Where do our music preferences come from? Family influences on music across childhood, adolescence and early adulthood

Author details:

Alexandra Lamont
Keele University
School of Psychology, Keele University, Keele, Staffordshire ST5 5BG, United Kingdom
a.m.lamont@keele.ac.uk
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4113-1018

Alexandra Lamont is Professor of Music Psychology at Keele University. She teaches music psychology, positive psychology and health psychology at advanced undergraduate and postgraduate levels and supervises doctoral dissertations. Her research interests span a range of topics in music, emotion, preference and wellbeing and everyday uses of music using a breadth of methodological and theoretical approaches.

Jessica Crich
University of Sheffield
Department of Music, University of Sheffield, Western Bank, Sheffield S10 2TN, United Kingdom
jessicacrich27@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6724-6887

Jessica Crich completed her PhD at the University of Sheffield on the perspectives and experiences of musicians and care staff supporting live music services in UK care homes for older people. She has also worked as a teaching and research assistant on a range of music psychology projects, and has particular expertise in qualitative research within applied settings.

Abstract

While much is known about the influence of peers and parents in developing musical memories and preferences, the wider family context has not yet been considered. We present novel empirical evidence from surveys (N=100) with young adults and interviews (N=15) and surveys (N=24) with young adults and their influencers which sheds light on how family dynamics influence the development of music listening, habits and preferences. Close family relationships were associated with more shared musical experiences, positive musical memories, and greater tolerance for different musical styles, with little evidence for conflict between parents and adolescents. Many memorable experiences in early adolescence were shared with parents, and parents' own preferences were passed on to their children. Other family members also played important roles, sometimes substituting for parents, and friends were also influential as surrogate siblings. Family in a broader sense thus influences enculturation and provides a supportive shared context for musical development.

Introduction

Understanding more about the music we like, and how our music preferences develop and are influenced, is important. Hearing music we like makes us feel more positive and engaged, promoting a sense of belonging, while conversely, disliked music can create a negative atmosphere. Sharing music preferences helps both children and adults bond with and learn more about each other, and our music preferences are an important part of our personal and cultural identities. Knowing more about the music children and adolescents like, in particular, can provide   parents and teachers with insights into their personality, identities, social groups, and emotions.

Research into music preference has burgeoned over recent years. Different strands of enquiry have produced a wealth of findings about the music people like (Bonneville-Roussy, Stillwell, Kosinski and   Rust 2017), the importance of critical periods in development, links between music preference and personality (Boer et al. 2011;   Greenberg et al. 2016), and influences from others (Boer and Abubakar 2014). Much of this has focused on the separate but interrelated aspects of music, listener, and listening situation (Hargreaves, North and Tarrant 2016), emphasized the importance of repeated experience, and highlighted general preferences for styles of music.

General age-related trends in the development of preference have been established. Children of school age are able to distinguish between different genres, and have a wider tolerance and preference for different kinds of music, including unconventional and unusual forms. This open-minded approach to music has been termed 'open-earedness' (Hargreaves and Bonneville-Roussy 2018). Conversely, adolescents become closed-eared, as music is associated with their developing identities (Busch et al. 2016; Hargreaves et al. 2016; Selfhout, Branje, ter Bogt and Meeus 2009). Music from this period is often vividly recalled later in life, as shown by studies illustrating a 'reminiscence bump' of higher recognition for songs popular from listeners' adolescence compared to earlier or later music (Loveday, Woy and Conway 2020;   Rathbone, O'Connor and Moulin 2017). A rebound in open-earedness occurs in early adulthood (roughly age 18-25), associated with young adults' desire to acquire music (Greasley, Lamont and Sloboda 2013), followed by a general decline in liking for popular music and a rebound in closed-earedness in later adulthood (Bonneville-Roussy, Stillwell, Kosinski and Rust 2017).

However, despite these generalisations, music preference is something that appears to be highly individual. Listeners often reject simple categorizations of their music taste into genre labels (Greasley et al. 2013), and children use more pragmatic categories to describe their favourite music such as 'music for girls' or 'music for a sad mood' (Bunte, 2014). Even in adolescence, friendship groups are not entirely determined by music preference (Selfhout et al. 2009), and in shared living conditions young adults often listen to different music (Lamont and Webb 2010). We start from the assumption that there are a range of potential sources of influence on developing musical preference, and that children and young people pick up musical influences through intuitive processes of enculturation, learning from others without formal instruction (Campbell 2011). What is already known about who might motivate or prompt repeated listening to particular styles or pieces of music?

Clearly, parents are extremely influential in the development of the music preferences of their children, even before birth. Preference for both general musical features such as consonance and specific features of pieces of music such as melodic patterns comes from early exposure

(Ilari and Polka 2006; Plantinga and Trehub 2014). Parents determine the early sonic environment through all kinds of caregiving rituals and active engagement with music (Addessi 2009; Ilari, Moura and Bourscheidt 2011; Sole 2017). Thus parents are the first informal teachers and the earliest shapers of music preference.

Some influences are simply reflective of parents' own musical preferences. In a naturalistic setting (Lamont 2008), mothers' choice of music for their 3.5-year-old children tended to be popular music (33% of all music heard by the children). Other times, parents choose music they feel is suitable for their young children, mostly children's music. Ilari et al. (2009) found parents reported playing children's music for their children in an explicitly educational manner, despite their own lack of preference for it. As one parent noted, 'children's music is educational … Do you know any adults who listen to children's music because they like it? I don't' (Ilari et al. 2009: 56). The case studies in Lamont's (2008) study highlighted other family members as also being influential in young children's early musical experiences. For instance, Jeremy's older 10-year-old brother, a rock music fan, chose 75% of Jeremy's musical experiences both in the home and the car during the week studied. The media were also influential, with many of the young children choosing music associated with TV programmes and favourite films.

Turning to studies with older children, most research on preference has focused squarely on the music and listener features with little regard for the social context or the potential sources of influence. As noted earlier, it is well known that adolescents share music with their friends (Davis 2016), and peers are influential into early adulthood alongside other sources such as the internet (Greasley et al. 2013). However, as suggested above, parents and (to a lesser degree) grandparents also share listening experiences with their children, which can affect familiarity and thus preference. Krumhansl and Zupnick (2013) explored potential parental influences on music preference in a study of 'cascading' reminiscence bumps. They played music from before their young adult participants' lifetimes, finding cascading reminiscence bumps for music from parents' and, to a lesser extent, grandparents' own preferences from adolescence and early adulthood. Participants also reported memories of listening to this music with parents or grandparents (see also Krumhansl   2017).

A small amount of research has focused specifically on family dynamics in relation to the development of musical preference. To date this has been confined to the parent-child relationship, drawing on evidence that parents are influential in socialising their children into cultural traditions (Mohr and   DiMaggio 1995). Ter Bogt et al. (2011) surveyed adolescents and their parents on their music preferences, additionally asking the parents what kind of music they liked when they were adolescents. At a broad style level, they found similarities in styles liked by the adolescents themselves and their parents when they were adolescents, with closer connections between mothers and their children. Some of this varied by style;   for instance, boys' preference for rock music was unrelated to their parents' preferences while girls' preference for rock was linked to preferences from both parents for that style. In a qualitative enquiry, Morgan, MacDonald and Pitts (2015) explored mother-child relationships, also finding that mothers and daughters shared music listening contexts and that sons were more independent of parental influence. They also shed light on the ways in which the home environment acts to shape choices;   for instance, music in communal spaces at home was always chosen by a parent, so adolescents typically listened to their own music alone in their bedrooms. Morgan et al. also uncovered bidirectional influences, with mothers being influenced by their children;   one participant noted, 'I'm sure that if I didn't have children I would not be listening to current pop music' (Morgan et al. 2015: 616; cf.

Ilari et al., 2009). At a more general level, Boer and Abubakar (2014) also highlighted the importance of musical family rituals for building family cohesion and, in traditional collectivistic contexts, for wellbeing.

The quality of parent-adolescent relationships is an important factor for healthy social development and fostering independence (Grotevant and Cooper 1985), so shared music preferences can be facilitative. However, Morgan et al. (2015) also revealed that music could generate conflict in the home, with adolescents often seeming to relish conflicting musical tastes (particularly boys who liked loud rock music, which evoked strong negative emotions in their mothers). This reflects a well-established belief that for adolescents, music is a way of marking independence from their parents (Grossberg 1984).

The current paper explores this tension between healthy shared relationships between parents and their children and the need for adolescents to gain independence and connect to a peer group through the notions of memory and preference for music. Much previous work on preferences has been at the broad style and genre level, but we take a finer-grained approach incorporating the emphasis on individual songs and musical memories highlighted by studies such as Krumhansl and Zupnick's (2013) (cf. Lamont and Loveday 2020). As part of a wider project exploring musical memories in young adults, we gathered data about the range and complexity of family influences on music preferences and listening practices across childhood and adolescence. Here we report on data from two linked studies: firstly, we explored specific musical memories nominated by the participants themselves, following the method adopted by Schubert (2016), and secondly we asked participants about their own networks of musical influence and follow those networks to gain reciprocal data. The overwhelming majority of music referred to in both studies was Western popular music (broadly defined, following Shuker, 1994), although we did not specifically define or constrain this.

Study 1: Self-Nominated Musical Memories

Method

We asked young adults about their own musical memories and influences from different periods in life, using an online survey.

Participants

100 young adults aged 18-22 took part (mean age 20.61, SD 1.4). Self-described gender was reported as 32 male, 66 female, and 2 other. We asked them to report ages of parents and grandparents, whether currently alive or not: participants' parents were aged between 34 and 72 (mean 51.48) and grandparents between 55 and 116 (mean 79.02).

Materials

We constructed a survey about musical memories. As autobiographical memories are often structured by eras (Thomsen 2009), four lifetime periods (age 5-11, 12-15, 16-18 and the more recent past) were presented as an event history calendar to guide recall (Belli, 1998; Cady et al. 2008), presented in reverse chronological order for ease of recall. For each period, participants first rated how much their music was influenced by parents, siblings, other family members, or friends. They then chose and described a musical memory, as well

as rating it for vividness, specificity of recall, pleasantness, strength of emotion, speed of recall, and liking of the music. We asked open-ended questions to put the memory in context. To explore intergenerational influences, we adapted the Family Closeness Scale from Sani et al. (2015) including ratings about bonding and perceived similarity with one's family.

Procedure

We recruited participants through the online recruitment site Prolific Academic (prolific.co) and paid them each £5   for their time. After demographic questions, we presented participants with questions for the most recent time period and then each preceding period in turn, followed by a short debrief.

Results

Firstly, perceived social influences are shown in Figure 1A. Participants rated parents as the most substantial influencers at ages 5-11, with their influence sharply declining from age 12 onwards. Siblings remained a constant but lesser influence over time, while friends were rated as far more important than any family members from 12 onwards and particularly dominant at age 16-18. Analysis of variance revealed that while perceived influencers differed at the four time points (Time, 4 levels x Influencer, 4 levels, $F(9,864)=23.297$, $p.<001$, partial eta squared $=.195$), there was no additional effect of gender (2 levels, male and female, omitting the two other responses for statistical analysis, Time x Influencer x Gender, $F(9,864)=.1779$, $p=.068$). General perceived family closeness was significantly correlated with every age rating of perceived family influence, created by summing the perceived influence of parents, siblings and other family: age 5-11 ($r=.242$, $p=.016$, age 12-15 $r=.242$, $p=.017$, age 16-18 $r=.355$, $p<.001$, current $r=.308$, $p=.002$, all Ns 98).

Open-ended descriptions of the music liked at different ages shed light on the types of music and the origins of the family influences. We carried out a content analysis of the comments according to the categories expected in the data, exploring influencers in a finer-grained and more implicit manner than the general ratings. One coder rated all 400 comments and 40 comments were double coded (interrater reliability calculated using Cohen's Kappa, $\kappa = .875$ ($p<.001$), 95% CI (0.756, 0.974)). Implicit influences derived from this analysis are shown in Figure 1B, which highlights the different influences of family members by gender (based on what participants chose to report: it is not known what their family makeup might have been). In the reported data, mothers were more influential at age 5-11 than fathers, but parental influence rapidly declined; fathers were slightly more influential than mothers in current memories. Sisters were more frequently mentioned evenly over time, whereas brothers became less influential at age 12-15. Other family members (cousins, aunts and uncles) were also mentioned, particularly at age 5-11, but their influence was not substantial, whereas friends showed the same peak in implicit as in perceived influencers in Figure 1A from age 12-15 onwards.

Figure 1: Perceived and implicit influences on musical preference at different ages
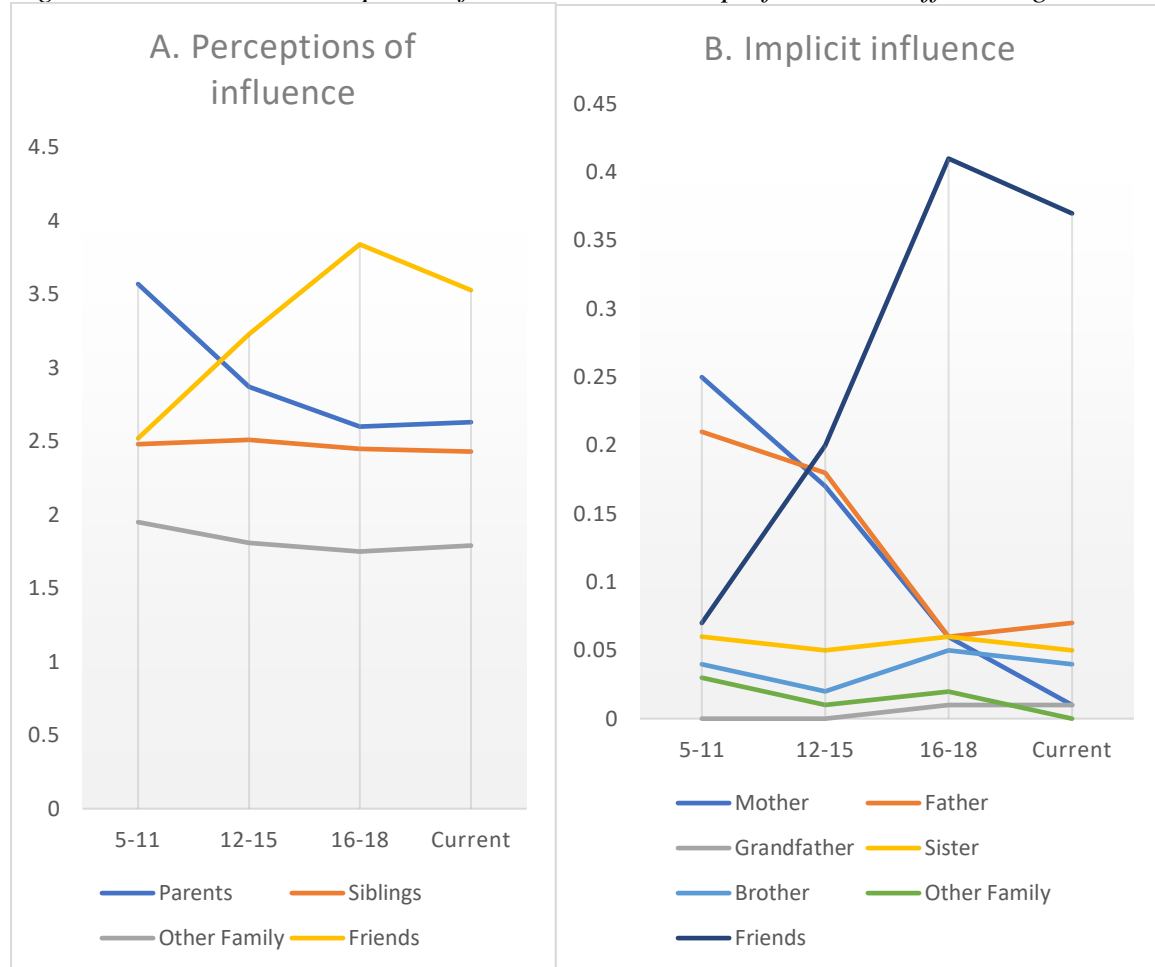
A multivariate analysis of variance showed that again, implicit influencers were different at the different time points (Time, 4 levels x Influencer, 8 levels, $F(21,2016)=9.932$, $p<.001$, partial eta squared $=.094$), with no additional effect of gender ($F(21,2016)=0.687$, $p=.85$). However, there were no significant correlations between perceived family closeness and overall implicit family influence (age 5-11 $r=.099$, $p=.33$, age 12-15 $r=.138$, $p=.175$, age 16-18 $r=.135$, $p=.185$, current $r=.012$, $p=.909$, all Ns 98).

Analysis of the comments revealed different patterns of influence. Many parents shared their own music with their children, both at home and elsewhere. For instance, one participant reported 'My mum used to cook a lot of homemade meals during this time, and she would always listen to music whilst cooking. She would always blast it really loud and we would share that experience together, singing and dancing' (P70, age 12-15). As illustrated in Figure 1B, this influence was also seen from fathers, and sometimes extended to whole-family experiences, as one participant elaborated:

> As a child (around 6 or 7) my dad was a big football fan and would go to the pub after games to drink with friends. Afterwards my mum would very kindly pick him up from the local train station, and since my sister and I were very young we would always come with. This would often be as late as 9/10 o'clock, so we would have our pyjamas on. My dad was a very happy drunk, so it was always very pleasant getting to go with my mum to pick him up as he would sing us football songs and tell us how

much he cared about us. As well as football songs, he would play Johnny Cash, and often the singing and dancing would continue at home. He would put on the music in my mum's and his bedroom and me and my sister would sing along jumping on the bed. I would act out the words to Johnny Cash's 'Folsom Prison Blues' (as much as I understood them), and pretend to cry at the sad parts. (P53, age 5-11)

In relation to the differences over time, the vast majority of recent memories were of live events or festivals, rather than home, leading to the emphasis on friends and the media. However, some of these live event experiences were shared earlier in childhood and early adolescence with parents, and memories of parents taking their children to their first concerts featured, as one respondent noted: 'I went to a Green Day concert when I was 12 years old after my Dad surprised me. I loved it and was the first big arena show I ever went to' (P47).

When thinking about older memories, home featured more strongly, with more mundane settings described. The following participant highlighted both the importance of siblings and the everyday nature of musical experiences at home: 'Sitting with my sister finding new music and creating spotify playlists for different fandoms. The most recent was for game of thrones' (P36, recent). Home parties and celebrations also featured, and the following quote sums up many aspects of this data; the participant highlights the importance of siblings, connections to earlier in life than the memory itself, influences from parents, and the changing nature of family dynamics.

> I remember one year, on Christmas Day at my aunt's house, I was outside in the garden chatting with my sister as she smoked a cigarette, and she put music on her phone. I remember dancing and singing along to an old song from our childhood, by one of our most memorable childhood artists Enrique Iglesias. My mom used to love Enrique and would play his music all the time, particularly in this car. It was fun to reminisce with my sister and be reminded that we actually had a really pleasant childhood before we drifted apart. (P89, 16-18)

In addition instances of home-based listening behaviours clearly exemplified the differences between listening habits and approaches within the family and the distancing referred to in the introduction. For instance, although this participant does not explicitly mention conflict with parents, a classic solitary teenage bedroom listening behaviour is illustrated by the following quote:

> I'd spend a lot of nights staying up listening to music on YouTube when I was a teenager, quite often it was emotional folk music or angry rock, I'm guessing with links to the emotional rollercoaster that is being a teenager. But I remember listening to a lot of KT Tunstall after bad days at high school. (P26, age 12-15)

There were no explicit mentions made of conflict with parents' music tastes, perhaps due to the self-nomination nature of the study. Participants did report difficult and negative emotional states, but more often around romantic relationships or friendships rather than relationships with family.

Discussion

This study confirms previous findings that parents influence their children's musical preferences through many instances of playing music and attending musical events together,

particularly in childhood and early adolescence (Morgan et al. 2015; ter Bogt et al. 2011). This influence often came through sharing the music that parents themselves had liked as adolescents, confirming the cascading reminiscence bump (Krumhansl and   Zupnick 2013). A novel finding is the importance of other family members across childhood, particularly siblings, which had not been highlighted previously. Formative musical experiences in childhood thus take place at home and with family members, while later memorable musical experiences tend to be largely outside the home and shared with friends . Family sometimes bridges that gap, with many examples of parents or siblings taking participants to their first ever gigs. Sometimes these were shared musical tastes, sometimes they came from the parents, and sometimes parents were willing to tolerate their children's music to support them in their own search for identity.

While important in beginning to shed light on how family influences operate, our first study with its its highly structured survey format had limited scope for in-depth responses which could explain the gap between perceptions of influence (closely related to family closeness) and implicit influence from open-ended comments (less affected by this). Thus Study 2 explored these family and other influences and relationships in more depth.

Study 2: Networks of Musical Influence

Method

In a novel data collection method exploring networks of influence more directly, we first interviewed young adults in person about their own musical preferences and the key individuals who had influenced them at different time periods growing up. Three key 'influencers' were also contacted per participant and asked to complete a brief online survey about musical preference and influence.

Participants

15 young adults aged 19-22 were recruited through opportunity sampling (mean age 20.91, SD 0.622), with gender reported as nine female, five male, and one other. In addition, each participant invited three members of their influencer network to take part, and 24 influencers completed the survey (including six parent-child and three sibling pairs) (Table 1).

Table 1: Influencer Details for Study 2

Identified People	Frequency from interviews	Frequency responded to survey
Friends	15	11
Fathers	9	2
Mothers	8	4
Brothers	8	2
Sisters	3	1
Work Colleagues	3	0
Grandparents	2	0
Cousins	2	1
Romantic Partners	2	1
Music Teachers	2	0
Aunts and Uncles	1	0

Materials

We constructed an interview schedule to cover the same time periods as Study 1 in a more open-ended manner. We guided interviewees through questions about their listening habits, where they found their music from, and prompts about the influence of family and friends. When individual influencers were identified, we asked interviewees about their relationships to these people and the role music played in that. In the second step, we developed an online survey for the influencers identified from the interviews, asking about their recollections of their own influences on their music preferences in childhood, adolescence and adulthood as well as their personal and musical relationship with the interviewee who had referred them.

Procedure

We invited interviewees to take part in an interview of up to one hour about their musical preferences. These took place in quiet surroundings and were audio recorded for transcription. Having identified up to three key 'influencers' per interviewee, the interviewees themselves then asked these influencers to complete the online survey.

Results

We undertook a thematic analysis of data from both interviewees and influencers (Braun and Clarke 2006), and we identified   quotes by participants' own choice of first name (interviewees) or their relationship to the named participant (influencers). We used the data to construct a family network for each participant and identify the time points and the music shared by different family members. We developed four main themes: Hereditary Music, Sibling Relationships and Spaces, Extended Roles, and Tolerance.

Hereditary Music

This theme highlights how interviewees felt their music preferences were influenced by their parents during childhood and adolescence. Many shared preferences for artists, styles, or listening practices with their parents. These influences lasted into adulthood, as interviewees often said they still listened to their parents' music or engaged in the same way. Close relationships between interviewees and parents were very apparent, although music was not always highlighted as a central part of these relationships.

Parental influence occurred in two different ways. Firstly, parents played music at home and in other situations (often in the car) which participants heard. For instance, Jake explained how his mother had influenced him through her own home listening:

> She introduced me to Tiesto and Deadmaus…when I was younger she would always play them around the house…so a lot of what she listened to whilst I was growing up. I also listened to it with her and I enjoyed it as well.

Secondly, parents intentionally played music with their children, and these shared music listening activities also had long lasting effects. Sian talked about her mother playing music that Sian herself liked, also highlighting the reciprocal nature of parental influence:

> My mum is probably the person who got me into cheesy pop and she always listened to the Vengaboys when I was growing up, she would always put it on because she knew I enjoyed it but then because she enjoyed it as well she would put it on for herself as well, so we shared that love of cheesy pop…I love it and it cheers me up so it is good.

Sometimes parents' own music influenced their children's later preferences for different but related styles. Dominic, for instance, explained how his mother's preferred music, which he heard at home or in the car, had led him to related music preferences as an adult.

> I listened to soul music quite a lot from a young age…my mum always used to play soul music in the car on the way to school…I just generally enjoy this genre… she used to play that in the car…in the house…I think soul music kind of laid the foundations for me enjoyment RnB and UK Grime…because I think it is very similar.

The ways parents listened also affected their children. Alex's friend talked about how her father had opened her up to many different styles of music: 'he showed me quite a few songs, one being 'Sonne' by Rammstein, which like Enter Shikari I didn't like at all when I first heard it, but came back to it later and really enjoyed it'. The fact that her father valued this music seemed to encourage her to greater repeated listening than might have happened unprompted, and through repetition she came to enjoy these styles. She went to on say 'He also introduced me to Gorillaz, which are a band that covers an insane amount of genres, I think that was really important since it showed me so many different types of music so I don't really limit myself today like, " oh I only listen to heavy metal" , instead I listen to most things from metal, to K-pop to Nordic Folk Music.'

Finally, parents' music evoked generally positive feelings and memories, with rich descriptions of emotion. Parents' music was remembered as played at enjoyable family events such as car journeys, holidays, and parties. Monica highlighted the power of music to evoke such emotions:

> I love it when I can think of songs…and I think oh that was a good day…there is a Jamaican song what my dad put on and it reminds me of a day we had a barbeque … and I remember the whole night like it was yesterday just because of that one song. That one song makes you go 'Jesus Christ that was a good day'.

As well as the positive musical memories and emotions reported here, nostalgia was commonly evoked by revisiting parents' music in early adulthood, connected to general associations of family events. When talking about her father's music from early childhood, Elysha's friend noted: 'whenever I listen to the artists that he used to play I feel very nostalgic and remember specific times like driving to the beach on holiday, waiting for my brother to get out his tennis lesson.'

Sibling Relationships and Spaces

This theme illustrates a novel aspect of family influence in the music field. Interviewees with older siblings often described how their siblings had influenced their music preferences during childhood and adolescence. This was well exemplified by Jake. During primary school, he talked about how music was central to his older brother Kyle, who reportedly spent a lot of time listening to music and was in a heavy rock band. Consequently, Jake

credited his fondness of rock music to his enjoyment of watching his brother perform at a live music venue with his band, which Jake still listened to occasionally as an adult. This influence was grounded in a relationship that Jake described as having always 'been really close', with the two of them getting along well and listening to music together a lot whilst growing up.

> I always remember going to watch him perform at the Sugar Mill…I think that's where a lot of my enjoyment of heavier rock came from…because he performed this. I loved the atmosphere that came along when I was watching him perform; he was good.

In terms of developing identity, many interviewees saw their older siblings as role models. For example, Eleanor described how her older sister liked house, techno and pop, and noted that she had listened to a lot of this music herself when aged 5-11: 'I think I just liked it because I wanted to be like my big sister … I guess I looked up to her a lot'. Others noted how they themselves were the role models to their younger siblings, with the younger sibling wanting to join in with their music or access their music collections, but we found no instances of older siblings being influenced by their younger siblings.

Like parents, siblings also influenced the participants in terms of exposing them to music at home. Shared rooms or shared music or computing devices led to some of this shared listening: for instance, Carmen described a shared preference for Busted in primary school which came from her brother playing their music on their shared computer. Even when space was not shared so directly, music played in the home could be heard, and sometimes this led to liking. Alex's friend noted 'my main influence would probably be from my sister who at the time was blasting out a lot of really heavy symphonic black metal from her room', and went on to explain how this led to her developing a preference for it: 'I really liked how it sounded with the orchestral elements of the song mixing really well with the heavy guitar and drums and it sort of went from there'.

Unlike parental influences, however, these sibling influences tended to be more fleeting and did not last into early adulthood. Occasional listening to sibling-prompted music happened less frequently, and typically occurred due to random methods like shuffling or when the person found themselves with their sibling again as a kind of intentional reminiscence of childhood, echoing the quote from P89 in Study 1 (above).

Extended Family Roles

This theme covers how music preferences were shaped by relationships with extended family members, who often adopted a surrogate close family position. For instance, grandparents and single parents took on parental roles, older siblings acted as parental figures, or cousins or friends were considered as siblings.

Family dynamics were often not straightforward, but traditional family roles were frequently mentioned. For instance, Ed described how, growing up from a young age without his father, he had developed a very close relationship with his grandfather and mother. His mother had taken on what he saw as fatherly duties like watching Ed play football, and Ed also described his grandfather and mother as 'two of my best mates'. These close relationships were mirrored through music, with Ed coming to like the music they both liked.

> I am a big fan of Elvis, if we are in the car on the way home from the Vale, he [grandfather] will put it on in his car on his little CD he has got and we will listen to it and I enjoy that…I think it helps that I go to the football with him and one of the Elvis songs is sung around the Vale and that sort of makes me want to listen to it more. My mum's favourite artist is also Elvis, which is I think why I like it so much…'The Wonder of You' plays at the football, that is the Elvis song, one of my grandad's favourites…I had learnt the words through there and then I thought about it when I got home and I was like I need that on my playlist, so I did.

Participants who had experienced difficulties or loss in their relationship with their parents talked about older siblings who they perceived to have stepped into a parental role, which also influenced music preference. For instance, Dominic described how after his parents' divorce, during his adolescence, his older brother Ollie adopted a guardian role, encouraging Dominic into different activities including his own musical preferences:

> He was very much into drum and bass…he used to go on radio stations and play songs with his friends…So, it was obviously a big part of his life and I think that kind of resonated with our relationship as well and I think he would be saying to me 'ah listen to this new song it has got really funny beat to it…so I would listen to that and think oh, that is a really good song actually I quite like that.

The sibling role model influence noted earlier was also extended to other family members or close friends who were perceived to have as close a relationship with the participant as siblings. For instance, Aimee described a very close relationship with her older cousin: 'we are really close, she is basically like my sister', which affected her own liking for Chris Brown: 'I used to copy her because she was like six years older, anything she did I wanted to do as well. So, any music she was listening to, I would listen to it'. Similarly, Alex described a long-term friendship from secondary school: 'the person I have known for nine or ten years that I would consider a brother', who had influenced them in some very specific music preferences for bands (Slipknot, Heaven Shall Burn and Three Days Grace) that Alex still listened to as a young adult.

Tolerance

The final theme explores the negotiation that takes place in shared spaces between family members who have different music preferences. Although interviewees stated that they did not always like their family members' music, none reported this to be a source of conflict or negative emotion at any point. For instance, Eleanor did not share her mother's preference for Dolly Parton, but had gone along to see Dolly with her family when she was in secondary school 'for my mum'. When asked if she liked Dolly herself, her simple response was 'no'.

This kind of amicable tolerance extended to shared spaces like the home or the car. For instance, Georgina remarked that her grandparents' music preferences of Bollywood music, rock and roll, music from the 1960s, her father's preference for trance and electro music, and her mother's preference of pop music and RnB were 'obviously not my personal favourite'. Therefore, she chose to 'just treat it as like a background noise' when these family members played their preferred music at home.

Finally, within this theme, participants used a seemingly mock imposed rhetoric to describe the influence of their parents' music preferences on their own preferred music or vice versa.

For instance, Alex's father reasoned that whilst he had 'never consciously influenced' his son's music preferences, he had 'subjected him to my taste in music whilst in the car'. Similarly, Beth described her father 'making me listen to the Queen album' and subsequently sharing this preference with him. Beth also used this rhetoric when talking about going with her father to see a Kate Bush tribute band:

> My dad for the past couple of years has forced me to go see a Kate Bush tribute band. Even though I am not a fan of Kate Bush because her voice is too high pitched and not my type, but seeing as they were a tribute band they are pretty good.

Some negotiation about music use was also apparent when sharing spaces. For instance, in the car with his mother, Ed chose music to listen to that he knew was 'something we both know and like', such as Sam Smith, as opposed to one of his personal music preferences, such as Eminem.

Discussion

The four themes uncovered here highlight the varied ways in which young adults' music preferences were perceived to have been influenced by their families and other close social relationships. Parents played a major role in influencing their children through music listening in common spaces and deliberately shared musical activities, and this influence was long-lasting. Siblings also played important roles in childhood and adolescence but this was less durable, and likely to be only revisited in adulthood deliberately for reminiscence. The role of surrogate family relationships in shaping music preference, such as siblings or grandparents standing in for parents or friends taking on a sibling role, was also novel. Finally, the theme of tolerance shows that music preferences might vary within a family but that family relationships tend to exhibit a degree of acceptance that transcends the age-related stages of closed-earedness previously found (Hargreaves and   Bonneville-Roussy 2018).

General Discussion

This paper adds to the literature on *who* influences music preference by underscoring the importance of family and close family-type relationships (cf. Boer and   Abubakar, 2014). Rather than asking explicitly about specific family or peer relationships, we adopted a participant-led approach by deducing who the important influencers were from questions about musical memories and listening habits. Across both studies, we have raised important novel insights into how the family context provides an important socio-cultural niche for the development of music preference (Boer and   Abubakar, 2014), and how experiences and preferences from childhood and adolescence are carried into adulthood (cf. Krumhansl 2017).

We find shared preferences for a wide range of popular music between parents and children in both studies, encompassing conventional Western chart pop music as well as more esoteric styles like soul or electronica. Preferences for the same pieces, styles or related genres are passed on mostly from parents to children and sometimes also from children to parents, supporting earlier findings (Morgan et al. 2015; ter Bogt et al. 2011). In many instances the specific musical pieces and artists cross generations, supporting evidence for cascading reminiscence bumps (Krumhansl and   Zupnick 2013). In other instances the musical styles, or the ways of approaching music, lead   to more diffuse intergenerational influences, such

as Dominic's liking for RnB and UK Grime coming from his mother's liking for soul (cf. ter Bogt et al. 2011).

Other family members are also important in shaping musical preference. Siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles   and grandparents all featured in the memories and influences identified, supporting earlier findings from early childhood (Lamont 2008). The surrogate family member relationship was also important. While many participants reported influences and memories with their friends during childhood and adolescence, as expected (e.g. Hargreaves et al. 2016;   Selfhout et al. 2009), some of these friend relationships were explicitly described in family terms such as 'like a sister' or 'like a parent'. Future research should explore a range of family influences extending beyond parents, especially the sibling relationship. Would older siblings always influence their younger siblings, or could these influences be more reciprocal? Would this differ at different stages in development? These questions merit further investigation.

The notion of tolerance within family relationships around music was unexpected, and conflicts with the idea of intergenerational conflict exemplified by earlier work on youth culture (Grossberg 1984). In the first study nobody explicitly mentioned conflicting musical preferences with either family or friends, and in the second, an ease around sharing music in common spaces was clear from the descriptions of musical memories at different points in childhood and adolescence. The prevalence of headphone listening (see Krause and Hargreaves 2013) has perhaps enabled young adults to reach a state of compromise where if they did not like the music played around them they could simply retreat into their own musical space, and those with less positive musical memories from childhood might not have volunteered for these studies: these are areas for further research. However, most memories of different music preferences described in the second study were of negotiation, compromise, and tolerance.

To compare results between participants we focused exclusively on young adults who grew up in the UK   . The vast majority of unprompted memories were of Western pop music, with only a few mentions of classical music or styles from other cultures such as reggae or K-pop. Campbell's (2011) analysis of the social-historical nature of musical enculturation in different cultural contexts, such as within the many immigrant communities in the USA, highlights how parents' roles can be supported or even supplanted by wider cultural resources, such as church for African-American families, and it would be worthwhile to explore whether musical memories vary across different cultural settings. Furthermore, we did not gather data on social class, but given evidence for different parenting styles in families from different social classes (Lareau 2002). this would also merit exploration. How far all parents fit into the explicitly educational enculturating role found by Ilari et al. (2009), and whether other family members take on that educational responsibility, remain to be established.

In summary, we have highlighted the complexity of family relationships in developing music preferences for popular music. Parents have the most and the most durable influence on young adults from their childhood and adolescence, but many other family members such as siblings and cousins are also involved. Finally, sharing music in families can be a site of common ground. At worst, as seen from our volunteers, music in families is tolerated, and at best   it is a shared interest that can set the foundations for many positive lifetime memories.

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