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HAPPY TIME

***Three Papers on International
and National Trends
in Leisure Time***

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Preface

The topic of the papers of this collection is leisure. The papers reflect the scientific opinion of the author which means that empirical studies must be based on geographically extensive and/or temporally longitudinal data. The earliest versions of these papers have been presented in research seminars of Economic Sociology of Turku School of Economics in the last couple of years. I am grateful for comments given to me and discussions in these seminars. The next versions of papers have been presented in various congresses.

Two of papers are international cross-sectional comparisons, and the third one is the longitudinal study on changes of time use. Supposedly, these articles will be still modified, because the purpose is to publish them also in some other contexts as in relevant scientific journals. The articles of this collection are “Differences in book-reading propensity in EU countries”, “An International Comparison of Cultural Tourism Behaviour”, and “Trends in Leisure Time Use of Different Cohorts in Finland”.

The purpose of the paper “Differences in the book-reading propensity in 15 EU countries” was to investigate, if the differences were due to socio-demographic differences as educational differences between countries. The idea is same as in my previous article “Changes in the propensity to take holiday trips abroad in EU countries between 1985 and 1997” (2004) where the purpose was to explain propensity by structural factors as education. We were able in this article also investigate reading propensity in the context of books in public libraries, book prices, and book consumption in each country.

“An International Comparison of Cultural Tourism Behaviour” was based on really extensive data consisting 91 countries in different continents. The overall coordinator of data collection was Greg Richards from ATLAS (The Association for Tourism and Leisure Education) -organization. The theoretical perspective was to study, if there were differences between people from different countries in omnivorousness of cultural consumption, i.e. how many cultural attractions people had attended or planned to attend or how many events they visited or planned to visit during their trip.

The last paper “Trends in Leisure Time Use of Different Cohorts in Finland” deals with the time use changes. The volume of leisure time has not increased during last decades but it has concentrated more on home and especially to watching television. This has been interpreted, for instance, as a loss of social capital. The purpose of this paper was to investigate differences between socio-demographic groups in the change of leisure time use. A special emphasis was given on the investigation of cohort differences. One of

the crucial questions is: Is it so, that the privatization of leisure time is more or less due to the baby-boomers (people born 1945-1954), as for instance, Robert Putnam, the author of the famous book “Bowling alone”, has claimed?

Last but not least I want to thank the Academy of Finland for Senior Scientist grant in academic year 2005-2006.

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Timo Toivonen

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1 DIFFERENCES IN BOOK-READING PROPENSITY IN 15 EU COUNTRIES

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to find out differences in book reading propensity, for other purposes than studies or work, among 15 EU countries, and what happened to the differences, if socio-demographic variables (age, education, gender, socio-economic position, and type of municipality), variables related to reading (visiting library and having books at home), and alternative media use (TV watching and Internet use) were controlled. The data used here were from the Eurobarometer on “Information and Communication Technologies, Financial Services, and Cultural Activities, August-September 2001”. Data consisted of 16 200 interviews and the universe of the data was residents of the 15 European Union member countries aged 15 and over. Logistic regressions were used as the tool of analysis. Differences in reading propensity were considerable, Sweden representing the top, and Portugal the bottom. In some cases, regime differences could be explained by control variables but in other cases not. Some cultural factors which possibly have an impact on reading propensity but which could not be included in this study were also discussed.

Keywords: book-reading and country, book-reading and socio-demographic variables, Internet use, TV watching, visiting library

1.1 The purpose and background of the study

Studies on reading activities have long traditions in the sociology of culture and leisure (e.g. Berelson 1957, 120–121; Allardt et al. 1958, 47–50). Several studies have been conducted, for instance, on the impact of education and age on reading. Moreover, the decline of book reading in recent decades has been documented in several studies in several countries (Griswold et al. 2005, Knulst and van den Broek 2003; Knulst and Kraaykamp 1998; Minkkinen et al. 2001, Toivonen 2004). However, all the results do not show a declining interest in reading. For instance, Warde, Southerton, Olsen and Cheng (2004)

where able to show that the declining time use devoted to reading is not a common international trend. They compared time use in the UK, the USA, the Netherlands and Norway, and found that there was some increase in time devoted to reading in the UK and Norway, and some decrease in the USA and the Netherlands. Obviously, different methods of data collection, collection time, and question wording have produced different results. However, the wording of questions in these kinds of studies is especially important; because of different wording, results can deviate from each other remarkably even in the same period and in the same country (e.g. Minkkinen 2001 and 2002).

Perhaps the most reliable international comparisons of reading habits have been based on time use surveys (e.g. Gerhsuny 2000, How Europeans spend their time 2004, Warde, Southerton, Olsen, and Cheng 2004), although also in these studies there has been a lack of comparability in some features. Here we were able to use available Eurobarometer data (see section “Data and variables”) where we can assume the pitfalls in comparability to be minimized.

Despite the documented declining tendencies in reading there has not been a documented decline in valuation of reading. In addition, book reading can perhaps be evaluated as a more appreciated form of reading than the reading of periodicals and newspapers, because book reading demands more persistent concentration than other forms of reading. According to some studies, over 60 % of people report that reading books is more rewarding than watching television (Griswold et al. 2005, 136). Book reading for studies and work was excluded from this study, because we were especially interested in the role of reading as a hobby.

Thus, the purpose of this study was to find out whether there were differences between countries in proportions of reading books for other purposes than studies or work in the European Union and, if there were differences, to find the reasons for these differences.

1.2 Hypotheses

The possible differences between countries in reading can be due to structural differences between countries such as age, education, gender, socio-economic position, and type of municipality. In reading studies, it was already found a long time ago that reading is dependent on education. More educated people read more than the less educated (e.g. Berelson 1957). Several mechanisms can be presented to explain the positive connection between reading and education. One explanation is that educated people have more *competence* to read than less educated people. Another explanation is that people with a long

education have adopted a way of life in which it is typical that a well-educated person reads a great deal. This can be formulated also á la Bourdieu (1984): well-educated people read more because they want to distinguish themselves from less-educated people. The third argument for the positive correlation between reading and education is that some people also read more than others, because they have been *socialized* to read (Knulst and Kraaykamp 1998, 36). A standard result of social mobility studies is that the years of education are strongly correlated between parents and children (e.g. Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992). Thus education is inherited together with reading activity. But it can also be that parents, who read despite their own education, tend to more often give academic education to their children than those parents who do not read. Thus the impact of education is more or less indirect: the direct effect is the heritage of reading.

However, during the last 20 years, it has been reported that the connection between education and reading has been weakening: in younger cohorts the reading of the highly educated “has declined much the same as that of their less-educated peers” (Griswold et al. 2005, 131-132). On the other hand, it is still evident that better educated people spend more time reading than the less educated (e.g. Gershuny 2000, Knulst- Kraaykamp 1998, Warde et al. 2004).

We can also hypothesize here a positive connection between education and reading, and because we can assume that there are differences between countries in education, we can also hypothesize that country differences in reading activity are at least partly due to the educational differences.

The impact of age on reading has been another central object of reading studies. In studies of reading from the 1950s (see above) it was found that younger people read more than older people. The reason for this was assumed to be that younger cohorts were better educated than older cohorts. However, the situation has changed, and it has been found that the decline in reading is especially evident among young adults (e.g. Minkkinen 2001, NEA 2004). What is especially interesting is that the gap between younger and older age groups is increasing, and the general decrease in reading as a hobby is due to the younger age groups. For instance, in Finland, in the age group 15–24, the percentage of people who had read at least some pages of a book during the previous day decreased, but in the age group 60 and over, the percentage rose remarkably (Minkkinen 2001, 23).

Knulst and Kraaykamp (1998) suggested that one reason for young people’s declining interest in reading is the diversification of leisure activities. Diversification means that nowadays people have many other alternative ways to spend their leisure time, in addition to reading. In fact, it has been found that although the proportion of discretionary (culture, sports, tourism, electronic entertainment etc.) consumption has increased in recent decades in

total consumption expenditure, this has not happened in cultural consumption (books, theatres, movies etc.) (Toivonen 1992). We can assume that diversification of leisure is more typical of young people than of older people. For instance, we can assume that older age classes which did not have exposure to television watching in their childhood are still more inclined to use their leisure time in reading than those who had the possibility to watch television in their childhood. In most European countries, television started to proliferate rapidly from the middle of the 1950s (Hallin & Mancini 2004). *Thus, we can expect that the older age classes read more than the younger ones.*

Gender differences have also been found in reading in many studies (e.g. Bennet et al. 1999, 148-155, Knulst and van den Broek 2003, Minkkinen et al. 2001, 27, Sauri 2005, 34, Toivonen 2005). However, at the end of the 1970s, at least in Finland, males read more than females (Toivonen 2004). Perhaps tradition has had some significance in this respect, because men gained literacy first, they also read more than women (Griswold et al. 2005, 129). However, during the last couple of decades the situation has changed, and females read more than males. One of the most important reasons for this phenomenon is supposedly that leisure time among females has increased more than among males (see Gershuny 2000). The above-mentioned studies also show that not only do females read more than males, but they also show that the decline – some decline in reading has occurred also among women - has been steeper for men than for women. Thus, the gap between genders seems to widen, and *we can assume that this study will also show that females read more than males.*

Socio-economic position¹ is also an important independent variable for two reasons. Firstly, people in different socio-economic positions have different amounts of leisure time. Pensioners and the unemployed have more leisure time than economically active people, and there are also differences within the economically active population. For instance, it has been found that farmers and entrepreneurs have less leisure time than other economically active people (Robinson, 1997). A second reason to include socio-economic position as an independent is the *distinction making* mentioned above in the context of Bourdieu. Sometimes, this idea is expressed even in this way: “high arts are primarily the preserve of the upper and upper-middle classes” (DiMaggio and Useem 1978, 151). So, do high arts including reading only have instrumental value to higher class people? In any case, *we can assume that within*

¹ We do not use the term “social class” here because “social class” refers more or less to position in working life. However, in our classification here, the unemployed, students, home-makers, pensioners etc. were also included.

economically active people, those who belong to higher social echelons read more than people in lower echelons, and people who are outside working life read more than people who are economically active.

We can assume that also the type of municipality (town or countryside) has some impact on reading. We can mention tradition; historically, reading by the populace at large began as a metropolitan phenomenon (Griswold et al., 2005, 29). People in towns are supposedly more educated than those in the countryside. Another point of view comes from the classical texts of Georg Simmel (1900/1999). According to him, in a metropolis, where millions of people live, people are also more privatized and their attitudes towards other people are indifferent. People have more private hobbies such as reading whereas, people in the countryside are more socially oriented. Thus, *we can assume that people living in towns read more than people in the countryside.*

Thus, on the basis of the above discussions, we can assume that possible differences between countries in reading activity are at least partly due to socio-demographic, structural variables such as differences in education. But surely there are also other factors which generate differences between countries. We can assume that, in addition to education, another *important variable explaining possible differences between countries in book reading is library density.* It has been found that people who were library members in their childhood, had much better chances of being “literature lovers” as adults than people who did not get acquainted with libraries in their childhood (Kraaykamp 2003, 251). On the aggregate or country level, we can presuppose *a very positive relation between library density or number of books in public libraries per capita and average reading activity of a country.* On the individual level, we can assume that this is reflected as *library visiting, which has a very significant effect on reading.*

We supposed that motivation to read is inherited from childhood as mentioned above. Children’s motivation to read can be raised in several ways. One way to motivate children to read is active encouragement. However, we can also presume that a kind of passive encouragement, *the number of books at home*, is an important prerequisite of reading. This presupposition has been backed up empirically, which means that the number of books owned by parents in a person’s childhood has an impact on reading activity (Kraaykamp & Dijkstra 1999, 226, Eskola 1979, 110). But, in addition to books at home in childhood, also the number of books at home as an adult is important (Bennet et al. 1999, 156-158). Unfortunately, the data of this study are not longitudinal, and we can not know whether a large number of books at home is a cause of reading, i.e. an inheritance from parents, or whether it is a result of reading activity: those who read much also buy books. In any case, we *can*

suppose a very strong relation between book expenditure and reading at country level and number of books at home and reading at individual level.

It must be noted that if we try to explain reading by library visiting and books at home, these variables belong to a different level of variables than, for instance, education. Education is a background variable, which has an impact on reading through several mechanisms (Hedström & Svedberg 1996), as was speculated above. Library visiting and having books at home are just parts of these mechanisms. They are more or less even necessary conditions for reading. This is not the case with some socio-demographic background variables. People visit libraries or buy books to read at home, and therefore these activities are supposedly in the same way dependent on background variables as reading. On the other hand, reading is a reason for visiting a library and for having books at home. Therefore, visiting a library, having books at home, and reading books have reciprocal effects on each others. They are both causes and effects.

Mention was made above of the diversification of possibilities to use leisure time. Some indicators of diversification are alternative media uses to reading such as watching TV and Internet use. Are they exclusive to reading? There has been a lot of discussion on the impact of watching television on reading. Very often reading and watching television has been assumed to have an inverse relationship, but in empirical studies this assumption has not always been verified: on the contrary, time devoted to television does not have any effect on reading time (e. g. Knulst & van den Broek 2003, 230). It has even been observed that time used watching TV and time used to reading are positively correlated (Toivonen 2005, 44—45). Of course, an inverse relationship between television watching and reading is true in the case of heavy watchers, because time is limited. For instance, it has been found that children (11-14 and 15-18) who live in households where television is constantly on, spend significantly less time reading books than others (Roberts & Foehr 2004).

However, we could not study here the impact of the *amount* of television watching (e.g. how many hours per week etc) on reading, because in the questionnaire (see section “Data and variables” later in this text) the question on watching TV was formulated in this way: “Do you watch TV?” The alternative answers were only “yes” or “no”. *Therefore, no hypothesis on the relation between amount of TV watching and reading is presented here.* However, in the questionnaire, there was a question about the programme types which a respondent watched. This gives us a possibility to investigate the connection between quality of watching and reading.

In respect of another medium which is competing with reading, the Internet, this does not seem to be displacing reading; on the contrary it has been found

that the heaviest Internet users are also the heaviest readers (Griswold & Wright 2004). Griswold, McDonnell & Wright (2004) give two explanations for this. According to the first one, the Internet supports reading and vice versa. For instance, people who read online also read printed material. The second reason for the enhancing effect of the Internet on reading is that some people simply do more things than others (2004, 137). Griswold et al. refer to the concept of Richard Peterson, “cultural omnivore” (Peterson & Kern 1996). Cultural omnivorousness means that people who are active in cultural hobbies are not just snobs, interested, for instance, only in highbrow culture, but are omnivore and interested in different types of culture. *It is reasonable to presume also in this study that the correlation between reading and Internet use is a positive one.*

The regional comparisons of this study were based mainly on country comparisons. However, we also made a regional comparison on the basis of *regimes*. Regimes are countries classified into larger entities according to some principle in order to shape a more comprehensive regional overview. The classification of countries into regimes was based here on the revisions of the regime division proposed by Esping-Andersen (2000, 85–86). Esping-Andersen, in his classification, principally used three variables. These were, firstly, labour market regulation (little, medium, strong), which means, for instance, how much power governments have in the labour market. Secondly, the welfare state system (residual, universalistic, social insurance), which means, for instance, whether social political systems like child benefits are universal, i.e. cover all families rich and poor alike. The third dimension was the importance of families (familist, non-familist).

The division applied here divides the 15 EU countries of 2001 into four regimes: Nordic (Social Democratic according to Esping-Andersen), Continental, Liberal, and Mediterranean. Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and often also the Netherlands, as here, are included in the Nordic regime. In these countries, labour market regulation is medium, the welfare state is universalistic, for instance, child benefits are equal, and familism is low. The second regime is Continental (Belgium, Germany, France, Luxembourg, and Austria). The welfare state in these countries is based mainly on social insurance. The third regime is Liberal (Ireland and the United Kingdom), where the welfare state is mainly residual (for instance, child benefits are not equal for all families irrespective of incomes) and labour market regulation is low. The fourth regime is Mediterranean (Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain). The most important differentiating factors separating these from other countries are that these countries are familist and the labour market is strongly regulated (except in Greece). (Esping-Andersen 2000, 74–86.)

Although regime division seems to be based on social conditions in the countries mainly from the labour market or social policy perspective, we can assume that the division also works in the case of reading books. In fact, the same type of country division as here has been used in modelling media systems by Hallin-Mancini (2004). According to this division, a typical trait in the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model is an elite-oriented press and low newspaper circulation because of the tradition of late democratization. In the Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model (which also includes the Continental regime in this paper) a typical trait is the mass-circulation press as a result of egalitarian and early democratization, whereas in the North Atlantic or Liberal Model, newspaper circulation is medium as a result of individualized early democratization (Hallin-Mancini 66-69).

We can presume that the possibilities of large masses of people to have much education or to visit libraries are better in the universalistic welfare states than in the residual welfare states. The good performance of pupils and students from Nordic countries has also been registered in the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment by the OECD) studies. The reading performance of pupils in Nordic countries has been observed to be best among 40 countries around the world (PISA 2004, 281). A good reading ability is, of course, a precondition for reading.

We could expect that people in a certain regime do not visit libraries as often as in other regimes because library services are not as easily available. There is variation in library density, in number of books in libraries, and in lending fees. For instance, in Nordic countries, there is usually no lending fee in public libraries, whereas even in the Netherlands there is “a relatively modest lending fee” (Kraaykamp 2003, 238). In Germany, almost 50 % of public libraries have introduced lending fees (Locher 2005, 313). We could expect that the relation between both education and library visiting and reading of books is highly positive. *Therefore, we can also expect that reading activity is highest in welfare states.*

1.3 Data and variables

The data used here came from the so-called Eurobarometer on “Information and Communication Technologies, Financial Services, and Cultural Activities, August-September 2001” (Eurobarometer 56.0). The subjects of the interviews were residents of the 15 European Union member countries aged 15 and over. The countries were Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The sample was a multistage national probability

sample based on gender, age, and regional division of each country. Unweighted data consisted of 16 200 interviews (around 1 000 cases per country except in Luxembourg and Northern Ireland where the number of cases was smaller (Table 1). (Christensen 2003.)

Unweighted data were used in the analysis, except in Table 1 because country differences in the number of inhabitants are considerable and, therefore, without weighting, the total percentages of the 15 EU countries would have been biased. In logistic regressions unweighted data were used, or more precisely, used data were weighted only within each country.

The dependent variable was the answer to the question "Have you read at least one book for other purposes than for work or studying in the last 12 months". "I have not read" was zero and "I have read" one. Thus, we included into book readers only those who had read "for other purposes", because reading for educational purposes or work does not reflect a person's voluntary hobby as does reading for other purposes. Thus, reading activity was classified as a dichotomy, the main reason being that a more detailed classification would have created too small classes, because the proportion of people who had read during the last 12 months at least one book for other purposes than for studies or work was 47 %. However, it was also evident on the basis of the preliminary analyses that the relations of variables do not change decisively even though some other classification than dichotomy would have been used. The use of a dichotomy makes results easy to understand, and thus, in the following we can call the dependent variable *reading propensity*.

Age was a metric variable but classified into groups of ten years in Table 1. In logistic regression analyses age was used as a metric variable (covariate). The operationalization and classification of education was based on the age at which people finished education, and it came directly from the Eurobarometer questionnaire (Table 1). The type of municipality was based on the respondent's own estimate. People who answered affirmatively to the question "Would you say you live in a large town" were classified as city dwellers, and people who answered otherwise were classified as people living in a rural area.

The indicator of socio-economic position was a modified version of the classification of Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero (1982). The first category consisted of self-employed and employee professionals (doctors, lawyers etc.), business proprietors, owners (full or partner) of a company, and general and middle management. The first category was called business and academic elite. The second category consisted of the non-agrarian small self-employed, the third category of farmers and fishermen, the fourth category of service workers, the fifth category of manual workers, the sixth category of the unemployed, the seventh category of home-makers, and the eighth category of

other economically non-active people such as students, the retired, and people unable to work.

In respect of *reading variables*, visiting the library was classified as a binary variable. The answer “never” to the question “How many times in the last 12 months did you go to a library?” was coded “0”, and other than “never” was coded “1”. The dichotomy was chosen because the division of answers was oblique: only 31 % of people living in these 15 EU countries had visited a library during the previous 12 months. Another reading variable was the number of books at home. The number of books at home was classified into three groups (0-25, 26-200, and more than 200) because in this way classes including quite equal number of cases were achieved. In respect of *alternative uses of media* the classifications were again dichotomies as seen in Table 1.

1.4 Results

According to the figures in Table 1 there are considerable differences between countries in reading propensity. The average percentage of fifteen EU countries was 47. In Sweden it was as high as 75, in Finland 70, in Denmark 64, in Luxembourg 63, in the UK 60, and in the Netherlands 58, while in Belgium it was only 28, and in Portugal 16. In Germany the propensity was also quite low at 40 %. Reading propensity by regime was according to the hypothesis, i.e. in the Nordic regime the propensity was highest. Perhaps surprisingly, reading propensity in the Mediterranean regime was a little higher (46 %) than in the Continental regime (41 %).

The low percentage for Belgium is not necessarily doubtful because, according to another source, only 51 % of Belgian adults read a newspaper(s) each day, while the corresponding figure, for instance, for the Dutch was 70 (Consumers in Europe 2005, 227). The figures are in general also in line with the results from the European time use study although an exact comparison is impossible because the time use study included only a few of the countries which were included in this study (How Europeans spend their time 2004, 92). In any case, the reliability and validity of the results based on the Eurobarometer, 56.0, seem to be good.

In terms of gender, females had a higher reading propensity than males. People who were at least 20 years old when they completed their education, were very active readers. Of them, 67 % had read a book in the previous 12 months. Those who had completed their education at or before 15 years of age, were passive readers; 32 % of them had read a book for other purposes than studies or work in the previous 12 months. The differences between age groups were surprisingly small. The highest percentage was 52 (for 25–34-

year-olds) and the lowest 43 (for 65-year-olds or older). Thus, the result was not in the case of age completely the same as had been hypothesized. In terms of socio-economic position, the highest reading propensity was among the business and academic elite (65) and the lowest among the agrarian self-employed (farmers, fishermen) (20). This is something that could be expected.

In the theoretical background discussion it was assumed that in cities the reading tradition is longer than in the countryside, as people can be more privatized than in the countryside, and therefore city dwellers read more often. This also seems to be true on the basis of these Eurobarometer data: reading propensity among city or town dwellers was 50 % and among people living in rural areas 42 %.

For people who had visited libraries at least once during the previous 12 months the percentage was 70, and among those who had not done so the percentage was 38. Moreover, the number of books at home effectively differentiated people by reading propensity. Among those who had more than 200 books at home, the reading percentage was 75, but among those who had fewer than 26 books at home it was only 25.

If we look at reading and alternative media use, we can see that Internet use did not decrease the propensity to read. On the contrary, the difference between users and non-users was considerable: 61 % of users had read at least during the previous 12 months at least one book, but only 40 % of non-users. There was no correlation between watching TV and reading. The number of people who did not watch TV at all was very low. We can assume that people watching TV also read. (Positive correlation between reading and watching TV). On the other hand, very heavy watchers do not read (negative correlation), and therefore the result is zero correlation.

Unfortunately, in UNESCO statistics, only the numbers of administrative library units are available, but not the number of library units. Therefore, we must be satisfied with such an indicator of library density as the number of books in public libraries per capita. We see from this indicator that the Nordic countries are ahead of other regimes. The lowest book density is in the regime of Mediterranean countries, with the Liberal and Continental regimes in between these extremes (Figure 1). In general, it seemed that where reading propensity was high, also the number of books per capita in public libraries was high. However, reading propensity and number of books per capita were not in a consistent relationship in country by country inspection. For instance, the number of books in public libraries was slightly higher in Belgium than in the Netherlands but in the Netherlands the proportion of people who had read at least one book during the year was higher than in Belgium. On the other hand, in Italy, the number of books per capita in public libraries was very low

in comparison with other EU countries but the propensity to read was above the average of the 15 countries (52 % vs. 47 %).

Reading propensity and the consumption expenditure on books and periodicals also seemed to be positively correlated (Figure 2²), as one would have expected. We see that the expenditure of Belgian households on books and periodicals was the second lowest among the 15 EU countries, and this makes the low reading propensity of Belgians understandable. On the other hand, the consumption of books and periodicals of Italian households were quite high among EU countries, perhaps also explaining why Italians were active readers.

One would have expected that the relative prices of books and periodicals would have covariated negatively with reading propensity (Figure 3). However, they correlated positively. In countries where the relative prices of books and periodicals were highest, reading propensity was also highest. In Portugal, relative prices were well below the average but the proportion of readers was the lowest (16) of all the 15 EU countries. Thus, other factors than book prices have an effect on reading propensity in each country.

Different logistic regression models are presented in Table 2. Logistic regression was used as the analytical tool for two reasons. Firstly, the dependent variable was classified along with independent variables except for age. Secondly, logistic regression, at least in cases when the dependent variable is adichotomy, gives results which are easy to interpret because of odds ratios.

Model (1) is a basic model, because the only independent variable in the model is country. Only explained variance and significance of Chi-Square test are documented. The explanation percentage of the basic model was 6.2, and Chi-Square was statistically significant. The documentation of parameter estimates of single categories was omitted because they can be shown only the relation to one reference category. However, we are more often interested in pair-wise comparisons between categories of the independent variable. We are not only interested, for instance, in the odds ratio of Belgium against Austria, or the odds ratio of Denmark against Austria, or the odds ratio of Finland against Austria etc. Instead, we are also interested in the odds ratio of Belgium against Denmark, the odds ratio of Finland against Denmark etc.

These pair-wise comparisons can be produced so that every category is in turn the reference category, which means that we conducted 15 logistic regressions. These pair-wise comparisons can be seen in Table 3. Only the

² Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) means that price levels are taken into account. It is defined "as the number of currency units required to buy products equivalent to what can be bought with one unit of the currency of the base country of the comparison, or with one unit of the common currency of a group of countries, such as e.g. the EU Member States" (Consumers in Europe 2005, 299).

upper right part is documented because the lower left part of the Table would only give the same information as the upper right part. The table must be read as follows. The first column is the column of reference categories. The first row is the row of categories whose odds ratios are presented against the reference categories. For instance, when we want to see the odds ratios between Germany and other countries, we follow first the column “Germany”, and we see that the odds ratio between Germany and Austria (Austria as reference category) was 0.83. This means that reading propensity in Germany was smaller than in Austria, but the difference was not statistically significant. Between Germany and Belgium, the odds ratio was 1.71 and significant, which means that German people had a considerably higher reading propensity in comparison with Belgians. The odds ratio between Germany and Denmark was 0.38, between Germany and Finland 0.29, and between Germany and France 0.83. Thus, we follow the row “Germany” and Germany is now reference category. The odds ratio between Greece and Germany is 0.97 (German propensity is higher but not significantly), between Ireland and Germany the odds ratio is 1.14 etc.

Model (2) contains the socio-demographic variables mentioned above: age (covariate), education, type of municipality, socio-economic position, and gender. All odds ratios were statistically significant. The older people were, the more educated they were, and the higher the socio-economic position they were in, the higher was their propensity to read books for other purposes than studies or work. In addition, if they were women, and if they were city dwellers, the higher was their propensity to read books. When visiting library and number of books at home were added to the independents (model (3)) the explanation percentage of the model was considerably higher than that with only socio-demographic variables (10.3 % and 25.2 %). This was a result which could be expected.

In model (3), the statistical significance of education, type of municipality, and gender remained unchanged, but the statistical significance between age and reading propensity disappeared. This is possibly due to the fact that older people have more books at home than younger people. Also the relation between socio-economic position and reading propensity seemed to be weaker than in the model (2). The significance of the odds ratio of the business and academic elite in reading propensity (positive) against “others” was weaker than in model (2), as was the significance between farmers and fishermen against “others” (negative). This means that other reading variables must have correlations with socio-economic position. For instance, according to some analyses (not documented here), the higher reading propensity of the business and academic elite was due to their higher number of books at home.

In model (4), country was added to the equation. The explanation percentage rose by 2.4 percentage units and Chi-Square was still very significant. Also the significances of both socio-demographic background variables and reading variables remained unchanged. Then, alternative uses of media (Internet and TV programme type) were added to model (3) in model (5).

Respondents were asked to mention three types of TV programme they watched. Ten alternative types were given plus “other”. Generally, the types correlated positively with each other (and also with reading) and thereby indicated omnivorousness in watching TV. However, a factor analysis was conducted with the purpose of reducing the data. The two-factor solution seemed to be simple to interpret, both factors having an eigenvalue over 1, and the explained variance of the two-factor solution being as much as 34 % of the total variance. It revealed interesting profiles. In the first factor, soap series, entertainment in general, talk shows, and home shopping were loaded by over 0.50. In the second factor, news and current affairs, documentaries, and sport were correspondingly loaded by over .50. Thus, it seemed that people who watch TV can be divided into two groups: those who were interested in documentaries and those who were interested in entertainment.

Internet use and watching news and documentary programmes on television seemed to significantly increase reading propensity. Griswold et al. (2005, 137-138) offer the following three partly alternative explanations for why Internet use correlates positively with reading. The first is that evidently reading is declining overall among both Internet users and non-users but more among non-users. Secondly, an elite segment of the general population – highly educated, affluent, and metropolitan – are both heavy readers and early adopters of the Internet. The third explanation is that some people simply do more things than other people do, they are more active in virtually all forms of media participation; they are media omnivores. Watching entertainment programmes seem to be uncorrelated with reading propensity. In any case, the impact of Internet and TV on reading propensity was small, because the explanation percentage was only 0.9 percentage units higher in model (5) than in model (3). In model (6), countries were added to model (5). The significance of country still remains, with the explanation percentage (28.3) being even 2.1 percentage units higher than in model (5). Thus, the socio-demographic variables, reading variables, and alternative media use variables used in this analysis could not abolish differences between countries.

Figures for pair-wise country comparisons of odds ratios on the basis of model (6) in many cases look quite similar to the odds ratios calculated on the basis of model (1) (Table 4). For instance, if we look at the top and the bottom of the figures, we can see that they are still most often significantly in favour

of Sweden, and on the other hand, the odds ratios of Portugal (other countries against Portugal) were still significantly lower than the odds ratios of other countries. Also, the figures for Germany were not much different from the figures in Table 1. However, we can see an increase in the number of statistically non-significant odds ratios, that is to say, that the country differences in reading propensity were after all in many cases due to the control variables. Perhaps the most radical change in odds ratio comparisons was in the case of the UK. The UK's odds ratios were higher against every other country except Sweden. However, the odds were not statistically significant between Ireland and the UK, between Luxembourg and the UK, or between Finland and the UK.

The figures for Denmark, Holland, and Finland were striking because the differences between them and other countries in reading propensity diminished when control variables were introduced. On the basis of model (1), the odds ratios of reading propensity was in favour of Finland against every other country, except Sweden, and they were also in most cases statistically significant. After controlling other independents, the odds were statistically significantly in favour of Finland only against a few countries, and in the cases of Luxembourg and the UK, the odds ratios were against Finland. Denmark and the Netherlands Also showed a similar pattern of changes from model (1) to model (6). On the basis of model (1), the odds ratios were significantly in favour of Denmark against the UK, Spain, and Italy, but on the basis of model (6) the situation was changed: the odds ratios were in favour of the UK, Spain, and Italy. The odds ratios were significantly in favour of the Netherlands according to model (1) against Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain, but according to the model (6), only against Belgium, Germany, and Portugal.

Experiments were also made with models where interaction terms (country and gender, country and education, country and socio-economic position etc.) were added to model (6). However, interaction terms did not substantially increase explanation percentages, but the interaction term "country and education" did illuminate some interesting details in the cases of Germany and Britain. Essential facts concerning country and education interaction could be reported on the basis of observed and predicted frequencies of a very simple model (not documented here). In this model, only country and education were independents. In the case of the UK, the observed reading propensity of people who had completed their education by the age of 15 (the least educated group) was 53 %, although the expected propensity was only 45 % (significantly less). Thus, it is only natural that when the impact of a higher average educational level - typical of welfare states - was eliminated, the reading propensity of the UK rose in comparison with welfare states. In the case of

Germany, the observed figure for the least educated was also significantly higher than expected (33 vs. 27), while on the other hand, the observed figure for the most educated group (at least 20 years old when completed education) was significantly lower than expected (50 % vs. 57 %). Thus, the German position in reading propensity among the 15 EU countries did not change after controlling for education because the divide in reading propensity by education was much smaller in Germany than on average in other countries.

1.5 Summary and discussion

The purpose of this study was to find out if there were differences in reading propensity (the percentage of people who had read at least one book for other purposes than for work or studies in the previous 12 months) among 15 EU countries. It was found that there were considerable differences between countries and regimes. Figures for reading propensity were highest in the Nordic regime. Attempts were made to explain the differences between by socio-demographic variables, reading variables, and alternative media use variables. Socio-demographic variables were age, education, gender, socio-economic position, and type of municipality. According to the results, impacts of gender (women more than men), socio-economic position (upper classes more), and type of municipality (town dwellers more than country dwellers) on reading propensity were significant. The impact of age was small, but the impact of education seemed to be very significant. However, sharp differences in reading propensity between educational groups (as well as social classes) are perhaps a little doubtful and were due to the fact that people try to respond to these kinds of questions in a socially desirable manner (Philips 1973). It has been found that there are considerable differences especially in the answers of upper class people to the questions on participation in highbrow culture; differences which depend on the research method used. If a direct question such as “how many times during the last 12 months”, which was used here, is compared with an indirect method like the time use diary method, more activity is reported by the direct method (Niemi 1993, 232). It is socially desirable for the upper classes to show higher participation figures in highbrow culture.

The Nordic countries’ advantage in reading propensity almost disappeared when socio-demographic variables, visiting a library, and the number of books at home were controlled. Surprisingly, according to the logistic regression models, the propensity to read books was highest in the United Kingdom – however, together with Sweden - when education, visiting a library, books at home, and alternative media use were controlled. But in some cases, as in the

case of Germany, the gap in reading propensity between, for instance, Sweden and Finland, did not disappear. We found that in the UK the question was one of a relatively high reading propensity among the less educated, and that in Germany, the divide between educational groups in reading propensity was narrower than in other countries. But these explanations are only technical, and they do not reveal substantial causes. What is behind these explanations is not easy to say; evidently some cultural traits which were not included in these data?

The position of some countries in the Mediterranean regime – such as Italy and Spain – in reading propensity also seemed to be closer to countries of the Nordic regime when other independents were controlled, but Portugal was still last when the above-mentioned variables were controlled. A reason for this is perhaps the possible impact of illiteracy. We can assume that people who were not exposed to reading at home (parents illiterate or almost illiterate), do not themselves read. The intergenerational transmission of cultural participation is rarer than in other countries. Indirect evidence of the impact of illiteracy on reading is offered by the fact that the literacy rate in 1890 and newspaper circulation in 2000 are highly correlated (Hallin & Mancini 2004, 63).

In this context, we can refer to another tradition. The Mediterranean countries and also Belgium are Catholic countries, and Catholic countries are familist. Familism was one of the criteria for regime division. Thus, probably people in the Mediterranean countries spend more of their leisure time socializing with their family, relatives and friends than people in the Protestant Nordic countries and in the Anglican United Kingdom. In these countries people are more individualistic, and reading is a hobby which perhaps more than any other needs to be carried out without disturbances from other persons. Unfortunately, in the latest comparable European time use study, there is no information from the Mediterranean countries (*How Europeans spend their time 2004*), which would have been able to tell us about time used socializing.

Last but not least, the reading activity and television watching were positively correlated. This observation is in line with several recent findings on an omnivorous pattern of cultural consumption. We could not observe any impact of “heavy consumption of television” on reading. However, on the basis of the time use studies mentioned above, there is some evidence that in countries, where the amount of time used watching television is high, the time used reading is low, as in Hungary (*How Europeans spend their time 2004*). Internet use and reading correlated positively. The explanation for this is most probably the omnivorousness in media use, but we do not know what happens when Internet use has moved into less educated groups of the population. The

picture may change and the Internet may take time from reading. Perhaps, the data from 2001 does not tell the whole truth in 2006.

Research on the above-mentioned question can not be conducted without longitudinal data. In general, the study of all kinds of interesting trends is not possible without longitudinal data. For instance, are the differences between countries, educational groups, social classes, genders etc. growing or shrinking in Europe? And this is a question of great importance: are possible growing divides in reading and other, more or less economic forms of stratification, taking place hand in hand? Therefore, it would be necessary that for Eurostat to collect data on media use on a regular basis.

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Table 1 People who have read at least one book for other purposes than work or studies during last 12 months (reading propensity) in 15 EU countries in 2001 (percentages)

<i>Country</i>	Read (per cent)	n(total)=		Read (per cent)	n(total)=
			<i>Age*</i>		
Belgium	28	1031	15–24	46	2554
Denmark	64	1001	25–34	52	3120
Germany	40	2047	35–44	51	2812
Greece	39	1001	45–54	50	2454
Italy	52	998	55–64	45	2147
Spain	45	1000	65+	42	3074
France	45	1002	<i>Visited library*</i>		
Ireland	43	1002	Yes	70	4893
Luxemb	63	609	No	38	11064
Holland	58	1047	<i>Books at home*</i>		
Portugal	16	1000	200+	75	2511
United Kingdom	60	1346	26–200	56	7852
Finland	70	1023	0–25	25	5798
Sweden	75	1000	<i>Socio-economic position*</i>		
Austria	44	1093	bus and acad elite	64	2089
			s-empl other than agr	45	685
<i>Regime*</i>			agr s-empl	20	167
Nordic	65	1498	rout non- manual	55	2746
Continental	41	6881	manual work	35	2577
Liberal	60	2689	unempl	41	824
Mediterr.	46	5094	home-makers	46	1961
<i>Gender*</i>			others	47	5114
Male	42	7806	<i>City*</i>		
Female	53	8357	Rural	42	5040
<i>Age when completed education*</i>			City	50	11122
Still studying	54	1579	<i>Internet use*</i>		
20+ years	65	3365	uses internet	61	5917
16–19 years	48	6460	does not use	53	8357
-up to 15	34	4758	<i>TV watching*</i>		
			watches TV	48	15743
			does not watch TV	47	419
weighted data			Total	47	16200

The Nordic Regime= Holland, Sweden, Finland, Denmark

The Continental Regime = Belgium, Austria, Luxembourg, France, Germany

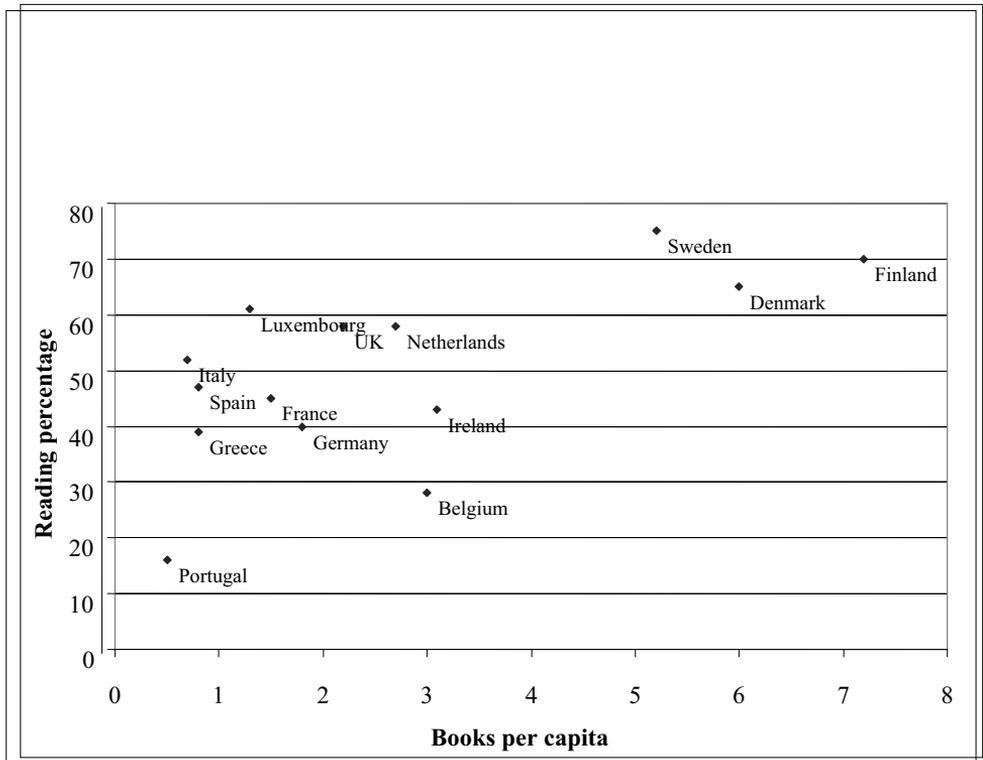
The Liberal Regime = Ireland, United Kingdom

The Mediterranean Regime = Spain, Italy, Greece, Portugal

Table 2 Logistic regressions of reading propensity on country, socio-demographic variables, library visiting, books at home, TV watching, and Internet use

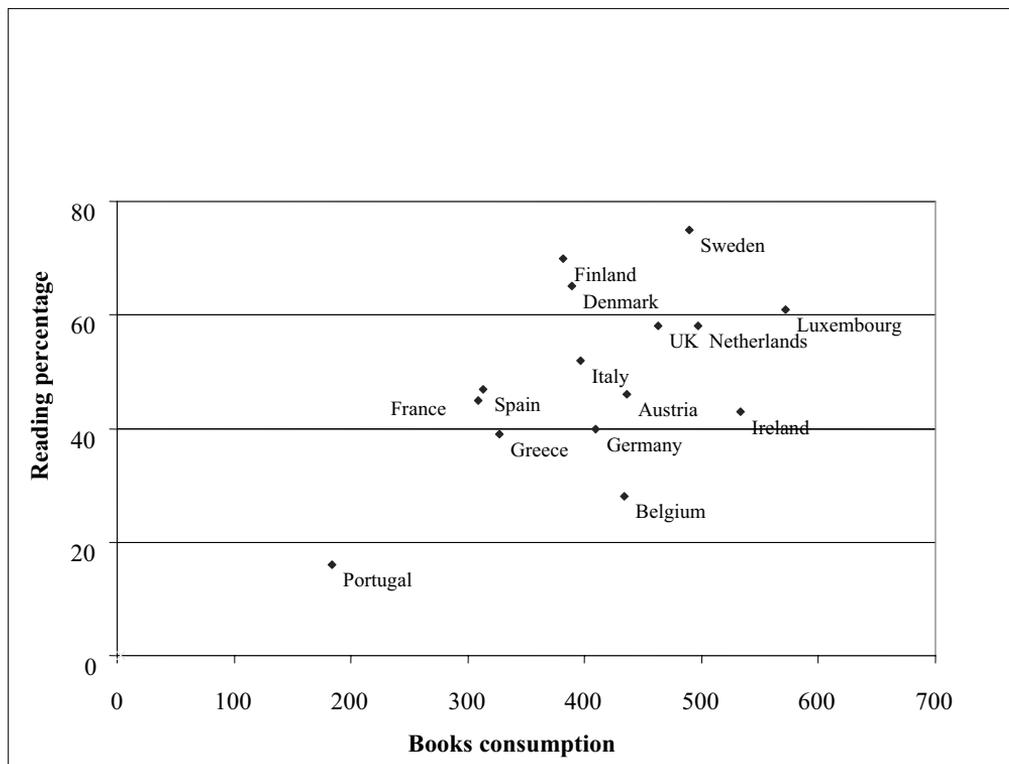
	model 1	model 2	model 3	model 4	model 5	model 6
<i>Country</i>						
Chi-Square	767, 929***			555,534***		341,11***
<i>Age</i>		1,05*	1,02	1,02	1,04*	1,04**
<i>Age when completed education</i>						
still studying		2,69***	1,12	1,23	0,96	1,12
20+ years		3,26***	1,89***	1,99***	1,77***	1,89***
16-19		1,84***	1,49***	1,53***	1,44***	1,49***
up to 15 years (ref.)		.	.	.	.	.
<i>City</i>						
rural		0,81***	0,84***	0,89**	0,84***	0,89**
city (ref.)		.	.	.	.	.
<i>Socio-economic position</i>						
bus and acad elite		1,59***	1,17*	1,20**	1,05	1,10
s-empl other than agr		1,03	1,01	1,02	1,00	1,00
agr s-empl		0,45***	0,6*	0,70	0,64*	0,75
rout non-manual		1,21	1,09	1,15	1,01	1,08
manual work		0,76***	0,79**	0,8*	0,8**	0,8**
unempl		0,02*	0,79	0,78	0,79*	0,78*
home-makers		0,90	0,95	0,97	0,96	0,99
others (ref.)		.	.	.	.	.
<i>Sex</i>						
male		0,61***	0,66***	0,65***	0,60***	0,58***
female (ref.)		.	.	.	.	.
<i>Books at home</i>						
more than 200 books			5,49***	5,19***	5,06***	4,81***
26-200			2,89***	2,81***	2,75***	2,67***
0-25 books (ref.)			.	.	.	.
<i>Visited library</i>						
visited			2,65***	2,47***	2,49***	2,37***
no (ref.)			.	.	.	.
<i>Internet use</i>						
uses internet					1,41***	1,31***
does not use (ref.)					.	.
<i>TV watching</i>						
TV entertainment					1,04*	1,03
TV doc. & news					1,16***	1,18***
<i>100 x Pseudo r square (Nagelkerke)</i>						
	6,2	10,3	25,2	27,6	26,1	28,3

*p<0,05; **p<0,01; ***p<0,001



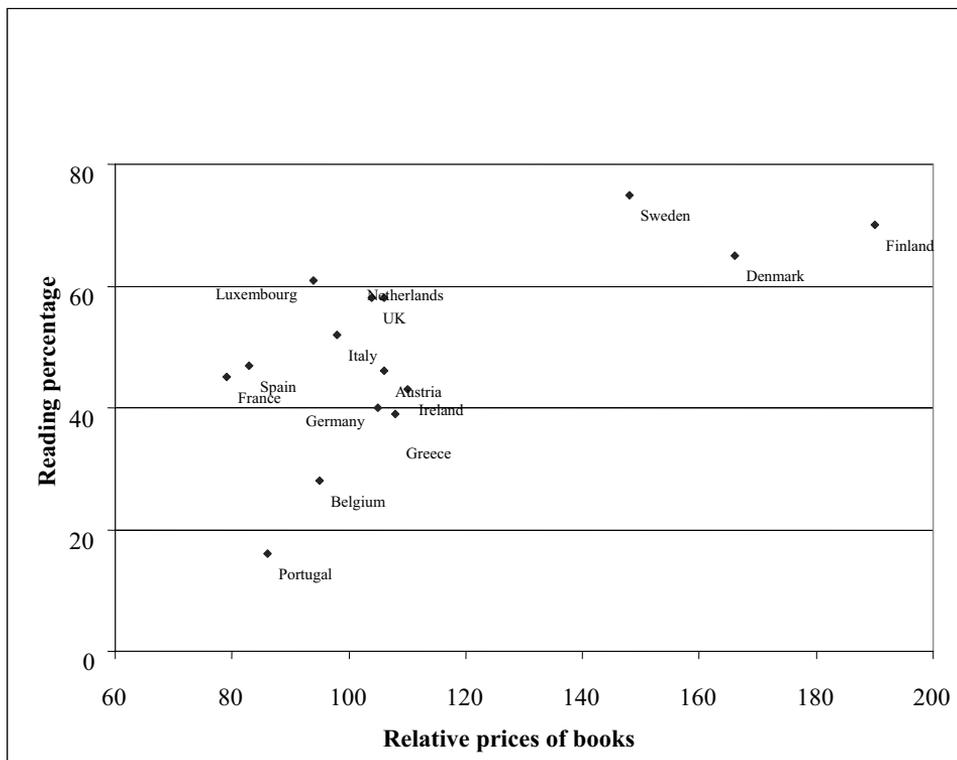
Source: <http://www.uis.unesco.org-TEMPLATE-html-HTMLTables-culture>

Figure 1 Books per capita in public libraries and the percentage of reading propensity in 1999.



Source: http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int/portal/page?_pageid=0,1136184,0_45572592&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

Figure 2 Books and periodicals consumption expenditure 2001 (in PPP) per household (€) and the percentage of reading propensity.



Source: http://epp.eurostat.ec.eu.int/portal/page?_pageid=0,1136184,0_45572592&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

Figure 3 Relative prices of books and periodicals (in PPP) and the percentage of reading propensity (EU 15=100).

2 AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON OF CULTURAL TOURISM BEHAVIOUR

Abstract

The hypothesis of cultural omnivorousness has been widely discussed and studied during the last 10-15 years within sociology of art. According to the hypothesis, people who are active in some sphere of culture are not only interested in their “own” sphere of culture but are probably also interested in other areas of culture. The purpose of this study was to investigate whether the omnivore hypothesis is tenable also in the case of cultural tourism, and especially to study possible differences among foreign tourists from different continents and regimes. The data came from *the International cultural tourism research project* organized by ATLAS. Thirteen alternative attractions and events were presented. Factor analysis was used as the tool to study omnivorousness. Correlations between attending different cultural events and visiting different attractions were statistically significant, and one factor or more detailed two factor solutions seemed to be relevant, indicating that cultural tourists tend to be omnivorous. Most omnivorous people were 50 years or over and highly educated. There were also some continent and regime differences. The tourists from poor and/or remote places were a little more omnivorous than tourists from other areas. It was also found that omnivorous tourists were omnivorous because they visited more frequently popular attractions than other tourists, but especially frequently, rare attractions.

Keywords: cultural tourism and socio-demographic variables, international comparison in cultural tourism, omnivorousness

2.1 Theoretical background

2.1.1 *Omnivorousness*

Richard Peterson (1992) was perhaps the first who used the term “cultural omnivore”. Peterson connected it to an anomaly observed in the evidence

revealed by his work with Simkus which showed that people of higher social status, contrary to elite models of cultural taste, were not averse to participation in activities associated with popular culture (Peterson and Simkus, 1992). Indeed, high status people were omnivores because they had developed a taste for everything. Since then the terms “omnivore” and “omnivorousness” have come to stand for one of the most hotly discussed topics in the sociology of culture (e.g. Peterson and Kern 1996; Warde et al. 1999, and 2005; Sintas and Alvarez 2002, Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005; DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004, Virtanen 2005).

According to Warde et al there are two definitions of omnivorousness which they call the *volume definition* and the *compositional definition* (2005, p. 1-2). The first simply maintains that some people, an identifiable sector of the population, participate in and like more activities and things than others (Holbrook et al 2002). The second suggests that in omnivorousness there is also a sort of distinctive cultural orientation involved. Peterson stresses anti-snobism, indicated by tastes crossing old hierarchical cultural boundaries. Thus, this idea is replacing the old arrangement whereby elite status was associated with snobbery; it was “incumbent on members of the cultural elite not only to do the right thing, but as importantly, to shun absolutely all other sorts of cultural practices.” (Peterson and Kern, 1996, p. 906.) The omnivore hypothesis is at least partly opposed to Bourdieu’s (1984) thinking. According to Bourdieu, people with highly institutionalised cultural capital prefer rare and highbrow items in culture because they try to make a distinction from the masses. Thus, according to this Bourdiean hypothesis, cultural tastes and class positions are homologous. But, according to the omnivore hypothesis, omnivorous people deliberately do not exclude the use of popular forms of culture, although they simultaneously prefer distinctive forms.

There has been a lot of empirical research aiming to elaborate the significance of the omnivore thesis. There is evidence that highly educated sections of the population in the USA and Europe have broader cultural engagements and tastes than other people. It has also been found that the volume of likes grows with age, but decreases among the most elderly. Gender is significant: women like more items than men. Household type is of little importance (Warde 2005).

Omnivorousness has also been seen as a sign of greater tolerance: “it is antithetical to snobbishness, which is based fundamentally on rigid rules of exclusion” (Peterson & Kern 1996, p. 904). However, it is not “liking everything *indiscriminately*”, but “an *openness* to appreciating everything”. Warde et al (1999) on the basis of a study of tastes in restaurants in the UK, speculated that a broad range of tastes was a sign of a new form of distinction

among the privileged, where wide knowledge and ability to appreciate many practices and products was itself accorded symbolic honour.

Peterson and Kern attribute the growth of omnivorousness to structural changes which have made different cultural forms more widely available, “a historical trend towards greater tolerance of those holding different values” (1996), and the decline of a single standard in the art world. They conclude by claiming that “omnivorous inclusion seems better adapted to an increasingly global world managed by those who make their way, in part, by showing respect for the cultural expressions of others and that omnivorousness is better adapted to the late 20th century”. Thus, omnivorousness is besides a higher status phenomenon, also a trait of modern social change.

The terms “omnivore” or “omnivorous” are not so often used in tourism research. However, Greg Richards uses the term in the context where he ponders the fact that the proportion of cultural tourists has not grown as rapidly as the number of cultural visits, which means that “another complication may be the fact that cultural consumers (Richards probably means cultural tourists) are becoming increasingly ‘omnivorous’, tending to visit many different forms of culture” (2001, p. 11). In a later paper, Richards develops the point further using empirical data (Richards & Hitters 2002, p. 20-22).

However, the phenomenon of omnivorousness has been discussed implicitly to some degree in tourism studies. For instance, omnivorousness can be connected with the widely but often very vaguely used term *post-modern tourism* or *post-tourism*. Without going into details about the ideas of post-modernism or post-modern tourism, we can say that post-modern tourism involves two traits which are important here. The first is the disappearance of the homology principle (see above), i.e. the impacts of structural determinants in the post-modern world. For instance, class boundaries in tourism styles are fading away. Another essential trait is the diminishing possibilities to differentiate tourists on the basis of some clearly defined trip purposes or motives (culture, nature, beach etc.). For instance, Bauman stresses that the most important factor in tourism is the seeking of pleasurable sensations (2003). John Urry stresses that several of the above-mentioned types of motives can also be combined together in one and the same trip, such as pleasure and novelty (1990/2002). David MacCannell stressed authenticity as the main tourist motivation in his seminal book “Tourist” from 1976, although he did not use the term post-modernism. The problem according to these post-modern theorists is the lack of empirical evidence, and the ideas are often even formulated in a way which makes empirical testing impossible (Mirchandani 2005, see, however, Mustonen 2006). But in any case, post-modern theories and the omnivore hypothesis are contingent, at least to some degree.

Some empirical studies have also indicated omnivorousness without explicitly using the term. For instance, Antti Honkanen (2004) in his study on the tourism of European Union residents has found that those who travel a lot choose their destinations on a broad basis: sometimes a cultural holiday, sometimes a sport holiday, sometimes some other type of holiday, and often they combine them all. The broad basis of selection was also evident in the study of Nica and Swaiden (2004). It has also been found that nature-based tourists can be clustered into two broad segments, as specialists and generalists (Mehmetoglu 2005). However, the last-mentioned result does not necessarily support the omnivore thesis.

2.1.2 International comparisons

International comparisons in the social sciences have become more common in recent decades. However, international comparisons of tourist behaviour have been rare and have very often been case studies. Sometimes there have been no actual comparisons, because only one country has been the object of the study. In particular, the cultural traits and attitudes of Japanese tourists have been focused on in several studies (e.g. Chon, Inagaki & Ohashi 2000, Gilbert & Terrata 2001, Reisinger & Turner 1999). The rarity of international comparisons is surely due to many factors. One of them may be that political and economic elites do not regard tourism as an important industry like other industries such as agriculture and manufacturing, and therefore statistical institutions and researchers are not financed to collect many-sided data on tourism. On the other hand, the lack of data can be due to the passivity of tourism researchers. Obviously, many researchers not only seem to have no interest in these kinds of comparisons, but are also dubious about such comparisons. Some scholars, for instance Dann (1993), have deliberately questioned the relevance of the nationality variable in tourism research. But Dann's questioning was not based on empirical studies

The earlier ATLAS (Association for Tourism and Leisure Education) Cultural Tourism Study can be mentioned as a positive exception (see Richards 2000). Exceptions are also data sets, the collection of which has been organized by Eurostat (Statistical Office of European Union). These are Euro-Barometer 25 (Rabier 1988) and Eurobarometer 48.0 (Melich 1999). They have served as the basis in the study of Gursoy and Umbreit (2004) on tourist information search behaviour in European Union member states, and in a study of Antti Honkanen (2004). Mustonen used the data in his study (2003) on differences between countries in choosing environment as a destination criterion of a holiday trip, and Toivonen (2004) analysed changes in the

propensity to take a holiday trip abroad among EU countries using the same data.

In several studies we can find very high percentages for cultural tourists. For instance, according to McKercher and Chan (2005), the Travel Industry Association of America reported that 'a remarkable 81 % of US adults who travelled in the past year are considered historical/cultural travelers'. However, spokesmen for other types of tourism have presented analogous figures. For instance, The International Ecotourism Society has indicated that as many as 60 % of all international tourists are nature-based tourists. The point is that visiting some attraction can not be used as a proxy for the *main* motive and not even as a very important motive of a trip (McKercher and Chan 2005). Richards & Queiros even assert that cultural tourists remain a minority within the overall cultural visitor population (2005, p. 23). In any case, the importance of cultural tourism has perhaps sometimes been overestimated, and it would be better to call as cultural tourists only those whose main motive to travel is culture.

2.2 The purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to determine omnivorousness in cultural tourism, and how the socio-demographic characteristics are connected with omnivore tourists. The characteristics in the analyses were chosen on the basis of previous studies (see above). These were age, education, gender, and also in this case, cultural tourism by self-definition, and the place of residence (continent or regime, see p. 8-9).

On the basis of previous studies, we could expect omnivore tourists to be older rather than younger, to be highly educated, to be female, and to be cultural tourists by self-definition. Concerning regional differences we made no assumptions simply because of the lack of previous studies. Last but not least, the length of stay is supposedly a very important variable connected with omnivorousness. It is self-evident that people whose visit is very short could not be as omnivore as those who stay longer. However, in the case of this variable, we can not be sure which is cause and which is effect because it is also self-evident that omnivore tourists reserve time to get acquainted with several attractions and events. *In addition, we tried to find out which kind of attractions omnivorous tourists visit and how much money they spend during their trip.*

2.3 Data and variables

The data used here were taken from the latest ATLAS Cultural Tourism surveys. These surveys generated 12 003 completed interviews in 2004. Local residents, day visitors and tourists were interviewed at a range of different sites worldwide, mainly at museums (25 %), festivals (20 %) and historic sites (19 %). The choice of sites in each destination was left to the local survey organisers who were best placed to select appropriate popular cultural attractions in their locality. Thus, the data represent only the visitors to each attraction, and not all cultural tourists in any country because it was collected in only one or a few places in each country. At each site, a minimum of 200 surveys was undertaken, usually using interviewer-administered self-completion questionnaires. The questionnaires were translated into more than a dozen languages to facilitate ease of completion for visitors¹. (Richards & Queiros 2005, p. 3-4). Data were collected in the following countries:

China, Japan, Mozambique, Australia, New Zealand, Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Hungary, Ireland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia & Montenegro, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Argentina, and Brazil.

However, we can assume that data are more representative if we study only foreign tourists, i.e. tourists whose place of residence was abroad. In our study the number of respondents, who were foreign tourists, was 4 770. Foreign tourists from the largest countries had visited several countries and several places around the world. For instance, foreign tourists from Germany (n=458) had visited 16 countries. Thus, we can assume that the data adequately represented those people who live in Germany and have taken a trip abroad. Data included foreign tourists from 91 countries and autonomous areas. In 374 cases, foreign tourists did not mention their place of residence in greater detail (which country). These persons were left out of the analysis. Thus, the number of cases in the following analyses was 4 300-4 400 depending on the question.

However, all foreign tourists from 91 countries and autonomous areas could not be studied by country of residence, because the number of respondents was very low in most cases (less than 10). Therefore, respondents were reclassified into groups of a reasonable size. The constructed groups were based on the continental division: Asian, African, European, Australasian, North American, and Latin American groups. A pure continental division would not have been satisfactory because then at least the Asia and Europe categories would have consisted of many countries at different developmental levels. In addition, the category of Europe would have been overwhelmingly large in comparison with other groups. Thus, Asian countries were divided into two categories. The first category consisted of developed countries like Japan and

South Korea, and the second category of developing countries like Afghanistan and India (for complete list, see appendix 1).

In the case of Europe *regimes* were used as the unit of analysis. A regime is a group of countries classified according to some principle in order to shape a more comprehensive regional overview. The classification of countries into regimes was based here on the revisions of the regime division proposed by Esping-Andersen (2000, p. 85–86). Esping-Andersen, in his classification, used three variables. These were, firstly, labour market regulation (little, medium, strong), which means, for instance, how much power governments have in the labour market; secondly, the welfare state system (residual, universalistic, social insurance), which means, for instance, whether social political systems like child benefits are universal, i.e. cover all families rich and poor alike. The third dimension was the importance of families (familist, non-familist).

The regime division of Europe by Esping-Andersen was based on the situation before the Soviet bloc or East bloc collapse at the beginning of the 1990s. New constitutions have arisen, as in the case of the Czech Republic and Hungary, or new independent countries have been established, such as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. This must be taken into account in the present situation of Europe. These countries are generally called Transitional European Countries (transition from socialism to market economy). These states are in a cultural and economic sense rather diverse, but, in general, they have been in a poorer economic situation than established Western European countries. Therefore, it is reasonable to study them as their own regime.

Although regime division seems to be based on social conditions in the countries mainly from the labour market or social policy perspective, we can assume that the division also works in this case. For instance, we can presume that the possibilities of large masses of people to obtain a good education and a relatively good economic condition are more common in the universalistic welfare states than in the residual welfare states.

Concerning operationalizations, to the question on the primary purpose of the respondent's current trip in the questionnaire, eight alternatives were given: holiday, cultural event, visiting relatives and friends, business, conference, sports event, shopping, and other. If the respondent answered "holiday", then she/he was also asked to describe her/his current holiday trip with eight alternatives. One of these was "cultural holiday". Thus, in this study, the cultural tourists were those who answered that their primary purpose was "cultural event" and those who described their current holiday as "cultural holiday". Thus, the definition "cultural tourist" is based on self-definition of the purpose of the trip, not on the actual behaviour.

In the omnivore literature, we can find roughly two means to identify cultural omnivorousness. Here we use the rather simple method which means that we investigated whether different cultural tastes and activities correlated with each other, and after that, summed up the number of tastes or activities. If somebody as a tourist visits many events and other cultural attractions in her/his trip, then she/he is an omnivore cultural tourist. Thus, this simple definition is analogous with the idea of Holbrook et al (see page 3). Therefore, our *operational definition of omnivorousness was the activeness of visiting attractions and attending events: the more a person had visited attractions and attended events (also planned to visit or attend) the more omnivorous she/he was.*

2.4 Results

Socio-demographic divisions of data can be seen in Table 1. The largest group of foreign tourists were 30-49 years of age. The educational level of foreign tourists was high. As many as two thirds (65 %) had at least a bachelor degree and a mere 2 % had only basic education. The division of males and females was almost equal. The variation in shares of continents and regimes by place of residence was uneven among respondents. Although the surveys were conducted in several countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia and Latin America, at 130 cultural sites, the fact is that the surveys retain an essentially European focus, because, in our sample, 3 965 foreign tourists attended some European attraction. The percentages of Asian, African, Australasian, and Latin American respondents were only 1-4, but the percentage of respondents from Continental Europe was as high as 38, surely reflecting the division of countries from which data were collected. Income information is not used here because only 3 700 respondent gave such information. After preliminary experiments, it was evident that when we leave out those people who did not mention their income, the impacts of age, education etc., change in comparison with the situation where all respondents were included. However, the income divisions corresponded well with our image of tourists from different countries. The richest tourists came from North America and Western Europe, the poorest from Transitional Europe and Latin America.

The share of cultural tourists was 58 % (Table 1). The proportion of cultural tourists did not vary much by continent and regime. The percentages varied by only 20 percentage units between Africa (69 %) and Liberal Europe (49 %). The European figures were also close to the European figures of the ATLAS survey from 1993 (Richards 1996). This also indicates the stability of the proportion of cultural tourists in the last decade.

The hypothesis on omnivore cultural tourism was tested by factor analysis (Table 2). The idea was simple: if all the cultural activities are loaded highly in the first principal component, then it is evident that the visits to cultural attractions (mentioned in the used interview form) are cumulative and correlate with each other. On the basis of Table 2, this seems to be true. All loadings were positive and over 0.30. The highest loadings were for museums (0.58), historic sites (0.52), and art galleries; the lowest were for cinema and pop concerts (both 0.31). The explanation percentage of the total variance was 18.1. This first principal component can be called *total cultural activity*. Also solutions with more than one principal component (factor) were calculated. It is evident that the solution of two factors with varimax rotation gave a more detailed picture of cultural activities. The first factor seems to be the activity in visiting historical attractions. This means that people who were active in visiting museums, were also active in visiting monuments, religious sites, and historic sites. This factor can be called *historical activity*.

The second factor can be called *event activity*, which means that people who had visited some "live" attraction, for instance, a theatre, had also visited or were planning to visit a cinema, attend pop concerts, world music events, classical music events, and dance events. Therefore, in the following analyses, it was reasonable to study not only total activity (omnivorousness) but also separately historical activity and event activity.

Multivariate ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) models were conducted on the total number of all cultural attractions visited (or planned to visit), and separately on number of visits to historical attractions and number of events attended (Table 3). In the case of *total activity*, all the independent variables except gender were statistically significant (F-test). On the other hand, the explanation percentage of the model was only 2.7 %, indicating that the relation between structural variables and omnivorousness was not very strong. In respect of categories of variables, it seems to be so that people in the oldest age class were more omnivorous than people in younger age classes, as B indicates, as was also expected. Coefficient B is a parameter estimate of effect size. Positive coefficient means that the category in question has more a known attribute than the reference (redundant) category. The differences between categories of education were not striking: the only statistically significant difference was between the highest level and the lowest level. This means that omnivorousness in cultural tourism was divided among educational levels quite evenly. In addition cultural tourists by self-definition were more omnivorous than others, as were those who stayed longer in the area, as expected.

In the case of continent (and regime), differences in total activity or omnivorousness were significant only between Latin America (reference

category) and Northern Europe, and between Latin America and Continental Europe. Between Latin America and both developing Asia and Africa, differences were not at all significant. One interpretation can be that the further away and/or the poorer the continent or regime, the more eager a tourist from such places is to engage in all possible cultural activities in the place of destination (mostly, in this case, Europe). A slightly different interpretation is that omnivorous behaviour is connected with the frequency of trips abroad. Those people who can afford to travel several times per year to foreign countries need not be as omnivorous as those who do not have this possibility.

When *historical activity* was investigated, we observed that independent variables explained omnivorousness better. The explanation percentage of the model was 4.3. All independent variables except continent (and regime) were significant. In this sense, people have a very similar tourist culture around the world: their activity to visit historical attractions is the same. Differences between educational groups were more systematic (the more education the more visits) than in the case of total activity. This is quite natural because it can be assumed that, everywhere in the world, one of the main purposes of general education is to learn to understand history.

In the case of *event activity*, gender was not significant but all the other independents were. The explanation percentage of background variables was considerably higher here than in the cases of total activity and historical activity, i.e. 8.1 %. The contribution of length of stay was most significant in this context. It is easy to understand that in attending events time is a much more important prerequisite for omnivorousness than in visiting historical attractions. Age was significant but in the opposite direction to earlier cases: the younger groups were more active than the older. It also seemed that the less educated were more active in attending events than the highly educated. These results were quite natural, taking into account the character of most of the events (cinema, dance, pop concert) included in this study. In the case of event activity there were differences between continents (and regimes). In event activity, tourists from all European regimes except the transitional regime, North America, and industrial Asia were more passive than tourists from Latin America, developing Asia, and Africa. This also agrees well with the interpretation mentioned above.

What kinds of attractions do omnivorous foreign tourists visit in comparison with univorous foreign tourists? Omnivorous tourists were defined as those tourists, who had visited or planned to visit at least five attractions, and univorous tourists as those who had visited or planned to visit no or only one attraction. Obviously, respondents who reported "no attractions" had understood that the question referred to other attractions than the one they

were just visiting. In an earlier study of omnivorousness, it was found that omnivores do not like all cultural items more than the less omnivorous. For instance, in the case of literature, romantic fiction was the item which omnivores liked less than the less omnivorous group. (Warde et al p. 12.)

The most popular attraction was monuments (55 % of all respondents), followed closely by museums and historical sites (Table 4, first column). Only few foreign tourists visited or were planning to attend events such as world music or classical music concerts. Among the univores, figures were constantly lower, but approximately in the same order as among omnivores. A very interesting index was the relative difference between omnivores and univores in respect of different attractions. The index was counted as quotient omnivore/univore. The value of the index was highest in the case of theatres at 38, in the case of art galleries the value was 37, and in the case of classical music events it was infinite, because no univore had attended or planned to attend concerts of classical music.

Obviously, the attractions for which the relative percentage differences were lowest, were ordinary tourist attractions like monuments, museums, historical sites, and pop concerts, whereas the attractions for which the relative differences were largest, were traditional high-brow attractions like classical music, theatres, and art galleries. Thus, the omnivorous tourists are omnivores, because they attended more frequently than other tourists not only general public attractions but especially high-brow attractions. Omnivores were thus selecting disproportionately the rarest items, which simultaneously carry most cultural distinction. Then, we can say that omnivorous cultural tourists were at the same time omnivorous and snobbish (distinctive): willing to visit attractions that only few people usually visit. This type of observation has also been made by Warde et al (2005, p. 11).

Last but not least is the question of spending. The question on spending was formulated in the following way “Can you indicate how much you have spent (or will spend) during your stay”, and the respondent was asked to include the expenditure of all members of his/her travel party. The result was clear: omnivores spent almost twice as many euros during their stay as univores, the corresponding means being 1 807 € and 976 €. However, the reliability of the question was not good, because as many as 40 % did not answer this question.

2.5 Summary and discussion

The present study has shown that the hypothesis of omnivorousness in cultural tastes and consumption is also tenable in the case of tourists. Omnivorous tourists were also the same types of people who engage in cultural tourism in

general. Older and well-educated tourists were culturally omnivorous. Also length of stay had a positive impact on omnivorousness. However, here there is surely a reciprocal relation: omnivorousness has an impact on length of stay. Women were not more omnivorous than men as might have been expected on the basis of previous studies. Instead, consistent differences were found between continents and regimes. The distance from European attractions (which were overwhelming the most numerous in this survey) and the welfare status of the regime seemed to be differentiating factors in omnivorousness. Tourists who were coming from countries which were most remote from Europe or poor in comparison with Western Europe, were more omnivorous than others. But the differences were not striking. One explanation for this observation can be that people who take a trip abroad are quite similar to each other between continents and regimes. This means that people who take a trip abroad are above a known level in economic, human, and social capital. An interesting result was also that the omnivorous tourists were omnivorous, because they not only more frequently than other tourist visited general public attractions but especially visited attractions which were rarely visited by the majority of people.

Of course, the results of continent and regime comparisons were impacted by the general design of the data collection. For instance, the number of inhabitants of the area visited and the data collected should have been controlled because, supposedly, the bigger the place the more numerous are the possibilities to choose targets. The lack of representativeness of the data was mentioned above. However, the present ATLAS survey is globally more representative than any other such previous survey, and it can point the direction for corresponding studies in the future.

The present study gives one obvious management recommendation: it is more profitable to develop tourist sites with several attractions and events than to concentrate on one or a few attractions and events. Foreign tourists with a higher level of education are more often omnivorous than other people, and it seems that omnivore tourists spend considerably more money during their stay than other tourists.

¹ For instance, in the case of Turku, Finland, the number of respondents was 405. Interviews were conducted by interviewers of The Border Interview Survey. It is commissioned and financed by the Finnish Tourist Board with the support of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Interviewers were recruited and trained for data collection in Statistics of Finland, and competence to interview in at least two foreign languages is needed. The Finnish, English, Spanish, Swedish, German, French, and Russian versions of the questionnaire were used in Turku. The last four versions were produced by local organizers (Toivonen & Ylätaalo 2004, 13).

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Appendix. Tourists from abroad –classification

Asia industrial	Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan
Asia developing	Afghanistan, Armenia, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Moldova, North Korea, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, United Arab Emirates,
Africa	Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Morocco, Republic of Congo, Senegal, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia
Continental Europe	Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland
Liberal Europe	Guernsey, Ireland, United Kingdom
Mediterranean Europe	Greece, Israel, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey
Northern Europe	Denmark, Finland, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden
Transitional Europe	Albania, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia
Australasia	Australia, Midway Islands, New Zealand, Tahiti
North America	Canada, United States of America
Latin America	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Grenada, Jamaica, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Venezuela

Table 1 Socio-demographic profile of data (only tourists whose place of residence is abroad)

	Percentage	n
Age		
29 or less	33 %	1429
30 - 49	41 %	1786
50 or more	26 %	1155
	100 %	4370
Cultural tourism		
other tourism	42 %	1834
cultural tourism	58 %	2562
	100 %	4396
Highest level of educational qualification		
Primary school	2 %	71
Secondary school	17 %	724
Vocational school	16 %	687
Bachelor degree	39 %	1720
Master or doctoral degree	26 %	1145
	99 %	4347
Continent		
Asia industrial	2 %	73
Asia developing	2 %	67
Africa	1 %	35
Continental Europe	38 %	1653
Liberal Europe	17 %	733
Mediterranean Europe	18 %	782
Northern Europe	3 %	140
Transitional Europe	5 %	223
Australasia	3 %	118
North America	9 %	413
Latin America	4 %	159
	100 %	4396
Gender		
Male	51 %	2238
Female	49 %	2116
	100 %	4354
Length of stay		
0–1 nights	19 %	828
2 nights	26 %	1129
3 or more	55 %	2358
Total	100%	4315

Table 2 Factor analysis of visited or planned to visit cultural attractions and events in the area. The first principal component and two rotated (varimax) factors

	The first principal component	Two rotated factors		Communalities
	Total activity	Historical attractions	Events	
Museums	0.58	0.64	0.13	0.42
Monuments	0.49	0.67	-0.06	0.45
Art Galleries	0.50	0.38	0.32	0.25
Religious sites	0.47	0.67	-0.09	0.46
Historic sites	0.52	0.69	-0.02	0.47
Theatres	0.43	0.15	0.50	0.28
Heritage/crafts centre	0.42	0.45	0.10	0.22
Cinema	0.31	-0.03	0.53	0.29
Pop concerts	0.31	-0.08	0.59	0.35
World music events	0.34	-0.06	0.61	0.38
Classical music events	0.41	0.12	0.50	0.26
Dance events	0.34	-0.02	0.57	0.32
Traditional festivals	0.33	0.12	0.38	0.16
Explanation %	18.1	16.9	16.2	

Table 3 ANOVA on total number of cultural activities, historical attractions visited and events attended or planned to visit or to attend by age, cultural tourism, education, continent, gender and length of stay.

	Total activity			Historical attractions			Events		
	B	F	Sig.	B	F	Sig.	B	F	Sig.
Intercept	3.85	1472.4	0.00	3.09	1437.0	0.00	0.76	251.0	0.00
Age		16.50	0.00		58.46	0.00		25.73	0.00
29 or less	-0.47		0.00	-0.72		0.00	0.26		0.00
30–49	-0.27		0.00	-0.38		0.00	0.11		0.00
50 or more	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.
Cultural tourism		23.19	0.00		18.10	0.00		8.48	0.00
other tourism	-0.30		0.00	-0.22		0.00	-0.08		0.00
cultural tourism	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.
Highest level of educational qualification		3.90	0.00		6.88	0.00		6.73	0.00
Primary school	-0.76		0.00	-0.88		0.00	0.13		0.26
Secondary school	-0.18		0.07	-0.29		0.00	0.11		0.01
Vocational school	-0.09		0.37	-0.13		0.10	0.22		0.00
Bachelor degree	-0.06		0.41	-0.13		0.05	0.06		0.08
Master or doctoral degree	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.
Continent		2.36	0.01		1.47	0.14		8.79	0.00
Asia industrial	-0.31		0.28	-0.04		0.88	-0.28		0.03
Asia developing	0.00		0.99	0.15		0.54	-0.15		0.26
Africa	-0.17		0.65	-0.10		0.75	-0.07		0.67
Continental Europe	-0.33		0.05	0.01		0.93	-0.35		0.00
Liberal Europe	-0.24		0.18	0.07		0.65	-0.30		0.00
Mediterranean Europe	-0.21		0.24	0.10		0.49	-0.31		0.00
Northern Europe	-0.71		0.00	-0.34		0.08	-0.37		0.00
Transitional Europe	0.08		0.69	-0.10		0.57	0.18		0.05
Australasia	-0.38		0.12	-0.14		0.48	-0.24		0.03
North America	-0.07		0.70	0.17		0.28	-0.24		0.00
Latin America	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.
Gender		3.64	0.06		5.55	0.02		0.01	0.94
Male	-0.12		0.06	-0.12		0.02	0.00		0.94
Female	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.
Length of stay		11.13	0.00		0.62	0.54		76.37	0.00
0–1 nights	-0.33		0.00	0.08		0.27	-0.40		0.00
2 nights	-0.26		0.00	0.03		0.67	-0.29		0.00
3 or more	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.	0 ^a		.

100*R² = 2.7

100*R² = 4.3

100*R² = 8.1

0^a This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant

Table 4. Percentages people visiting or planning to visit cultural attractions or cultural events in the area according to omnivorosity

	Mean	Omnivore	Univore	Omnivore /Univore
Monuments	55	90	12	8
Museums	54	93	9	11
Historic sites	54	90	9	10
Religious sites	41	78	3	25
Heritage/crafts centres	22	56	3	21
Art galleries	19	52	1	37
Traditional festivals	17	39	6	7
Theatres	8	23	1	38
Cinema	7	16	1	12
Dance events	6	16	1	15
Pop concerts	5	12	2	6
World music events	4	11	1	9
Classical music events	4	13	0	.
Total	23	45	4	17

5 or more = omnivore

1 or less = univore

Table is modified from the idea of Warde et al (2005, 12)

3 TRENDS IN LEISURE TIME USE OF DIFFERENT COHORTS IN FINLAND

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to find out what is the impact of cohort on leisure time use. Does each cohort use its leisure time in its own persistent way over time? We also investigated whether socio-demographic fractions within cohorts differ in their time use from other cohort fractions. The data came from Finnish Time Use Surveys from 1979, 1987, and 1999. In general, an obvious fact was that the cohort as such did not explain time use very well except in some activities, such as in reading. Instead, in different socio-economic positions of cohorts (fractions) the impact of cohort was more evident. A special emphasis was given to the cohort of baby-boomers (people born 1945-1954), which in the literature is regarded as the most active cohort. Time use data do not indicate such a special position for baby-boomers: the activity of this cohort fell at the at least same pace as that of other cohorts. Especially among the most active fractions of baby-boomers, leisure activities outside the home have decreased dramatically.

Keywords: cohort, leisure, privatization of leisure, social capital, time use

3.1 Introduction

The rapid rise of living standards in industrialized countries after World War II meant that also leisure time began to increase. Still in the 1980s, the view that leisure was on a secular increase was dominant, and the modern and future society was named the “leisure society” (e.g. Seabrook, 1988). In reality, leisure has not grown straightforwardly. “Increase in free time since 1965 - the main gain occurring between 1965 and 1975 (40 hour working week)...the gain since 1975 (to 1985) has been only one hour a week”, writes Robinson on the basis of US data (1997: 127). Gershuny (2000: 202–212) drew the same type of conclusion on the basis of international data. However, although leisure time growth has, on average, obviously stagnated, the development in different socio-economic groups has not been similar. For instance, it has been found that older people now have much more free time

than earlier (Robinson, 1997: 206). Evidently, also the structure of leisure has changed, and one of the most striking phenomena has been the increase in time devoted to watching TV, mentioned in countless sources, as in the above mentioned books of Gershuny and Robinson.

Robert Putnam (2000: 20) writes in his famous book "Bowling alone" on the erosion of social capital in the USA. Social capital, is according to him "social connections among individuals" and "A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital" These social connections are, for instance, "to vote, to go to church, to volunteer, to keep up with public affairs, and to trust other people" (Putnam, 2000: 266). Other authors have slightly different views on social capital (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984), but we ignore them here and accept this "standard theory of social capital" (Ilmonen, 2004: 171).

What is interesting here, are the reasons for this development seen by Putnam. According to him:

One set of forces has affected Americans of all ages over the last several decades. The allure of electronic entertainment...has transformed the way all of us spend our time (Putnam, 2000: 266)... A second set of forces...generational forces... The boomers were the first generation to be exposed to television throughout their lives, and they are much more likely than their elders to turn on the TV without knowing what they are going to watch and to leave it on when they are not watching" (Putnam: 257)...Generational succession is, in sum a crucial element in our story (Putnam: 265).

Thus, according to Putnam, generational changes are the main reasons for the erosion of social capital. Political scientists have quite often used generation as a cause in trying to explain non-voting. The starting point is that some *inertia* is connected with both voting and non-voting. For instance, if people when young for some reason do not vote, there is a great probability that non-voting will become a habit (e.g. Wass, 2006). However, time use has not very often been analysed from the cohort perspective (see, however, Casey, 2003). But in the light of the above-mentioned discussion on social capital, the analysis of time use of different generations should be important. Putnam's own empirical facts were quite superficial. *Thus the purpose of this study is to find connections between cohort and leisure time use.*

3.2 Theoretical background

3.2.1 Cohort effect

The *generation* or *cohort* effect is one of the three *time* effects.² “Generation” is used typically in texts, where generation is used more or less as a frame of interpretation for different phenomena in society. “Cohort” has been used in the studies where efforts have been made to find some kind of parameter for measuring cohort effect.. The others are the *age* or *life cycle* effect, and the *period* effect. The generation effect can be connected with the classical German sociologist, Karl Mannheim (1928/1952). According to him, those people who are born *both* during the same historical period *and* have same experiences or so called *key experience(s)* in their sensitive periods or formative years, i.e. in their youth, are generation *sui generis*. Life sphere defines the formative years. For instance, in the case of musical taste, a person can have a key experience, when he/she is 10 years old; in the case of politics, key experiences usually happen a little later in life. Key experiences are not just any experiences but strong experiences, like the Vietnam War, the Czech occupation, the breakthrough of rock ‘n’ roll or the Beatles, demonstrations in a WTO meeting etc. These experiences brand the rest of the person’s life. It must be stressed that to belong to the same birth cohort is not yet the sufficient condition for cohort effect, because all the people in the same birth cohort do not have the same key experience(s).

Accordingly, in 1985, in an US national sample was asked about “the national or world events or changes over the past 50 years” that seemed to them especially important. Most often important events seemed to occur during a cohort’s adolescence and young adulthood as cohort theory assumes (Schuman & Scott, 1989: 364-365). But, for instance, for the age group 18-23 the most often mentioned events and changes were Vietnam, World War II, terrorism, John F. Kennedy’s death, and the Depression of the 1930s which, means that the events mentioned were dispersed over a large number of events.

To be exact, there is no such thing as cohort effect. According to Mannheimian, however, the real effect is the key experience, which offers a disposition of attitudes and behaviour to a person throughout her/his life. For instance, political attitudes adopted when young tend to endure until old age. This idea is also presented later in textbooks. For instance, in the hypothetical example of Glenn (1977: 16), the increasing support for the Democrats in US

politics (in the 1970s) was explained by the fact that each later cohort more often votes for Democrats than its predecessors, but cohorts as such do not change their voting behaviour during their life. However, in almost no empirical study has this kind of clear or “strict” cohort effect been found. This type of cohort effect is sometimes called *inter-cohort effect* (Pennington-Gray & Spreng, 2002, 110), which means that there are behavioural differences between cohorts and cohorts do not change their behaviour, and thus differences between cohorts remain permanent.

However, it is not necessary to understand cohort effect only in this strict sense. We can talk about cohort effect also when the attitudes or behaviour of a known cohort change, if the changes between cohorts are different. For instance, in the above-mentioned case, this could mean that all cohorts had voted in their first election in a similar way, i.e. the Democrat party support was the same in all cohorts. But if younger cohorts – when they grew older - changed their behaviour more quickly toward the Democrats than older ones, this is also a cohort effect. Therefore, we can also talk about *intra-cohort* effects, which mean that there are differences between cohorts, but they are not permanent. It seems to be so that if cohort effect is studied with empirical data, it is more reasonable to understand cohort effect in this way than to search for “strict” effects. The behaviour and attitudes of a known cohort can vary during its life cycle, but this variation must differ from the variation in behaviour and attitudes of some other cohort. Thus, the impact of cohort effect should be studied flexibly.

In the strict formulation of cohort effect, it is supposed that the cohort effect lasts throughout one’s life. If the impact of a key experience does not survive throughout life, can we talk about cohort effect, for instance, if we observe that in younger cohorts the proportion of voters has been lower than that in preceding cohorts when both cohorts were 18-25 years old? We can interpret the reason for this to be that parties are alienated from youth. Further, we observe that the difference between voting percentages lasted to the age of 40-50 years, but after that the difference melted away. Should we say that there was never any cohort effect? It does not sound reasonable. It is more reasonable to say that the cohort effect survived for 30 years.

3.2.2 *Methodological difficulties in studying cohort effect*

The main problem in studying time effects – age, cohort, and period – is that the identification of each effect is extremely difficult. The source of the problem is that there is a linear relationship – multicollinearity - between age or life-cycle, period, and cohort or generation. This means that age is precisely

the difference between period and cohort. Cohort is precisely the difference between period and age, etc. One variable is always nested in the other two. It is logically impossible to hold the effect of, say, both age and period constant, and then vary the birth cohort. Once a group of a particular age for a particular year or period has been selected, it is only possible to observe the behaviour of one birth cohort. For instance, if the period is 1990-2000 and the age 40-50, then the only possible cohort for scrutinization can be people born between 1950 and 1960. This problem is designated in cohort analysis as the *identification problem*, and many proposals have been made to solve it (see, e.g. Hagenaars, 1990: 327).

This problem also creates *fallacies*, i.e. we believe that it is the cohort effect that is relevant when in fact it is the age or period effect (cohort fallacy). For instance, if a new political party wins in an election, we can count this as a result of cohort effect; the young new-coming voters have voted for this new party more often than older age groups. However, it is possible that the victory of a new party was due to the fact that voters in every age group evenly supported this new party. Then it is the period effect. Period effects are changes that influence all age groups and cohorts equally. If the change really was due to the new cohort voters and we interpreted it as due to the period effect, then we have committed a period fallacy. In similar vein, we can talk about age fallacy. Many complicated and tedious methods have been proposed for a statistical and/or analytical solution to the identification problem. However, it can be stated that none of the suggested technical solutions is completely satisfactory. Sometimes, if the number of periods is only two, a simple ocular inspection gives as reliable a result as more complicated methods (e.g. Toivonen, 2004).

Some of the suggested solutions are, however, presented here, because without some solution to multicollinearity an empirical analysis would be impossible. One of the simplest and most promising ways to avoid the multicollinearity problem is to assume that at least two age groups, cohorts, or time periods have identical effects on the dependent variable (Mason & alii, 1973: 243–247). However, on the basis of empirical tests, it is usually evident, in practice, that it is not possible even by this method to avoid high multicollinearity among three time variables (Toivonen 1994, 10). Sometimes multicollinearity problems have been solved very simply. For instance, in the study of Lyons and Alexander (2000) on US voting behaviour, age and period were continuous variables but generation was a dummy variable: people born before the New Deal of 1932, and people born after it. In the study of voting behaviour in Canada by Blais and alii (2004), age was a continuous variable; generation and period categorical variables. Multicollinearity is avoided in

these kinds of solutions but simultaneously the comparability of time variables is lost. *Despite this, the last mentioned type of solution was also applied here.*

3.2.3 *Baby-boomers, other cohorts, and other independents*

Although there is not much literature on the leisure time use of different cohorts there is a great deal of literature on cohorts and their activity. The starting point for activity comparisons of different cohorts has generally been that the post-war cohort or generation has been more active not only in political movements but also in other social activities than generations before and after this cohort, often called the baby-boomers (e.g. Braumgart & Braumgart, 1994; Ilmonen 2004: 171–172; Löfgren, 1991). This cohort has also been regarded as active in other kinds of socializing outside the home, not only in organizational activities. For instance, the baby-boomers have also been called the “wet generation” (Sulkunen, 1985) because it was also typical for it to sit in cafes and pubs in endless discussions. On the other hand, individualism has been considered to be essential to cohorts who were young in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g. Georg, 1997)

It is typical that the definitions of baby-boomers or the "post-war cohort" have been a rather vague depending on the definition of the peak birth period which is also depends on the country in question. In the Finnish context, two definitions of baby-boomers have been suggested. The "core" of baby-boomers has been suggested to be people born between 1945 and 1950, but according to the "wide" interpretation of baby-boomers, they were born between 1945 and 1956 (Erola, Wilska & Ruonavaara, 2004: 14). Here we have used definition in between these two alternatives, so baby-boomers are defined as having been born between 1945 and 1954.

Most often it has been assumed that baby-boomers are persistent activity in their behaviour throughout the life cycle, so there is only inter-cohort effect. Time use after leaving the labour force was the topic of the paper of by Casey mentioned above. He compared the UK, the Netherlands, the USA, and Norway, and the extent to which the time "gained" from ceasing paid work was divided among activities. Casey found that only half or two thirds of the gained time was used actively. Watching television seemed to take up at least a quarter of the time gained in those countries (10–11). The conclusion drawn by Casey is that ageing is seen to be active, if people participate in activities outside their immediate family throughout their whole adult lives (13). Thus he is rather in favour of inter-cohort effects.

However, these kinds of strong inter-cohort effects have usually been found in studies where some quite small special activist group has been under

scrutiny. For instance, Whittler (1997) studied the attitudes of 45 radical feminists from 1969 to 1990 and found considerable persistence in attitudes. It has also been found that college students were more likely to join protests in 1960s and still are, since activist contexts of college campuses were important facilitators of recruitment (Sherkat & Blocker, 1994: 829–830). Also people living in urban areas were more active. Females were less active (832). Therefore, the picture of the activity of the baby-boomers can be a reflection of a relatively small active vanguard the cohort.

Although cohort effect is usually understood as inter-cohort effect, the intra-cohort effect is in many cases more probable. For instance, Knulst and Kraaykamp reported in their study that the impact of cohort on decrease in leisure time reading was strong in the Netherlands. Also the impact of age – reading increased as people got older - was strong but only in older cohorts. The reading activity of younger cohorts remained the same over different periods (Knulst & Kraaykamp, 1998: 29–31). The reasons for this development are manifold, but according to them, the most important reason for this was the increase in television viewing. Another example is provided by Hout's and Fisher's study on the increase in “no religious preference” among Americans. They found that people from younger cohorts expressed significantly less attachment to organized religion than did the cohorts they replaced. In addition, younger cohorts also increased their preference for no religion by a wider percentage-point margin than older cohorts, thus widening, not narrowing, the gaps among cohorts (Hout & Fisher, 2002: 169).

One important argument for intra-cohort effect in leisure use has been put by Albert O. Hirschman (1985). The idea of his argument is that the interests of people change during their lifetime. For instance, people can at one moment be involved in all kinds of social activities such as voluntary work, politics, charity etc. But people get mentally tired if their efforts achieve nothing or only modest results, or because in spending time on these kinds of public actions they neglect everything else in their life. Involvements shift and these outside-oriented people become materialists who are interested in their private belongings. But involvements may shift again: life with all their belongings starts to bore them and then people find that it would be nice to meet people again to eat and drink in restaurants and pubs etc. And it can be expected that the shifts are steeper the deeper has been the involvement. (Hirschman, 1985). We may ask whether this is also applicable in the case of the baby-boomers?

At least Putnam (2000) seems to give a positive reply to the question:

The ‘X Generation’ has often been blamed by their elders (especially the baby-boomers) for the troubles of contemporary American society – especially the emphasis on materialism and individualism – the evidence that I have already presented makes clear that this indictment is misplaced. The erosion of

American social capital began before the 'X Generation' was born... a continuation of the generational course begun just after World War II (Putnam, 2000:259).

The cohort is by no means the only socio-demographic variable which has an impact on leisure use. Therefore, other variables were also included in this study as control variables. For instance, it is evident that employment status must be controlled when we investigate the time use of different cohorts. Those cohorts which are no longer in working life have more leisure time than those who are. Therefore, cohorts whose members are not in working life can use more of their times on all leisure activities than cohorts whose members are still in working life. There are supposedly considerable differences also within an economically active population. For instance, it has been found that farmers and entrepreneurs have less leisure time than others (Robinson, 1997), while upper white collars are more outside-oriented in their activities than others (Gershuny, 2000). Therefore, socio-economic position is a self-evident control variable.

In addition to cohort, Putnam (2000: 248–249) mentions three factors which cause life cycle patterns of participation. They are family (that is, marriage and parenting), the diminishing of energy (declining from adolescence to old age), and career (that is, entering and leaving the labour force). These variables can be operationalized as socio-economic position (mentioned above), life cycle and age. As was mentioned above, it is very important that the impact of age is controlled in some way in conducting a cohort analysis.

Consideration of gender is an almost necessary variable in time division studies. A standard result in the context of leisure time is that women have less leisure time than men (Gershuny, 2000). However, women read more than men, but these results are from recent years, because men gained literacy first, but when this difference evens out, women read more" (Griswold et al., 2005: 129). For instance, in Finland, still in 1979 men spent more time in reading than women (Toivonen, 2005). Education is an important background variable. In general, the more educated people are, the more their activities are directed outside the home, and they also read more than less educated people (Gershuny, 2000). In general, it has been found that education differentiates better between older people, but also contrary results have been observed (Virtanen, 2004: 273). There are also big differences between cohorts in formal education, i.e. younger cohorts are better educated.

We also include in this study the type of municipality (town or country) because there is a much broader leisure supply in towns than in the countryside, and it is assumed that cohorts in the countryside are older than in towns. However, we can not be sure of the impact of municipality. According to the classical text of Georg Simmel (1900/1999: 15), in a metropolis, where

millions of people live, people are also more privatized and their attitude towards other people is indifferent. There are also other reasons to suspect that people in towns are more outside-oriented than in the countryside. For instance, historically, reading by the populace at large began as a metropolitan phenomenon (Griswold et al., 2005: 29). In short, these considerations may mean that there are differences in leisure time use between towns and countryside.

3.3 Research questions

On the basis of the theoretical discussion above, we put the following four research questions. On the basis of theory it is impossible to present any solid hypotheses. Therefore, the questions which are presented here more or less implicitly include alternative hypotheses.

1. What was the impact of cohort on leisure time use? Are there persistent and for each cohort typical differences in various types of leisure time use? How much did cohort explain the variance in different activities of leisure time use, when controlling for other independent variables: time, age, education, gender, position in life cycle, socio-economic position, and type of municipality (town vs. countryside)? By analysing the data on this question we get answers to the traditional *inter-cohort hypothesis*, *i.e. how stable are the forms of leisure time use in different cohorts over time.*

2. How much did cohort explain the variance of the *changes* of leisure time use, when controlling for other independent variables? By analysing the data on this question we get answers to the *intra-cohort hypothesis (see above)*, *i.e. are there different changes between cohorts in the forms of leisure time use over time?*

3. Are there differences in changes of leisure time use in the different socio-demographic fractions of cohorts? Is it so, for instance, that the better educated people of a known cohort change their leisure time use in a different way from less well educated people? By analysing the data on this question we get answers to the *modified intra-cohort -hypothesis*, *i.e. are changes within cohorts different depending on the socio-demographic fractions of a cohort in the forms of leisure time use over time.*

4. *What were the adjusted (controlling for other independents) time uses, adjusted changes in time use, and adjusted changes in time use in the different socio-demographic fractions of cohorts?* For instance, what was the adjusted amount of time used by different cohorts on leisure activities outside the home in different periods, and what was the adjusted amount of time used by

different cohorts on leisure at home in different periods in different socio-demographic fractions of cohorts?

3.4 Data and variables

Proper data for a cohort analysis would be panel data, i.e. data with the same wording of questions from the same respondents from different periods of time. It would also be very important that the range of periods of time is the same (2, 5, 10 etc years), so that it would be possible to compare different cohorts at the same age.³ The range of periods was not exactly same here, i.e. the range from 1979 to 1987 was 8 years, and the range from 1987 to 1999 was 12 years.

However, such data are very rare, so there is no other alternative to study cohort effect than by using trend data, i.e. data with the same items but different respondents from different periods. In addition, even panel data is not close; there is always “out of movement” because of deaths, non-response etc, (Glenn 2005: 44). We use trend data here. Thus our analysis is a *quasi-cohort* analysis.

This study was based on the three Finnish Time Use Surveys covering the population aged from 10 to 64. Samples from 1979 and 1987 were stratified random samples according to region, gender, and age. The data collection period was from the beginning of September to the end of November 1979. The collection period of the second set of data was from the 1st April 1987 to the end of March 1988. Respondents were asked to fill in a diary for two days (one weekday, one weekend day) running. They were asked to record, in their own words, their primary activity, and what else they were doing at the same time. Record keeping was on a 10 minute-basis (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 1990: 11–12, 97–101). The number of cases (days investigated) was approximately 8 100 in 1979 and 15 400 in 1987/88 over the whole year.

Data of the 1999 – 2000 study were collected essentially in the same way, but the sample design was a little different from the design of the 1987 – 1988 study. The earlier study was based on a stratified random sample. In the later study there was two phases. In the first phase, the random sample was drawn from persons living in Finland aged 15 and over. In the second phase, also all other persons, at least 10 years old and belonging to this selected person’s household, were included in the final sample. The collection was completed over the period between 1st March, 1999 and 12th March, 2000. (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2002: 111). The number of cases (days) was 10 500.

However, we could not use the total number of time diaries from 1987/88 and 1999/2000 because the first time budget survey covered only September, October, and November in 1979. As seasonal variations in time use are great, especially in the case of leisure time, only the autumn data from 1987 and 1999 were used. Therefore, we also limited the inspection of diaries from 1987 and 1999 to those months.

We excluded from the original data those under 15 years of age. This was because one of our main purposes was to analyse cohorts. It would not be reasonable to compare the age group 10-19 ten years later with the age group 20-29. Under 15-year-olds are children with their own time use, deviating decisively from older age groups. For instance, they can not have children; they can not be unemployed etc. Thus, the final number of cases from 1979 was about 10 900, from 1987, 4 400, and from 1999, 2 100. The range of periods was not exactly same here, i.e. the range from 1979 to 1987 was 8 years, and the range from 1987 to 1999 was 12 years.

However, the numbers varied somewhat depending on the type of activity. The dependent variable of this study was total leisure time and its division into different leisure activities. There has been some debate about what is included in leisure time. For instance, as an extreme alternative has been presented that all activities which do not belong to paid work, belong to leisure (see, e.g. Aguiar & Hurst, 2006). It is easy to give arguments against this. For instance, some time for sleeping, eating, personal care etc. are only partly discretionary activities. The leisure time was operationalized here substantially narrower. It was simply a residual category, which means that from the total time use of the day, time was deducted for paid and unpaid employment, personal care, and school or university studies. Leisure was divided first into leisure at home and leisure outside the home. The indicator of leisure in this study time can be seen in Appendix 1. Then leisure at home was divided as follows:

Watching TV	reading	socializing at home	other leisure at home
		- soc. with family and friends at home	- playing an instrument, drawing
		- telephone	- computer and other tech.
		- parlour games	- handicrafts
			- solo games
			- radio
			- records cassettes
			- correspondence
			- other hobbies at home

Thus, this classification was a little more detailed than the classification used by Gershuny (2000: 163): out-of-home leisure, TV and radio, other home leisure. The classification used here was a result of experimentation. In addition, a technical hobby was separated from other leisure at home in some Tables.

Data were divided into five cohorts. Each cohort was named according to some social phenomenon which was typical to the cohort in their youth or early adulthood and/or according to some trait of this cohort. The cohort and their birth years (in parentheses) were as follows:

- secondary school cohort (1965-1974)
- welfare cohort (1955-1964)
- baby-boomers' cohort (1945-1954)
- cohort of great move or great movers' cohort (1935-1944)
- cohort of re-building or re-builders' cohort (1925-1934)

The name "secondary school" refers to the fact that all children born between 1965 and 1974 attended also secondary school. Officially nobody from this cohort has only an elementary school education - education of 8 years or less - which was still common in older cohorts. People in the "welfare cohort" have experienced the rapid growth of the welfare society. The "baby-boomers" are obvious and the term "great movers" refers to the rapid urbanization of Finland in the 1950s and 1960s. The "re-builders are people who entered working life after World War II and formed an important part of the re-builders of the country.

Age was divided into groups corresponding to the cohorts i.e. 15-24 years old, 25-34 etc (see Table 1), but in multivariate analysis we use the age groups 15-30, 31-50, and 51-64 in order to identify the cohort effect. The bases for the operationalization of socio-economic position (see Table 2) were the possibilities provided by the data and the expected effective and detailed differentiation power of categories. Upper white collars were people in leading or specialist positions, who most often had tertiary education. "Others" were mainly pensioners. Life cycle was operationalized into two categories: respondent has at least one child under 18 years old or he/she does not. This was necessary to avoid multicollinearity with socio-economic position. In terms of education, those who have completed only primary education attended school for less than 9 years, and those who have secondary education for 9-12 years.

3.5 Results

3.5.1 *Bivariate divisions of leisure activities*

The observed minutes of time spent on total leisure and on different leisure time activities are presented in Table 1. The time used for leisure was, according to the indicator used here, in autumn 1979, on the average 338 minutes, or 5 hours and 38 minutes, per day. In the same year, the time used for leisure at home was 3 hours 38 minutes. The growth of leisure time between 1979 and 1999 was only minimal: on average, 7 minutes (Table 1). Leisure time at home increased more clearly by 17 minutes. The most striking changes were the increase of leisure time spent watching TV (53 minutes or 69 %), and especially on a technical hobby (mostly a computer hobby), in absolute terms only 7 minutes, but over thousand %! TV accounted for one third of leisure at home in 1979, but in 1999 it was more than half. The time spent watching TV by all appearances has continued to increase in the 2000s. According to another method “based on continuous, metered monitoring and using averages for the whole year” used by the Finnish Radio, the time spent watching TV in 1999 was 161 minutes, but in 2003 already 173 minutes (Finnish Mass Media, 2004, Table 2.20).

Sometimes it has been argued, as in the case of Putnam, that it is TV watching which has taken time from other leisure activities. This may be true in the cases of extreme watching. On the basis of our data, this is not on average true. We conducted a factor analysis (not documented here) which revealed that reading, television watching, and different home hobbies were concentrated in the same factor which indicates that TV watching is only one activity in the home-centred way of life. Another point is that we can not consider all TV watching to be just passive time use.

The time used for the technical (computer) hobby was already in 1999, in the age class 15-24, 23 minutes per day (not documented here), and it was only a little less than the time used for reading in the same age class (28 minutes). However, we must exclude the computer hobby from the following analyses because, firstly it was not separated into a category of its own in 1979, and, secondly, it was so concentrated on so few people up to 1999. Therefore, even multivariate analyses could not give reliable results on time used to the computer hobby. The amount of time spent on the computer between 1987 and 1999 has been analyzed, e.g. by Räsänen (2004). Probably, in the 2000s, the computer hobby has proliferated also in older cohorts. For instance, Haavio-Mannila and alii compared the popularity of handicrafts, outdoor nature activity, high-brow culture, travelling, and a computer hobby

among age groups. They found that already among those born at the turn of the 40s and 50s, the interest in hobbies other than computers was declining in 2002 (2004: 232–233).

The most dramatic drop in leisure use was in socializing at home (11 minutes but 32 %) and in other leisure activities at home (26 minutes or 27 %). Reading was also declining, due to the decline in the 1990s. It must be remembered that these are “on average” figures because variations among individuals in time use are large. For instance, on the basis of the data, the top 5 % spent at least 8 hours 20 minutes on leisure at home whereas the bottom 5 % spent only 30 minutes or less for day (not documented here).

There seem to have been cohort differences in the change in time use. For instance, leisure time has increased among the oldest cohorts, whereas it has decreased in the youngest cohorts (Table 1). However, it is no longer reasonable to look at these figures because there are structural factors which have strong impacts on the changes in time use. For instance, time used for gainful employment in a cohort diminishes as it gets older. Therefore, if older cohorts more often spent their leisure time at home than younger cohorts, this can simply be due to the older cohorts’ increased leisure time. Moreover, it is evident that time used on socializing at home decreases when there are no longer children at home. Therefore, when we look at the time use of cohorts in the following, we control for other socio-demographic variables, as mentioned above. Especially among older people health can also have a strong impact on time use, but health conditions were not documented in data.

Then if look at leisure time adjusted for other independents (age, gender, socio-economic position etc.) we can see that situation was on the contrary: leisure time of oldest cohorts has decreased in 1990s (Table 2). Leisure at home has increased in all cohorts, as well as leisure out of home decreased. Especially steep drop was in leisure out of home of baby-boomers (born 1945-1954).

3.5.2 Explained variances of leisure activities

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used as the analytical tool for explaining the impact of cohort on the leisure time activities. Cohort effect was studied by decomposing the explained variance of leisure time and different leisure time activities (see Przeworski & Teune, 1982; Gershuny, 2000: 150–157; Toivonen, 1995). The idea is simple; we decompose variance in a way which shows how much variance is explained by cohort while controlling for other independent variables, which here were time, age, education, gender, position in life cycle, socio-economic position, and type of municipality.

In line (1), cohort is the only independent variable. Cohort explained 0.9 % of total leisure time use (Table 3) during 1979-1999. The highest explanation percentage of cohort is for the percentage of leisure time spent at home (1.6 %) and for other leisure activities at home, and the lowest is for socialization at home and watching TV. The percentages seem to be low but in the context of explaining time use, this is typical, because the variations between individuals are large in time use, as mentioned above. However, these figures are not so interesting because other independents were not controlled for.

In the line (4) of Table 3, we can see marginal explanation percentages of cohort and, thus, answers to the first research question. These partial explanation percentages of cohort are the total explanation percentage of cohort and other independents minus the explanation percentage of independents other than cohort. If we start with the traditional (inter-) cohort effect hypothesis, it shows that the time use of different cohorts does not change over time. For instance, if cohort A spent x minutes in period T_1 watching TV, then we can expect that this cohort spent x minutes watching TV also in periods T_2, T_3, \dots, T_n . This means that cohort explained a considerable percentage of the variance of a known leisure time use activity even after controlling for other independent variables including time. Then we studied how much cohort explains the variation in different leisure time activities. In this first phase, we were not interested in the content of possible cohort effects, i.e. we did not inspect what kinds of differences there were between cohorts.

We can see that partial explanation percentages were still smaller than the percentages in line (1). Only for reading was the partial explanation percentage of cohort and period remarkable, or 0.6. This indicates that, in reading, the time use of cohorts has been comparably stable over time. However, in the models in line (3), the coefficient of period was also statistically strongly significant (0.001 level) in the cases of leisure outside of home, percentage of leisure spent at home, and reading.

Thus, reading was the only leisure time activity where the time spent on it seemed to be clearly different in different cohorts, and therefore the marginal explanation percentage the line (4) was considerable. If we compare the years 1979 and 1999, we see that the cohort of baby-boomers (born 1945-1954) and the cohort of the great move (born 1935-1944) spent the same number of minutes, i.e. approximately 50 minutes per day (Table 2). It can be noticed that in the secondary school cohort (born 1965-1974) the starting level of reading in the age 15-24 years old was lower than the starting levels of later cohort.

Then we added to the models the *first degree* interaction terms of other independents than period and cohort (line (5)). Then we add to the previous

model also interaction between cohort and period (line (6)). The purpose was to explain the changes in time use activities over time. For instance, if the interaction term between cohort and watching TV would have been significant, then we can draw the conclusion that watching TV has changed in a different way in different cohorts (intra-cohort hypothesis). The partial explanation percentages of leisure time use changes are documented by cohort in line (7), and we get answers to the second research question. These are again very small, so that changes in leisure time use can be explained only marginally by cohort. However, a statistically significant interaction coefficient was found in the case of out-of-home leisure and reading ($p < 0.001$). This was speculated in our theoretical part on the connection between watching TV and cohorts, and Putnam expressly regarded the increase in watching TV as a cohort effect. However, on the basis of these data, it was not so in Finland. There were no big differences in watching TV between cohorts and, in addition, there were no differences in watching time changes between cohorts.

The models in line (8) include all *second-degree* interaction terms, where cohort, period, and some other independent are all represented. The terms are interaction between cohort, period, and age; interaction between cohort, period, and gender, interaction between cohort, period, and socio-economic position; interaction between cohort, period, and life cycle; interaction between cohort, period, and type of municipality; and interaction between cohort, period, and education. Using these kinds of interaction terms we can see how internally coherent have been the changes in leisure time use or how independent changes were from socio-demographic fractions of cohorts.

We can see that explanation percentages were clearly higher in the equations including second-degree interactions in comparison with equations including only main effects and first-degree interactions between cohort and other independents (lines (8) and (9)). This indicates that the changes in leisure time use in different cohorts were conditioned by age, gender, socio-economic position, life cycle, type of municipality, and education. In the case of total leisure it was 1.9 percentage units, in the case of leisure at home 1.5 percentage units, in the case of out-of-home leisure 2.1 percentage units etc. However, only the F-value of the interaction between cohort, period, and social position was statistically strongly significant ($p < 0.001$) in all equations whose explanation percentages are documented in line (8). In lines (11) and (12), we can also see that the interaction between cohort, period, and socio-economic position accounts for the majority of the explanation percentage increases generated by second-degree interaction terms. In this way we also got answer to the third research question, and it is: changes in leisure time use in different cohorts were conditioned especially by socio-economic position.

In addition, another second-degree interaction which was statistically significant was the interaction between cohort, period, and life cycle in the case of total leisure and out-of-home leisure. Having a child seemed to reduce leisure time in comparison with not having a child in younger cohorts, but not so remarkably in older cohorts, especially in 1999. In a similar vein, childless persons spent more time on out-of-home leisure in younger cohorts than persons who had a child. However, the difference was practically zero between older cohorts in 1999. The explanation for these differences is quite natural. The criterion of having a child was to have at least one child aged not over 17. Thus it was very likely that the children of the oldest cohorts were quite close to 17 in 1999, and therefore were no longer obstacles to leisure time, or especially out-of-home leisure time.

The fourth research task was to investigate the adjusted values of changes in leisure time use of cohorts in different socio-demographic fractions. An interpretation for the significance of interaction of period, cohort, and life-cycle was already given in the previous paragraph. Now we look which kind of adjusted time uses are generated by the models in line (10); the models which include interaction term socio-economic position, period, and cohort.

The leisure time use changes were clearly different in different socio-demographic fractions of cohorts (line 10). In the following, it is not necessary to inspect the impacts of this interaction term on all leisure activities, but only on those where the increases in explanation percentages were largest. The activities under scrutiny were out-of-home leisure, television watching, and reading. Tables 4, 5, and 6 do not include all socio-economic positions because in some combinations of socio-economic position, cohort, and year there were so few cases that adjusted values were unreliable. These combinations were, for instance, farmers and others in the welfare cohort in 1979, because the members of the cohort were so young at that time; there were no students in older cohorts, and there were only few homemakers in older cohorts (because when older they often entered paid work or became pensioners). Thus, we excluded the categories of farmers, students, homemakers, and others.

We can see that changes in out-of-home time deviate rather a lot from each other in different socio-economic positions and cohorts (Table 4). The unemployed, upper white collars and entrepreneurs were the groups which spent most of their leisure outside the home in 1979. However, it seems that over time the differences between socio-economic positions have changed. Especially dramatic seems to be the drop in time spent outside the home among upper white collars and entrepreneurs in the cohort of baby-boomers and in the cohort of great movers. In 1999, entrepreneurs and upper white collars among the baby-boomers spent less than half of their leisure time

outside the home (50 and 66 minutes) in comparison with 1979 (108 and 136 minutes). The drop mainly took place in the 1990s. The drop of the great movers is more understandable, because of their age (in every socio-economic position of great movers the out-of-home decrease was remarkable). Thus, all seemed to be according to the theory still at the end of the 1970s: the prosperous vanguards (entrepreneurs and upper white collars) of the baby-boomers were most active by spent their leisure time outside the home. However, by the end of the century, all had changed; this group retired to their homes and did not care about outside activities, as assumed by Hirschman (see above).

Every cohort increased their TV watching between 1979 and 1999, but mostly the great movers' cohort. All socio-economic positions also increased their TV watching time, but mostly the upper white collars, who had watched less TV in 1979 than any other group (Table 5). The increase in TV watching time varied within cohorts according to socio-economic position. There was an especially strong increase in watching time among the unemployed in the welfare cohort; this group watched television on average more than four hours per day in 1999 (246 minutes). This indicates that unemployment increases passivity, especially among younger cohorts.

The changes in time spent reading were described above: older cohorts seemed to read as much as earlier at the end of the 20th century but in younger cohorts reading was not at the same level as earlier. The changes were not large by socio-economic position; a decrease among entrepreneurs, lower white collars, and workers, a negligible decrease among upper white collars, and a steady increase among the unemployed (Table 6). However, we can see that the development of cohorts in different socio-economic positions has gone in different directions. This can be seen most clearly among the unemployed. The unemployed in the welfare cohort spent less time reading at the turn of the century than earlier (compare TV watching above); in the cohort of baby-boomers they spent somewhat more time, and in the cohort of great movers considerably more.

The development of upper white collars in different cohorts is interesting. In the 1970s, the baby-boomers in the upper white collar class read more (50 minutes per day) than the upper white collars in the welfare cohort (39 minutes) or the great movers' cohort (47 minutes). In the 1980s, it spent 14 minutes more reading and pulled away from the other two cohorts. Then, in the 1990s, the figure for upper white collar baby-boomers decreased, on the contrary to the other two cohorts; the great movers clearly overlooked the baby-boomers. It seems that among upper white collar baby-boomers there occurred an analogous tiring like in the case of out-of-home activities.

3.6 Summary and discussion

This study has shown, for instance, that total leisure time did not change during the last decades in Finland, but the time used watching TV increased strongly, whereas the time spent outside the home decreased strongly. These types of results are already known on the basis of previous Finnish studies, as well as on the basis of international studies. The new element in this study was the cohort perspective: how much cohorts differ in their time use, and whether the time use of different cohorts persists throughout the lives of cohort members. In addition, we investigated whether socio-demographic fractions within cohorts which differ from each other in their use of time.

In general, an obvious fact was that cohort did not very well explain time use when other socio-demographic variables were controlled, except, in some activities such as reading. Time use to reading was relatively persistent in different periods among different cohorts. Also the observed change was different in different cohorts: older cohorts increased their reading as they aged whereas younger cohorts did not. A special emphasis was given to the cohort of baby-boomers (people born 1945-1954), which in the literature is regarded as being more active both in participating in different organizations and movements and in socializing with other people. Time use data do not indicate such a special position for baby-boomers: the activity of this group has fallen at the same pace as that of other groups. Especially among the most active fractions of baby-boomers – entrepreneurs and upper white collars – still in the end of 1970s, the out-of-home leisure activities have decreased dramatically.

It is a pity that some very important variables were not included into this data. One of them is housing conditions. We were not able to get information on these from 1979. On the basis of the 1987 and 1999 data, it seems that residential density (rooms per capita) is slightly but positively correlated with home-centred types of use of leisure time, such as watching TV, computer hobbies, reading and radio listening. Does this mean that in the future, when the residential density decreases, people will spend their time at home even more than today? We can also ask whether the increasing possibilities of having home audio-visual equipment which is by of the same quality level as equipment in the cinema (home theatres) will further increase privatization? This is paradox: the better the housing conditions, the more privatization and the less social capital!

In addition, people's income could not be taken into account. The reason for this was technical because from the year 1979 information on incomes was not available. However, on the basis of some other studies, we can assume that the impact of money would have been of a little importance in leisure

activities except some activities outside the home, for instance, pubs, restaurants.

As we have seen above, already for logical reasons, estimation of cohort effect in the strictest sense is like an effort to invent a perpetual-motion machine. Firstly, time variables are logically connected, and secondly, we can not have data simultaneously from every age group and from every cohort in every period in the same study. And yet the differences, changes, definitions, and ranges of generations have always attracted researchers in the fields of history and the social sciences, and probably will continue to do so in the future.

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Appendix. Indicators of leisure time and leisure time at home

Leisure time

free time studies
travel related to free time studies
unspecified studies
participatory activities
sports and outdoor activities
entertainment, culture and sport events
reading
radio and TV
socialising
other hobbies than sports and outdoor activities
other leisure time

Leisure time at home

reading
radio and TV
socialising with family
socialising with friends at home
telephone
handicrafts
playing musical instrument, drawing etc.
computer hobby, collecting, technical hobbies
parlour games and play
solo games and play
records and cassettes
correspondence
other hobbies at home
resting

Table 1 Time used by population aged 15 - 64 to leisure time by age, cohort, gender, socio-economic position, life cycle, type of municipality and education in September - November 1979, 1987 and 1999 (min per day).

	1979	1987	1999	change 79-87 79=100	change 87-99 87=100	change 79-99 79=100
Age	N=10865	N=4359	N=2146			
15-24	365	368	381	101	104	104
25-34	310	307	346	99	113	112
35-44	307	322	309	105	96	101
45-54	326	329	312	101	95	96
55-64	397	434	409	109	94	103
Cohort	N=9331	N=4359	N=1753			
born 1965 - 74	.	368	346	.	94	.
born 1955 - 64	365	307	309	84	100	84
born 1945 - 54	310	322	312	104	97	101
born 1935 - 44	307	329	409	107	124	133
born 1925 - 34	326	434	.	133	0	0
Gender	N=10865	N=4359	N=2146			
Men	360	360	368	100	102	102
Women	317	334	325	105	97	102
Socio-economic position	N=10856	N=4343	N=2127			
Employed total	300	300	284	100	95	95
Farmer	259	278	233	107	84	90
Entrepreneur	301	273	262	91	96	87
Upper white collar	323	322	323	100	100	100
Lower white collar	301	312	299	104	96	99
Worker	314	313	305	100	98	97
Unemployed	475	522	526	110	101	111
Student or pupil	361	372	384	103	103	106
Homemaker	372	363	295	98	81	79
Other	490	504	484	103	96	99
Life cycle	N=10865	N=4359	N=2146			
No child	367	378	378	103	100	103
Have child	299	295	286	99	97	96
Type of municipality	N=10865	N=4359	N=2146			
Town	343	354	351	103	99	102
Other	328	335	334	102	100	102
Education	N=10820	N=4348	N=2144			
Elementary	338	356	349	105	98	103
Secondary	338	340	355	101	104	105
More than secondary	337	335	332	99	99	98
Total leisure	338	347	345	103	99	102
Leisure at home	218	225	235	103	104	108
Leisure out of home	119	122	110	103	90	92
TV-watching	77	100	130	130	130	169
Reading	48	49	42	102	86	88
Technical hobby	0.6	1,2	8,2	200	683	1 367
Socializing at home	34	34	23	100	68	68
Other leisure at home	95	82	69	86	84	73

.category not applicable

Table 2. Observed and adjusted time used by population aged 15 - 64 to leisure time by cohort in September - November 1979, 1987 and 1999 (min per day)

	Observed time			Adjusted time			Adj. t. change	Adj. t. change
	1979	1987	1999	1979	1987	1999	79=87	87=99
Leisure time								
born 1965 - 74	.	368	346	.	364	369	.	101
born 1955 - 64	365	307	309	386	329	337	85	102
born 1945 - 54	310	322	312	347	372	320	107	86
born 1935 - 44	307	329	409	350	361	339	103	94
born 1925 - 34	326	434	.	338	389	.	115	.
Leisure at home								
born 1965 - 74	.	212	218	.	207	235	.	113
born 1955 - 64	205	193	202	230	222	245	97	110
born 1945 - 54	196	207	228	223	255	248	114	97
born 1935 - 44	201	229	305	220	253	263	115	104
born 1925 - 34	230	313	.	231	263	.	114	.
Leisure time out of home								
born 1965 - 74	.	155	128	.	156	134	.	86
born 1955 - 64	160	114	106	156	107	92	69	86
born 1945 - 54	114	115	85	125	117	72	94	61
born 1935 - 44	106	100	103	130	108	76	83	70
born 1925 - 34	96	120	.	107	126	.	117	.
TV-watching								
born 1965 - 74	.	100	132	.	89	145	.	162
born 1955 - 64	75	94	114	81	101	125	125	124
born 1945 - 54	74	92	116	69	104	117	152	112
born 1935 - 44	73	97	166	65	94	149	144	159
born 1925 - 34	80	125	.	69	111	.	160	.
Reading								
born 1965 - 74	.	38	30	.	27	30	.	111
born 1955 - 64	47	40	34	52	42	38	82	90
born 1945 - 54	43	48	51	52	66	50	128	75
born 1935 - 44	45	55	73	49	67	52	139	77
born 1925 - 34	49	74	.	52	66	.	126	.
Technical hobby								
born 1965 - 74	.	3,8	6,9	.	0,2	6,9	.	3450
born 1955 - 64	0,9	0,8	6,5	0,1	0,3	7,9	300	2633
born 1945 - 54	0,6	0,7	3,2	0,8	1,4	3,2	175	229
born 1935 - 44	0,5	0,3	2,9	0,9	0,4	1,0	44	250
born 1925 - 34	0,8	0,3	.	1,1	0,9	.	82	.
Socializing								
born 1965 - 74	.	29	24	.	46	20	.	44
born 1955 - 64	30	33	27	41	38	29	94	75
born 1945 - 54	36	37	22	39	43	35	111	82
born 1935 - 44	35	33	18	37	36	30	97	85
born 1925 - 34	33	39	.	42	31	.	75	.

Continues...

Other leisure at home								
born 1965 - 74	77	50	68	.	68	58	.	85
born 1955 - 64	90	58	49	97	74	79	76	106
born 1945 - 54	77	71	74	105	97	84	93	87
born 1935 - 44	82	88	99	107	113	66	106	59
born 1925 - 34	103	136	.	104	105	.	101	.

· category dot applicable

Table 3 Explained variances (100*R2, adjusted for independents) of leisure time use categories in September-November 1979-1987-1999

Lines	Lei- sure	Lei- sure at home	Lei- sure out home	Lei- sure at home %	TV- wate- hing	Rea- ding	Socia- lizing at home	Other leisure at home
1. cohort	0,9	1,6	1,6	2,2	0,7	0,9	0,2	2,3
2. (oi) ³	14,8	13,1	5,2	4,7	9,4	5,1	3,6	11,9
3. 2+cohort	13,4	13,1	5,3	4,9	9,5	5,7	3,6	12,0
4. (3) - (2)	-1,4	0,0	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,6	0,0	0,1
5. 3+ oi*period	13,8	13,5	5,6	5,3	10,6	6,3	4,1	12,8
6. 5+ cohort*period	14,0	13,6	5,8	5,4	10,7	6,4	4,1	12,9
7. (6) - (5)								
(6) + 2.degree	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,0	0,1
8. interactions	15,9	15,1	7,9	6,8	12,6	8,4	5,5	14,6
9. (8) - (6)	1,9	1,5	2,1	1,4	1,9	2,0	1,4	1,7
10. (6) + cohort*soc.pos*period	15,1	14,5	7,0	6,2	11,9	7,6	5,0	14,1
11. (8) - (10)	0,8	0,6	0,9	0,6	0,7	0,8	0,5	0,5
12. 10) - (6)	1,1	0,9	1,2	0,8	1,2	1,2	0,9	1,2

³ other independents (age, gender, socio-economic position, life cycle, type of municipality, education)

Table 4 Adjusted time used by population aged 15 - 64 to leisure out of home by cohort and socioeconomic socioeconomic position in September - November 1979, 1987 and 1999 (min per day).

Cohort	Soc.econ.position	1979	1987	1999	change 79-87 79=100	change 87-99 87=100
born 65 - 74						
	entrepreneur	·	80	114	·	143
	upper white collar	·	24	119	·	496
	lower white collar	·	92	111	·	121
	worker	·	100	93	·	93
	unemployed	·	234	299	·	128
born 55 - 64						
	entrepreneur	238	117	91	49	78
	upper white collar	184	103	148	56	144
	lower white collar	146	103	110	71	107
	worker	144	121	84	84	69
	unemployed	194	132	117	68	89
born 45 - 54						
	entrepreneur	108	107	50	99	47
	upper white collar	136	120	66	88	55
	lower white collar	120	116	99	97	85
	worker	106	118	100	111	85
	unemployed	161	165	96	102	58
born 35 - 44						
	entrepreneur	133	95	63	71	66
	upper white collar	124	113	50	91	44
	lower white collar	119	119	152	100	128
	worker	111	81	58	73	72
	unemployed	132	183	108	139	59
born 25 - 34						
	entrepreneur	95	196	·	206	·
	upper white collar	194	224	·	116	·
	lower white collar	188	239	·	127	·
	worker	200	243	·	122	·
	unemployed	348	367	·	106	·
Total						
	entrepreneur	144	119	80	83	67
	upper white collar	146	89	96	61	108
	lower white collar	118	109	118	92	108
	worker	112	105	84	94	80
	unemployed	165	170	155	103	91

Table does not include soc.econ. pos. of farmer, student, homemaker, and others because of empty cells

·category dot applicable

Table 5 Adjusted time used by population aged 15 - 64 to watching TV by cohort and socioeconomic position in September - November 1979, 1987 and 1999 (min per day).

Cohort	Soc.econ.position	1979	1987	1999	change 79-87 79=100	change 87-99 87=100
born 65 - 74						
	entrepreneur	·	100	151	·	151
	upper white collar	·	64	125	·	194
	lower white collar	·	89	120	·	135
	worker	·	109	91	·	83
	unemployed	·	136	179	·	131
born 55 - 64						
	entrepreneur	69	55	76	80	138
	upper white collar	47	74	76	156	103
	lower white collar	79	92	102	116	110
	worker	71	99	98	140	100
	unemployed	85	156	246	184	157
born 45 - 54						
	entrepreneur	56	74	101	132	136
	upper white collar	62	80	108	129	135
	lower white collar	68	90	114	133	126
	worker	76	92	122	121	133
	unemployed	102	159	164	156	103
born 35 - 44						
	entrepreneur	65	85	148	131	174
	upper white collar	56	86	141	155	163
	lower white collar	73	91	92	124	101
	worker	67	87	151	129	174
	unemployed	83	138	181	167	131
born 25 - 34						
	entrepreneur	69	65	·	94	·
	upper white collar	66	91	·	138	·
	lower white collar	66	107	·	162	·
	worker	67	110	·	165	·
	unemployed	88	195	·	222	·
Total						
	entrepreneur	65	76	119	117	157
	upper white collar	58	79	119	136	151
	lower white collar	71	94	106	132	113
	worker	70	99	126	141	127
	unemployed	89	157	192	176	122

Table does not include soc.econ. pos. of farmer, student, homemaker, and others because of empty cells

·category dot applicable

Table 6 Adjusted time used by population aged 15 - 64 to reading by cohort and socioeconomic position in September - November 1979, 1987 and 1999 (min per day).

Cohort	Soc.econ.position	1979	1987	1999	change 79-87 79=100	change 87-99 87=100
born 65 - 74						
	entrepreneur	·	40	7	·	18
	upper white collar	·	1	22	·	1578
	lower white collar	·	31	32	·	105
	worker	·	27	33	·	123
	unemployed	·	48	45	·	94
born 55 - 64						
	entrepreneur	34	44	21	129	48
	upper white collar	39	42	47	106	114
	lower white collar	44	42	37	94	90
	worker	41	33	39	81	118
	unemployed	63	63	48	99	77
born 45 - 54						
	entrepreneur	40	35	28	88	80
	upper white collar	50	64	51	129	78
	lower white collar	42	50	47	118	93
	worker	44	41	35	94	85
	unemployed	84	85	93	102	109
born 35 - 44						
	entrepreneur	44	48	48	109	100
	upper white collar	47	56	72	118	129
	lower white collar	48	59	39	123	66
	worker	43	45	36	104	79
	unemployed	60	81	114	135	141
born 25 - 34						
	entrepreneur	44	56	·	127	·
	upper white collar	66	84	·	128	·
	lower white collar	54	72	·	134	·
	worker	44	64	·	144	·
	unemployed	68	27	·	40	·
Total						
	entrepreneur	41	45	26	110	58
	upper white collar	51	50	48	98	96
	lower white collar	47	51	39	109	76
	worker	43	42	36	98	86
	unemployed	69	61	75	88	123

Table does not include soc.econ. pos. of farmer, student, homemaker, and others because of empty cells

·category not applicable

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