



Cultural Socialization in Black Middle-Class Families

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Abstract

While cultural capital is broadly documented as an important mechanism of class reproduction, there is less understanding of cultural capital within black middle-class families. This paper addresses this gap in knowledge by exploring how black middle-class parents approach their children's socialization in the fine arts. Drawing on in-depth interviews with black middle-class parents, I develop a conceptual framework outlining how such parents adopt a concerted cultivation approach to their children's socialization in visual art. I outline how rather than leaving their children's artistic tastes and preferences to develop without their intervention, some black middle-class parents actively nurture their children's appreciation and understanding of fine art by arranging for them to attend exhibitions and activities at arts organizations, and by involving them in art collecting. By elaborating how black middle-class parents socialize their children in fine art, this paper contributes to a richer understanding of cultural capital within black middle-class families, and highlights how Pierre Bourdieu's research on cultural capital is relevant for a minority middle-class group.

Keywords

cultural capital, cultural consumption, class reproduction, child-rearing, black middle class, Bourdieu, ethnicity

Introduction

One way that elite families pass on their class status to their children is through cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979). However, there is little research on cultural capital within black middle-class families. This paper addresses this gap in knowledge, by exploring how black middle-class parents approach their children's socialization in the fine arts. Drawing on in-depth interviews with black middle-class parents, I develop a conceptual framework outlining how such parents adopt a concerted cultivation approach to their children's socialization in fine visual art. I outline how rather than leaving their children's artistic tastes and preferences to develop without their intervention, some black

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middle-class parents actively nurture their children's appreciation and understanding of fine art by arranging for them to attend exhibitions and activities at arts organizations, and by involving them in art collecting.

By conceptually elaborating and empirically illustrating how black middle-class parents socialize their children in fine art, this paper contributes to a deeper understanding of cultural capital within black middle-class families. Given the lower likelihood that black middle-class children will inherit the class status of their parents (Isaacs, 2007; Oliver and Shapiro, 1995: 156–60), it is imperative to gain a richer understanding of cultural capital within black middle-class families. Long-standing debates about the salience of class for the black middle class (Lacy, 2007; Lareau, 2003; Pattillo, 2007; Wilson, 1980) also make understanding how black middle-class parents transmit cultural capital to their children especially significant. Finally, this paper also speaks to debates about the applicability of Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) research on cultural capital to minority groups (Bennett et al., 2009; Carter, 2005; DiMaggio and Ostrower, 1990; Fleming and Roses, 2007; Hall, 1992; Lacy, 2007: 72–113). While Bourdieu's analyses of cultural capital did not focus on ethnic minorities, findings in this paper suggest that his argument that children in middle-class families are socialized in the 'high' arts extends to the black middle class.

Cultural Capital and Middle-Class Families

Cultural capital is one mechanism of class reproduction, or the transmission of social class across generations. Pioneered by Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984), cultural capital theory argues that high-status cultural tastes and competences are a resource that yields returns. According to cultural capital theory, one important site of cultural capital transmission is the home. Elite families who are endowed with rich stocks of cultural capital transmit this to their children while they are growing up.¹

Cultural capital is often conceptualized and measured as an appreciation and understanding of fine art (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978). Going to the opera, enjoying classical music, visiting museums and galleries, and owning art are all forms of cultural capital. The ability to decode and understand fine art is also a form of cultural capital.² Bourdieu argues that through prolonged exposure to cultural capital in their families, children of the middle and upper classes develop an appreciation and understanding of 'legitimate' culture.

Like all forms of cultural capital (Lamont and Lareau, 1988), an appreciation and understanding of fine art are theorized to garner advantages. Scholars theorize that fine art is central to the culture of elites and that it facilitates bonding of group members in work and social contexts (DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978). Researchers also theorize that students who have an appreciation and understanding of fine art may do better in educational institutions where a preference for, and understanding of, fine art are institutionalized in how students are evaluated (DiMaggio, 1982).

Exposure to the 'high' arts is one important way that cultural capital is transmitted in middle-class families.³ Another distinctive feature of cultural capital in middle-class homes is tied to the cultural logic that governs child-rearing. In her research on race, class, and child-rearing, Annette Lareau (2003) argues that black and white middle-class parents approach child-rearing with a cultural logic of 'concerted cultivation' that gives their

children advantages. In this approach to parenting, rather than leave their children's growth to occur naturally, middle-class mothers and fathers actively assess and develop their children's talents and interests. Lareau (2003) contrasts this with the cultural logic of the 'accomplishment of natural growth' which she argues characterizes the child-rearing of the black and white working class and poor. In this approach to child-rearing, children's talents and interests are allowed to develop with less intervention from parents.

While Lareau's (2003) research illustrates how a concerted cultivation parenting style is a form of cultural capital that characterizes black middle-class child-rearing as a whole, her work does not systematically examine how concerted cultivation works in the context of the arts. In this paper I explore how concerted cultivation specifically characterizes how black middle-class parents socialize their children in the fine arts. I outline how rather than leaving their children's artistic tastes and preferences to develop without their intervention, some black middle-class parents actively nurture their children's appreciation and understanding of fine art. Below, I describe the data and methods of this study, and then I present the findings.

Data and Methods

I investigate socialization in the fine arts within black middle-class families by drawing mainly on 68 in-depth interviews with black middle-class parents⁴ that took place in 2003 and 2004 concerning their children's consumption of visual art.⁵ Participants live in and near New York City and Atlanta, Georgia, areas which are both communities with large black middle-class populations (Williams and Pearson, 2002). The in-depth interviews with parents are part of a larger study that focuses on the visual arts consumption of middle-class blacks. Photographs of art in the homes of middle-class blacks, participant observation at arts events, archival and other sources, and in-depth interviews with art professionals are other forms of data that were collected for the larger study.⁶

'Middle class' is a broad term that encompasses subgroups with different levels of socioeconomic attainment, such as the lower middle class and the upper middle class (Lacy, 2007; Landry, 1987; Pattillo-McCoy, 1999; and Wilson, 1980). Since participants in this study have at least one or more of the following characteristics – self-employment or a professional or managerial job, a graduate degree, or a family income greater than or equal to US\$100,000 – they can be characterized as upper middle class.⁷

Participants were identified through a snowball sample that was designed to maximize diversity. Initial interviewees were identified from several starting points, such as cultural and black middle-class organizations.⁸ Most interviews took place in the homes of participants and they generally lasted between 90 and 120 minutes. Interviews were recorded and later transcribed and content analyzed using a qualitative data analysis program.

I asked parents about the arts participation of their children, as well as their sense of the significance and meaning of this arts participation. For example, I talked with parents about taking their children to museums and galleries, and why they engaged in such activities. Parents exposed their children to fine art from varying racial and ethnic groups. This included black visual art, for example that by African American artists such as Jacob Lawrence. This also included art and art institutions that have traditionally been included in conceptions of 'legitimate' culture, such as the Louvre museum in Paris, France. In this

way parents exposed their children to fine art that has traditionally been part of the ‘high’ art canon, as well as art that has more recently made its way into the canon.⁹ Below, I elaborate how black middle-class parents take a concerted cultivation approach to their children’s socialization in the fine arts.¹⁰

Table 1. Approach to socialization in the arts

Concerted cultivation	Parent nurtures child’s artistic tastes, skills, and knowledge
Organizations	Child is exposed to art through attendance at exhibitions, events, classes, and programs associated with arts organizations
Collecting	Child is exposed to art through direct and indirect involvement with art collecting

Concerted Cultivation

Many of the parents whom I interviewed take a concerted cultivation approach to cultivating their children’s engagement with visual art (Lareau, 2003) – see Table 1. They view the development of their children’s interest, understanding, and appreciation of visual art as a process that should begin during childhood, and a process that they should actively foster.

Brian and Cynthia Willis¹¹ are both in their fifties and are the parents of three children. As their kids were growing up, Cynthia tells me that she and her husband took the children to performing arts events and ‘took them to all the museums.’ ‘We did these things because we just felt it was really important for them. So if we went, they went,’ she says. ‘It was something that I found of value – appreciating and experiencing and being exposed to it,’ Brian adds. ‘I felt it was important to expose them to it at an early age, so that they could also gain that appreciation.’

Jane and Stephen Goode also made a concerted effort to expose their children to visual art when they were growing up. The Goodes live in a brownstone in New York and throughout their home there are African masks and sculptures. Today their son Colin and their daughter Michelle are in their early thirties. ‘We went out of our way in many places to take them to art galleries and to go around to see the work of different artists,’ Stephen says. When the Goodes lived in Africa during part of Colin and Michelle’s childhood they also exposed the children to art on visits to art markets and private homes. Stephen believes that by exposing Colin and Michelle to art as they were growing up, they were given the opportunity to fully develop their artistic interests, tastes, and talents. Stephen tells me:

As you grow up you never know where your skills or interests lie. Unless you’re exposed, sometimes these things may lie buried forever or for a big period of your life. Whereas, if as a young person growing up you’re exposed to art and museums and to literature, something may spark inside of you and you enjoy it, and you can contribute to art. But if you don’t get that exposure you’re not aware of it. So I was hoping by showing and exposing them to new things that there would be a spark somewhere in one of the areas that they may react to and get an appreciation for it, because that’s what happened to me. When I was in school a professor showed Brancusi’s ‘Bird in Space.’ It just set off a spark inside of me that carried over to literature and music and everything else. I said, ‘What were people doing when they expressed these things?’

How did they do it? What was the point?,' and a lot of it just came from that exposure. I thought that everybody should be exposed in different ways so that they could see whether or not there was a reaction inside of them to get into a certain area.

The Goodes hoped that by exposing their children to art while they were young their interest in and appreciation for art might be ignited. Had they not done so, they believed that this passion and curiosity might never develop.

Cindy Stone has also made a deliberate effort to foster her children's awareness of art. Cindy is the mother of two daughters. Sophia is a sophomore in college and Elaine is just finishing high school. Cindy introduced her daughters to visual art when they were very young. Sophia and Elaine would accompany her to arts events at a local college in Atlanta. She would also take them to the High Museum of Art for children's arts activities when they were three and five years old. 'I tried when they were little to take them to the museum,' she says:

The High Museum had a children's program, and so we were there all the time. We were at this program after that program, and it was a very conscious move on my part. I wanted to introduce them to art early. Not so much any particular artist, but I just wanted them to always be very well-rounded and to be exposed to different kinds of visual art because I felt that it would be enriching for them.

Cindy shares her sense that, even if children do not appear to be deeply engaged when they are exposed to art, the exposure can still have an impact on them. 'Whether they were paying attention or not, I don't know. But, I think something like that kind of sticks,' she says. Cindy tells me that at least one of her daughters now appears to be independently developing her own interest in visual art:

I started this process very early with trying to expose them. Now Sophia has developed a new interest in art ... [While she is studying abroad] in France she's taking an art history class. She says 'Mommy, I really like art. I'll start going with you to the museum sometimes.' So she's really developing it. Elaine has not yet, and she may or may not. I don't know, but we'll just see what happens with her, but they certainly were exposed very early and that's just been important to me.

Like other parents in this study Cindy emphasizes how the experience of being around visual art and engaged with visual art while young can be an experience that will shape the artistic tastes and interests of their children when they are older.

Many parents in this study embrace the belief that part of their role as parents is to cultivate their children's engagement with visual art. To that end, parents involve children in a range of arts activities that are designed to foster their appreciation and interest in visual art. The activities are organized by parents and often include visiting arts institutions, as well as involving children in the collecting practices of the family.

Exposure to Arts Organizations

Arts organizations are an important aspect of parents' concerted cultivation approach to socializing their children in the visual arts (Table 1). Parents take children to art shows,

galleries, and museums in the cities where they live and to other cities when they are traveling. At museums, families attend exhibitions and participate in other activities, such as taking art classes.

Jocelyn Stewart is a mother in her late thirties. Throughout the living room, there are photos of her son Ted, including a family portrait with Jocelyn and her husband holding Ted when he was a baby. Ted is now six and Jocelyn takes him to museums and art shows in New York. She says that six years old 'is a great age' to begin teaching him about art, and by taking him to museums and art shows she hopes that he will 'grow up and know more [about the arts] than [she] did.'

Recently, Jocelyn went to the National Black Fine Arts Show in New York and she took Ted with her. This is a large arts show that features work by artists of African descent. When I attended the show during my fieldwork, paintings, prints, and other fine art by black artists were displayed and being sold by different galleries from around the United States. Jocelyn said that Ted was at ease at the art show. 'I took him to the Puck Building [the location of the art show] ... He looked at everything,' Jocelyn said. 'He was pointing out the pieces that he liked, saying 'Oh, Mommy I like this one,' or 'I don't like that,'" she said.

Attendance at art shows is one way that black middle-class parents such as Jocelyn expose their children to visual art. It is also common for parents to expose their children to visual art by taking them to museums. They do so to view exhibitions and to participate in activities that are specifically geared towards children. In both cities, museums have ongoing and special activities that are of special interest to families. Many of the black middle-class parents whom I interviewed participated in these types of museum programs, such as family memberships and art classes.¹²

Marjorie Williams lives in a suburban home in Atlanta and is the mother of four children who range in age from their late thirties to early fifties. When her children were growing up, Marjorie took them to children's programs at museums where they would tour the museum, create art, and even borrow art. 'I wanted them to be exposed to art,' she tells me. Among the many paintings and prints that Marjorie displays in her one-storey home is a watercolor. 'When we lived in Milwaukee, they had a program where children could borrow art and bring it home,' Marjorie says. '[A]nd so my boys borrowed that [she points to the watercolor], and then after a point we bought it.' Currently Marjorie is a committee member at an Atlanta museum and she told me about family arts programs in the city:

Here in Atlanta they have a very extensive child-focused art program ... I know that when they had an exhibit of masks, the kids would learn how to do masks. They would come and do masks, and then they would see the mask exhibit, and they would make pieces. They could apply what they had seen into making masks.

When families travel nationally and internationally, museum going, as well as visiting galleries and art markets, is often part of vacation itineraries. Deborah Pearson, who is now 44, has been collecting art for 20 years. Her son is away at college. When her son was 7 years old they visited the Louvre on a trip to Paris. 'In 1997, I actually took my son to Paris and we went to the Louvre because I'd studied art history and had seen all of this work by all of these so-called master artists and I just kind of wanted to see it for myself,' she says. 'So we took a trip for a week over to Paris and we stayed across the street from the Louvre at this small hotel, and spent about four days going through the Louvre.'

A central way that parents expose their children to visual art is through arts organizations. By taking their children to art shows, museums, and other activities at arts organizations, parents hope to foster their children's appreciation of and interest in visual art. Parents also expose children to art through the practice of art collecting.

Exposure to Art Collecting

Exposure to art collecting is also a fundamental aspect of parents' concerted cultivation approach to socializing their children in the visual arts (Table 1). This can take a more indirect form, such as displaying art in the home so that visual art is a part of the children's everyday lives. It can also take a more direct form, such as having children participate in the family's acquisitions of art.

Ian Arnold works in banking and is the father of a six-year-old daughter named Eva. When Ian shows me the art in his home he takes me to Eva's playroom. In the colorful room an artwork by an African American artist that depicts a little black boy is displayed along with other pieces. Ian points out and describes several of the pieces, and he tells me why he displays art in this room:

[T]o the extent that in Eva's space I'm going to impose my art collecting on her, it's going to be something that's fun that she can kind of understand and kind of embrace as well. So that's why I put it in her room. For the most part the rest of the art is just kind of fun. These two pieces we bought in Cuba, Havana. And then we've got Kirk Stansbury who does a lot of folk art. He tends to be very fun. He did these two pieces ... and he's actually white. He's done a lot of imagery with jazz, and here's an Auburn Avenue shoe shiner – very fun, whimsical kind of pieces. We bought this piece in Brazil because it's childlike and innocent. And the same artist did some butterflies ... Eva really loves butterflies. So these pieces are really more fun. I like having it for Eva because she likes art. She loves to paint and loves to draw. This is all stuff that Eva did. To the extent that we can just continue to expose her to art at this age she'll grow, and grow maybe into either being an artist or into being a collector.

Ian has concertedly placed visual art in his home so that Eva comes into regular contact with it. By surrounding her with visual art in her daily experience, Ian hopes to foster her artistic talent and skills and encourage her interest in art collecting.

Shelley Smith works in real estate. She is the mother of a three-year-old boy named Brian who is in nursery school. The walls of the Smith home are adorned with oil paintings and limited edition prints by African American artists. Shelley's son has not only become engaged with the practice of art collecting through the art displayed in his home, but he has also become more directly involved. 'I take him to different museums and sometimes galleries,' Shelley says, adding:

When he [Brian] has expressed that he likes a particular piece of art, I try to get him involved. Like Christmas a couple of years ago I got a portrait done of him and my husband that they sat for. And, for his third birthday ... one of my friends [an African American artist] drew a piece for him. So I try to get him involved with it. He has an appreciation for it too.

Like Ian, Shelley also hopes that her son might one day start to collect art:

I'm trying to teach my son an appreciation for the arts ... I want him to love it as much as I do so that he's a collector too, and that it's important enough to him that after I'm gone he has art work in his home and he becomes a collector also. That's what I'm going for. I only have one kid, so he's my only hope.

While Shelley's son Brian is only three years old, she is hoping that by exposing him to art collecting he will develop an appreciation and interest in the practice. Shelley takes a multifaceted approach to Brian's exposure to art whereby he not only visits museums and galleries, but he is also directly involved in family art purchases and commissions. In this way Shelley hopes to transmit her own interest in and appreciation of art to her son.

James Denson is a manager who works in sales. He also hopes to nurture in his son his own passion for art collecting by directly involving him in the practice. James displays art throughout his home, and art history books stand on a white bookshelf next to the stairs. He took his son Jason to art auctions when he was growing up. He says:

I would take him when he was younger to art auctions and events with me. I remember at an auction several years ago he was holding the little paddle and he raised his hand. 'What are you doing?,' I asked. He said, 'I love that one Dad.' I guess that he was maybe twelve. He was a reactive boy. It was a piece that he liked and I actually liked it too. It was an artist that he knew that I liked, so maybe he was helping me out on that, but he actually liked that artist.

James says that Jason, who is now in college, is starting to collect art. James hopes that his son's collecting will continue to evolve. He says:

In his dormitory room he has original work on the walls. I don't like that [laughing] because some of it is my work. Some of it is work that he has bought too. What I hope to develop in him is a serious collector and somebody that wants to do something with the work. Hopefully, over time as our collections build, mine especially, I would like him to do something with it. Share it with people who would like to have it. If I can donate work to [a college that he attended and his son is now attending] I would be glad to do that. I am motivated to do that.

Like Shelley, James approached the socialization of his son in art collecting through various means. Growing up, his son was exposed to art collecting by living in a home that housed the family's collection as well as by accompanying his father when he purchased art. James sees his son's display of art in his dorm room as some evidence that he has successfully passed on his interest in art collecting to his son.

Like other black middle-class parents I talked with, Ian, Shelley, and James involve their children with the practice of art collecting. Parents view this involvement as playing an important role in helping their children to gain an appreciation of and interest in visual art.

Conclusion

This paper has investigated cultural capital within black middle-class families by examining how black middle-class parents approach socializing their children in the fine arts. I develop a conceptual framework that outlines how such parents take a concerted cultivation approach to their children's engagement with visual art. This approach includes taking an active role

in socializing children in the visual arts; involving their children with arts organizations; and involving their children in art collecting. Through playing an active role in their children's artistic socialization and exposing them to visual arts institutions and the practice of art collecting, parents hope to foster their children's artistic tastes, skills, and knowledge.

By developing a framework that outlines how black middle-class parents take a concerted cultivation approach to their children's socialization in the fine arts, this paper contributes to the sparse literature on cultural capital in black middle-class families. Findings illustrate how Lareau's (2003) research on concerted cultivation within black middle-class families specifically applies to socialization surrounding the fine arts. The framework developed in this paper can be used to broadly conceptualize concerted cultivation surrounding the fine arts in black middle-class families. Just as some black middle-class parents actively nurture and develop their children's engagement with the visual arts, they may also do this surrounding other art forms such as music, dance, and literature. For example, they may enroll their children in music lessons, attend dance performances, and visit libraries in an effort to develop their interests and understanding of these genres of art.

This paper also has implications for the broader research on cultural capital. While Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) research on cultural capital has been influential, it has also been widely critiqued (Bryson, 1996; Erickson, 1996; Halle, 1993; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). One stream of critique centers on the fact that his research on cultural capital does not account for race and ethnicity. Scholars have questioned the extent to which his conceptualizations of cultural capital extend to racial and ethnic minorities (Bennett et al., 2009; Carter, 2005; DiMaggio and Ostrower, 1990; Fleming and Roses, 2007; Hall, 1992; Lacy, 2007: 72–113).

Findings in this paper suggest that Bourdieu's (1984) assertion that socialization in 'high' culture takes place in middle-class families is applicable to some members of the black middle class. As Bourdieu would predict on the basis of their class status, the children of the black middle-class parents in this study were exposed to fine art in the home. The importance of social class is highlighted by the fact that as parents exposed their children to African American culture, they also exposed them to 'legitimate' art. For example, by going to black art exhibits and hanging black fine art in homes, they exposed their children to both black and 'legitimate' culture. It may be that arts socialization in black middle-class families is distinct from the white middle class because of an emphasis on African American art.¹³ However, what arts socialization in black middle-class families likely has in common with other middle-class families is the exposure of children to 'high' culture. While cultural capital is an important mechanism through which members of the elite pass on their class position to their children, there is less understanding of cultural capital within black middle-class families. Exploring how middle-class blacks approach socializing their children in the fine arts can provide a more complete understanding of cultural capital within black middle-class families and enrich the broader literature on cultural capital.

Notes

1. Cultural capital is also transmitted through schooling (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979).
2. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) identified different forms of cultural capital. An appreciation and understanding of fine art is an 'embodied' form of cultural capital, and visual art itself an 'objectified' form of cultural capital.

3. While research that specifically addresses the socialization of children in the 'high' arts within black middle-class families is sparse, there is evidence that this is also a practice that characterizes this group. For example, while there is evidence that black middle-class children are exposed to less cultural capital in their families than white middle-class children (Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999), there is also evidence that black children who grow up in families with a higher socioeconomic status are exposed to more family cultural capital than black children from lower socioeconomic households (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 1996; Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). Similarly, in their research on blacks who went to exclusive private schools, Richard L. Zweigenhaft and G.W. Domhoff (2003) note how the children of these elite blacks have had the opportunity to participate in cultural activities such as ballet, learning to play musical instruments, and national and international travel. In her research on black middle-class suburbanites, Karyn R. Lacy (2007: 144) finds that parents hope to develop their children's cultural capital through activities such as traveling abroad. There is also evidence that black middle-class parents' attempts to socialize their children in 'high' culture has deep historical roots. In their classic text on black life in 1930s and 1940s Chicago, St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton (1945: 665–6) describe how black middle-class families were attuned to the advancement of their children and focused on providing them with opportunities that included exposure to the arts.
4. Some participants have children who are over 18 and no longer live with them. The issue of retrospective recall is enhanced by the fact that there is evidence of the cultural capital socialization that these parents engaged in when their children were growing up. For example, one aspect of parents' cultural capital socialization is exposing their children to art collecting. During interviews parents showed me pieces of art that they had owned since their children were growing up.
5. In the context of describing their children's involvement with visual art, some parents also discussed their children's exposure to other art forms, such as the performing arts. Since these art forms are also considered cultural capital, the findings occasionally include comments by parents which discuss visual art along with other art forms.
6. The larger dataset also includes adults who are not parents.
7. In her research Karyn Lacy (2007) finds that different subgroups within the black middle class approach class reproduction in different ways. In contrast to the 'core' black middle class concerned with protecting their own class status, the 'elite' black middle class are more concerned with ensuring that their children are socioeconomically successful when they become adults (Lacy, 2007: 114–49). It may be that within the black middle class a concern with socializing children in the fine arts is concentrated among members of the upper middle class. Thus, the findings in this paper may be more representative of the black upper middle class, than the black middle class as a whole.
8. Participants in the study were not paid. Many individuals were eager to be interviewed and to have the opportunity to discuss an aspect of their life that they enjoy, yet don't necessarily get an opportunity to reflect on. A few people refused to be interviewed because of issues such as not having the time to participate.
9. Historically, art by black artists has not been included in the artistic canon. However, art by black artists is being increasingly categorized as 'high' art. Sociologists have documented the valorization of jazz (Gray, 2005; Lopes, 2002), literature by black writers (Corse and Griffin, 1997), and visual art by black artists (Rawlings, 2001; Zolberg, 1997). Art historical scholarship on African American artists also marks the legitimation of black art (Bearden and Henderson, 1993; Driskell, 1976; Lewis, 2003; Patton, 1998; Powell, 2002).
10. Families vary in the degree to which they are involved in the arts. For example, while some families have little space on their walls that is not covered with paintings and prints, other families display less art in their homes. However, across this spectrum parents share an emphasis on actively developing their children's engagement with fine art.

11. Pseudonyms are used to refer to participants. In some cases, the occupations of participants are replaced with occupations that require comparable levels of schooling, and the names of artists in their collections are replaced with comparable artists.
12. For example, the High Museum of Art in Atlanta offers a family program that includes activities such as 'Toddler Thursdays' and 'Saturday Studio' where children create art. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has special 'Family Orientations' and sketching programs for children. Similarly, the Museum for African Art in New York City has special Kwanzaa workshops and after-school activities for kids.
13. The exposure of children to African American art in black middle-class families highlights the importance of racial socialization in black families (Hughes and Chen, 1997; Lacy, 2007; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Peters, 2002; Tatum, 1999, and Thomas and Speight, 1999).

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