to unfold a map which portrays different socialization climates in its plasticity. In this analysis I also included some items related to the childhood circumstances which could not be built-in in the indices due to not accomplishing the reliability or homogeneity of dimension criterion.

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status [Machonin 1970; Matějů, Kreidl 2001] (and which attainment was omitted in the present study) are correlated in our sample of 30–34 year-old cohorts at only 0.19 (Pearson correlation).

<sup>24</sup> The CTPCA method enables the simultaneous treatment of variables on either nominal, ordinal or numeric level of measurement.

**Figure 1. Social space of cultural, socioeconomic resources and upbringing in the family of origin and stratification results (categorical principal component analysis)**



Source: Distinction and Values 2008

Note: stratification results – respondent’s education, class and mobility patterns (in red) are supplementary variables projected onto the coordinates

In the map, we found a primary cleavage between families in which parents not only were endowed with socioeconomic and cultural resources (education and high level of occupational status) but also appeared to be active culturally or socially (also sports-minded) as well as in child-rearing engagement, and those who seem relatively passive for whom only in-home activities (gardening, cooking or technical activities with a child i.e., car repair) are peculiar. In other words, whereas the right half of the social space is filled with many activities, the left part stays rather empty delineated merely by items like not being concerned about a child and a father going to a pub.

## Conclusion and discussion

We began with a notion of the desirable elaboration of the cultural capital concept into mutually interconnected types on the basis of their function in intergenerational transmission of status: highbrow culture/distinctive type derived from a legitimate cultural code which is theoretically linked to the cultural reproduction model (i.e., cultural privilege of the upper/middle class appreciated by a school system) and cognitive cultural capital type grounded in stimulating intellectual activities, here indicated as the reading climate in a family which supports the development of a child's personality and promotes school success. From a theoretical point of view, the second type is connected to the cultural mobility model, albeit both types generally represent hardly separable cultural resources in a family of origin.<sup>25</sup> In addition, another closely related agent operating significantly during a child's socialization was proposed: parents-children's interaction climate—consisting of parenting control, emotional relations, parent-child communication and parents' involvement in after-school activities as well as future aspirations—being an important vehicle for status attainment.

The study reported here examined status attainment of nowadays cohorts aged 30–34 years, the generation for whom historical change after 1989 opened novel opportunity which was unimaginable for their parents' generation. Different determinants of status were assessed in additive linear regression models of respondents' status primarily for occupational attainment (socioeconomic status, ISEI) as well as for origin of its symbolic dimension: highbrow cultural capital (prestigious leisure time activities in adulthood).

The results indicate that occupational status is in a way influenced by nearly all spheres, except for social capital, in terms of the parents' mutually beneficial connexions and economic capital, whereas the symbolic status dimension (cultural capital during adulthood) is less anchored in ascriptive conditions as expressed by the parents' socioeconomic status, while it is determined primarily by their cultural resources. When controlled for other factors the background of the family (parents' status) remains essential, whereas after introducing another component of cultural capital – reading climate promoting cognitive skills the parental distinctive cultural capital (highbrow culture consumption) have only insignificant effects. Also extra-curricular activities are considerably contributing to occupational

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<sup>25</sup> The third dimension – competence cultural capital proposed as general cultural resources not necessary related to legitimate culture but which are profitable in everyday interactions, in which individual's status is locally exposed and negotiated, obviously could not be a part of this study. For the role of conspicuous consumption, elegance in dressing and cultural omnivorousness (along with highbrow cultural taste) in maintaining symbolical boundary in the Czech society see [Šafr 2006, 2008].

achievement. However, this operates differently in different classes of origin: For working-class offspring when both components of cultural capital—highbrow and cognitive—are present, they serve as significant agents of intergenerational mobility. On the other hand, extra-curricular activities help their middle class counterparts who are significantly more often involved in them. However, parenting styles which were included in the survey to capture a broader family milieu in which socialization operates prove to be a somewhat poor predictor in addition to all previous agents (at least as operationalised in the study); only authoritative 'firm hand' supervision is somewhat important for men and working-class descendants. Thus apart from ascriptive characteristics with significant effect of the father's status occupational status, the major explanation of the status transmission process in the mid-1990s Czech society can be considered in parental involvement and encouragement in educational aspirations together with academic performance of a child and his/her reading habits (cognitive cultural capital). The question opened for future research is whether these mechanisms, after ongoing changes of Czech educational system, still hold true for families whose children are attending elementary school nowadays.

It emerged that people who come from the middle class are on their way to educational attainment and afterwards to occupational success endowed with educational recourses primarily guaranteed by their parents' formal qualifications accompanied with activation of a broader circle of socialization agents (here indicated by extra-curricular activities). In contrast, for individuals from working-class origins their parents have to compensate for the lack of academic resources by creating a cultural milieu which stimulates the development of personality, particularly an open linguistic code which, together with a stock of general cultural knowledge, helps in progressing through an elementary school and later educational transitions such as passing the secondary school entrance exams. This is, especially for the generation in focus, the turning point in the Czech educational system and consequently a key factor influencing later position in the stratification.

The results showed that about half of the total explained portion of the occupational attainment of young Czechs was determined by ascriptive characteristics, namely the status of the family of the origin. Nevertheless, it also pointed out to the independent importance of cultural resources which do not primarily serve as an exclusive asset acting as a closure agent (i.e., the invisible 'head start' for middle-class descendants). To interpret these findings in light of the theoretical models of cultural capital, validity of the cultural mobility argument [DiMaggio 1982] was corroborated for Czech society after 1990. We have demonstrated that various forms of cultural capital can also promote the success of people whose parents are not

endowed with direct educational and socioeconomic assets. Yet we must remember that these resources are not available to all strata equally. The results of the case study of working-class educational reproduction [Katrňák 2004] demonstrated that different school strategies of the working class versus college-educated parents were not primarily a direct result of structural barriers (i.e., unequal distribution of economic and cultural capital) but rather their different reactions to those barriers.

Regarding the results of status determinants presented here, we have to remember that these strategic choices and behaviours of parents (both intentional and unintentional) were taking a place in the early 1990s when education was valued somewhat differently. Rather than strategic investment with future returns on the labour market, it was seen as value in and of itself related to an intellectual ethos which is long-lasting historically given feature of a significant part of the Czech population. Moreover, in that time, occupational success was strongly derived from opportunities on the newly emerging job market (i.e., self-employment, business atmosphere, private sector). We can assume, however, and some surveys [e.g., Matějů, Smith, Basl 2008] corroborate, that nowadays the education for which recoverability in relation to income has increased twofold during the last two decades [Večerník 2009] is seen by parents and their children as a more effective route to occupational success than at the end of the 1980s.

Nevertheless, as we have demonstrated this attitude is not adhered to by all strata uniformly and moreover we can expect class differences be more pronounced nowadays [cf. Katrňák 2006]. For parents with at least secondary diploma qualification, it is virtually indispensable, and for those with lower-level (vocational) training, it is the second issue, though the aspirations of parents with a lower education seem to be higher in urban centres due to their increased awareness of job market opportunities [Vojtíšková 2009]. This may imply a question of validity of the results regarding people today in their early thirties for their ascendants in the time when a secondary education diploma has become the minimum necessity and universities have opened up to a broader public. What is more essential, the Czech educational system has split into different tracks: Newly emerging private schooling, renewed multi-year grammar schools (often seen as exclusive lift on the educational route for children from middle-class families [cf. Matějů, Straková 2005]) and lately rising private universities, all of which were virtually nonexistent for the generation in the focus of this study. As a result we can confidently hypothesise economic capital will rise in importance in educational attainment (in particular for tertiary level) in the years ahead.

All the facts taken together, there is a more general question: What can public policy do to promote the educational and consequently occupational success of those with a low status origin, particularly those disadvantaged by not living in urban centres with accessible cultural facilities? First of all, no policy can influence directly what is going on in families. In the light of the findings from the analyses presented here, a very general suggestion would be, not very surprisingly, to promote factors contributing to adolescents' scholastic reading or more generally to support availability of educationally enriching materials in the home, primarily to improve accessibility and a broad supply of extra-curricular activities in which children not only learn useful knowledge but also gain generally rewarding social skills. It seems trivial, but in the light of flaring income differences emerging during the post-socialistic transition, in fact it is not. All of these factors proved to be a potent guide through the path to occupational success of the current thirtyish generation, although their occupational attainment occurred in very specific conditions during the 1990s in a society undergoing a rapid transition from a socialistic regime to a capitalistic system with newly constituting open labour market (and owing to that, increased chances for upper mobility) and consequently the reestablishment of a stratification structure. Also in any transforming society as the Czech Republic still is, in particular for the current ongoing educational reform, a partial component of educational and status attainment may partly change its relative weight. However, children's and adolescents' involvement in after-school activities underpinned by a favourable climate in a family, will both contribute to his/her single-mindedness to overcome the legacy of their parental socioeconomic status or least to substantially assist in its attenuation.



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## Appendix

**Table A.1. Descriptive statistics of variables used in the analyses.**

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Male	0	1	0.48	0.50
Urban residence	0	1	0.70	0.46
Father's ISEI	16	90	39.17	13.81
Mother's ISEI	16	88	38.89	14.94
Father's sec./univ. education	0	1	0.42	0.49
Mother's sec. /univ. education	0	1	0.35	0.48
Social capital - parents connections	1	5	2.68	1.31
Income situation	1	5	2.99	0.99
Parents: watching TV	4	10	8.17	1.54
Parents: theatres/ museums	2	8	3.89	1.70
Reading climate	7	35	22.21	5.14
Cultural activities w/t parents	7	31	17.62	5.12
Extra-curricular activities	0	5	1.54	1.19
Bad relations in family	3	12	5.42	2.41
Authoritarian raising (z-score)	-3.27	1.80	0.00	1.00
Authoritative raising (z-score)	-3.25	2.61	0.00	1.00
Permissive raising (z-score)	-3.76	3.97	0.00	1.00
Parental educational aspirations	1	5	2.99	1.11
Older sibling w/t university dgr.	0	1	0.06	0.24
Number of siblings	0	3	1.09	0.79
School marks	1.30	3.30	2.12	0.72

Source: Distinction and Values 2008.

**Table A.2. Parenting styles.<sup>26</sup> Principle component analysis.**

	Component		
	1	2	3
Parents spoke with me a lot	<b>.818</b>	.110	.004
Parents tried to understand me	<b>.763</b>	.007	-.014
When parents wanted something of me, they explained why	<b>.737</b>	.133	.002
Parents supported me under all circumstances	<b>.700</b>	.054	.018
Parents took time for playing, inventing interesting things	<b>.669</b>	.142	.180
Parents made sure I had good grades	<b>.651</b>	.285	-.207
Parents did not care about how I spent my leisure time	-.537	-.289	<b>.401</b>
Parents' decisions were not subject to discussion	.029	<b>.665</b>	-.221
Parents placed high demands on me	.203	<b>.641</b>	.260
I often had to do household chores	.083	<b>.573</b>	.026
Parents cared a lot about maintaining order	.388	<b>.531</b>	-.103
Parents forbidden me to watch TV	-.009	<b>.477</b>	-.289
Parents let me plan things my way	.259	-.103	<b>.676</b>
Parents did not care about what I did	-.473	-.008	<b>.666</b>

Source: Distinction and Values 2008.

Note: Varimax Rotation, Kaiser Normalization.

<sup>26</sup> The question was: "When you recall your childhood, how much the following characteristics would describe your family?" (1 definitely yes – 4 definitely no).

**Table A.3. Occupational status (ISEI), 30-34 age cohort in the Czech Republic. Base model. OLS regression, unstandardized (B), standardized coefficients (Beta)**

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.
(Constant)	29.49		.000	30.60		.000	26.38		.000	32.55		.000	27.73		.000	39.91		.000
Men <sup>1</sup>	-3.03	<b>-0.11</b>	.012	-3.10	<b>-0.11</b>	.010	-2.18	-0.08	.073	-1.88	-0.07	.126	-1.73	-0.06	.137	-0.86	-0.03	.453
Urban residence <sup>2</sup>	0.83	0.03	.537	1.06	0.03	.429	0.85	0.03	.535	1.00	0.03	.468	0.16	0.00	.905	0.15	0.00	.904
Father's ISEI	0.23	<b>0.22</b>	.000	0.21	<b>0.20</b>	.001	0.20	<b>0.19</b>	.001	0.20	<b>0.20</b>	.001	0.17	<b>0.17</b>	.004	0.19	<b>0.18</b>	.001
Mother's ISEI	0.11	0.11	.078	0.09	0.09	.136	0.07	0.07	.249	0.06	0.07	.285	-0.05	-0.05	.891	-0.02	-0.02	.731
Father's sec./univ. education <sup>3</sup>	4.63	<b>0.16</b>	.010	3.31	0.12	.069	3.12	0.11	.083	2.94	0.10	.104	2.79	0.10	.103	2.50	0.09	.136
Mother's sec./univ. education <sup>4</sup>	1.58	0.05	.376	0.96	0.03	.592	0.69	0.02	.694	1.08	0.04	.540	0.32	0.05	.849	-0.47	-0.02	.776
Social capital – family connections				0.25	0.02	.585	0.26	0.02	.563	0.09	0.05	.848	0.09	0.05	.839	0.25	0.02	.565
Income situation				0.12	0.01	.861	-0.18	-0.05	.793	-0.27	-0.02	.687	-1.10	-0.07	.092	-0.96	-0.07	.132
Parents: watching TV				-0.60	-0.06	.150	-0.80	-0.08	.052	-0.92	<b>-0.10</b>	.027	-0.47	-0.05	.235	-0.44	-0.05	.260
Parents: theatres/museums				1.23	<b>0.14</b>	.005	0.46	0.05	.354	0.40	0.05	.411	0.40	0.05	.391	0.25	0.03	.583
Reading climate							0.42	<b>0.14</b>	.015	0.33	0.11	.068	0.21	0.07	.219	0.08	0.03	.648
Cultural activities w/t parents							-0.03	-0.05	.861	-0.12	-0.04	.505	-0.03	-0.05	.876	0.03	0.05	.840
Extra-curricular activities							1.29	<b>0.11</b>	.019	1.26	<b>0.11</b>	.021	1.07	<b>0.10</b>	.039	0.94	0.08	.065
Bad relations in family										-0.16	-0.03	.615	-0.10	-0.02	.741	-0.08	-0.05	.774
Authoritarian raising										0.93	0.06	.303	-0.33	-0.02	.701	-0.72	-0.05	.403
Authoritative raising										1.10	0.08	.086	1.00	0.07	.097	0.86	0.06	.149
Permissive raising										-0.42	-0.03	.502	0.14	0.05	.808	-0.09	-0.05	.880
Parental educational aspirations													3.95	<b>0.32</b>	.000	3.25	<b>0.27</b>	.000
Older sibling w/t university dgr. <sup>5</sup>													3.20	0.06	.139	2.92	0.06	.167
Number of siblings													-2.42	<b>-0.13</b>	.002	-2.34	<b>-0.13</b>	.002
School marks																-4.20	<b>-0.21</b>	.000
Adj. Rsq.		.215			.230			.254			.258			.343			.371	
BIC		2261.08			2272.86			2274.35			2291.89			2253.44			2239.42	

Source: Distinction and Values 2008 (N<sub>listwise</sub> = 440).

Note: Reference category: <sup>1</sup> Female, <sup>2</sup> Rural, <sup>3,4</sup> Elementary or vocational training, <sup>5</sup> no older sibling w/t diploma

Bold Beta numbers are significant at level  $p > 0.05$

**Table A.4. Occupational status (ISEI), 30-34 age cohort in the Czech Republic. Men only. OLS regression, unstandardized (B), standardized coefficients (Beta)**

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.
(Constant)	30.47		.000	31.31		.000	29.65		.000	35.85		.000	32.01		.000	49.92		.000
Urban residence <sup>1</sup>	-0.23	-0.01	.909	0.34	0.01	.863	-0.18	-0.05	.927	0.23	0.05	.910	-0.59	-0.02	.767	-0.40	-0.05	.836
Father's ISEI	0.18	<b>0.18</b>	.044	0.18	<b>0.18</b>	.039	0.16	<b>0.16</b>	.064	0.14	0.14	.101	0.11	0.11	.203	0.13	0.13	.112
Mother's ISEI	0.01	0.01	.882	-0.05	-0.05	.571	-0.08	-0.08	.402	-0.07	-0.07	.452	-0.16	-0.16	.079	-0.18	<b>-0.18</b>	.041
Father's sec./univ. education <sup>2</sup>	7.16	<b>0.25</b>	.009	4.02	0.14	.150	3.92	0.14	.156	3.85	0.13	.173	3.54	0.12	.186	2.60	0.09	.317
Mother's sec./univ. education <sup>3</sup>	4.58	<b>0.16</b>	.085	4.42	<b>0.15</b>	.089	4.32	0.15	.091	4.22	0.14	.102	3.16	0.11	.200	1.73	0.06	.473
Social capital – family connections				-0.21	-0.02	.747	-0.15	-0.05	.821	-0.29	-0.03	.653	-0.16	-0.02	.795	-0.04	0.00	.950
Income situation				-0.73	-0.05	.438	-1.11	-0.08	.239	-1.05	-0.08	.265	-1.82	<b>-0.13</b>	.048	-1.36	-0.10	.129
Parents: watching TV				-0.56	-0.06	.385	-0.83	-0.08	.190	-1.05	-0.10	.112	-0.77	-0.08	.232	-0.82	-0.08	.189
Parents: theatres/museums				2.53	<b>0.31</b>	.000	1.52	<b>0.18</b>	.040	1.51	<b>0.18</b>	.044	1.36	<b>0.17</b>	.055	1.13	0.14	.100
Reading climate							0.44	<b>0.15</b>	.077	0.44	0.15	.099	0.33	0.11	.189	0.14	0.05	.566
Cultural activities w/t parents							-0.04	-0.02	.858	-0.14	-0.05	.598	0.05	0.00	.971	0.07	0.03	.768
Extra-curricular activities							1.67	<b>0.15</b>	.053	1.72	<b>0.15</b>	.050	1.17	0.10	.165	1.10	0.10	.173
Bad relations in family										-0.45	-0.07	.393	-0.59	-0.09	.246	-0.62	-0.10	.201
Authoritarian raising										-0.65	-0.05	.652	-2.02	-0.14	.152	-2.69	<b>-0.19</b>	.051
Authoritative raising										1.36	0.09	.171	1.42	0.10	.135	1.12	0.08	.223
Permissive raising										-0.62	-0.05	.463	-0.22	-0.02	.787	-0.44	-0.03	.568
Parental educational aspirations													4.06	<b>0.34</b>	.000	3.18	<b>0.26</b>	.001
Older sibling w/t university dgr. <sup>4</sup>													4.84	0.09	.147	5.55	<b>0.10</b>	.086
Number of siblings													-1.12	-0.06	.300	-1.01	-0.06	.333
School marks																-5.35	<b>-0.28</b>	.000
Adj. Rsq.		.226			.279			.304			.301			.370			.414	
BIC		1045.86			1048.65			1054.38			1072.17			1063.63			1053.55	

Source: Distinction and Values 2008 (N<sub>listwise</sub> = 201).

Note: Reference category: <sup>1</sup> Rural, <sup>2,3</sup> Elementary or vocational training, <sup>4</sup> no older sibling w/t diploma

Bold Beta numbers are significant at level  $p > 0.05$

**Table A.5. Occupational status (ISEI), 30-34 age cohort in the Czech Republic. Women only. OLS regression, unstandardized (B), standardized coefficients (Beta)**

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.
(Constant)	25.71		0.00	26.69		0.00	20.40		0.00	25.94		0.00	21.55		0.05	31.70		0.00
Urban residence <sup>1</sup>	1.69	0.06	0.35	1.89	0.06	0.30	2.11	0.07	0.27	2.09	0.07	0.27	1.13	0.04	0.53	1.10	0.04	0.53
Father's ISEI	0.28	<b>0.27</b>	0.00	0.27	<b>0.26</b>	0.00	0.26	<b>0.25</b>	0.00	0.26	<b>0.25</b>	0.00	0.23	<b>0.22</b>	0.05	0.24	<b>0.23</b>	0.05
Mother's ISEI	0.18	<b>0.20</b>	0.02	0.17	<b>0.19</b>	0.03	0.16	<b>0.18</b>	0.04	0.15	<b>0.17</b>	0.07	0.09	0.10	0.25	0.08	0.09	0.29
Father's sec./univ. education <sup>2</sup>	2.49	0.09	0.30	2.16	0.08	0.38	1.85	0.07	0.45	1.86	0.07	0.45	1.43	0.05	0.54	1.50	0.05	0.52
Mother's sec./univ. education <sup>3</sup>	-1.23	-0.04	0.61	-1.46	-0.05	0.55	-1.84	-0.06	0.45	-1.27	-0.04	0.61	-1.91	-0.07	0.42	-2.24	-0.08	0.34
Social capital – family connections				0.68	0.06	0.31	0.68	0.06	0.30	0.53	0.05	0.43	0.39	0.04	0.54	0.57	0.05	0.36
Income situation				0.79	0.05	0.42	0.62	0.04	0.53	0.47	0.03	0.64	-0.52	-0.03	0.58	-0.64	-0.04	0.49
Parents: watching TV				-0.58	-0.06	0.30	-0.77	-0.08	0.16	-0.85	-0.09	0.13	-0.33	-0.04	0.54	-0.28	-0.03	0.60
Parents: theatres/museums				0.12	0.01	0.85	-0.55	-0.06	0.42	-0.53	-0.06	0.44	-0.19	-0.02	0.76	-0.26	-0.03	0.69
Reading climate							0.49	<b>0.16</b>	0.04	0.39	0.13	0.12	0.25	0.08	0.29	0.14	0.05	0.54
Cultural activities w/t parents							-0.04	-0.05	0.87	-0.13	-0.05	0.59	-0.13	-0.05	0.58	-0.08	-0.03	0.71
Extra-curricular activities							0.72	0.07	0.32	0.79	0.07	0.28	0.93	0.08	0.17	0.80	0.07	0.23
Bad relations in family										-0.04	-0.05	0.93	0.26	0.04	0.51	0.25	0.04	0.52
Authoritarian raising										1.45	0.09	0.24	0.37	0.02	0.75	0.18	0.05	0.88
Authoritative raising										0.55	0.04	0.54	0.38	0.03	0.65	0.41	0.03	0.62
Permissive raising										-0.33	-0.02	0.73	0.38	0.02	0.68	0.10	0.05	0.91
Parental educational aspirations													3.94	<b>0.32</b>	0.00	3.37	<b>0.27</b>	0.00
Older sibling w/t university dgr. <sup>4</sup>													2.21	0.04	0.45	1.31	0.03	0.65
Number of siblings													-3.54	<b>-0.19</b>	0.00	-3.47	<b>-0.19</b>	0.00
School marks																-3.49	<b>-0.16</b>	0.05
Adj. Rsq.		.191			.188			.203			.198			.306			.324	
BIC		1230.27			1248.88			1257.65			1276.95			1255.56			1253.67	

Source: Distinction and Values 2008 (N<sub>listwise</sub> = 239).

Note: Reference category: <sup>1</sup> Rural, <sup>2,3</sup> Elementary or vocational training, <sup>4</sup> no older sibling w/t diploma

Bold Beta numbers are significant at level  $p > 0.05$



**Table A.6. Occupational status (ISEI), 30-34 age cohort in the Czech Republic. Working class origin only. OLS regression, unstandardized (B), standardized coefficients (Beta)**

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.
(Constant)	23.23		0.00	19.42		0.01	13.94		0.06	19.08		0.04	18.35		0.05	33.66		0.00
Men <sup>1</sup>	-3.20	-0.13	0.05	-3.07	-0.12	0.06	-1.93	-0.08	0.24	-0.91	-0.04	0.58	-0.94	-0.04	0.57	0.03	0.00	0.98
Urban residence <sup>2</sup>	3.74	<b>0.14</b>	0.03	4.00	<b>0.15</b>	0.02	4.57	<b>0.18</b>	0.05	5.41	<b>0.21</b>	0.00	4.72	<b>0.18</b>	0.05	4.16	<b>0.16</b>	0.02
Father's ISEI	0.42	<b>0.20</b>	0.01	0.36	<b>0.17</b>	0.02	0.33	<b>0.15</b>	0.03	0.31	<b>0.15</b>	0.04	0.27	0.13	0.06	0.28	<b>0.13</b>	0.05
Mother's ISEI	0.05	0.03	0.67	0.05	0.03	0.63	0.02	0.05	0.85	0.00	0.00	0.97	-0.03	-0.02	0.80	-0.07	-0.05	0.47
Father's sec./univ. education <sup>3</sup>	3.41	0.08	0.29	0.54	0.01	0.87	0.84	0.02	0.79	1.20	0.03	0.71	0.91	0.02	0.78	0.45	0.05	0.88
Mother's sec./univ. education <sup>4</sup>	-2.87	-0.07	0.36	-1.88	-0.05	0.54	-2.69	-0.07	0.37	-2.43	-0.06	0.42	-2.01	-0.05	0.49	-3.39	-0.08	0.24
Social capital – family connections				0.81	0.08	0.22	0.73	0.07	0.26	0.30	0.03	0.65	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.13	0.05	0.83
Income situation				-1.16	-0.09	0.19	-1.12	-0.09	0.20	-0.94	-0.08	0.28	-1.52	-0.12	0.08	-1.56	-0.12	0.06
Parents: watching TV				-0.03	0.00	0.95	-0.21	-0.02	0.71	-0.23	-0.03	0.68	0.31	0.04	0.58	0.29	0.03	0.60
Parents: theatres/museums				2.07	<b>0.25</b>	0.00	1.45	<b>0.17</b>	0.03	1.37	<b>0.16</b>	0.04	1.37	0.16	0.04	1.23	<b>0.15</b>	0.06
Reading climate							0.68	<b>0.26</b>	0.00	0.60	<b>0.23</b>	0.05	0.51	<b>0.20</b>	0.04	0.32	0.12	0.19
Cultural activities w/t parents							-0.22	-0.09	0.34	-0.33	-0.13	0.17	-0.28	-0.11	0.23	-0.20	-0.08	0.39
Extra-curricular activities							-0.17	-0.02	0.83	-0.49	-0.04	0.54	-0.47	-0.04	0.54	-0.57	-0.05	0.45
Bad relations in family										0.05	0.00	0.98	-0.03	-0.05	0.94	-0.12	-0.02	0.77
Authoritarian raising										1.19	0.10	0.33	0.16	0.05	0.90	-0.33	-0.03	0.78
Authoritative raising										2.23	<b>0.18</b>	0.05	2.45	<b>0.20</b>	0.00	1.97	<b>0.16</b>	0.02
Permissive raising										0.13	0.05	0.87	0.52	0.04	0.50	0.14	0.05	0.85
Parental educational aspirations													2.17	<b>0.19</b>	0.05	1.63	0.14	0.06
Older sibling w/t university dgr. <sup>5</sup>													<b>2.53</b>	0.03	0.59	1.84	0.02	0.69
Number of siblings													<b>-2.78</b>	<b>-0.19</b>	0.00	-2.47	<b>-0.17</b>	0.05
School marks																-4.25	<b>-0.26</b>	0.00
Adj. Rsq.		.073			.119			.144			.169			.219			.257	
BIC		1093.80			1100.23			1106.85			1117.67			1117.09			1110.78	

Source: Distinction and Values 2008 (N<sub>listwise</sub> = 215).

Note: Reference category: <sup>1</sup> Female, <sup>2</sup> Rural, <sup>3,4</sup> Elementary or vocational training, <sup>5</sup> no older sibling w/t diploma

Bold Beta numbers are significant at level  $p > 0.05$

**Table A.7. Occupational status (ISEI), 30-34 age cohort in the Czech Republic. Middle class origin only. OLS regression, unstandardized (B), standardized coefficients (Beta)**

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.
(Constant)	32.90		0.00	39.90		0.00	38.52		0.00	46.79		0.00	38.72		0.00	47.43		0.00
Men <sup>1</sup>	-2.00	-0.07	0.26	-2.05	-0.07	0.24	-1.52	-0.05	0.38	-1.80	-0.06	0.31	-2.19	-0.08	0.18	-1.73	-0.06	0.29
Urban residence <sup>2</sup>	-2.85	-0.09	0.17	-3.08	-0.09	0.14	-3.63	-0.11	0.08	-4.40	<b>-0.13</b>	0.04	-5.19	<b>-0.16</b>	0.05	-4.59	<b>-0.14</b>	0.02
Father's ISEI	0.16	<b>0.18</b>	0.03	0.17	<b>0.19</b>	0.02	0.17	<b>0.19</b>	0.02	0.17	<b>0.19</b>	0.02	0.15	<b>0.17</b>	0.03	0.16	<b>0.18</b>	0.02
Mother's ISEI	0.10	0.09	0.23	0.06	0.05	0.53	0.02	0.02	0.81	0.05	0.05	0.91	-0.06	-0.05	0.47	-0.07	-0.06	0.40
Father's sec./univ. education <sup>3</sup>	5.23	<b>0.15</b>	0.04	5.08	0.14	0.05	5.94	<b>0.17</b>	0.02	5.35	<b>0.15</b>	0.05	4.34	<b>0.12</b>	0.08	3.98	0.11	0.11
Mother's sec./univ. education <sup>4</sup>	4.69	<b>0.16</b>	0.05	3.30	0.11	0.17	3.16	0.11	0.17	3.51	0.12	0.14	2.11	0.07	0.34	1.48	0.05	0.50
Social capital – family connections				-0.40	-0.04	0.54	-0.31	-0.03	0.63	-0.39	-0.04	0.54	0.03	0.00	0.96	0.22	0.02	0.71
Income situation				1.56	0.10	0.14	1.26	0.08	0.24	1.08	0.07	0.31	-0.15	-0.05	0.89	-0.03	0.00	0.97
Parents: watching TV				-1.21	<b>-0.13</b>	0.04	-1.26	<b>-0.14</b>	0.03	-1.45	<b>-0.16</b>	0.02	-1.25	<b>-0.14</b>	0.03	-1.24	<b>-0.13</b>	0.02
Parents: theatres/museums				0.40	0.05	0.52	-0.40	-0.05	0.57	-0.54	-0.06	0.44	-0.62	-0.07	0.34	-0.76	-0.09	0.24
Reading climate							0.05	0.02	0.84	0.02	0.05	0.93	0.07	0.02	0.76	0.05	0.00	0.98
Cultural activities w/t parents							0.07	0.02	0.76	-0.03	-0.05	0.90	0.06	0.02	0.79	0.10	0.03	0.67
Extra-curricular activities							2.48	<b>0.23</b>	0.00	2.55	<b>0.24</b>	0.00	2.03	<b>0.19</b>	0.00	1.95	<b>0.18</b>	0.05
Bad relations in family										-0.35	-0.05	0.45	-0.23	-0.04	0.58	-0.17	-0.03	0.69
Authoritarian raising										1.16	0.07	0.40	0.23	0.05	0.86	0.05	0.00	1.00
Authoritative raising										0.22	0.02	0.82	-0.07	0.00	0.94	0.04	0.00	0.96
Permissive raising										-1.35	-0.09	0.18	-0.84	-0.06	0.36	-0.90	-0.06	0.32
Parental educational aspirations													4.80	<b>0.37</b>	0.00	4.23	<b>0.32</b>	0.00
Older sibling w/t university dgr. <sup>5</sup>													2.81	0.07	0.26	2.62	0.06	0.29
Number of siblings													-2.75	<b>-0.13</b>	0.03	-2.97	<b>-0.14</b>	0.02
School marks																-3.19	<b>-0.15</b>	0.03
Adj. Rsq.		.138			.154			.196			.195			.317			.330	
BIC		1161.02			1174.07			1175.85			1193.61			1169.94			1170.00	

Source: Distinction and Values 2008 (N<sub>listwise</sub> = 221).

Note: Reference category: <sup>1</sup> Female, <sup>2</sup> Rural, <sup>3,4</sup> Elementary or vocational training, <sup>5</sup> no older sibling w/t diploma

Bold Beta numbers are significant at level  $p > 0.05$

**Table A.8. Cultural capital – Highbrow culture participation, 30-34 age cohort in the Czech Republic. Base model. OLS regression, unstandardized (B), standardized coefficients (Beta)**

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.	B	Beta	Sig.
(Constant)	11.02		.000	8.77		.000	4.18		.011	4.03		.048	4.23		.045	8.79		.000
Men <sup>1</sup>	-2.24	<b>-0.22</b>	.000	-2.39	<b>-0.24</b>	.000	-1.73	<b>-0.17</b>	.000	-1.77	<b>-0.18</b>	.000	-1.75	<b>-0.18</b>	.000	-1.49	<b>-0.15</b>	.000
Urban residence <sup>2</sup>	0.26	0.02	.597	0.48	0.04	.301	0.50	0.04	.272	0.51	0.05	.270	0.50	0.05	.274	0.51	0.05	.262
Father's ISEI	0.03	0.08	.178	0.01	0.02	.686	0.00	0.05	.835	0.05	0.02	.780	0.05	0.02	.769	0.05	0.03	.611
Mother's ISEI	0.03	0.08	.184	0.01	0.04	.569	0.00	0.00	.948	0.00	0.05	.893	0.00	0.00	.998	0.00	-0.05	.856
Father's sec./univ. education <sup>3</sup>	0.78	0.08	.205	0.47	0.05	.428	0.19	0.02	.739	0.08	0.05	.885	0.00	0.00	.994	-0.19	-0.02	.731
Mother's sec./univ. education <sup>4</sup>	1.06	<b>0.11</b>	.089	0.44	0.04	.463	0.24	0.02	.676	0.22	0.02	.702	0.15	0.05	.797	0.03	0.00	
Social capital – family connections				0.08	0.02	.633	0.09	0.02	.554	0.10	0.03	.488	0.08	0.02	.587	0.14	0.04	.332
Income situation				0.01	0.00	.959	-0.17	-0.03	.447	-0.18	-0.03	.434	-0.25	-0.05	.288	-0.20	-0.04	.378
Parents: watching TV				-0.01	0.00	.968	-0.14	-0.04	.286	-0.14	-0.04	.312	-0.12	-0.03	.406	-0.10	-0.03	.445
Parents: theatres/museums				0.95	<b>0.32</b>	.000	0.46	<b>0.16</b>	.004	0.48	<b>0.16</b>	.003	0.49	<b>0.17</b>	.002	0.43	<b>0.15</b>	.006
Reading climate							0.38	<b>0.37</b>	.000	0.39	<b>0.38</b>	.000	0.39	<b>0.38</b>	.000	0.35	<b>0.34</b>	.000
Cultural activities w/t parents							0.00	0.00	.992	-0.05	-0.05	.926	-0.05	-0.05	.866	0.05	0.05	.903
Extra-curricular activities							0.07	0.02	.685	0.08	<b>0.02</b>	.662	0.09	0.02	.639	0.04	0.05	.844
Bad relations in family										-0.02	<b>-0.05</b>	.861	0.00	0.00	.962	-0.05	0.00	.950
Authoritarian raising										0.03	<b>0.00</b>	.932	-0.03	-0.05	.912	-0.18	-0.04	.540
Authoritative raising										-0.28	-0.06	.175	-0.25	-0.05	.232	-0.29	-0.06	.153
Permissive raising										0.18	<b>0.04</b>	.375	0.19	0.04	.338	0.13	0.03	.524
Parental educational aspirations													0.16	0.04	.419	-0.09	-0.02	.653
Older sibling w/t university dgr. <sup>5</sup>													-0.47	-0.03	.534	-0.59	-0.03	.425
Number of siblings													-0.49	<b>-0.07</b>	.073	-0.47	<b>-0.07</b>	.075
School marks																-0.15	<b>-0.22</b>	.000
Adj. Rsq.		.127			.204			.290			.288			.290			.320	
BIC		1521.96			1498.32			1458.55			1480.64			1494.18			1494.18	

Source: Distinction and Values 2008 (N<sub>listwise</sub> = 483).

Note: Reference category: <sup>1</sup> Female, <sup>2</sup> Rural, <sup>3,4</sup> Elementary or vocational training, <sup>5</sup> no older sibling w/t diploma

Bold Beta numbers are significant at level  $p > 0.05$