THE MOTIVATIONS AND ROLES OF PARENTS IN CULTURAL TRANSMISSION – PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

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ABSTRACT
This article presents preliminary results on the motivations and roles of parents in cultural transmission, which are key factors in understanding future cultural consumption. During the past 30 years, cultural consumption has been linked to social class, revenue, education level, arts education and other demographic factors; very few researches have dealt with cultural transmission practices within families (Lahire, 1995), one of the primary determinants of future cultural consumption (Mohr and DiMaggio, 1995). Based on a qualitative approach, the preliminary findings of this research support a conceptual framework grounded in identity (Ricœur, 1992) and on self and others' perceptions (Goffman, 1967). A preliminary mapping of motivations and roles is proposed; limitations and future researches are identified.
Keywords: Cultural transmission; parents-children interactions; cultural consumption.

INTRODUCTION
During the past 30 years, many researchers have explored the relative influence of several determinants on future cultural consumption; academic and revenue levels as well as arts education have been strongly correlated to future consumption (Gray, 1998; Martin et al., 2010). DiMaggio and Useem (1980) as well as Belk and Andreasen (Belk and Andreasen, 1980) were the first to identify the role played by arts education on future cultural consumption, while Bergonzi and Smith (Bergonzi and Smith, 1996) confirmed its primary influence. According Novak-Leonard and Brown (2011), arts education has even a stronger influence on younger children and those with a low level of education. These results were confirmed through extended surveys on arts participation in Britain (Oskala et al., 2009) and the United States (Rabkin and Heldberg, 2011).
Among different models of arts education, an early, regular and continuous exposure to the arts within a family was identified as a main contributing factor to cultural transmission by Bourdieu and Darbel (1991). Mohr and DiMaggio (1995) confirmed the importance of the family cultural climate and the impact of such and exposure was measured in France: children who benefited from it are 1.6 times more likely to sustain a high level of cultural consumption as adults (Octobre et al., 2010).
The strong influence of families on the child's future leisure behaviour has been well documented in sociology, psychology, pedagogy and in consumer behaviour. In sociology, Bourdieu developed his theory on cultural capital based on the influence of families (Bourdieu, 1973). However, Lahire (1995) argued that cultural transmission cannot be a simple transfer of cultural capital as presumed by Bourdieu, but proposed that the child undergoes a process of transformation marked by work, appropriation and the construction of a cultural heritage. Octobre et al. (2010) identified three major motivations of French parents for arts education: child development (67 %), pleasure and relaxation (53 %), as well as academic success (16 %).
In psychology, the research done on parents' motivations in arts education was based mostly on intrinsic and extrinsic motivations as defined by Ryan and Deci (2000). For example, Zinnecker (2001), documented parents' extrinsic motivations such as social capital acquisition and arts' contribution to academic achievement. In pedagogy, Robinson (1995) put forward the educational value of the arts in the development of multiple intelligences and self-esteem, while Hickman (2010) cited mostly extrinsic motivations such as fostering creativity and imagination, and transmitting a specific culture. Bamford (2006) argued that arts education has a positive impact on academic achievement, contributes to the transmission of a cultural identity and to their cognitive and emotional development.
In consumer behaviour, many researches documented the socialization processes of children (John, 1999, Arnold and Fischer, 1994) and how they impact future consumption patterns, but very few were focussed on cultural consumption habits. Gainer (1997) identified four attitudinal segments of parents and marketing strategies for arts education: a focus on the intrinsic value of art (art for art's sake), its extrinsic value (acquisition of social capital), its educational value (contribution to academic success) and its' accessibility (through popular art forms).
In sports, similar researches were done by pedagogists

Lavoi and Stellino (2008) on parents' motivations for their sons' participation in hockey games: they identified a task-oriented motivation of parents which values the pleasure derived from the game itself, as well as an ego-oriented motivation, with a priority given to winning the game. Another research on sports by White et al. (2004) concluded that children tend to adopt the same motivations as their parents and that task-oriented motivations (hard work and collaboration) were opposed to ego-oriented motivations (competition and superior ability) (Nicholls, 1984).

As shown in Appendix 1, even if these researches on parents' motivations are few and fragmented, common themes emerged along intrinsic/extrinsic or task- and ego- oriented motivations; within extrinsic motivations, educational values are quoted frequently and were identified separately. However, this literature review has shown that there are significant gaps in the understanding of cultural transmission. Researches on the parents' motivations remain often secondary to other topics: none of them presents a comprehensive review of parents' motivations in arts education within the family, a key factor for future cultural consumption, which has proven to be easier to act upon than demographic ones.

As the literature review has shown, no research established a link between parents' motivations, their roles and cultural practices with their children. *Consumer Culture Theory* researchers have suggested that rituals and daily routines may be the best moments to document the consumer socialization process and that research should be done on interactions within the family (Epp and Price, 2008). Debenedetti et al. (2009) used as well the family as the unit of analysis for their research on motivations of companions or guides; Gallen and Bouder-Pailler (2010) also gave a primary importance to the role of companions.

Another issue of the literature reviewed is that the child is often reduced to a passive object of social processes (James and Prout, 1990). This research adopts the prerequisite of Epp and Price (2008) that consumption should not be considered as an individual act, that interaction between children and their parents contributes directly to cultural identity formation through the socialization process. The programmatic objective of this research is to identify the motivations, roles and strategies of parents as well as their interactions with children in cultural transmission. The immediate objective of this paper is to respond to the following questions:

- Which motivations characterize parents in cultural transmission practices?
- What roles do they play according to their motivations?

The paper presents a conceptual framework, a methodology and preliminary findings on the parents' motivations and roles; children's reactions to these will be reported later. Finally, limitations and future researches are identified.

Conceptual framework

The first central construct of this research is based on the perceptions that an individual has of himself and his perceptions of his relationships to self and others, according to Goffman's interactionist approach (Goffman, 1967); the second one relies on Ricœur's (1992) concepts of sameness and selfhood, both contributing to the construction of identity (see Table 1).

Goffman is probably the interactionist sociologist who has best identified how motivations and roles determine social behaviour. For Goffman (1967), the notion of 'role' in social interaction is particularly useful, because it allows to distinguish a person's identity from the function he has in a 'performance'. Goffman (1967) distinguishes two rules of social behaviour that involve obligations in relation to oneself and expectations of others: face, which is the image that an individual must preserve of himself, and deference which refers to the image that others should have of him. For parents, this concept is reflected in their relationship with their child, either in the perception they have of themselves as a parent or in relation to the image they want their child or others to have of them. The first axis will therefore be based on two poles: the relationship to the image of themselves and to the image their child and others should have of them.

By identifying motivations, the parent's 'role' could also be revealed through the metaphors they use to describe their actions (Ricœur, 1992). For Ricœur (1992), parents contribute directly to the construction of the identity of their children: a parent may want to recognize and strengthen an identity (referring to Ricœur's *sameness* concept) or propose a distinct identity (based of his *selfhood* concept). These two concepts form the second pole of parents' motivations: sameness and selfhood. Both concepts are key to the understanding of cultural transmission, because they take into account interactions, acknowledge the effect of perceptions and convey identities. The interactions between parents and their children reveal the parents' motivations which are based on their perceptions of themselves and others. Motivations, perceptions and interactions contribute together to the cultural identity of the child.

METHODOLOGY

Considering the purpose of this research, an interpretative method was chosen to identify new concepts and theories (Patton, 2002) from an analysis of the metaphors used by informants (Joy et al., 2003). The use of in-depth interviews of adults who attended theatre performances with their children provides access to their interpretation of the construction of their own identity, as well as to their motivations regarding their children.

Sixteen parents, grandparents and aunts were selected in two theatres for young audiences, one in Belgium, the other in Canada. This art form is particularly adapted to

the different phases of child development (Piaget and Inhelder, 1962) and has a strong impact on future cultural consumption (Octobre, 2004). As shown in Appendix 2, the purposeful sample was selected according to a variation of adult age groups, children's age and the adult's relationship to children in order to emphasize contrasts (Arnould and Epp, 2005).
In-depth semi-structured interviews, averaging 60 minutes in length, were conducted preferably at home in order to stimulate an exchange based on trust without interference (Arnould and Epp, 2005). All interviews were recorded, copied and coded to ensure authenticity and subsequent verification (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Validation of the results was based on an analysis of textual data, overlapping motivations and their combination (Arnould and Epp, 2005). The analysis of the meaning of each interview was followed by a comparison between interviews in order to determine the interpretation of motivations by iteration (Becker, 2009). Transferability was enhanced by analyzing parents' motivations and roles in two countries, Belgium and Canada, with different cultures within the same linguistic universe (Arnould and Epp, 2005). Internal validity was strengthened by the high variety of motivations, their association with the main axis of the conceptual model (Bruner, 1986) and the use of informants' terms to reinforce authenticity (Thompson et al., 1989).

RESULTS

The following paragraphs present the preliminary findings on the motivations and roles of parents in cultural transmission. Motivations have been regrouped under four major roles along the main axes of the conceptual framework and, for each of them, a list of motivations is proposed, as shown in Table 1.

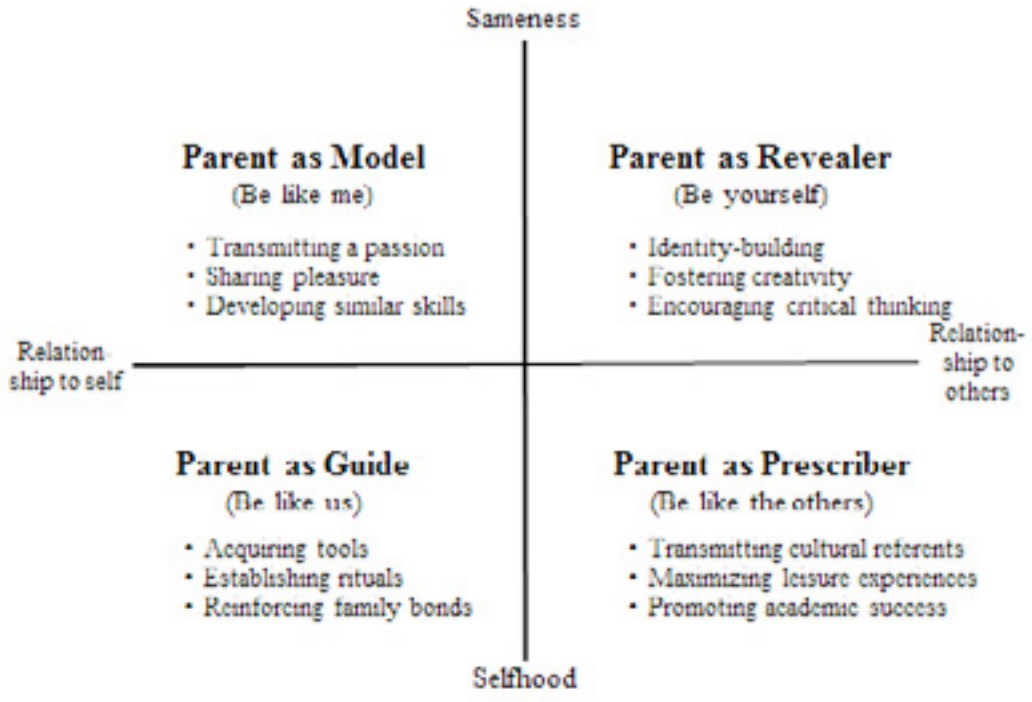

TABLE 1 : PARENTS' ROLES IN CULTURAL TRANSMISSION ACCORDING TO THEIR MOTIVATIONS

Parent as Model (Be like me)
As models for their children, parents often adopt imitation strategies to transmit a cultural passion, a sensory or emotional experience, an artistic ability or a technical skill. Their intention is *be like me* as their motivations are closely related to their image of themselves and to the perception of their children's identity being the same as their own.
I love theatre, because there is a direct contact with the audience ... It is a pleasure that I discovered when I saw Equus .. I'm not sure that I understood everything but I discovered theatre, the direct relationship... Today,..., especially in theatre for young people,...it's amazing the proximity....My role is to help my grandchildren discover things that I personally love. (Letitia) [1]
Transmitting a cultural passion is a motivation which has been well documented in the literature, including by

1 All excerpts were translated from French by the author and all informants' names are fictitious (see Appendix 2).

Donnat (2004) who reported that a third of French people have inherited a passion from their family; for 9% of them, it was a cultural passion and parents are usually the source of that passion (54 %), followed by siblings (17%) and grandparents (7%). The trigger of a transmission can be a specific work of art, such as *Equus* for Letitia, but also a strong sensory or emotional moment, as Luce reported it.
The present moment, the sensory exchange...Theatre is very vibrant for me. Even if you're part of a group, you feel you are all alone with the event on stage. I see it with the kids. I watch them, I observe them, just like my father [did for me], and it's stronger than me ... I look at them, how they are in the present moment...they are captivated by the sounds, the image, the smell ... Children are sponges of sense ... (Luce)

Sharing pleasure from an art event could be linked to a sensory immersion revealing the hedonic function of experiential moments (Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982), such as the one experienced by Luce. According to Rowlands (1993), cultural transmission can be accomplished through highly coded, standardized and repetitive rituals, or linked to sporadic and emotional events associated with elements of a performance. With time, these elements become symbolic icons contributing to a child's identity and, through repetition, to give a sense of authenticity to the experience, as Luce described it when she recalls the same sensory moment with her father, and how it was repeated with her grandsons.

Developing similar skills, either artistic or technical, is linked to the motivation of transmitting a cultural passion, but with a more articulated intention. As Kevin acknowledged it, parents can recognize and foster the development of their own skills in their children and act as models to develop these skills:
Actually, [my son] resembles me, he is a real technician - the lights, the console and the technical production - he likes it all. During the performance, he looked at everything... When I was a kid, I was fascinated by the console, the lights...It is the same thing for him. (Kevin)

Parent as Guide (Be like us)

The intention of parents acting as guides is *be like us*, as their motivations are related to their image of themselves, but in a larger context of social tools, rituals and family bonds.
I can say that I bring my children to theatre to provide them tools ... For me, the most important benefit of culture is to broaden their perceptions ... It is being capable of having different points of view and even of being able to live with differing viewpoints simultaneously. (Benjamin)

Acquiring tools will provide his sons with a better understanding of the world according to Benjamin, a young professional with two sons. During the interview, he used the metaphor of an actor to describe how a child perceives theatre: as the actor takes a step back and becomes a witness of himself in action, a child is able to step back from everyday reality and observe it form an external viewpoint when he is attending a performance. According to Vygotsky (1978), parents play a guiding role in the development of a child's learning by providing him with a zone of proximal development and by framing this experience (Goffman, 1974) in order to provide tools so children could better 'manage their lives', as expressed by Benjamin.

Establishing rituals refers to the repetition of learning mechanisms and values (Epp and Price, 2008). The rituals surrounding performing arts attendance help individuals to develop and maintain social relationships that Gainer (1995) identified as 'small worlds'. Many informants in this research use theatre experiences to develop 'small worlds' by creating special moments, before or after the performance, often associated with an exceptional treat with other children and parents. The intent of these '*moments of pleasure*', as coined by Camille is to build relationships based on intergenerational complicity: each performance is followed by a special event. According to Camille, young children are very aware of rituals, how they develop and how often they are brought back to reinforce relationships.

Reinforcing family bonds is a motivation which was mentioned especially by aunts and grand-parents. As Holt (1995) reports, leisure events may serve to build privileged relationships within a family. Spending time together has been referred to as one of the main motivations by Sylvianne ('*I want to create a special bond through the discovery of something different*'), Letitia ('*we cannot stop the clock ticking, but we can create exceptional moments so they will last when nothing is left*') and Line:
As a grandparent, one thing is important for me: to develop a special bond with my grandchildren. I wanted to introduce them to theatre, because of the beauty of it, but, at the same time, taking the children out for an afternoon creates a special bond, ..., a different quality of relationship. (Line)
As guides, parents adopt strategies to reinforce a child's bonds to themselves, to the family or to larger social groups. These guides play the role of informed companions bringing cognitive (mutual enrichment, transmission of knowledge) and emotional (recreation, reassurance) support (Debenedetti, 2003). As well, a guide provides a context for the experience (Price and Epp, 2006) by lowering cognitive and psychological boundaries (Carù and Cova, 2011).

Parent as Revealer (Be yourself)

The third role of parents brings together the motivations intended to reveal the child to himself (Singly, 2009) by building its identity, stimulating his creativity, and developing critical thinking.
Beyond academic achievement, my motivation to bring my son to the theatre is to help him build himself as a person,

through a kind of mix and match process, so he can reflect on himself: "Who am I? How do I see myself? How do I want to act?" (Marie)

Identity-building: Marie teaches theatre and visual arts in a Montreal suburb high school. She is also the mother of a six year old boy she brings to the theatre since he was six months old. Her main motivation is identity-building, based on a mix and match approach. This concept is a cornerstone of modern identity (Giddens, 1991) allowing individuals to pick up and choose their identity. Pronovost (2007) also emphasized the role of cultural activities in identity-building: they allow the child to assert his interests, develop his autonomy and build a positive image of himself. This could also help teenagers '*express anxiety or disagreements, contribute to a better understanding of their place in society and make them realize they are not alone*', as Irene points out.

Fostering creativity: Several researchers have identified the contribution of cultural experiences in the development of childhood imagination and creativity (Burton et al., 2000). Through consumption stories from museums goers, Joy and Sherry (2003) described how our knowledge of the world is embodied: the functions of the senses and imagination is to 'grasp' the world, and this faculty is built through the arts. Alice is a Polish educator raising her three children at home and now living in Belgium; she subscribed to a theatre for young audience series in order to foster their imagination:

Theatre enables them to continue to dream, to imagine characters, create stories; this is a natural ability of children that we need to support because, otherwise, they will be swallowed by everyday life and will not dare to imagine something better, being no longer able to have confidence in themselves and envision their future. (Alice)

As Hennion (1988) pointed out, play is a privileged mechanism of cultural transmission, because it allows children to grasp and understand the frameworks of social interaction, the motivations of agents and the roles they play. As well, it allows children to have access to knowledge on a protected mode; once the knowledge is integrated, the game turns into culture, a compendium of accumulated experience (Huizinga, 1951).

Encouraging critical thinking is another important motivation mentioned by informants. While recognizing that children absorb perceptions, ideas and emotions mostly through impregnation (Lahire, 1995), Irene believes that it is important in early adolescence to develop their critical thinking. The development of critical thinking may include exposing children to other cultures and questioning prejudices or consumption values. Irene describes how a theatre classic may cultivate critical thinking:

Last year, the first play [of the season] was The Three Penny Opera by Bertolt Brecht. In the current context of collusion and corruption, the play has not aged at all... At 14, 15 years old, a play is more interesting when it is related to the news ... It sharpens their critical thinking... It is a bit like traveling.. it opens minds. (Irene)

As revealers, parents adopt motivations based on their child's point of view: identity-building, development of creativity and critical thinking. Through empowerment strategies, they emphasize the relationship of the child to his own identity.

Parent as Prescriber (Be like the others)

The role of parents as prescribers is well documented in the literature. The motivations of these parents are often based on conformity to dominant cultures *(be like the others)*. These may include motivations of social mobility (Seiter, 1993) or a desire for social distinction (Pugh, 2009). They could result in promoting academic success, maximizing children's leisure experiences or simply transmitting cultural referents. The main strategies used by parents are based on distinction.

Transmitting cultural referents constitutes one of the main sociological functions of parents in contributing to the integration of their children into society, according to Pronovost (2007). Octobre and Jauneau (2008) have demonstrated, for example, that if both parents read more than average, this doubles the chances that their child will read as well. Even if the attendance to fine arts is slowly declining in western countries (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; Donnat, 2003), the transmission of classical culture continues to be an important motivation for most informants. For example, Benjamin believes that *'despite the elitism of classical culture, it plays a central role in social success and self-confidence'*.

This transmission process could also be highly personalized: Constance has put together small booklets for her grandson and granddaughters in which she recopies stories she used to tell them; she includes also texts written by the children themselves, programs and drawings from theatre performances. Kept by Constance, these booklets can serve as symbolic icons and cultural referents (Latour, 1994).

Maximizing leisure experiences could be linked to the recent decrease in the number of children per family and the need of parents to stimulate their children's capacities, as Annie Claude observed:

We are in a period of hyper-stimulation of children. They must experience everything before the age of five: "he must attend theatre, it's good for him! As he must eat green vegetables, it is good for him! ". (Annie-Claude)

This approach is similar to the motivation of a consumer segment defined as 'maximizers' for which satisfaction level is constantly postponed (Carrillat et al., 2011). As Glevarec (2010) noted it, this motivation may reflect a regret of parents who want for their children what they did not have access to when they were young, or that their parents did not provide to them.

Promoting academic success is highly-prevalent as a motivation in the literature review, as summarized in Appendix 2. This motivation is based on several studies

demonstrating the impact of the arts on academic success (Bamford, 2006; Burton et al., 2000). However, by linking cultural activities to academic success, parents may face a boomerang effect with children who seek primarily their intrinsic benefits (Bourgeon-Renault and Filser, 2010). Very few informants pointed out academic success as one of their motivations, except Line who mentioned that attending theatre '*develops the language level and increases academic success; it makes children more alert, it brings them to a different level*'.

The four roles that parents adopt in cultural transmission cover a range of motivations in relation to the perception they have of themselves as well as to the image others should have of them. By attending theatre performances with their children, parents propose a value system and provide tools so children can learn their own social role, in relation to their parents, themselves and others.

CONCLUSION

The contribution of this research is twofold. First, it contributes to the advancement of knowledge in consumer behaviour, especially in relation to the transmission of cultural consumption practices in childhood. Secondly, if several researchers have explored the transfer of meaning in material culture (Epp and Price, 2010; Marcoux, 2001), as well as the exchange of objects between children (Cook, 2001), few researchers have studied the transmission of meaning to children from intangible objects such as theatre performances; documentation of intangible cultural transmission within families contributes to the research on interaction in consumer socialization.

This research has examined how parents' motivations could be distributed according to their perceptions of sameness and selfhood (Ricœur, 1992) in relation to the image they have of themselves and others (Goffman, 1967). The research may have limitations due to the importance of context in cultural transmissions processes and an extension to other countries may bring variations in parents' motivations and roles. As well, even if the importance of the interactions with children has been established, their influence in cultural transmission practices has not been researched yet. Finally, managerial implications need to be explored as well, both in terms of audience-development strategies for arts organizations and of evaluation of cultural policies in arts education.

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APPENDIX 1: PARENTS' MOTIVATIONS FOR CULTURAL AND SPORTS ACTIVITIES

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	AUTHOR (YEAR)	MAIN MOTIVATIONS			
		INTRINSIC	EXTRINSIC	EDUCATIONAL	OTHERS
L'enfance des loisirs (Longitudinal research on 4 000 children in France)	Octobre et al. (2010)	Pleasure and relaxation (53%)	Child development (67%)	Academic success (16%)	
Pre-Adolescent Children	Zinnecker (2001)		Social capital	Academic success	
Children, Society and the Arts	Robinson (1995)		Self-esteem	Multiple intelligences	
Why We Make Art and Why It Is Taught	Hickman (2010)	Creativity and imagination, transmission of a specific culture	Self-esteem, knowing other cultures and one's own identity	Learning about different art forms and media	Taking risks
The WOW Factor: Global research compendium on the impact of the arts in education	Bamford (2006)	Transmission of identity and artistic language	Cognitive and emotional development	Academic success, lower dropout rates	
Marketing Arts Education : Parental Attitudes Towards Arts Education for Children	Gainer (1997)	Art for art's sake	Social capital	Academic success	Accessibility through popular art forms

SPORTS	AUTHOR (YEAR)	MAIN MOTIVATIONS	
		GOAL-ORIENTED	TASK-ORIENTED
The Relation Between Parent-Created Sport Climate and Competitive Male Youth Hockey Players' Behaviours	Lavoi and Stellino (2008)	Pleasure through mastering of the game	Winning by being better
Perceived Parental Beliefs about the Causes of Success in Sport	White et al. (2004)	Hard work and collaboration	Competition and superior ability

APPENDIX 2 : INFORMANTS' PROFILES

INFORMANTS	AGE GROUP	PROFESSION	RELATION TO CHILD	NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND SEX	CHILD AGE	COUNTRY
Alice	20-30	Housewife	Mother	1 girl, 2 sons	4, 7, 9 years old	Belgium
Camille	60-70	Retired	Grandfather	2 granddaughters	8, 10 years old	Belgium
Constance	60-70	Retired	Grandmother	1 granddaughter, 2 grandsons	7, 9, 11 years old	Belgium
Denise	20-30	Clerk	Mother/aunt	1 son, 1 niece	6, 9 years old	Belgium
Jean	30-40	Designer	Father	2 girls	8, 11 years old	Belgium
Kevin	40-45	Electrician	Father	1 boy	10 years old	Belgium
Leticia	60-70	Educator	Grandmother	1 granddaughter	5 years old	Belgium
Vanessa	30-40	Illustrator	Mother	2 sons	6, 8 years old	Belgium
Annie-Claude	20-30	Technician	Mother	1 girl	8 years old	Canada
Benjamin	30-40	Manager	Father	2 boys	8, 10 years old	Canada
Christiane	30-40	Professional	Mother	1 girl	9 years old	Canada
Irène	40-50	Urban planner	Mother	2 girls	11, 15 years old	Canada
Line	60-70	Civil Servant	Grandmother	1 granddaughter	6 years old	Canada
Luce	50-60	Retired	Grandmother	2 grandsons	4, 6 years old	Canada
Marie	30-40	Educator	Mother	1 boy	5 years old	Canada
Sylvianne	40-50	Clerk	Aunt	1 niece	8 years old	Canada