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EXPLAINING CULTURAL PARTICIPATION IN CHILDHOOD

Applying the Theory of Planned Behavior to German and Finnish Primary School Children

Piia-Kaisa af Ursin

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ABSTRACT

Participation in cultural activities is a human right acted out in various ways by children. Why does one child participate while another does not? This research contributes to the existing body of knowledge by applying Ajzen's (1985; 1991) theory of planned behavior (TPB) to study the determinants of cultural participation in childhood. The research consists of five studies sharing a twofold aim: first, to develop a valid questionnaire to assess reasons why primary school children engage in cultural activities, and second, to explain their cultural participation cross-nationally. The questionnaire construction was based on a research design combining a qualitative interview ($N_{\text{Study 1}} = 23$) to elicit children's beliefs regarding highbrow cultural participation with subsequent quantitative studies. The set of categories resulting from the elicitation study was used to develop questionnaire items which then were tested for reliability and validity in two pilot studies ($N_{\text{Study 2a}} = 99$ and $N_{\text{Study 2b}} = 383$). In the resulting Study 3, 698 Finnish and 500 German children completed questionnaires designed to measure the components of the TPB (attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioral control) with an additional focus on their families' socio-economic status. In these studies, visits to a museum were used as a criterion exemplifying highbrow activities.

A confirmatory factor analysis supported the theoretically postulated six-factorial structure of the TPB measurement model for both countries (RMSEA ≤ .041; CFI ≥ .954; TLI ≥ .945; SRMI ≤ .045). The TPB constructs explained 60% of the variance in museum attendance in Finland and 65% in Germany. Despite the relatively high proportion of overall explanation, the contributions of some TPB constructs were questionable. While the control construct contributed most to the explanation of both intentions and behavior, other constructs failed as predictors. Overall, children felt positive toward museums, yet their intentions and actions were restricted by perceived barriers that more or less reflected the family of origin. This was shown by the indirect effect of socio-economic status; the higher the status of the family, the fewer barriers were perceived which in turn influenced the frequency of museum visits. These results applied for both countries. Despite some limitations, the scale development was successful and the research supports the use of the TPB in predicting children's cultural participation. However, it is advisable to further examine, why intention and subjective norm failed to predict the behavior. Moreover, future research will need to tackle other forms of cultural activities to extend the results herein.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Teilhabe an kulturellen Aktivitäten ist ein Menschenrecht, welches Kinder unterschiedlich stark ausüben. Warum nimmt ein Kind teil, während ein anderes dies nicht tut? Die vorliegende Studie untersucht mit Hilfe der Theorie des geplanten Verhaltens (TPB: Ajzen 1985; 1991) die Determinanten kultureller Partizipation von Kindern. Die Dissertation besteht aus fünf Studien und verfolgt ein zweifaches Ziel: Erstens soll ein valider Fragebogen zur Erforschung relevanter Beweggründe für kulturelle Partizipation entwickelt und zweitens, die Teilnahme an diesen länderübergreifend erklärt werden. Die Fragebogenentwicklung basierte auf einem Design aus qualitativer Interviewstudie ($N_{\text{Study 1}} = 23$) zur Erfassung die Überzeugungen der Kinder bezüglich hochkultureller Aktivitäten mit anschließenden quantitativen Studien. Auf Basis des aus der Vorstudie resultierenden Kategoriensystems wurden Fragebogenitems entwickelt und deren Reliabilität und Validität in zwei Pilotstudien ($N_{\text{Study 2a}} = 99$ und $N_{\text{Study 2b}} = 383$) getestet. In der darauf folgenden Studie (Study 3), wurden 698 finnische und 500 deutsche Kinder mit dem Fragebogen zur Messung der Konstrukte der TPB (Einstellung, subjektive Norm und wahrgenommene Verhaltenskontrolle) befragt, wobei ein zusätzlicher Fokus auf den sozio-ökonomischen Status der Familien gelegt wurde. Als Kriterium wurden Museumsbesuche gewählt, welche ein Beispiel für hochkulturelle Aktivitäten darstellen. Die theoretisch postulierte sechsfaktorielle Struktur des TPB Messmodells konnte in einer CFA bestätigt werden (RMSEA ≤ .041; CFI ≥ .954; TLI ≥ .945; SRMI ≤ .045). Das TPB Modell erklärte insgesamt 60 % der Varianz der Museumsbesuche in Finnland und 65 % in Deutschland. Trotz des relativ hohen Anteils der insgesamt aufgeklärten Varianz, blieb der Beitrag einiger TPB Konstrukte fragwürdig, da nur die wahrgenommene Verhaltenskontrolle zur Erklärung der Museumsbesuche beitrug. Insgesamt schätzten die Kinder Museumsbesuche positiv ein, jedoch wurde ihre Teilnahme durch wahrgenommene Barrieren eingeschränkt. Diese Barrieren ließen sich mehr oder weniger auf die Herkunft der Familie zurückführen: je höher der Status der Familie, desto weniger Barrieren wurden wahrgenommenen, was wiederum einen Einfluss auf die Häufigkeit der Museumsbesuche hatte. Diese Ergebnisse galten für beide Länder. Trotz einiger Limitationen war die Skalenkonstruktion erfolgreich und die Studie unterstützt die Verwendung der TPB zur Vorhersage kultureller Partizipation der Kinder. Jedoch wird empfohlen, die mangelnde Vorhersagekraft der Intention und der subjektiven Norm weiter zu untersuchen. Außerdem sollen künftige Studien die Übertragbarkeit der vorliegenden Ergebnisse auf andere Formen hochkultureller Aktivitäten überprüfen.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Osallistuminen kulttuuritoimintoihin on ihmisoikeus, jota lapset toteuttavat vaihtelevasti. Miksi joku lapsi osallistuu, kun taas toinen ei? Tässä tutkimuksessa sovellettiin Ajzenin (1985;1991) suunnitellun käyttäytymisen teoriaa (TPB) selittämään lasten kulttuuriin osallistumista. Väitöstyö koostuu viidestä tutkimuksesta, joissa tavoitteena oli kehittää luotettava kyselylomake lasten kulttuuriin osallistumisen syiden selvittämiseksi ja tarkastella näitä Suomen ja Saksan välillä. Kyselylomakkeen kehittäminen pohjaa laadulliseen haastatteluun (N_{Study1} = 23), jossa selvitettiin lasten käsityksiä korkeakulttuuritoiminnoista. Kulttuuriin osallistumisen syitä mittaavat muuttujat kehitettiin haastatteluaineistosta muodostettujen teemojen pohjalta, jonka jälkeen niiden luotettavuutta arvioitiin kahdessa pilottitutkimuksessa ($N_{Study\ 2a}$ = 99 and $N_{Study\ 2b}$ = 383). Seuraavassa vaiheessa (Study 3) 698 suomalaista ja 500 saksalaista lasta vastasivat kyselyihin kulttuuriin osallistumisesta ja sen syistä. Osallistumista selitettiin TPB:n osatekijöillä (asenne, subjektiivinen normi ja koettu kontrolli) ja lisäksi tarkasteltiin perheen sosio-ekonomisen taustan vaikutusta. Museokäynnit edustivat korkeakulttuurin laajempaa kirjoa, jota vasten osallistumisen syitä peilattiin.

Konfirmatorinen faktorianalyysi vahvisti kehitetyn mittamallin teorianmukaisen kuusifaktorisen rakenteen molemmissa tutkimusmaissa (RMSEA ≤ .041; CFI ≥ .954; TLI ≥ .945; SRMI ≤ .045). TPB malli selitti yhteensä 60 % suomalaisten ja 65 % saksalaisten lasten museokäynneistä. Mallin korkeasta selitysasteesta huolimatta vain koettu kontrolli selitti lasten museokäyntejä. Vaikka lapsilla oli kaiken kaikkiaan myönteinen asenne museoita kohtaan, se ei näkynyt osallistumisaktiivisuudessa. Osallistumista rajoittivat erilaiset esteinä koetut tekijät, jotka osaltaan linkittyivät lapsen perhetaustaan. Mitä korkeampi perheen sosio-ekonominen asema, sitä vähemmän esteitä osallistumiselle koettiin, mikä heijastui osallistumisaktiivisuuteen. Tulokset olivat samat molemmissa tutkimusmaissa.

Tutkimuksen mukaan suunnitellun käyttäytymisen teoriaa voidaan soveltaa lasten kulttuuriin osallistumisen tarkastelussa. Jatkossa olisi kuitenkin hyvä tutkia, miksi intentio ja subjektiivinen normi eivät selittäneet käyttäytymistä teorian mukaisesti. Lisää tutkimusta tarvitaan myös kehitettyjen mittareiden sovellettavuudesta muihin korkeakulttuuritoimintoihin.

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1. INTRODUCTION

When talking about culture,
It is rarely about the children;
When talking about the children,
Culture is hardly ever mentioned.

(Wolfgang Schneider)[1]

This statement, spoken in a conference concerning culture and cultural participation, crystallizes the experiences I had while researching cultural participation of children. As soon as I added the word "child" to the search field next to "cultural participation," the number of hits dropped dramatically. Very little knowledge about children and cultural participation currently exists, and for the most part, cultural activities are used as indicators of the social background of a child instead of being self-essential objects of research. The dearth of research on cultural participation of children is particularly surprising considering that the importance of such activities is recognized worldwide. After all, "the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life" is written in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). Cultural participation offers an opportunity to enjoy artistic pieces and performances and develop creative interests. Furthermore, participation in cultural activities promotes individual health (e.g. Konlaan, Bygren, & Johansson, 2000), positively affects psychosocial development (e.g. Wright et al., 2006), and advances creativity and knowledge of the arts. As part of children's cultural capital, these benefits can enhance their school performance, educational success, and even improve other life outcomes as well (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; Jæger, 2011).

The shortage of research on childhood cultural participation may partly stem from my definition of culture, which—contrary to the spirit of times—uses the narrowest definition of the concept (cf. Bollo, Dal Pozzolo, Di Federico, & Gordon, 2012). This restriction to traditional, highbrow cultural activities has generated criticism due to an assumption that the chosen definition does not apply to the "real-life" context of today's children. However, a meticulous exploration of these activities is crucial in light of that knowledge that participation, particularly in these specific types of activities, still continues to serve as a sign of social distinction (cf. Kröner, Vock, Robitzsch, & Köller, 2012; Willekens & Lievens, 2014). Even though highbrow cultural activities represent a minor segment in the broad range of leisure time and cultural participation possibilities, they constitute an important segment of particular interest in this study;

[1] The Director of the Department of Cultural Policy, University of Hildesheim, Germany

because of the low frequency of such activities in many families in general (and thus in children's lives), highbrow cultural activities can indicate where an individual is located on the continuum of social distinction (Bourdieu, 1984; Kröner, Vock, Robitzsch, & Köller, 2012). Therefore, even when expanded interests (i.e., cultural omnivorousness, or participation in both popular and highbrow cultures; see Peterson & Kern, 1996) are considered, it is still precisely in patterns of highbrow cultural participation where the reproduction of social inequalities most likely occurs and can be made visible (e.g. Rössel & Beckert-Zieglschmid, 2002; van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2013; Willekens & Lievens, 2014). The fact that social distinction derived from participation in highbrow activities still exists and produces cultural inequalities makes it even more important to invest in research identifying the mechanisms upholding and causing cultural disparities. Only by identifying these mechanisms can children's rights be secured.

Nearly all empirical studies regarding cultural participation include some analysis of people's characteristics associated with taking part in cultural activities. Mostly, these focus on differences in participation rates across a wide range of socio-demographic factors, such as age, gender, race, income, ethnicity, education, and occupation (e.g. McCarthy, Ondaatje, & Zakaras, 2001; Willekens & Lievens, 2014). However, research concentrating purely on socio-demographic factors suffers from two major disadvantages. First, even if the individual correlates of cultural participation may suggest the reasons why individuals participate in cultural activities, they are never—nor can they be expected to be—fully conclusive (ibid.). In other words, although people with higher social status are more likely to participate in the arts than those with lower status, not all people with higher status participate, and some with lower status participate frequently. Therefore, a person's social status does not "explain" participation. Since socio-demographic correlates are usually permanent, studies including only those mentioned above give little guidance to those aiming to increase participation levels; this is the second disadvantage. Therefore, regardless of any patterns or the quantity in which cultural activities are participated, it seems more important to *understand* participation than just to *measure* it. It is precisely this type of explanatory research that is much less extensive.

So what motivates children to take part in cultural activities? This is an important question, especially from the perspective of aesthetic education, which considers cultural participation to be an essential part of a child's personality, values, and competency development. However, research on participation determinants suffers from fragmentation (Kröner, 2013). As Kröner (ibid.) points out, sociological research concerning the determinants of cultural participation mostly concentrate on evaluating environmental or social factors; differential psychological studies focusing on person-internal determinants are less extensive. However, because the socially determined decision whether or not to take part in cultural activities has been proven to be

replaced or supplemented by personal drives and motives, such as a desire to learn, interest, emotional reward, attitude, and participating with friends (e.g. Keuchel, 2005; Myllyniemi, 2009; Ostrower, 2008), more attention should be paid to the multitude of behavioral motives.

So far, very little research has studied highbrow cultural participation in childhood. Thus, it is only natural that even less documentation of the determinants and their variety exists. One possible reason for the lack of research is the absence of suitable research instruments to study primary school-aged children. The present thesis introduces and cross-nationally validates a comprehensive model constructed to explain children's highbrow cultural behavior. In doing so, it aims to connect the previously distinct research on cultural participation from sociological, cultural educational, and psychological approaches. Based on the encouraging results of previous research (cf. Kröner, 2013; Schüller, 2014; Staudenmaier, 2012), this study will demonstrate that commonly juxtaposed person-internal and person-external factors can be integrated into a single theoretical framework to explain cultural participation using a theory of planned behavior (TPB). In doing so, the present study addresses the points of critique and deficits of existing studies by applying a theory-driven, systematic analysis of the beliefs of primary school children regarding their participation in cultural activities. It also responds to a lack of reliable and valid instruments to study the reasons for and against cultural participation in childhood.

1.1 Theoretical background

Research on cultural participation (cf. consumption[2]) is one of the most visible areas in both behavioral and social sciences today, as the field attracts many disciplines, from cultural history, anthropology, sociology, psychology, pedagogics and education to aesthetics, leisure studies, and many others (cf. Räsänen, 2003; Virtanen, 2007). Each discipline makes different attempts to describe or explain the cultural behavior of individuals. Cultural studies examine cultural practices of individuals and a great number of empirical surveys document the occurrence of cultural and other leisure-time activities of children and youth (e.g. Keuchel & Larue, 2012; Myllyniemi, 2009). Research in cultural pedagogics, in contrast, concentrates on examining potential ways to promote personal development through cultural participation. However, research in these fields commonly lacks the theory-guided analysis of conditional factors affecting participation in cultural activities (Kröner, 2013).

[2] Many studies use the terms "consumption" and "attendance" as equivalent to "participation" (Reeves, 2014). The present study adopts the term "participation" as a core construct including the aspects of cultural consumption or attendance, which are often regarded as an economic counterpart to social participation (e.g. Foote, 2002).

The question of why some people become culturally active and some do not has fascinated social scientists for decades; cultural participation and cultural taste patterns have been under review in legions of studies, all of which provide findings about social mechanisms affecting cultural behavior and/or taste (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1987; cited in Virtanen, 2007, 17). However, since sociological research mostly focuses on environmental (i.e., status indicators) in explaining cultural participation, the mechanism of how higher socio-economic status transforms into more active cultural participation remains a mystery (cf. Kröner, 2013). Kröner (ibid.) suggests to involve such indicators into the research on cultural participation that are more closely related to the behavior in focus. For instance, cultural activity-related attitudes in children have proven to be useful in explaining participation in the studies of Staudenmaier (2012) and Schüller (2014).

Within psychology, studies on cultural participation seek to explain and predict the behavior through individuals' internal characteristics and motivation. Thus, in contrast to sociological studies, person-external factors—or the aspects of social embedment—are generally of less interest. A commonly applied theoretical point of reference in psychological studies is the Big Five theory of personality traits (see McCrae & Costa, 1996). The related model of five broad dimensions of personality (i.e., openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism) is commonly used in studies to explain human behavior. However, as Kröner (2013, 240) points out, the fact that the Big Five personality factors correlate with cultural participation does not inevitably mean that these personality variables can be used as predictors specific for cultural activities. These factors—for example, openness to experience—are rather stable traits that apply generally to many behavioral patterns. Compared to sociological studies indicating correlations between socio-economic status and participation, not all people with high scores on openness are culturally active, and some with low scores might be. Thus, concentrating purely on either socio-demographic or psychological correlates of participation may lead to superficial results.

From the existence of many distinctive perspectives on cultural participation inevitably comes a disciplinary fragmentation in research (cf. Kröner, 2013). On the other hand, it is reasonable to argue that any attempt to approach the issue without any theoretical perspective would likely fail (cf. Räsänen, 2003). The present study places its theoretical weight on sociology and psychology; however, since it deals closely with matters of taste and the research is directly connected to the everyday lives of school children, the disciplines of aesthetics and pedagogics will also be discussed. By shedding light on these disciplines, this study makes an effort to engage in cross-disciplinary discussion and integrate previously unconnected aspects of cultural participation. To avoid systematic gaps and achieve a more complementary picture of children's cultural participation, an

integrative model enabling the simultaneous combination of interdisciplinary factors of cultural participation is necessary.

Many social-psychological models have been employed to understand human behavior and its changes (cf. Jackson, 2005). Common to these models is that they all aim to explain why people make certain decisions and on what basis they act upon them. However, the models differ in their emphasis on individual vs. social as the unit of analysis. A broad class of theories suggests that individuals behave in such a way as to maximize the expected benefits from their actions. The most widespread manifestation of such a theory is the Rational Choice Theory (for an overview, see Scott, 2000). Based on this strongly individual-centered model, social behavior is seen as a collection of individual behaviors, each of which results from deliberate choices based on the subjective expected utility (that is, cost/benefit) to the individual (Jackson, 2005, 29). However, as the critique of this theory points out (see Simon, 1957), with limited resources, a systematic evaluation of the evidence for "rational choice" is not always possible (Jackson, 2005, 35). It results in the expectation that a child, when making choices about cultural participation, is not fully capable of processing all the cognitive information required for these so-called "rational choices." It can also be argued that because of their young age, children are strongly affected by environmental and social influences in their decision-making processes. These influences, along with individual choice, are context-dependent.

To incorporate both person-internal and external factors into the same model, the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991; 2006) was applied to study determinants and predict cultural participation in childhood (Figure 1). As a response to the critique of rational choice theory, the theory of planned behavior makes the antecedents of preferences or attitudes explicit, and more importantly, it acknowledges social influence on personal behavior (Jackson, 2005).

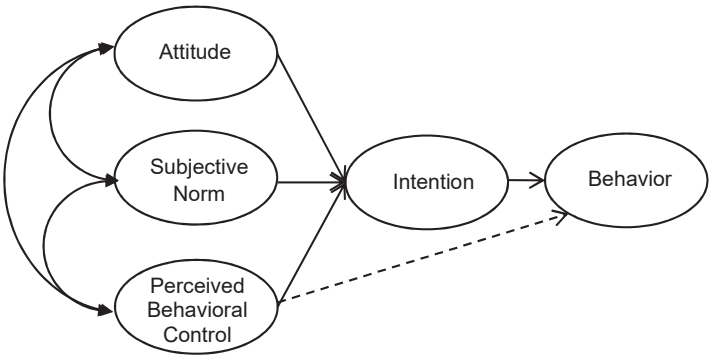

Figure 1 Theory of Planned Behavior (by Ajzen, 1985; 1991)

The selected theory is a commonly used social cognitive theory, which aims to predict and explain human behaviors through its core concepts: attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control. These three constructs function as antecedents of behavioral intention (in this study, children's cultural behavior). According to the theory, any behavior should be predictable based on intentions to perform the behavior and perceived behavioral control. Intentions, in turn, should be predictable from attitude toward the behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control.

Regardless of the behavior under observation, most studies include additional information about a person's demographic characteristics, such as age, education, income, or social class or status. Consideration of additional variables, however, should not improve prediction of either intention or behavior. Although many behaviors are found to be associated with demographics, the theory suggests that different segments of the population will behave differently only to the extent that their past experiences have led them to form different behavioral, normative, or control beliefs. In essence, if the behavior is expected to be affected by some demographic characteristic, its effect would be assumed to be mediated by the theory's proximal constructs. (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 225-227.) Since previous research has produced strong evidence for the existence of a connection between an individual's social status and his or her participation in cultural activities, the explanatory effect of social status will be observed separately. However, as the effect of social status is mediated by the theory's proximal constructs, only indirect effects of social background on cultural activities will be expected.

1.2 Research gap and objectives

There is a broad range of empirical literature available about various aspects of cultural participation. This includes research on the intensity and amount of participation, trends of how participation changes over time, participation patterns in particular artistic disciplines, the extent of crossover among different disciplines, and socio-demographic correlates of participation (cf. McCarthy, Ondaatje, & Zakaras, 2001). These aspects of cultural participation have also been studied in some cross-national surveys and play a key role in monitoring changing patterns of cultural participation, both nationally and internationally (e.g. UNESCO-UIS, 2012; Virtanen, 2007). However, because the majority of research focuses on perspectives of cultural participation that are easy to measure, such as participation quantity, other important aspects have been downplayed. Only a few studies (see e.g. Eurobarometer, 2007; Keuchel & Larue, 2012; Kröner, Vock, Robitzsch, & Köller, 2012; Myllyniemi, 2009) have aimed to explain or predict the perceptions and determinants influencing individuals' cultural behavior.

Despite the extensive body of research on cultural participation in general, children's cultural participation has been significantly less researched. Existing studies on the highbrow cultural activities of adolescents have mostly drawn on selective samples: those attending cultural institutions (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1966/1990) or high-track students (e.g. Fritzsche, Kröner, & Pfeiffer, 2011), resulting in research designs that highlight middle-class families (cited in Kröner, Vock, Robitzsch, & Köller, 2012). This is a crucial point to be taken into account, since participatory behavior (whether one engages frequently, occasionally, or rarely) is known to be affected by a variety of factors (McCarthy, Ondaatje, & Zakaras, 2001). In addition to differences in frequency, cultural participation cannot be displayed as a universal behavior. It is particularly important to know how certain groups (e.g., children or families) define and portray such participation and feel that their cultural participation rights are secured.

According to McCarthy and Jinnett (2001), literature on participation in the arts suffers from several disadvantages; first, it oversimplifies the process an individual goes through when deciding to participate in the arts. Second, it places too much emphasis on the effect of individuals' socio-demographics than on their motivations and attitudes. They (ibid.) suggest that existing studies deliver no knowledge about why individuals prefer one type of art activity over another, nor do they try to explain the individual reasons for or against cultural behavior. All in all, the existing research on cultural participation has mostly tended to address the *who, what,* and *how*, rather than the aspect of *why* people take part or not (cf. McCarthy, Ondaatje, & Zakaras, 2001). However, answering why is crucial for practical implications aimed at enabling or increasing participation of children, as it points out the factors most significant in defining participation. Therefore, the acquisition of empirical evidence about the determinants is particularly relevant. It becomes even more important for our time, when research suggests that cultural participation of children—especially of those from disadvantaged families[3]—has been declining (Kisida, Greene, & Bowen, 2014). As briefly discussed above, the lack of research may be due to the absence of suitable research instruments that can be administered to primary school children. In the existing questionnaires, cultural activities are mostly used as indicators of social background and have not been examined as self-essential objects of research. Therefore, no diagnostic scales exist to study the reasons for and against cultural activities (e.g. Kröner et al., 2008).

[3] Families differ in the advantages available to their children. These advantages (or disadvantages) are largely due to the socioeconomic status of the family, which is mainly determined by parents' education, employment, earnings, and wealth. The term "disadvantaged" will be used in the present study as a designation for children who live in families with lower socioeconomic status and who are at risk of lacking the basic resources (economical, cultural, or social) believed to be necessary for an equal position and participation in society.

A further gap in exploring cultural participation occurs in the field of cross-national research, although existing studies have indicated that both cultural participation and its determinants differ between countries (e.g. Katz-Gerro, 2006; Virtanen, 2007). The final report of the European Statistical System Network on Culture (ESSnet, BÍNA et al., 2012, 248) notes that a strong need for reliable and comparative information on participation in cultural activities has existed for years. The recent comparative research (such as in the sociology of arts) has been manifold; however, it has varied in terms of scope (space and time), use of methods, and the selected objects or groups to be compared. Additionally, cross-national comparative studies have been less common than studies contrasting groups within a single country (Janssen & Peterson, 2005). Even less comparative information exists about the determinants of cultural participation. Cross-national research on social inequality in the cultural domain has been limited (e.g. Notten, Lancee, van de Werfhorst, H. G., & Ganzeboom, 2013; van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2013), and in the context of children, it is non-existent. Cross-cultural research could be especially helpful for an increased understanding of the universal aspects of cultural activities and participation, as well as aspects presenting cultural differences.

The present thesis contributes to existing research in the following ways: First, it observes children—a sample previously neglected—and delivers important information about primary school children's participation in cultural activities in general. Second, it focuses on explaining participation and identifying its determinants, as well as providing new information that can be used to design effective programs to promote children's (equal) participation in cultural activities. For this purpose, it is essential to identify which factors are the most influential and how they function. To avoid the pitfall of underestimating the effects of social background (see discussion about selective samples above), all the children in the selected schools and classes were scrutinized in order to achieve a non-restricted sample. Drawing on samples of the total population within certain schools and classes, an accurate picture of the determinants—including aspects of both participants and nonparticipants—is expected. Third, and in tandem with the second point, the present study overcomes the known obstacle of researching the determinants of children's cultural participation, i.e., the lack of suitable research instruments to be administered to this the population. Thus, the thesis deals largely with methodological objectives aimed at developing a valid research instrument for primary school-aged children. Combining qualitative and quantitative methods into the process of scale construction, the study is able to identify potential (and previously unknown) indicators of children's cultural behaviors.

Furthermore, the present study observes children's participation in cultural activities in a cross-national setting. A more in-depth look into the determinants of participation was attempted by conducting a cross-national study including two countries that

do not differ considerably in their cultural market structures, cultural policies, and structures of (cultural) lifestyle opportunities. They do, however, differ in educational social inequalities and educational stratification in cultural participation (e.g. Baumert, Watermann, & Schümer, 2003; Baumert & Maaz, 2006; Notten, Lancee, van de Werfhorst, H. G., & Ganzeboom, 2013).

1.3 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is divided into three main parts. The first part deals with theoretical issues concerning cultural participation, its definition, value, and determinants. The second part—where most of this research's focus lies—concentrates on the process of developing a measurement instrument. The third part is about explaining children's cultural participation, i.e., implementing the developed instrument into the praxis. The empirical analyses of the third part are conducted within national as well as cross-national contexts.

Chapter 2 examines and discusses the general debate regarding cultural participation and its determinants, and it assembles previous theories and research into the theoretical framework of this study. As existing literature shows, culture, participation, and cultural participation are not simple constructs; rather, they are a complex "nest" of definitions that need to be more closely scrutinized. The first part (2.1) of chapter 2 discusses the central concepts "culture" and "participation", presents the key issues surrounding these concepts in the theoretical literature, and outlines the aspects of cultural participation relevant to the present study. In the second part (2.2), the basis, value, and significance of children's cultural participation is discussed. Three main points of view, the intrinsic and instrumental value of cultural participation, and its normative basis are presented and treated as supplemental to each other in evaluating the significance of cultural participation in childhood. The third part (2.3) of the second chapter introduces both social mechanisms and individual factors found to be of importance in determining cultural participation. A number of propositions are presented to explain why participation in cultural activities differs significantly between individuals yet reflects one's social origins. Also, the general debate about postmodern society and its theoretical implications related to social change will be approached. As the strict relationship between social origin and cultural behavior in modern society has been called into question, this chapter discusses the role of individual choice in relation to traditional social "control" in determining children's cultural participation.

Chapter 3 lays the groundwork for the design of the empirical research of this dissertation, and the theoretical framework and methodological model, the theory of planned behavior (TPB), is presented. As noted above (and discussed more thoroughly in this chapter),

the TPB makes it possible to incorporate a variety of partially opposite structural and individualistic theoretical approaches (see chapter 2) into one tight model to explain and predict children's participation in cultural activities.

The empirical part of the study is explored in chapter 4. The focus of this chapter lies in the operationalization of the concepts under study, scale construction, and the validity of the data sets measuring children's cultural participation—in other words, on the methodological objectives of the work. In the first part (4.1), the empirical research design is outlined together with research objectives and questions. The research objectives are divaricate, as they are divided into methodological questions and questions observing children's cultural behavior. In order to respond to the research objectives and questions, five separate sub-studies were conducted. These studies are presented and discussed under three parts (4.2–4.4). The first part (4.2) presents a qualitative pre-study conducted to elicit the beliefs influencing children's cultural participation. The second, 4.3, depicts two quantitative pilot studies aimed at testing the reliability and validity of the constructed scales, as well as the modifications applied during the process of questionnaire construction for the main studies. The third part (4.4) presents both the Finnish and German main studies combined under the same sub-chapters, including the analyses explaining children's cultural participation and cross-national aspects.

Chapter 5 presents and discusses the main results and conclusions of the dissertation. Like the methodological part of the study, the concluding discussion is divided into two parts that present the duality of the empirical aims of the work. The first part (5.1) considers the methodological objectives, efficiency, and predictive utility of the TPB-model. The conclusion of the second part (5.2) draws upon the explanatory results of children's cultural participation and its determinants. The chapter is intended to interpret the empirical results in light of the theoretical context of the work, reflecting on the results from the perspective of practice and outlining future prospects.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF CULTURAL PARTICIPATION

2.1 Defining cultural participation

When the objective of the study is to predict human social behavior, the first and most crucial step is to clearly define the behavior of interest (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 29). This task, however, is much more complex than it might at first appear. The present study aims to explain and predict cultural participation, a behavior including two concepts famous for their multidimensionality, so the task is not easy. The concept of culture by itself has been labeled as a hyper-complex concept and compared to a snowball tumbling down a slope while gathering multiple layers of significance (cf. Everitt, 1999); thus, the term "culture," Wallerstein (1990) notes, causes a number of problems when used (cited in Pirnes, 2008, 13). However, definitions are as unavoidable as they are difficult, since the concept framing of an object of research significantly influences the actions throughout the steps of the study. Furthermore, considering the methodological aim of the study, the definition of the behavior will guide not only how the behavior itself is assessed, but also the way other related constructs in the model of behavioral prediction are conceptualized and measured (cf. Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). Therefore, acknowledging the complexity of the selected behavior in focus, I will lay out the pieces of the cultural participation puzzle by presenting the key constructs applied in the present study.

2.1.1 What is culture?

Culture, in its wide ethnographic sense, "is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1873, 1). Tylor's definition of culture is considered the earliest modern conception of the subject, and it includes almost everything about individuals' overall ways of life and everything that is "man-made," from knowledge and art to customs and habits (Peoples & Bailey, 2009). Although culture has been (re)defined hundreds of ways since Tylor's writings, the main elements of his original concept are still consistent with the key features described in modern definitions. The most influential and frequently cited contemporary definition comes from UNESCO (1982), which defines culture as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, that encompasses not only art and literature, but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs."

As seen in the definitions above, if culture is observed in its inclusive ethnographic sense as "everything," there is no empirical way of measuring it. The wide definition is far too general to delineate it for the statistical purposes of the present study. However, by linking culture with participation, the definition changes and approaches the understanding now commonly shared in everyday language; people mostly restrict culture to "artistic forms of expression" representing the aspects of "art and literature," as described in the UNESCO definition above (e.g. Keuchel, 2005; Laaksonen, 2010). They describe a narrow definition of the concept.

Based on both the broad and narrow definitions of culture, the UNESCO Institute for Cultural Statistics (UNESCO-UIS, 2009) has created a practical definition of culture meant specifically for statistical purposes. This definition is based on the concepts of *cultural* and *other related* domains. The former includes cultural activities, goods, and services involved in all phases of the cultural cycle (creation, production, dissemination, reception) in the following cultural domains: cultural and natural heritage, performance and celebration, visual arts and crafts, books and press, audio-visual and interactive media, design and creative services, and intangible cultural heritage. The latter links to the broader definition of culture and encompasses social and recreational activities such as tourism, sports, and recreation. These domains together represent the minimum set of core cultural domains defined by UNESCO (ibid.).

In the narrow sense of the arts, a different dimension of cultural participation and activities can be further distinguished. The most familiar—and undoubtedly the most powerful—classification standard, especially when it comes to the expression of tastes, has been the "highbrow" (or elite) vs. "lowbrow" (or popular) distinction, particularly as it is applied in cultural stratification research (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1987; Katz-Gerro, 2002; Purhonen, Gronow, & Rahkonen, 2011). This traditional separation (aesthetic vs. non-aesthetic) contains a value-laden meaning of highbrow arts as being unique embodiments of creativity, whereas art within low or popular culture represents characteristics of industrialized mass production. Therefore, participation in high culture, such as visiting museums, theaters, or ballets confers more prestige, is assumed to require more cognitive skills than participation in low culture (e.g., watching TV or reading comics), and is thus respected as a valuable activity among the higher social strata. In contrast, activities of low culture are more associated with entertainment, undemanding cultural content, and a lower social value (cf. Notten, Lancee, van de Werfhorst, H. G., & Ganzeboom, 2013).

The taste for "fine arts" became a general mark of high status groups in the late 19th century as part of an attempt to distinguish "highbrowed" Anglo-Saxons from the new "lowbrowed" immigrants, whose popular entertainments were said to corrupt morals

and were to be rejected (Peterson & Kern, 1996). However, during the 20th century, as Boëthius (1995) and Peterson and Simkus (1992) have noted, these boundaries between "high" and "low" began to dissolve, and today, it is more natural than ever to mix "the serious" and "the popular" or allow them to enrich each other. The omnivorousness of taste is a character especially typical of high-status people, as they are more likely to be involved in a wide range of low-status activities in addition to highbrow ones. Thus, the phenomena of distinction—the tendency of various groups to distinguish themselves through their taste—remains, but through cultural multiplicity and various subcultures, the traditional hierarchies have been breaking down, and there is no clear consensus on where the cut-off is (e.g. Boëthius, 1995). This development can also be seen in more recent research, which has shown that cultural activities cannot be clearly demarcated between high- and lowbrow repertoires (cf. Notten, Lancee, van de Werfhorst, H. G., & Ganzeboom, 2013; Peterson, 2005; Purhonen et al., 2014; Willekens & Lievens, 2014).

2.1.2 What is participation?

Regardless of "high" or "low" cultural activity, participation can follow diverse patterns. The most general distinction is between active and passive participation, which has been further developed in a number of studies. For example, Tepper and Gao (2008a) have identified six modes of participation which based on existing studies across the domains of religion, politics, and culture. These are institutional participation (e.g., attending events, presenting purely passive participation), individual practice and expression (e.g., playing an instrument, presenting an active form of participation), membership and giving (e.g., being a member of a church or a donor to a local museum), intellectual forms of engagement, also known as participation literacy (e.g., taking art classes or reading books on art), trust and confidence (e.g., trust in religion as a precursor for attending church) and meaning and preferences attached to participating in certain activities, also classified as dispositions. All these facets of cultural participation also appear in childhood, either in the form of the child's own engagement or through the involvement (or non-involvement) of his or her family. Delimiting the focus of the study on children's participation, the first two modes of participation—attending and creating culture—are discussed further in defining the object of the present research.

Cultural participation (both passive attending and active creating) exists in multiple forms, as noted above (e.g., high-, mid-, and lowbrow). However, some forms are more studied and legitimized than others. As a result, studies of cultural participation have very much been skewed to higher-status forms promoted by academics' and politicians' agendas (Virtanen, 2007, 130). In a way, the present study makes no exception, as it examines predominantly highbrow cultural activities. However, in doing so, this study

takes no stand on the debate about which activity is more legitimate or valuable than the others and by no means wishes to devalue other activities in pursuit of a normative definition of culture (cf. Kröner, Vock, Robitzsch, & Köller, 2012). However, empirical surveys speak particularly in favor of a "high arts"-focused definition of culture. This concept was found congruent with the current definition of culture among the European population, including Finland and Germany (cf. Eurobarometer, 2007; IfD Allensbach, 1991). In answer to an open question about what one understands as culture, the majority of the respondents cited the above events and symbols of high arts, like visits to exhibitions, theaters, concerts, and operas. Similar responses have been collected among the younger generation too, as for adolescents, cultural activities covered mostly offerings within the scope of traditional highbrow cultural activities (Eurobarometer, 2007; Keuchel, 2005).

The present study acknowledges that the broader the definition of arts, the higher the expected level of participation. Consequently, participation in highbrow cultural activities is not expected to be as common as more general leisure-time activities, such as watching television or doing sports. However, if there is a reason to assume the existence of social inequalities in participation, these are expected to become especially visible in high-status participation. Because the social gradient of cultural participation is a focus of the present study, highbrow activities were selected as criteria reflecting children's reasons to take part (or not) (e.g. Bos, Gröhlich, & Pietsch, 2007; Bourdieu, 1984; Tepper & Gao, 2008). The comparative approach of the present study also speaks in favor of limiting the criteria for access to high arts; on one hand, the selected countries are comparable regarding cultural facilities and participation opportunities, but they differ in social preconditions, such as the existence of educational and social disparities and the history and level of immigration.[4] Since the comprehensive identification of the determinants—both universal and country-specific—is important to explain the behavior in the present study, highbrow activities were selected to reflect the presumed social conditions.

Another focus of the present study is the form or mode of participation, as the study focusses purely on receptive participation, such as attendance at cultural places or events. This separation of arts as "doing" and "attending," is not meant to define which activities are considered active creation and which are passive reception. Every piece of art—play, sculpture, and so on—originated in a creative process of reception and interpretation (cf. Myllyniemi, 2009, 59). Based on the existing research literature (see

[4] Germany has a substantially longer tradition of immigration and a higher number of people with an immigrant background compared to Finland. For example, the percentage of people with an immigrant background was 8% for Turku (FIN) in 2012. The equivalent number for Cologne (GER) was 34%.

e.g. Eurobarometer, 2011; Keuchel & Larue, 2012; Myllyniemi, 2009), the use of receptive participation is also legitimized; compared to participating in an amateur artistic activity—for example, as a member in an orchestra or theater, or by playing a musical instrument or singing—receptive participation is far more common among youth. This enables a more reliable sample of children to analyze (cf. Kröner & Dickhäuser, 2009). Additionally, outward-oriented cultural behaviors have been acknowledged to be particularly useful for measuring the social impact of a person's cultural disposition, since they are observable activities that demonstrate social boundaries in the public domain (cf. Notten, Lancee, van de Werfhorst, H. G., & Ganzeboom, 2013). Although the present study does not discuss this issue, it is recognized that the rapidly changing media landscape further enriches and creates new viewpoints on traditional understandings of cultural participation.

Figure 2 is a graphical representation of the cultural behavior in focus. The depicted definition process proceeds from the left side downwards (i.e. the tinted coloring); cultural participation will be observed primarily through receptive practices of artistic activities. The wider framing of culture, however, highlights the connection between the narrow and broad definitions. They are not separable—culture as art exists within a broader cultural context and represents each society's own aesthetic systems and practices, as well as each individual's own cultural orientation and lifestyle.

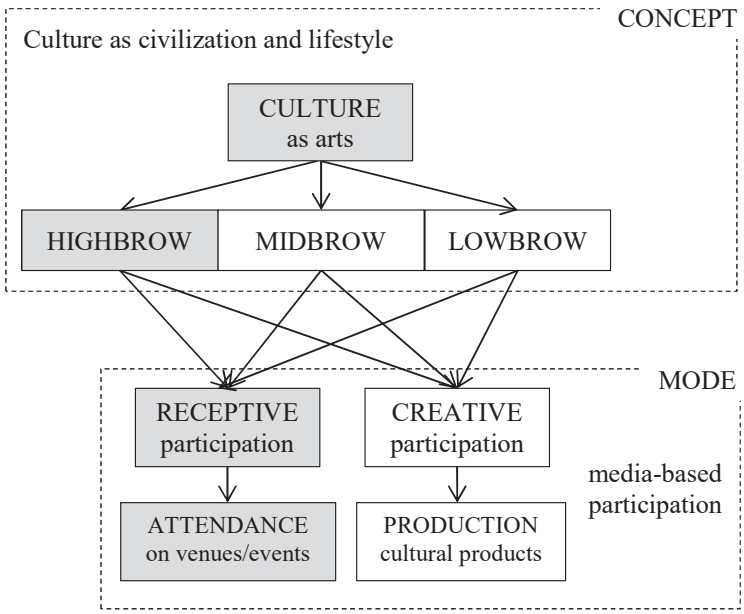

Figure 2 Definition of the concept of culture and modes of participation referred to in the present study (tinted coloring, left and downwards)

As seen in Figure 2, the criteria in which this study frames the determinants of cultural participation refer predominantly to attendance at highbrow cultural performances, events, or venues, such as visits to museums, theaters, operas, or ballets. Thus, when speaking of cultural participation in general, the definition described above is intended.

2.2 Significance of cultural participation

The term "value" signifies an individual's affinity to evaluate one thing before or above another thing based on the opinion of one being better (Brown, 1984). Values can be seen as essential goals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Schwartz, 1994). Therefore, recognition of the values attributed to cultural activities is essential, especially when aiming to support cultural behavior, since values (morals, principles, or ideas) strongly shape the decisions for or against certain behaviors (e.g. Schwartz, 1994; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). However, researching the meaning or value of cultural participation for individuals is challenging, since much of the action happens at the subconscious level and is naturally difficult for most people to conceptualize (Brown, 2004).

Based on 20 separate value studies, Brown (ibid.) found eight different (but inseparable) value clusters associated with arts participation: cognitive, aesthetic, physical, emotional, socio-cultural, political, and spiritual values, and in addition, an overarching set of values associated with identity formation (see Figure 3). These clusters include various benefits that the study participants are assumed to achieve through arts participation. For example, participation can activate the imagination, help people acquire new or improved cognitive skills, alter the quality of life, help relax and de-stress, elicit emotional responses and help get in touch with feelings, connect people with their cultural heritages, act as a conduit to express e.g. political views, give the experience of "being transformed," "renewed," or "energized," enhance the sense of self, and improve self-confidence.

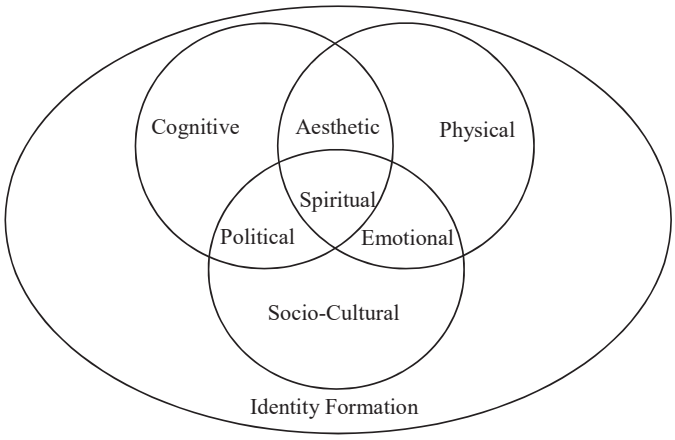

Figure 3 Values derived from arts participation (Brown, 2004, 15)

Within the public discourse of arts, the values associated with arts participation are commonly divided according to two perspectives. In doing so, the core question (which is mostly ethical or philosophical) is whether arts and cultural participation should be valued "for its own sake" as an intrinsic property or whether these cultural areas should be examined for their indirect usefulness. This juxtaposition has been a target of extensive debate in recent years, especially within the field of cultural policy, where cultural value strongly links to economics and economic values (e.g. Koivunen & Marsio, 2006; O'Brien, 2010). Although the two perspectives (intrinsic and instrumental) do not have to be mutually exclusive, in practical decision-making, a conflict of interests usually exists (cf. O'Brien, 2010). However, because the present study focuses on explaining cultural participation at an individual level, aspects of both extremes are considered.

2.2.1 Intrinsic value of cultural participation

The intrinsic value of something is described as the value that a certain thing has "in and of itself," "for its own sake," "as such," or "in its own right" (e.g. Zimmerman, 2002). In that sense, participation in cultural activities is of clear value *per se.* Although this type of value is difficult to define (cf. O'Brien, 2010), it can be associated with ideas of aesthetic excellence and individual enjoyment (e.g. Holden, 2006). Thus, intrinsic value relates highly to the subjective experience of culture intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually. Figure 3 represents different values individuals have associated with arts participation in several studies. The innermost part of the figure includes a value (spiritual) that cannot generally be articulated but is described as an experience of "being transformed" or "renewed" (Brown, 2004). This experience approaches another value described by Brown (ibid.), emotional, which provides participants with a means of feeling. Since any arts experience that elicits an emotional response relates to the very subjective experience of culture, it can be regarded as intrinsically valuable.

Lewis Hyde (Hyde, 2007, xvii) puts into words the intrinsic value of culture: Art that matters to us "moves the heart, or revives the soul, or delights the senses, or offers courage for living." These kinds of values are expressed by participants through statements like "I love this, it makes me happy" or "This tells me who I am" (cf. Holden, 2006, 14). The most subjective and intrinsic of all values surrounding arts participation is the aesthetic value of it (Brown, 2004, 15). Philosophers have traditionally associated arts with the concept of beauty or aesthetics; art is something that expresses beauty. For example, Immanuel Kant posited that people have competence to judge things without terms and to cause pleasure without desire. He called this competence "judgment," which builds a foundation for experiencing beauty. Beauty is something that irresistibly but indescribably pleases and is without any expected benefits (cited in Leinonen, 2011). Thus, the art that matters to us

"is received by us as a gift is received. Even if we have paid a fee at the door of the museum or concert hall, when we are touched by a work of art something comes to us which has nothing to do with the price" (Hyde, 2007, xvii). This priceless, i.e., intrinsic appreciation of arts or a certain type of art does not, however, arise in a vacuum; rather, it requires an encounter between individual and cultural experiences (Holden, 2006). However, not even repeated exposure turns everyone into an art lover. Valuing art intrinsically requires a certain capacity and the potential of culture to affect a person (ibid.). This capacity is or can be formed through pre-existing beliefs, attitudes, and the level of experience and knowledge an individual has. Thus, in order to turn the capacity into a behavior, artistic experiences are crucial.

2.2.2 Instrumental value of cultural participation

When cultural participation is related to goal orientation, the instrumental value of arts is demonstrated. The instrumental (or extrinsic) value of objects—both physical and abstract—stands for value not recognized as an end in itself but rather as a means of accomplishing something else. Thus, the instrumental value of culture relates to the secondary effects of it, where cultural participation serves e.g., some social, health, academic, or economic purpose. The role of instrumental value in the debate about the value of culture has grown (or become more visible) over the past few years, as research on participation has increasingly focused on exploring the impact of it (cf. Bollo, Dal Pozzolo, Di Federico, & Gordon, 2012).

The call to map the effects of culture has risen mainly from the desire to prove culture's societal significance in order to justify public funding. This produces research, where instrumental value tends to be captured in "output," "outcome," and "impact" studies verifying the economic and social significance of investing in the arts (Holden, 2006). Especially highlighted since the end of 1990s have been the social impacts of arts participation (e.g. Deutscher Bundestag, 2007; Finnish Ministry of Education, 2002; Hyyppä, 2013). As culture is expected to originate and appear in social interactions, its social meaning is primarily in building identities; by providing experiences and promoting creativity, culture is expected to strengthen regional cohesion (Kainulainen, 2005). Furthermore, culture possesses the power to connect people with different social backgrounds and increase participants' social capital (e.g. Hyyppä, 2013). This is the objective of most cultural art programs; they try to involve people who are disadvantaged in some way (e.g. Catterall, 1999; Rattle & Maldoom, 2003; Wright et al., 2006). Besides connecting people and promoting social competencies, such programs seek to support one's emotional, cognitive, moral, and behavioral skills (Wright et al., 2006). An example of such is the well-known "Rhythm Is It" project, where youth with different ethnical and

social backgrounds joined in an artistic dance project with the philharmonic orchestra of Berlin (Rattle & Maldoom, 2003).

Benefits derived from cultural participation have been widely documented in the field of educational sociology, but the gains accomplished via participation have been recognized in other disciplines as well; measurements of cultural participation have been found to be positively correlated with academic performance and school attainment (e.g. Bos, Gröhlich, & Pietsch, 2007; Bourdieu, 1977; DiMaggio, 1982; Dumais, 2002; Jæger, 2011; Rössel & Beckert-Zieglschmid, 2002). Sturm and Bogner (2010) showed that when prepared properly, field trips e.g., to museums are of additional value for learning and can effectively contribute to a substantial cognitive outcome in schools. However, e.g., Jæger (2011) have called for caution in interpreting causal connections between academic achievement and cultural participation. Also, Dumais (2002) pointed out that cultural participation as a component of cultural capital in affecting school performance has to be observed in a more complex framework including other inference factors. She (ibid.) highlights Bourdieu's concept of habitus as one such factor.

Beside the claimed academic benefits, cultural participation can improve the health and well-being of individuals, as well as positively affect one's psychosocial development (e.g. Hyyppä, 2013; Konlaan, Bygren, & Johansson, 2000; Liikanen, 2010; Wright et al., 2006). How cultural participation affects subjective well-being is similar to its effects on academic achievement—the answer is complex. Since artistic experiences are mostly based on feelings, we find popular hypotheses that claim such things as art raising the spirit, strengthening the soul, and giving a sense of coherence. However, be it a sense of community (e.g. Hyyppä, 2013) or the experience of joy, strong emotions, and sharing acquired through participation (e.g. Konlaan, Bygren, & Johansson, 2000), participation in receptive and creative cultural activities has been found to be closely associated with good health, high life satisfaction, and low anxiety and depression scores (e.g. Cuypers et al., 2011). Attending receptive rather than creative cultural activities was more strongly associated with all health-related outcomes (ibid.).

2.2.3 Normative basing of cultural participation

Despite (or perhaps because of) the above-mentioned values of cultural participation, be they intrinsic or instrumental, cultural participation is a human right. Article 31 of the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nation, 1989) states that "States Parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts. States Parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision

of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity" (emphasis added). In public discussions about the importance of cultural participation, instrumental advantages are emphasized. In fact, it is due to the advantages derived from cultural participation that it has become a recognized right in the first place. However, regardless of its origin, the right of a child alone creates enough motivation to study its determinants. As highlighted in a previous citation, not only participation in cultural activities but also equal access to them is given emphasis in the declaration. This declaration implies an obligation on the part of national, regional, and local levels to ensure that these rights are upheld (Bollo et al., 2012).

The enjoyment and fulfilment of the right to participate in cultural activities requires both an enabling environment and a legal framework offering a solid basis for the protection of rights related to cultural actions (e.g. Laaksonen, 2010). The "proposition for the national program for children's cultural policy" from the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö) aims to promote children's equal participation in the arts and culture by several actions, e.g., through the addition of opportunities to participate and by strengthening cultural competencies through cultural education (OKM, 2014). Similarly, the Committee on Children's Affairs of the German Parliament (Kinderkommission des deutschen Bundestages) underline the importance of cultural education in their statement "Children and Culture." More precisely, they cite early cultural education and experiences as building blocks for cultural empathy, which potentially results in a lifetime commitment (Kinderkommission, 2008).

These policy definitions on the national level define regional policies and obligate communities and schools to promote these objectives. In Finland, obligations are recorded and put into practice through national curricula, enforcing the mandate for primary schools to "support pupils' visual reasoning and the development of esthetical and ethical awareness, as well as to give abilities to an individual visual expression…to arouse an individual relationship to arts" (The Finnish National Board of Education, 2004, 236). In Germany, these obligations are relayed through the curriculum of individual states. Taking the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen as an example, the core objectives of cultural education match up with the Finnish ones—"the assignment of cultural education in primary school is to arouse and to promote both enjoyment and interest on esthetical forms of expression" (Ministry for the School and Further Education of the State Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2008).

The policy programs of both countries strongly highlight equality in cultural participation (cf. Kinderkommission, 2008; 2012; OKM, 2014). This aspect has become even more central as economic inequality in European societies—including both nations in the present study—continues to rise significantly, as it has in past decades (OECD, 2011).

Although child poverty in Finland is still relatively low compared to the international standard, it has seen an alarming increase; child poverty has tripled over the past 15 years (OKM, 2014; Sauli, Salmi, & Lammi-Taskula, 2011; UNICEF, 2010). In Germany, the number of children living in poverty has risen even faster than in most other industrialized nations, comprising approximately ten percent of German children (UNICEF, 2010). The corresponding total for Finland in the UNICEF report was approximately five percent. Enforcement of equality in cultural participation is currently underway in a variety of sectors. Examples of changes in the policy programs of both countries include strengthening the status of children's culture in society, early cultural education to increase cultural competence in all children, removal of economic obstacles for participation and greater accessibility to cultural facilities (Kinderkommission, 2008; OKM, 2014).

The cultural aspect of constitutional laws and other enactments is important to both individuals and society; it obligates public agencies to create a foundation and possibilities for people to fulfill their cultural rights (Finnish Ministry of Education, 2003). The fulfillment of these rights, however, requires not only recognition of the link between culture and human rights but especially an understanding of the factors influencing their fulfillment (Laaksonen, 2010). These factors can vary depending on the value placed on cultural activities as a human right. Thus, to make conclusions about human rights in childhood, the complex network of behavioral correlates and their functions has to be accurately explored.

2.3 Determinants of cultural participation

The prerequisites for cultural participation have seen continual improvement. In Western societies, people have more purchasing power, more extensive education, and more leisure time than they had a few decades ago (cf. Keuchel, 2005). In the same period of time, the supply of cultural activities has grown significantly. Despite this improvement in the framework conditions, a general decline in participation in most (especially highbrow) cultural activities has been identified (DiMaggio & Mukhtar, 2004; Eurobarometer, 2013; Roose & Daenekindt, 2015; Sievers, 2008; Tepper & Gao, 2008; van Eijck & Knulst, 2005). Especially alarming are the American results (Rabkin & Hedberg, 2011), which show a decline in cultural participation particularly among disadvantaged children (cited in Kisida, Greene, & Bowen, 2014). As Sievers (2008) points out and other research corroborates (cf. Keuchel, 2011), half of the German population remains non-participatory in publicly funded cultural institutions, such as theaters, museums, or libraries, and only five to ten percent of people can be considered "heavy users." The same figures apply to other European countries, including Finland (cf. TNS Gallup Oy, 2013). These heavy users

have traditionally been high-school graduates. Thus, the educational expansion over the last few decades should have increased cultural participation. However, this has not been the case, as Sievers and colleagues (2010) have pointed out. This trend can be explained by understanding that it is not education, but rather parental socialization and cultural exposure in childhood that play a bigger role in raising cultural interest and participation.

Interestingly, this decline of participation does not coincide with a decline in interest or appreciation of culture; despite the decline in cultural participation in general, no evident decline in the interest and value people place on it has been noted. For example, Eurobarometer (2007) study discussing European cultural values showed that the interest and support for cultural activities (museums, theaters and concert halls) have stayed the same. Over three-quarters of all those surveyed by Eurobarometer indicated that culture is important to them. The percent of people evaluating culture as personally important was 65 for both Finland and Germany (Eurobarometer, 2007, 10). The same trend has been identified among younger cultural participants—a group under particular concern (e.g. Keuchel & Larue, 2012; Myllyniemi, 2009). Despite minimal participation in cultural activities, these activities are still valued among young people. The discrepancy between interest and (non)participation raises a question: Why doesn't the feeling of importance translate into action? Are youth uninterested in cultural activities? Are these activities inaccessible to them in some way, and if they are, in what way? Which factors and mechanisms affect and determine individuals' cultural behavior or non-behavior?

Based on the existing literature, different mechanisms have been identified behind cultural preferences and behaviors. Perceived or potential inequality at one extreme and structurally determined choices or individual "freedom of choice" at the other characterize the views present in these discussions (cf. Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005; 2007; Virtanen, 2007; Warde, Tomlinson, & McMeekin, 2000). Traditionally, participation in culture—especially in "legitimate" culture—is examined as a source of social distinction and is proven to remain a stratified phenomenon in modern societies (e.g. Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Hanquinet & Savage, 2012; Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002). Besides the traditional debate, the so-called individualization argument has increasingly been discussed following cultural changes in western societies over the course of the twentieth century (Bauman, 2005; Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1995). Based on this post-modernist view, cultural participation will not be predictable on the basis of the collective identities of the participants. Furthermore, individuals have vast range of alternatives in which to individually make choices, including those about the leisure preferences (Giddens, 1991, 80). Despite the growing interest, empirical research focusing on individualization has been rather limited (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2010, 7). The following two chapters discuss a number of arguments and results from previous research and theories concerning the determinants of cultural participation.

2.3.1 Person-external determinants of participation

Based on Bourdieu's (1984) theory of cultural capital, cultural participation has classically been examined as a source of social distinction, which has resulted in a large number of empirical studies that relate positions within the social hierarchy to cultural preferences and participation patterns (Daenekindt & Roose, 2013). As an object of research, the Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital is mostly operationalized as a preference for, knowledge of, or participation in high-status culture, e.g. visits to museums (e.g. Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; DiMaggio, 1982). Cultural capital is assumed to be affected, predicted, or explained by individuals' social background, i.e. status, class, income, education, social network features, and background characteristics of the spouse (e.g. Alasuutari, 2009; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005; 2007; DiMaggio & Useem, 1978; DiMaggio & Mukhtar, 2004; DiMaggio, 1987; Dumais, 2002; Erickson, 1996; Gerhards, Hans, & Mutz., 2013; Kahma, 2011; Katz-Gerro, 2002; 2006; Mohr & DiMaggio, 1995; Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002; Nagel, 2010; O'Hagan, 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson, 2005b; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Purhonen, Gronow, & Rahkonen, 2011; Rössel & Beckert-Zieglschmid, 2002; Upright, 2004; van Berkel & De Graaf, 1995; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001; van Eijck, 1997; van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004; Warde & Tampubolon, 2002).

Nearly all empirical studies aiming to explain cultural participation have included some analysis of socio-demographic correlates, such as age, gender, income, education, or occupation (cf. McCarthy, Ondaatje, & Zakaras, 2001). Of these correlates, education has been by far the most closely tied with cultural participation, regardless of the activity or discipline of research (ibid.). The results from a large amount of research have constantly proven that cultural practices still remain unevenly accessible; the participants are more likely to be highly educated and rich. Thus, the inequalities in cultural participation are unquestionably linked to socio-demographic variables.

Family socialization and cultural inheritance

Culture is consumed, produced, and reproduced in the family context (ter Bogt, Delsing, van Zalk, Christenson, & Meeus, 2011). The family builds an essential and primary social context for the children to acquire cultural values and practices. Socialization in the family can occur in two ways (see Grusec & Davidov, 2007). First, parents may actively and consciously impart their tastes to their children in the same way that they teach them other behaviors, habits, and attitudes. Second, socialization can also occur as an unconscious process that blends into everyday routines as parents control the resources available to their children. Ter Bogt and his colleagues (2011, 300) describe these conscious and unconscious processes of socialization through an example from

the field of music: If parents consider classical music important, they may actively (and consciously) take their children to concerts or teach them how to play an instrument. Furthermore, children are inevitably (and unconsciously) exposed to the music preferred by their parents, as they may play their favorite music at home. Parents usually show their children activities and places that they themselves enjoy and value, reproducing the taste for those activities (e.g. van Eijck, 1997).

According to Bourdieusian theory (1984), cultural taste and preferences are part of a socially constituted system of dispositions, competencies, and patterns of thought and behavior—the habitus—that members of a class come to acquire. Habitus provides an orientation to the world, steers one's behavior, and ultimately shapes one's expectations and intentions. Bourdieu (1984) argued that the process of socialization, i.e. acquiring the habitus, takes place primarily in the early years. He highlighted the importance of this primary development of habitus, as it is the very foundation that upholds the reproduction of the social structure. Habitus, with its "inherited class-based ideas and thoughts," is supposed to guide the choices and actions that individuals make throughout their lives. Although portrayed as an "unchosen principle of all choices" (Bourdieu, 1990b, 61), habitus does not memorize the past. Because it exists below the level of consciousness, it enacts the past. Bourdieu (ibid.) highlights the difference of having and being when illustrating the concept: "What is learned by body is not something one has, like knowledge that can be brandished, but something one is" (cited in Atkinson, 2010, 4). It is because of its latent determinism that habitus has been challenged as a methodological tool compared to the concept of cultural capital (Reay, 2004, 432). However, according Bourdieu, it is precisely the habitus that is a central conceptual tool when attempting to transcend or reconcile the dualisms of agency-structure, objective-subjective, and the micro-macro in human behavior (ibid.).

The habitus is formatted in a world depicted by Bourdieu (1990) as a multidimensional space differentiated into autonomous fields. Individuals, "being placed in similar conditions and submitted to similar types of conditioning, have every chance of having similar dispositions and interests, and thus of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances" (Bourdieu, 1990a, 231). Within these fields, people possess and use different types of capital, which organizes individuals into different social classes. Capital can present itself in three fundamental forms: economic, cultural, and social (Bourdieu, 1986). Under the broad concept of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986) assembled either passively or actively inherited cultural attitudes, knowledge, preferences, tastes, and behaviors. According him (ibid.), cultural capital presents itself in three separate states: as embodied (referring to the knowledge and skills necessary to appreciate and understand cultural objects and practices), institutionalized (referring to educational qualifications socially recognized by the upper class), and objectified (referring to material cultural

goods such as books or musical instruments in the home that require special cultural abilities to appreciate). All forms of cultural capital create a unity of family resources distinct from but equal to other resources, determining the social class of the family (Mohr & DiMaggio, 1995; Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002; Nagel, 2010; van Wel, 1994; Willekens & Lievens, 2014).

The transmission of capitals and habitus from parents to their children leads to social class differences, which causes inequality in fields in which they function. This supports studies such as those from the United States indicating that children's socioeconomic status strongly connects to their museum attendance (Dumais, 2006). The reported inequality in cultural participation represents the point at which it butts up against the United Nation's declaration on the rights of a child (1989). If it is the socioeconomic background of a child over his or her own will that defines the chances of participation in cultural activities, the right of a child to take part in cultural life is not realized. Thus, the chance to participate depends on an enabling environment or an encouraging family making participation possible. Additionally, there exist inequalities within inequalities, as the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital is gendered. Girls are more encouraged to participate in cultural activities than boys, since artistic and literary activities are considered more appropriate for them (Christin, 2011, 3). Moreover, not only are they more encouraged, but they also do in fact participate in cultural activities more than boys (Christin, 2011; DiMaggio, 1982; Dumais, 2002; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004). Gendered socialization in childhood is argued to be the most relevant explanation for the gender gap in cultural participation in later life (Christin, 2011).

In explaining cultural participation of children, both concepts—the habitus and capital—are essential, since their underlying mechanisms are expected to function in relation to each other. For example, Reay (2004) suggests that habitus works as an important mediator of cultural participation. In other words, both conditions must function in favor of behavior, since the resources (capital) do not necessarily turn into practice without a certain orientation (habitus) one has toward using those resources. Or as Bourdieu argued, habitus constitutes dispositions that are translated into cultural tastes or preferences that condition behavior (see Yaish & Katz-Gerro, 2012, 171). Support for the role of habitus (translated into and operationalized as cultural taste or preference) as being an antecedent of participation have been found in several studies (Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Rössel, 2008; Silva, 2006; for an overview Yaish & Katz-Gerro, 2012).

The role of other socialization agencies

The role of family-external socialization agents such as peers grows the older the children get. For example, instead of adjusting to family preferences, adolescents can instead adapt

to youth cultures and subcultures to distinguish themselves from the older generations. Tastes and interests can therefore function not only as a matter of distinction between social classes, but—especially among older children and adolescents—also as a means of social cohesion (van Wel, 1994). This phase of "tuning own tastes to equal those of best friends" can be traced to middle childhood, when children begin their formal schooling and start participating in organized, skill-based activities outside of the home (ibid.).

Originally, Bourdieu argued that habitus is highly resistant to change, whether through a person's own efforts or those of other alternative agencies, such as schools and other educational institutions. He held that the preconditions necessary to appreciate art, which could only be acquired from the family during the process of cultural socialization, are particularly stable (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1990). Although Bourdieu did not rule out some of the effects of art education, he considered them marginal (Bourdieu, 1977). Instead, he highlighted the fact that individuals enter the educational system with different endowments of cultural capital depending on their social background. These differences are not equalized over time in education but are instead exacerbated, because primary school mostly operates on the assumption of equality in starting conditions and therefore treats pupils with different amounts of cultural capital as though they really had equal starting points (Georg, 2004). Children with more of the "correct" endowments of cultural capital (in other words, pupils from families with the skills and preferences rewarded in the school) are better able to decode the implicit "rules of the game" and therefore adapt and further develop these cultural skills (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997).

Bourdieu's idea of the stability of habitus has been criticized by many sociologists (e.g. Goldthorpe, 2010; Lahire, 2008; Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002). However, as can be observed especially in his later writings, Bourdieu acknowledged the possibility of later transformation of the habitus; he portrayed habitus as an "open system of dispositions" that are "endlessly transformable" (Bourdieu, 1990a, 116). Therefore, habitus acquired through primary socialization is constantly influenced by new experiences, like crossing into new social milieus different from the one the individual was born into (cf. Atkinson, 2010; Daenekindt & Roose, 2013). These experiences, however, are received through lenses that build on the habitus instilled in childhood. This is the dynamic that makes Bourdieu's habitus remarkably durable (Atkinson, 2010, 4).

In connection to the discussion of inheritance of habitus and its stability, DiMaggio (1982) stressed a theory of cultural mobility, which suggests that cultural capital is not only inherited in childhood but can also be acquired throughout one's life. He stressed the fact that the benefits of cultural capital seem to extend across social classes, meaning that the returns from it may be larger for children from disadvantaged families. The renouncement of the singular unity of the habitus, as well as the tendency to emphasize

multiple contexts of socialization (see Daenekindt & Roose, 2013), do not diminish the importance of cultural exposure and lived cultural experiences during childhood. As established in many studies, support for Bourdieu's reproduction model can still be found (Nagel & Verboord, 2012; Nagel, 2010; ter Bogt et al., 2011; Willekens & Lievens, 2014). Moreover, parental education and occupation also predict the intensity of children's cultural activities in addition to social background (e.g. Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; Katz-Gerro & Jaeger, 2013; Keuchel & Larue, 2012; Kröner, Vock, Robitzsch, & Köller, 2012; Yaish & Katz-Gerro, 2012). Contact with the arts as a child has been found to be strongly associated with increased participation later in life, even after education level (the strongest predictor of adult cultural participation) was controlled for (McCarthy, Ondaatje, & Zakaras, 2001). The effects of arts socialization, i.e. exposure to arts, is thought to be of particular importance among individuals with lower levels of education (e.g. Orend & Keegan, 1996).

In terms of the competing theories of cultural reproduction and cultural mobility, the results are mixed (Kisida, Greene, & Bowen, 2014). However, as Kisida and colleagues (2014, 283) have pointed out, the existing research does not clearly identify the causal mechanisms that underlie cultural capital acquisitions—in particular, those of disadvantaged families. Existing research indicates some potential ways that disadvantage families acquire cultural capital; for example, upwardly mobile working-class parents might want to cultivate their children by enrolling them in culturally enriching activities (e.g. Kaufman & Gabler, 2004). Children themselves can also play an active role in determining their cultural interests separate from those of their parents (Chin & Phillips, 2004). According to Chin and Phillips (2004, 185), children's "own capital" can influence their activities, even compensating for parents' lack of resources or inhibiting parents' efforts.

2.3.2 Person-internal determinants of participation

The weakening of modern social structures, in particular that of class, is the best-known claim of postmodernism in a sociological context (cf. Räsänen, 2003, 36). In relation to change of societies—the shift from traditional and industrial to a late-modern and post-industrial society—our culture and contemporary ways of living have changed. We have entered an epoch of "de-traditionalization" where people no longer have predetermined life trajectories or a "grand narrative" guiding them in their choices. People are compelled to reflexively make their own decisions and create their own biographies—the "do-it-yourself-biographies" (Bauman, 2005; Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1995). According to the aforementioned sociologists, this process of de-traditionalization embodies the common core of three interrelated cultural changes that accompany the development of modern

society: individualization (pointing out the increased acceptance of peoples' liberty to choose), secularization (underlining the reduced belief in the existence of divine authorities people should follow), and cultural pluralization (highlighting the range of individual choices enlarged through increased cultural diversity). Among social sciences, the most commonly accepted and applied thesis of individualization—the Beck-Giddens definition—points to the weakening or even disappearance of relationships between collective identifiers and individuals' choices and ways of thinking, feeling, and acting (Elchardus, 2009, 147).

These societal developments have also changed the cultural participation landscape. According to Roose and Daenekindt (2015), the monopoly that arts participation has held as a means of ensuring and proclaiming a dominant social position has been challenged. This goes along with an increased and diversified cultural supply (i.e. the rise of the entertainment industry and the advent of television and the Internet) and changes in participation caused by large sociodemographic shifts (such as educational expansion and democratization, an increase in the number of working women, and the aging of the population). Researchers claim that these changes loosen the monopoly and legitimacy of the highbrow arts as an essential part of an individual's upbringing (Roose & Daenekindt, 2015). Due to increased and diversified cultural supply and changes in participation individuals' actions were expected to be less and less, or in a strictest sense not at all (cf. Beck, 1992), determined by cultural hierarchies.

If social class no longer (or decreasingly) defines one's social actions, other drives and motives are expected to replace them. Ostrower (2008) demonstrated several reasons and variations in people's motivations for attendance at different types of cultural events. According to her (ibid.), most people visiting museums are strongly motivated by a desire to gain knowledge or learn something new. Similar results were generated by Yamada and Fu (2012), who applied the same theory as is employed in the present study (the Theory of Planned Behavior, discussed in detail in the following section) to identify adults' motivation to visit museums. The majority of motivations cited by museum visitors included some aspect of learning. Reasons for or against cultural participation can vary depending on the activity as well; those attending plays or performances said that socializing with friends and family was a primary motivation for participation, discovered Ostrower (ibid.). Regardless of the type of cultural event, some universal motivations were found; other reasons for cultural participation included an emotional reward from the event, the experience itself, low costs, willingness to support community organizations, and the desire to celebrate heritage (Ostrower, 2008, 91-92).

The social aspect of cultural participation has been stressed among younger participants, as both German and Finnish youth said that going with friends was a strong reason for

taking part in cultural activities (Keuchel, 2005; Myllyniemi, 2009). Other factors named for participation were positive attitudes towards cultural activities and fun in participating. By contrast, non-interest and perceived barriers were named as reasons against such activities. By and large, studies of the reasons for and against cultural participation often note a variety of practical and contextual factors, such as cost, availability, information, and scheduling, which drive individual decisions (McCarthy, Ondaatje, & Zakaras, 2001; Yamada & Fu, 2012).

Whether it is an individual's attitude, interest, knowledge, or desire for social commitment that drives him or her toward cultural participation, can these motives ever be understood in complete isolation from social structures? The existence of boundaries and restrictions in people's cultural activities has been increasingly challenged, because high-status activities have become available to people from various backgrounds, and popular activities are increasingly enjoyed by members of the upper classes (see Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996). Has the presented expansion of activities combined with the assumed loosen of social boundaries reduced the relevance of socio-demographic characteristics on cultural activities? In research examining the changing effects of social background on cultural consumption and other leisure activities, van Eijck and Bargeman (2004) concluded that leisure and cultural participation are still expressions of social background in the same way that Bourdieu (1984) proposed. Thus, even though cultural participation patterns have changed and follow no clear ordering in relation to social hierarchies, participation still seems to remain differentiated by gender, age, and other socio-demographic factors, stratified by education, income, and social status (e.g. Chan, 2010; van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004). People's actions and attitudes can still be predicted by this same set of standard sociological variables (de Beer 2004, cited in Elchardus, 2009).

People today have more freedom to choose from a wide range of leisure alternatives; their choice is less defined by traditional gender roles or the shortage of money, for example (see e.g. Chan & Goldthorpe, 2010; van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004). These choices, however, still aren't completely free from the effects of one's social background. For example, although education and age do not in and of themselves force people to choose one activity over another, they do determine one's information processing skills and reference groups, which contribute to certain interests and choices (cf. van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004). The children in the present study are in middle childhood, which can be characterized as a phase of expanded social worldview, where parents' complete authority diminishes, other social actors increasingly take their place, and the children themselves are supposed to take more individual responsibility for their choices (see Erikson, 1968). However, from the perspective of receptive high-status cultural activities (which require both cultural and economic resources in addition to individual desire), children

are expected to depend heavily on their parents or other adults when making choices about participating in cultural activities (e.g. Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2012; Kröner, Schwanzer, & Dickhäuser, 2009). Hence, many characteristics that define cultural participation can be both individually driven (e.g. interest) as well as formed by structural elements (family's cultural resources).

Age can be a factor affecting children's access certain activities or resources. Putting the idea of the interactivity of individual and structural determinants into Bourdieu's (2000) words, human beings are only disposed because they are exposed (cited in Daenekindt & Roose, 2013). Therefore, children's choices can never be fully independent from their life histories. Although choosing theater over television might seem to be a personal choice, it is conditioned by differences in restrictions and opportunities that children from different families and class positions face. Thus, class and status are experienced subjectively, as social class intersects with other forms of social identity and is influenced by structural and material elements, affecting choices and behavior (Martin, 2010; Reay, Davies, David, & Ball, 2001). Taken together, children are not fully free to choose but are instead limited by the constraints of age and historical background, which they cannot choose (cf. Giddens, 1995).

The arguments presented above emphasize one's strong dependency on the family of origin and how it affecting cultural participation while also highlighting the role of independent, individualistic motives in selecting free-time preferences. Houtman, Aupers, and de Koster (2011, 22) describe the above example as a paradox of individualization; "this process of individualization entails a new, yet often unacknowledged, form of social control. Even though individuals now relentlessly aim to act out their originality, uniqueness, and personal authenticity…, they paradoxically do so in social environments that expect and demand them to do precisely that." The most fundamental problem faced in previous studies regarding cultural participation and cultural preferences is the obvious failure to capture the complexity of the processes individuals go through when deciding whether or not to participate in cultural activities (McCarthy, Ondaatje, & Zakaras, 2001; Ostrower, 2008).

This study seeks to build a complementary picture of the motives for and against cultural participation in childhood. The research builds on the theory of planned behavior and adapts the questionnaire construction procedure suggested within the theory (Ajzen, 1991; 2005; 2006). First was to examine, how children are influenced by the expectations they have about the consequences of a behavior (cultural participation) and the values they attach to that outcome (attitude) and how they perceive normative social expectations (subjective norm) and control over their behavior (perceived behavioral control). The reasons for and against cultural participation were elicited by interviewing children.

In doing so, a "voice" is given to children. This means that the study also hinges the interdisciplinary and comprehensive paradigm of childhood studies, which emphasizes children's right to be heard in research concerning their own lives (e.g. Christensen & Allison, 2008). The theory and its appropriateness when studying children's cultural participation are discussed in the following chapters.

3. CULTURAL PARTICIPATION AS PLANNED BEHAVIOR

The decisions children make about participation or non-participation in cultural activities is affected by various influences. Focusing merely on demographics, i.e. external or background factors concerning cultural behavior, is not only incomplete in and of itself but also leaves out the processes by which these external factors transform into cultural participation (cf. Kröner, 2013). This has often been reflected in the inability of background factors to predict any particular behaviors, including cultural ones (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010; Kröner, 2013). Although the findings of this research regarding participation in leisure-time activities clearly show the existence of other determinants of participation that exist above and beyond named core demographics, background factors should not be seen as totally irrelevant.

According to Fishbein & Ajzen (2010, 409) the missing predictive utility of these factors is due to the fact that their effects tend to be mediated by the more proximal predictors of behavior. According to them (ibid., 224), these predictors include a person's beliefs regarding a particular behavior, which, once formed, provide the basis for attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control. This in turn leads to intentions and finally actions. This process is called the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1985; 1991; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010), which enables the combination of multiple interdisciplinary aspects of cultural participation. It serves both as a theoretical framework and an empirical model to study children's cultural participation and its determinants. Cultural participation stands at the center of the model as "a field of transaction between a person and environment" (Kröner, 2013). Through research on this transaction, influenced by person- and environment-related variables, key factors of participation can be identified and controlled or modified (ibid.).

Several arguments promote the use of this theoretical framework. The theory has widely forwarded the possibility of accommodating a multitude of theoretical constructs by incorporating individual and social factors into the same model, providing empirical support in terms of its capacity to predict a wide range of behaviors and behavioral intentions in numerous domains (Armitage & Conner, 2001; M. S. Hagger, Chatzisarantis, & Biddle, 2002b; Murnaghan et al., 2010; Sheppard, Hartwick, & Warshaw, 1988), including cultural participation (e.g. Ajzen & Fishbein, 1969; Broeder & Stokmans, 2013; Kröner, 2013; Schüller, 2014; Yamada & Fu, 2012). However, apart from a few studies, little attention has been paid to understanding the beliefs underlying the theory of planned behavior's constructs in a cultural participation setting, and even less among children. This may be due to several factors. On one hand, research regarding cultural behavior has previously

been previously placed firmly within the sociological tradition, while (in reference to Bourdieu's theory on social reproduction) children's cultural participation could have been interpreted solely as a reproduction of the class-based participation patterns of the preceding generations (Bourdieu, 1984). This might have resulted in a dearth of research on cultural participation in childhood, as the research would have been regarded as unnecessary (cf. Wilska, 1999). Another reason for the lack of research may be the absence of applicable research instruments. In existing questionnaires, cultural activities are mostly used as indicators of social background instead of being seen as self-essential objects of research (e.g. Baumert & Maaz, 2006; Bos, Gröhlich, & Pietsch, 2007). Therefore, no existing diagnostic scales studied the reasons for and against such activities (e.g. Kröner et al., 2008).

Given the extensive successful application of the theory in various fields, it can be assumed that the selected theoretical framework can advance our understanding about the cultural participation of primary school children. For this purpose, it provides clearly specified procedures to identify children's beliefs regarding cultural activities and can collect the most salient examples into a limited set of constructs through which a behavior is hypothesized to operate. This is a crucial point when studying primary school-aged children, whose cognitive abilities (i.e. functions related to language, literacy, and memory) set limitations on the research instruments regarding both length and formation (cf. Borgers, de Leeuw, & Hox, 2000; de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004).

3.1 The theory of planned behavior

The theory of planned behavior is a widely used social-cognitive theory to predict and explain human behaviors (Ajzen, 1985; 1991). It is an extension of the theory of reasoned Action (TRA hereafter), which was initially developed by Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzen based on their studies on behavior and its social and cognitive determinants (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975b). According to the TRA, the immediate antecedent of behavior is behavioral intention. Sheeran (2002, 1) expresses the relationship between intention and behavior as follows: "People do what they intend to do and do not do what they do not intend." Therefore, intention—as a precursor of the target behavior, such as cultural participation—reflects a person's motivation toward or readiness to perform a behavior and is expected to be the single best predictor of the behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). According to TRA, behavior is a function of intention, which in turn mediates the effects of two social-cognitive factors: attitude and perceived social norm toward the behavior.

The TRA has been successfully applied in various studies, and it provided strong overall evidence for the predictive utility of the model in the case of "straight forwarded" behaviors (cf. Armitage & Conner, 2001; Sheppard et al., 1988). However, Ajzen (1985; 1991) recognized limitations in the original model when dealing with behaviors over which people have incomplete volitional control. Consequently, he introduced the concept of perceived behavioral control as a predictor of both intention and behavior, arguing that perceived behavioral control not only facilitates the changing of intentions into behavior but also has a direct relationship to the behavior (Armitage & Conner, 2001, 472). The extension of the TRA became a theory of planned behavior (TPB hereafter, Figure 4) including three conceptually independent determinants of intention. Attitude (as personal in nature), subjective norm (reflecting social influence), and perceived behavioral control (dealing with issues of control). The arrows represent hypothesized relationships and the directions of the relationships among the constructs in the model. The dashed line between perceived behavioral control and the behavior in Figure 4 represents the direct relationship between the constructs as presented by Ajzen after he modified the TRA.

Attitude toward the behavior "refers to the degree to which a person has a favorable or unfavorable evaluation or appraisal of the behavior, subjective norm to perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior, and perceived behavioral control to perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behavior" (Ajzen, 1991, 188). All three determinants are influenced by beliefs about the consequences of the behavior, normative expectations of other people, and the presence of factors that either facilitate or impede performance of the behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 221).

The original TPB-constructs have maintained their place as core constructs until today. Several studies over the past 45 years have tested the model as it is, in addition to attempting to incorporate more factors, such as personality traits (e.g. Chatzisarantis & Hagger, 2008; McEachan, Sutton, & Myers, 2010), self-efficacy (e.g. Araújo-Soares, McIntyre, & Sniehotta, 2009; Hagger, Chatzisarantis, & Biddle, 2002; Hagger & Chatzisarantis, 2009), and past behavior (e.g. M. S. Hagger, Chatzisarantis, & Biddle, 2002a) to improve the predictive utility of the model. In reference to paragraph 2.3.1 of the present study, disparities regarding cultural participation as a function of social class would be expected. Because cultural knowledge, values, and preferences are learned in a family context in relation to family resources, differences in children's beliefs toward cultural activities are presumed. Thus, in light of strong evidence of a person's socio-economic status affecting cultural participation, its effect and the way it operates will be examined separately. Figure 4 below represents how the socio-economic status of a person is expected to function in the framework of the TPB.

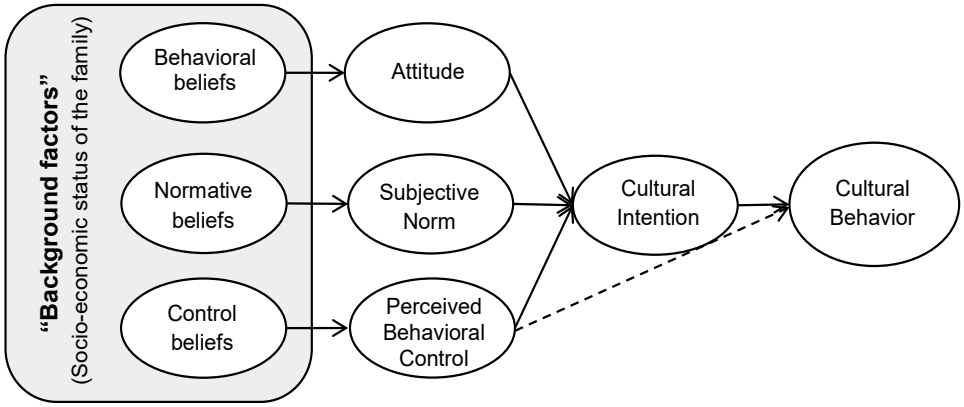

Figure 4 Conceptual model of the relationships[5] between socio-economic background and the TPB constructs (modified after Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010)

Background factors may be of special interest if there is reason to believe that people who vary in terms of one factor have been exposed to different experiences and therefore could have formed different behavior-relevant beliefs. In other words, different segments of the population are supposed to behave in different ways to the extent that their past experiences have led them to form different behavioral, normative, or control beliefs. (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 224-227.) Based on the model, children would be expected to show differences in the likelihood that they take part in cultural activities (cf. Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). However, the effects are not supposed to be direct; assuming a child's background (that is, social status) is related to his or her intention to take part in cultural activities or the actual participation itself, the strength of this association should be significantly reduced or even eliminated if the TPB constructs, i.e. attitudes, norms, and perceived control, are held constant. Thus, the effects of the background variables are assumed to be mediated by and enacted through the theory's proximal constructs. Therefore, a background variable is not expected to independently contribute to explaining the likelihood of performing a behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010; see also Kröner, Vock, Robitzsch, & Köller, 2012). However, by adding the social status variable into the analysis, important information about how it forms differences in cultural behavior can be gathered. In accordance with the hypothesis of Kröner et al. (ibid.), parental occupational status is not expected to have an impact on the frequency of children's cultural participation directly, but the effects are estimated to operate through the current level of parental cultural activities, for example.

[5] *Note*: Unidirectional arrows are meant to indicate statistical, not causal prediction. Furthermore, throughout the dissertation, predictors and effects refer to statistical, not causal prediction.

3.1.1 TPB constructs

Children's participation in cultural activities is considered to be determined by their intention to participate, which reflects their "readiness to perform a given behavior" (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 39). The three antecedents of behavioral intention—attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control—are composed of beliefs about taking an action. These beliefs, i.e. salient information about the behavior, determine both intentions and actions in the final analysis (Ajzen, 1991). These *salient beliefs*[6] vary from behavior to behavior and from population to population, which necessitates the determination of these beliefs in relation to a particular target behavior in the population under consideration (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). Next, the main constructs of the model are presented.

3.1.1.1 Attitude

Attitudes are reliable predictors of behavior (for an overview, see e.g. Ajzen, 1991; Armitage & Conner, 2001; Kraus, 1995). In general, attitudes are held as globally positive or negative evaluations about a certain behavior. More precisely, attitudes can be defined as a "latent disposition or tendency to respond with some degree of favorableness or unfavorableness to a psychological object. The attitude object can be any discriminable aspect of an individual's world, including behavior" (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 76). Based on the expectancy-value model of attitudes, we can say that they develop reasonably from the beliefs people hold about the object toward which the attitude is directed (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975a cited in; Ajzen, 1991). In general, beliefs about an object are formed by associating it with certain attributes. In the case of attitudes toward a certain behavior, beliefs are linked to a given behavior. Since the attributes linked to the behavior are already valued either positively or negatively, an attitude toward a behavior is acquired automatically (Ajzen, 1991). Generally, the more positive the attitude, the stronger the intention to perform a certain behavior would be (e.g. Ajzen, 1991; Armitage & Conner, 2001). Since attitudes are based strongly on experiences with the attitude object gained both directly (being engaged and exposed to it) and indirectly (observing the experiences of others and their verbal and non-verbal communications about it), i.e. cultural participation, attitudes can also be understood as a learned predisposition to react either favorably or unfavorably to cultural activities (cf. Broeder & Stokmans, 2013; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010).

The TPB approach to the formation of attitudes relies on a long-standing perspective on motivation and its conceptualization of attitude—the expectancy-value model

[6] In reference to Miller (1956), Ajzen (1991) argued that people can hold a great many beliefs about any given behavior, but since they can attend to only a relatively small number at any given moment, it is these *salient beliefs* that are considered to be the prevailing determinants of a person's intentions and actions.

(Fishbein, 1963; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975a; 2010)—which assumes that attitudes are formed spontaneously and inevitably as the beliefs about an object are formed (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 126). According to Weiner (1994), expectancy-value models constitute an important part of motivation-psychological research and postulate that behavior is a function of goal expectation. In other words, behavior is dictated by beliefs about how well one will do in an activity and the incentive value of the goal, i.e. the extent to which one values the activity.

One of the most commonly used empirical theory to understand motivation´s role in explaining human behavior, the self-determination theory (see Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2000), distinguishes between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation; intrinsic motivation refers to doing an activity for its inherent satisfaction (for the enjoyment of the activity itself), and extrinsic motivation leads to performing an action to attain some separate outcome (for its instrumental value). This division of attitudes is now commonly applied and broadly identified in TPB research (e.g. Ajzen, 1991; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010), which usually distinguishes two types of attitudes: cognitive and affective. The first reflects a behavior's anticipated positive or negative consequence (costs and benefits) whereas the other reflects positive or negative experiences perceived to be associated with performing the behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 84). In following, the terms intrinsic and extrinsic are applied to describe the two types of attitudes within the present study (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012).

Primary school children constitute a particularly interesting group when considering the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motives. According to Ryan and Deci (2000), the freedom to be more intrinsically motivated increases after the early childhood; at the same time, this freedom becomes increasingly curtailed by social demands and roles that require people to assume responsibility for non-intrinsically interesting tasks. Modifying Deci and Ryan's (2000, 60) example of motivations in school life to leisure-time activities, we see that a child who visits a museum only on the recommendation of his teacher is extrinsically motivated. Similarly, if he visits the museum because he personally believes that it is valuable for his learning in school, he is still extrinsically motivated. Even though the second example involves more personal endorsement and feelings of choice, the action is considered extrinsically motivated because it still contains instrumental valuations rather than pure interest, which would represent an intrinsically motivated behavior.

3.1.1.2 Subjective Norm

People's intentions and actions are influenced by the social environment in which they act. Just as individuals and their significant others often share tastes and serve as determinants of cultural participation (e.g. Keuchel, 2005; Mandel, 2006; van Wel, 1994), children's social

networks play a key role in determining their participation in cultural activities. Generally, this influence is noted most frequently under the concept of social norms, which generally refer to what is acceptable or permissible behavior in a certain group or society (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). Within the framework of the TPB, social influence, i.e. *subjective norm*, is conceptualized in terms of the pressure individuals perceive from significant others to perform (or not perform) a certain behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 130).

Subjective norm is determined by how much one believes that significant others want them to perform a behavior. Returning to the example of museum visits, an example of a normative belief would be, "My parents think that I should visit a museum." This example describes the construct as it was originally conceptualized, including only the aspects of injunctive norms (Ajzen, 1991). However, it became increasingly clear that this was not the only type of normative influence on an individual's behavior. Consider, for example, that in addition to believing that their parents want them to visit a museum, children could also experience pressure based on parents' observed or assumed visits to the museum. Thus, norms based on perceptions of what other people are doing (descriptive norms) were added to the original concept of subjective norms (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005).

The distinction between injunctive and descriptive subjective norms has been empirically supported by many studies (for an overview, see Manning, 2009, 651). Manning (2009) studied the relationship and effects of both injunctive and descriptive norms on behavior within the scope of TPB and found that the effects of descriptive norms tend to be stronger than those of injunctive norms. He suggests that this is due to the fact that descriptive norms are activated in an immediate behavioral situation, relying more on heuristic than systematic information processing , and so require less cognitive effort relative to the processing of injunctive norms. However, the effects of the norms can also depend on the behavior in question and the circumstances in which the norm is evoked (Larimer, Turner, Mallett, & Geisner, 2004).

According to TPB, each social agent who is important to a child can contribute to the subjective norm. For example, in the case of leisure-time reading for adolescents (cf. Broeder & Stokmans, 2013) and primary school children's participation in sports (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012), two focal agent groups could be observed: family members and the peer group. Within these groups, characterized as a close social network with a high group identity, injunctive norms have been proven to be most influential (Trafimow & Finlay, 1996). However, it is commonly acknowledged that despite the overall support for the TPB, subjective norms form the weakest predictor of the theory and exert only limited influence on people's intentions. For that reason, several authors have even deliberately removed it from data analysis

(cf. Armitage & Conner, 2001). Hypothesized explanations for the minor predictive validity of the subjective norm lie mostly in its measurement; Firstly, it has been used as a single-item measurement instead of more a reliable multi-item scale. Secondly, critique has been placed on the conceptualization of the norms. And third critique point lies in the usage of non-salient or unspecific reference groups or in the absence of adequate differentiation of norms. It is further suggested that subjective norms may not directly affect intentions but rather exert influence indirectly via attitudes. (Armitage & Conner, 2001; Baker, Little, & Brownell, 2003; Darker & French, 2009; White, Smith, Terry, Greenslade, & McKimmie, 2009).

Despite the weak evidence for subjective norms as a predictor of behaviors, the TPB was chosen for this study for its social norm constructs. Since traditional sociological cultural participation research has verified that social norms are essential by proving the existence of a strong connection between individuals' participation in cultural activities and their social origins, the aspect of social norms was quite interesting. The TPB not only provide a useful construct for observing the relationship between social origins and cultural participation, but it also clarifies the mechanisms underlying these connections.

3.1.1.3 Perceived Behavioral Control

Studies show that people often fail to act in accordance with their stated intentions (Ajzen, Brown, & Carvajal, 2004, 1108). A child may strongly intend to visit a museum and yet does not because of external constraints, lack of ability, or other inhibitory factors. As Ajzen (1991, 185) noted, "The addition of perceived behavioral control should become increasingly useful as volitional control over behavior decreases." Thus, visiting a museum or taking part in cultural activities in general is not fully under a child's voluntary control. However, since it is difficult to objectively measure the degree to which a behavior is under a person's voluntary control (cf. "degree of choice"), Ajzen (1985; 1991) suggested the concept of *perceived behavioral control*, i.e. the extent to which a person believes the behavior is under his or her control (Trafimow, Sheeran, Conner, & Finlay, 2002).

In presenting the concept of perceived behavioral control, Ajzen (2002, 667) highlights the fact that the concept itself is not new or original to the TPB. He (ibid.) found the same ideas discussed under such names as "barriers" (Rosenstock, 1966), "facilitating conditions" (Triandis, 1977), and "self-efficacy" (Bandura, 1977). It is from the latter that the concept of perceived behavioral control borrowed the most. Perceived self-efficacy refers to "beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments" (Bandura, 1997, 3). Compare this to the concept of PBC, "the extent to which people believe that they are capable of, or have control over, performing a given behavior," and the similarity is evident (Ajzen, 2002; Fishbein

& Ajzen, 2010). Although both concern the notion of control, several researchers have claimed important differences between self-efficacy expectations and perceived control. In research, this distinction mostly relates to operationalization of the perceived control construct either as uni- or multidimensional scale.

Majority of TPB studies have implemented perceived behavioral control as a unidimensional concept measured by a mix of both internal and external items. Since this have often led to debatable internal consistency of the perceived behavioral control scale (cf. Kraft, Rise, Sutton, & Røysamb, 2005), many TPB studies have implemented perceived control as a multidimensional construct consisting of two separate but related components (Ajzen, 2002; Kraft, Rise, Sutton, & Røysamb, 2005; Trafimow, Sheeran, Conner, & Finlay, 2002). Ajzen (2002, 671-672) labeled these factors "self-efficacy" ("the *ease or difficulty* of performing a behavior…people's *confidence* that they can perform it if they want to do so") and "controllability" ("beliefs about the extent to which performing the behavior is up to the actor").

3.1.1.4 Social background and the origin of beliefs

In the theory of planned behavior, salient beliefs—beliefs about the consequences of performing a certain behavior—play an important role. They provide the cognitive and affective foundations for attitudes, subjective norms, and perceptions of behavioral beliefs (Ajzen, 2006). Since these beliefs are not held at birth but rather are acquired in daily encounters with the real world (through the process of primary and secondary socialization), the formation of behavioral, normative, and control beliefs is related to the conditions in which they were developed. Different conditions and backgrounds can form different beliefs regarding behavior. Fishbein and Ajzen (2010) believe that observed differences in beliefs are the result of unique learning experiences. According to them (ibid.), the experiences people have vary as a function of personal characteristics (e.g., personality), social and cultural factors (e.g., ethnicity, education), and exposure to media and other sources of information.

The concept of beliefs and the mechanism of learning and acquiring them through experiences resemble the Bourdieusian notion of dispositions and their "embodiment," the habitus. However, what differs is the scientific method of speaking about and dealing with them. Sociologists and other social scientists have traditionally emphasized the importance of social environment (social class) in determining the formation of dispositions, which unquestionably cause a certain behavior. Similarly, the TPB acknowledges the importance of background factors influencing the beliefs that a person holds, as they are expected to affect his or her attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived control (Ajzen, 1991). However, in contrast to the Bourdieusian construct of habitus,

the TPB accentuates the cognitive self-regulation of a person. This means that, although affected by past experiences and controlled by social surroundings, a person consciously thinks about the behavior and then chooses whether or not to act upon it. However, the theory does not assume that people are rational—only that their actions follow reasonably from their beliefs. "Given that beliefs are often based on information provided by others and on fallible inference processes, behavioral, normative, and control beliefs need not be veridical. They can be inaccurate, biased to conform with preconceptions or motives, or they may represent rationalizations, wishful thinking, or other irrational processes. Nevertheless, the beliefs people hold constitute the information they have about the behavior, and because they naively assume that their beliefs are valid (Ross & Ward 1996), they act upon them" (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 223).

The TPB enables researchers to acknowledge the complex patterns of association between demographic characteristics and various behaviors so that they can emphasize the potential advantages of combining and connecting research at different levels of analysis. As Fishbein and Ajzen (2010, 250) note, "researchers in the psychological tradition could benefit from paying more attention to social structure variables, and those working in the sociological tradition could benefit from learning about the individual-level mechanisms that mediate the phenomena they observe at the societal level." Thus, within the theory, structural variables can serve as the background in which individual-level variables are embedded. Since previous studies have proven that cultural participation behavior is strongly determined by social factors (e.g. Chan & Goldthorpe, 2010; Elchardus, 2009; van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004), the inclusion of demographic information (an in particular, socio-economic status) in an overall model is highly advisable. The effects of demographics are expected to link to the presence of opportunities, resources, and capacities facilitating or impeding the ability to perform a behavior (Ajzen, 1991). Figure 4 (under paragraph 3.1) presents an overview of the hypothesized interplay between background factors and other determinants of the TPB.

3.1.2 TPB function

Ajzen (1991, 188) formulated a general rule about the function of the theory of planned behavior: "The more favorable the attitude and subjective norm with respect to a behavior, and the greater the perceived behavioral control, the stronger should be an individual's intention to perform the behavior under consideration." According to this rule, children are expected to take part in cultural activities when the following conditions are fulfilled:

(1) They have a positive attitude toward cultural activities. In this context, a favorable attitude means not only a general attitude toward such activities, but particularly an individual's positive or negative evaluation of self-performance of the behavior

and its consequences. Beliefs about the outcome of a behavior will determine the evaluation of the behavior and influence the strength and direction of the attitude toward the behavior (e.g. Manning, 2009). For example, a child could think that visiting a museum is good, because he or she can learn things for school. This may lead to the emergence or strengthening of a positive attitude toward visiting museums.

(2) They sense social pressure to participate in cultural activities by others who are important to them. For each social agent, i.e. significant other, this social pressure consists of two aspects. First, a child believes that his or her significant others find it good if he/she participates in cultural activities (injunctive norm). Second, he or she is inspired or guided by the actions of his/her significant others; they form a positive role model for the child regarding cultural activities (descriptive norm).

(3) They feel that they are capable of participating in cultural activities. They have both resources and opportunities (controllability) and information, as well as the skills and capability (self-efficacy) required to participate. Assuming that attitudes and perceptions of social pressure support children's participation in cultural activities, the greater the perceived behavioral control, the stronger the intention to participate. Conversely, if a child does not think he or she has control over his/her participation, he or she may not form a strong intention to participate despite generally positive attitudes and a strongly perceived social pressure to do so (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 155).

(4) They have been exposed to cultural experiences and have formed cultural behavior-relevant beliefs. This point refers to the social structural underpinnings of cultural participation. Since the belief formation process in childhood takes place primarily in a family setting (depending on varying family resources), a child's cultural appreciation and participation is expected to be socially differentiated and/or stratified. Following the cultural reproduction theory, a child from a family with a high socio-economic background is more likely to take part in cultural activities than a child with a low socio-economic background (Bourdieu, 1984). As previously noted, the children from families with different social statuses are assumed to participate differently only insofar, as they have formed different behavioral, normative, and/or control beliefs based on socialization and early experiences. Thus, the effect of social class is expected to be mediated through children's attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control.

In principle, by measuring corresponding attitudes, perceived social norms, and perceived behavioral control, the TPB is expected to be able to predict a single behavior, a behavioral category, and the intention to achieve a goal (cf. Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010).

In the context of cultural participation, the theory should be applicable for predicting visits to a museum (a single cultural behavior), participation in cultural activities (a behavioral category), and the objective (e.g. to learn for the school by participating cultural activities—the outcome of the behavior). However, the TPB constructs tend to have less predictive validity when predicting the behavioral category or outcome instead of a single behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 179).

When predicting intention and behavior, the relative importance of attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control is expected to vary across behaviors and situations (Ajzen, 1991; 2005). As Ajzen (2005, 118) indicates, for some intentions, attitude factors are more important than normative ones, while for other intentions, normative aspects dominate. Similarly, perceived behavioral control can be more important for some behaviors than for others. Also, in some instances, only one or two of the constructs are needed to explain or predict intention, while in others, all three predictors make independent contributions. These variations in the relative importance of the TPB components can be influenced by socio-demographic factors such as age or gender, according to Ajzen (ibid.). This variation in the relevant importance of the TBP constructs as predictors of a particular behavior are essential for a number of reasons—for example, for guiding the development of interventions designed to produce behavioral change—and should not be taken as evidence against the theory (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 180).

The variation in the use of the constructs also applies to the division within the three proximal predictors (cf. chapter 3.1.1). As Fishbein and Ajzen (2010, 184-185) note, it is not invariably essential to divide (for example) attitudes into intrinsic and extrinsic attitudes, especially when the objective of the study is to test the model and its power to predict the behavior. According to them, each construct may be assessed by multiple indicators (especially if the aim is to conduct structural equation modeling), but to predict intentions, they would normally use the predictors as unitary constructs. Although factor analysis verifies the validity of the distinctions between the two components of each of the theory's proximal predictors, a model with six separate factors may not necessarily perform better than a model in which these subcomponents were treated as indicators of the three higher-order constructs (cf. M. S. Hagger & Chatzisarantis, 2005). In the present study, the division of the TPB constructs is applied if found appropriate in the structure analysis.

3.2 Current research on TPB

As already mentioned, the TPB has garnered much support in a wide range of settings in various fields. It is not only supported by extensive empirical evidence but also by several meta-analyses synthesizing this evidence (Bardus, 2012). Especially in various

health related behaviors, the theory has proven its utility (e.g. Armitage & Conner, 2001; Godin & Kok, 1996; Murnaghan et al., 2010). For example, Godin and Kok (1996, 93) showed that the TPB model explains 41% of the variance in intention and 34% in health-related behavior, on average. Armitage and Conner (2001, 479-481) found similar results; across 185 independent empirical studies on various behaviors, the model could explain on average 39% of the variance in intention. McEachan and her colleagues (2011, 29) proved the efficacy of the TPB model more recently in their meta-analysis containing 237 empirical tests; the model explained 19% of the variance in behavior and 44% of the variation in intention. They also found that the efficacy of the TPB can vary depending on behavior type, and differences in relations between the TPB components can emerge across behaviors.

In the framework of the present study, the ultimate interest is in the applicability of the TPB model to the cultural participation of children. Since no studies focusing specifically on primary school children's receptive cultural participation could be found, related research findings, deficits, and critique are evaluated as far as they are considered to be of importance in assessing the utility of the TPB in the cultural participation domain. Beyond cultural activities, the TPB has been applied successfully to several other leisure behaviors (e.g. Ajzen & Driver, 1992). Most commonly, it has been implemented to understand people's participation in sports (see e.g. Armitage & Conner, 2001; Godin & Kok, 1996; Hagger, Chatzisarantis, & Biddle, 2002; McEachan, Conner, Taylor, & Lawton, 2011). In a sport domain, the TPB has been applied also to children (e.g. Craig, Goldberg, & Dietz, 1996; Foley et al., 2008; Mummery, Spence, & Hudec, 2000; Staudenmaier, 2012). Since sports can also be regarded as a cultural activity and participation in (especially organized) sports can be assumed to be a leisure choice comparable to the choice to take part in cultural activities, studies regarding the implementation of the TPB to explain children's sports behavior are discussed.

In studies to predict exercise behavior, almost all predictors of the TPB—attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control—have successfully predicted both intentions and actual behavior (e.g. Armitage & Conner, 2001; Foley et al., 2008; Rhodes, Macdonald, & McKay, 2006). Apart from a few studies (e.g. Murnaghan et al., 2010), attitude and perceived behavioral control were found to be more effective than subjective norms in predicting physical activity. Craig and his researchers (1996) and Mummery with colleagues (2000) show that among primary school children, attitudes alongside perceived behavioral control make the largest contribution to the prediction of physical activity intention or behavior. However, as proven by Mummery and his colleagues (ibid.), children are not a uniform mass. Their findings from the total sample, which included grades three, five, and eight, were that perceived behavioral control made the largest contribution to predicting physical activity intention. However, among the sub-sample

of third graders—the focus group of the present study—it was the subjective norm that made the largest relative contribution for the prediction of physical activity intentions. Apparently, the importance of normative beliefs is emphasized at a younger age.

More recently, Staudenmaier (2012) applied the TPB when studying third grade primary school children's reasons to take or not to take part in sports activities in Germany. Her objective was equivalent to the one of the present study, i.e. to develop reliable and valid TPB scales to predict children's sports behavior. With the constructed TPB scales Staudenmaier (ibid.) predicted 29% of the variance in children's participation in organized sports and 64% of the variance in recreational sports, respectively. In contrast to many previous studies but consistent with the one presented above (see Mummery, Spence, & Hudec, 2000), Staudenmaier found that subjective norms were a strong predictor of behavior, while attitudes—both intrinsic and extrinsic—played no significant role in predicting children's sport participation. Since the focus of Staudenmaier's (ibid.) study was to concentrate on the precise operationalization of subjective norms as a reliable multi-item scale instead of a single-item measure, the lack of predictive utility reported in previous studies may indicate the imprecise operationalization of the construct. Or, as McEachan et al. (2011) and Mummery et al. (2000) argue, the importance of subjective norms and the non-significance of attitudes in determining behavior might also be due to age. Since it is speculated that adolescents are driven less by rational considerations and more by affective associations, impulsivity, and direct social pressure than adults, one might expect attitudes to be less important and subjective norms more important predictors in adolescent samples (McEachan, Conner, Taylor, & Lawton, 2011). In reference to Mummery et al. (2000) the importance of social control appears to be even stronger the younger children are (see also Foley et al., 2008). Thus, primary school children's participation in cultural activities could also be expected to be socially controlled or influenced.

3.2.1 TPB in a cross-national setting

Research has shown that highbrow cultural participation in European countries is affected by many country-level factors, such as a nation's wealth, social mobility level, and level of cultural funding (e.g. van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2013). Regarding cultural inequalities, European countries generally show similar patterns; there is a clear division between the poorly and highly educated and the impoverished and well-to-do in the participants of high culture (ibid.). Although research on adequate comparisons of cultural inequality between countries is still scarce, the existing comparative studies indicate that the social determinants of highbrow cultural participation differ between countries (Virtanen, 2007 in; van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2013). Apart from studies comparing social determinants,

cross-national studies regarding participation motives as a field of person-environment transaction are completely non-existent. Therefore, the aim of the present study is to apply the TPB to test the utility of the model and create deeper insight into the determinants of cultural participation cross-nationally.

Assessing the applicability of the TPB framework developed in one country when it is applied to another is an important step in establishing the theory's generalizability. However, comparative research faces many challenges. One of them is that "the set of selected indicators that fit well in one country at one time probably will not serve well across countries and over time" (Peterson, 2005b, 267). The same challenge presents itself in a TPB context; salient beliefs about certain behaviors tend to vary from behavior to behavior and from population to population (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 308-309). Nevertheless there are several ways to bypass these challenges. First, the salient beliefs will be collected in both study groups simultaneously. By doing so, the equivalence of the constructed items and scales is ensured. Second, this study will assume that the applicability of the model depending on individual vs. social determination of behaviors does not affect cultural comparisons in the present study; the selected nations both present Western cultures with relatively similar country characteristics (e.g. country's wealth and cultural funding), cultural opportunities, attitudes, and behavior (cf. Eurobarometer, 2013; Finnish Ministry of Education, 2009). Therefore, it can be hypothesized that children's beliefs (the determinants of the behavior) can be assigned under the three TPB constructs.

Although the base for cultural participation appears to be relative similar in both German and Finnish children, the perspective of cross-nationality has to be taken into account when measuring the beliefs underlying cultural participation. As Fishbein and Ajzen (2010, 309) note, "The salient beliefs identified with respect to a given behavior differ from culture to culture." However, despite differences in salient beliefs, there is every reason to believe that attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control follow reasonable and spontaneously from these beliefs (ibid.). Therefore, the differences expected between German and Finnish children have to do with the contents of the children's beliefs and the weight they place on attitudinal, normative, and control considerations (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). However, since both countries represent Western cultures, similarities between determinants of cultural participation are expected.

The selection of Finland and Germany for cross-national comparison is of particular interest when researching social determinants of cultural participation. Research has shown that socially determined structural hierarchies still exist in several fields of cultural participation practices in both countries. However, the strength of the effect

varies greatly. Cultural participation was found to be more stratified in Germany (Brook, 2011). As an essential part of cultural capital, cultural participation is also related to educational and social disparities caused by families' stratified cultural resources (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984). This can be seen in PISA studies, for example, which show that two students from slightly different backgrounds tend to show large performance differences (e.g. OECD, 2010, 55). Like disparities in cultural participation, educational inequalities were stronger in Germany (cf. Baumert, Watermann, & Schümer, 2003; OECD, 2010). Consequently, differences in the strength of social gradients affecting children's cultural participation are likely to occur.

3.2.2 Research deficit and critique

The general applicability of the TPB for explaining and predicting leisure-time activities, especially those in the sports domain, has been proven extensively. However, most of the studies testing the TPB in exercise (or any other domains) were conducted on adults or adolescents, leaving childhood largely unexplored (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012). The aforementioned studies that have applied the TPB on children have shown encouraging results. Although use of the theory in the cultural participation domain generally—and among children in particular—has been more or less neglected (except for e.g. Yamada & Fu, 2012), its applicability to the study of the determinants of children's cultural participation seems logical. Naturally, the lack of TPB research on children does not result from its non-usability in that context (cf. Foley et al., 2008; Mummery, Spence, & Hudec, 2000; Schüller, 2014; Staudenmaier, 2012).

The shortage of TPB research on children may be due to non-existing scales for reliable and valid measurement of the factors influencing certain behaviors. Since beliefs about taking an action, i.e. salient beliefs (see chapter 3.1.1), vary from behavior to behavior and from population to population, no universal scales exist. Thus, the scales must be developed with regard to the target group and target behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). Pre-studies to elicit specific beliefs of target populations are essential to ensure content adequacy of the set of items and the scales used to predict behaviors. This is extremely important, because measuring the theory's constructs by asking arbitrarily selected questions or adapting items used in previous studies may produce measures with relatively low reliability and lead to an underestimate of the relationship between the theory's constructs and its predictive utility (Ajzen, 2006, 4). However, despite the importance of salient beliefs in the TPB, the elicitation step has either received relatively little attention from researchers or the process has been inadequately documented (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Staudenmaier, 2012; Sutton et al., 2003). This might be due to several reasons. First, conducting qualitative elicitation studies requires great effort,

and existing manuals, like the one provided by Francis et al. (2004), do not include instructions on how to conduct content analysis in elicitation studies (Schweizer & Kröner, 2012; Sutton et al., 2003).

Questionnaires developed in the context of the TPB have been also criticized for neglecting to evaluate the reliability and validity of the applied instruments (Darker & French, 2009). According to Darker and French (2009, 862), TPB questionnaires frequently lack examinations of reliability comparable other psychometric tools, and their validity is rarely assessed thoroughly. Therefore, the construction of a valid TPB questionnaire is a process made up of numerous equally important steps: an elicitation study, careful documentation of proceedings and variables, and an adequate evaluation of measurement qualities (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012, 15).

In addition to the critique of imprecise implementation and documentation, the TPB has also been vilified for its insufficient operationalization of the subjective norm construct (e.g. Trafimow & Finlay, 1996). This shortcoming may have led to the construct's general inability to predict people's intentions and behavior (e.g. Godin & Kok, 1996). However, when it comes to children, the opinions and behaviors of the influential people in their lives must have some impact on their behavior, especially concerning participation in cultural activities (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Kröner, Schwanzer, & Dickhäuser, 2009; Staudenmaier, 2012).

Within the TPB model is emphasized that if the goal is to know how people will behave, then the best way to find out is to ask people how they intend to behave (Sheeran, 2002, 3). Thus, intention has been a broadly used predictor for an impressive range of behaviors and has commonly been the single measure of behavior (e.g. Mummery, Spence, & Hudec, 2000). However, the neglect of the actual behavior as a criterion has been criticized, since empirical evidence shows that intentions do not necessarily lead to certain behaviors (Sheeran, 2002), and the effect of intention on behavior also varies depending on the type of behavior in question (McEachan, Conner, Taylor, & Lawton, 2011). This intention-behavior gap is especially noticeable when the TPB model is applied to children (e.g. Wigginton, 2012). As Wigginton (2012) showed in her study on children's exercise behavior, all constructs of the TPB (attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control) directly predicted children's exercise behaviors, explaining 26% of the variance in exercise. She also showed that intention was not a significant predictor of exercise once the other TPB variables were included. However, since the present study aims to apply the TPB in a previously unexplored domain, there is no point in relying solely on evidence from other domains when validating the TPB constructs as predictors of cultural behavior. Therefore, all elements of the model as specified above in chapter 3.1 are included, tested, and modified as the need arises.

3.2.3 Handling of the named deficiencies

The present study addresses the discussion mentioned above, points of critique, and deficits of existing studies by applying a theory-driven, systematic analysis of the beliefs of primary school children regarding their participation in cultural activities. The study responds to an existing lack of reliable and valid instruments to study the reasons for and against cultural participation of children in both Germany and Finland. In this process, the deficits of previous TPB research are acknowledged and controlled for. For that purpose, a two-stage process including a qualitative pre-study (elicitation study) and a subsequent quantitative main study is implemented, as proposed by Ajzen (2006) and documented by Francis and her colleagues (2004). Specific attention is paid to the accurate documentation of the research stages and judgments made throughout the research process to ensure the repeatability of the study. Additionally, the measurement qualities, reliability, and validity of the applied instruments are evaluated thoroughly.

This study responds to the lack of predictive utility of subjective norms (as argued in previous research) through an accurate elicitation of normative beliefs of children and identification of the most central reference groups affecting their cultural behavior. As recommended by Ajzen and Fishbein (2010, 152) a measure of social norms incorporating both injunctive and descriptive norms is included. Additionally, instead of limiting the criterion under study as either intention to participate or actual participation in cultural activities (cf. Mummery, Spence, & Hudec, 2000; Schüller, 2014; Staudenmaier, 2012), a complete TPB model is applied. In doing so, the multiple tenets of the theory are tested simultaneously, and a better understanding of the processes underlying children's cultural behavior is attained. In conclusion, the current deficit in both TPB research and cultural participation research in general—but more specifically, the lack of cross-national comparative research—is addressed. Special attention is paid to eliciting salient beliefs in both groups to ensure the equivalence of the measure instrument for both cultures.

4. EMPIRICAL STUDIES

The objective of the present study is to develop a multifaceted view of cultural participation of children and its determinants in a cross-national setting. This follows five empirical studies that aim to answer the research questions presented below. The research objectives and questions—although thematically separated here—will be discussed throughout the empirical studies.

The empirical section outlines the relationship between theory and observation. As the cultural behavior of children can only be understood in terms of available conceptual resources, the methodological part of the study focuses on the operationalization of cultural participation and its determinants. Underlining the importance of reliable and valid scale construction, this process is described accurately throughout all the studies of this dissertation.

4.1 Objectives and research questions

Based on the research gaps previously outlined, the objectives of this dissertation and the relative research questions (*RQ*s) can be summarized as shown below.

On the operationalization of cultural participation

The methodological objectives were intended to develop and validate measurement scales to be implemented to predict cultural participation in childhood cross-nationally.

1. Belief elicitation: Identification of the determinants of cultural participation based on the TPB

   RQ1: Can the reasons for and against cultural activities be adequately elicited and categorized using the theory of planned behavior?

2. The scale construction: The assessment of measurement reliability and validity of the constructed TPB scales

   RQ2a: Do the constructed scales show evidence of internal consistencies?

   RQ2b: Do the constructed scales show evidence of measurement validity?

3. Theory and model testing: Examination of structural relationships between the TPB constructs

   RQ3: Does the Finnish and German data support the use of the TPB model in predicting children's cultural participation?

4. Measurement equivalence: Examination of the cross-national generalizability of the constructed TPB scales and model

   RQ4: Do the constructed measurement models and structural model show equivalence across Finnish and German children?

Explaining cultural participation in childhood

Further research objectives sought to explain the cultural practices of children in a cross-national setting. The following research questions apply the constructed TPB model to explain why children do or do not take part in cultural activities (exemplified by visits to museums).

5. Prevalence of cultural participation: Intensity of cultural activities in children's leisure time

   RQ5: What kind of role do cultural activities play in children's leisure time, and in what ways do Finnish and German children differ from and compare to each other in their cultural participation practices?

6. Reasons for and against cultural participation: Identifying the determinants relevant for cultural participation of children

   RQ6: Which determinants explain children's cultural participation, and do these determinants show similar patterns across Finnish and German children?

7. Stratification of cultural participation: exploring the role and strength of social gradients affecting cultural participation

   RQ7: In what way does the family's social status affect children's cultural participation?

4.2 Study 1: Belief elicitation

The objective of the first study was to elicit modal salient beliefs, i.e. to identify relevant behavioral outcomes, referents, and environmental facilitators and barriers of cultural participation (and non-participation) in primary school children. The beliefs were elicited by conducting one-on-one interviews with primary school children. In order to generate a valid set of beliefs, rdthe children's responses were analyzed by combining both deductive (out of the theory) and inductive (out of the material) aspects of content analysis (cf. Mayring, 2008). The aim of the analysis was to organize children's beliefs regarding cultural participation into a set of categories based on the constructs of the TPB. Through the process of belief elicitation, the first research question (*RQ1*) "Can the reasons for and against cultural activities be adequately elicited and categorized using the Theory of Planned Behavior?" was answered.

4.2.1 Participants

For the present study, qualitative interviews with $N = 23$ 4th grade primary school children with a Turkish immigrant background[7] were conducted. Fourteen of the children were boys, and nine were girls. The average age of the children was $M = 9.83$ years ($SD = 1.03$). The children were all from five parallel classes of one primary school from the city of Nuremberg. Only children with an agreement signed by their parents or legal guardians participated in the study[8].

4.2.2 Instrument and procedure

Interviews were semi-structured, guided, and held by the author herself in autumn of 2008. The individual interviews were carried out at the school in a separate room during regular teaching time. Interviews were recorded with a dictation machine except for one (Int. 3), in which the recording instrument was experiencing technical difficulties. In that situation, relevant passages of the interview transcribed by the author. The interviews lasted on average 22 minutes ($SD = 7.3$), which falls within the criteria of sufficient

[7] Elicitation interviews were conducted in conjunction with a third-party funded project (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, FAU) researching educational aspirations of parents with an immigrant background in relation to the cultural participation of their children. Turkish children were selected primarily because they form the biggest migration group in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012) and are a group the greatest apparent distance from "social milieus" characteristic of the audience participating in cultural activities (Keuchel, 2012). The beliefs elicited from children with a Turkish immigrant background were validated in a pilot phase on children without any or with other than Turkish immigrant backgrounds.

[8] This applies to all further studies conducted in pursuance of this dissertation.

attention span for children in early middle childhood (cf. de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004).

During warm-up, the interviewer presented herself, introduced the study and its purposes, and explained the how the interview would be conducted. This promoted comfort, openness, and confidentiality. After that, children were asked for some background information and were presented with general questions about their leisure-time activities and activities they considered to be "cultural." The objective was to create a relaxed setting that would encourage and stimulate the children to recount their experiences and answer questions related to the belief elicitation outlined by Ajzen (2006). The full interview schedule is given in Appendix A. After the warm-up phase, the children were given the definition of cultural activities as outlined in the present study. Visual aids were used during this process; children were presented with pictures of traditional highbrow cultural activities—museums, theaters, operas, ballets, and musicals (see Appendix A). Then, the reasons for and against participating in cultural activities (in accordance with the predictor constructs of the TPB) were elicited. Table 1 provides examples of questions that were asked to all children who were interviewed. Questions were reworded to be more appropriate for the children (cf. Ajzen, 2006).

Table 1 Table of elicitation questions

TPB construct	Belief	Elicitation questions
Attitude	Behavioral beliefs	What do you **like** about such activities?[1, 2] What do you **not like** about such activities?
Subjective Norm	Normative beliefs	Who would find it **good** if you participate in such activities? Who would find it **bad** if you participate in such activities?
Perceived Behavioral Control	Control beliefs	What makes it **easy** for you to participate in such activities? What makes it **difficult** for you to participate in such activities?

[1] Such activities refer to cultural activities as a unity
[2] Questions were presented according to individual activities (cf. visual aids) respectively

As shown in Table 1 above, each interview consisted of questions relating to the three sorts of beliefs underlying the main constructs of the TPB. First, questions regarding behavioral beliefs were used to identify advantages and disadvantages children associate with participation in cultural activities. Questions about normative beliefs indicated people or groups who would either approve or disapprove of children's participation in such activities, and control beliefs gathered a list of factors regarding the ease or difficulty of participating in cultural activities.

After completing all the interviews, they were transcribed by the researcher and two trained research assistants. The transcribed interviews were then linguistically and grammatically corrected, but the original content was preserved. When in doubt, the exact wording was kept. Interviews were then content analyzed following the steps presented by Mayring (2008) and adapted to fit the specific requirements of elicitation studies based on the TPB, as presented by Kröner and his colleagues (2012). The children's statements resulted in a total of 289 paraphrases that, regardless of interview section or question, were assigned to main and sub-categories based on their content. The analysis proceeded both deductively and inductively according to how the TPB constructs "attitude," subdivided into intrinsic and extrinsic attitudes in advance (cf. Ajzen, 1991; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010; Ryan & Deci, 2000), "subjective norm," subdivided into parents, siblings, friends, relatives, and teachers (cf. Broeder & Stokmans, 2013; Staudenmaier, 2012), and "perceived behavioral control," subdivided into controllability and self-efficacy in advance (cf. Ajzen, 2002). These categories formed the deductive starting point for the analysis. This initial, deductively designed set of categories was then inductively differentiated while coding the material. Based on the inductive analysis, the category "subjective norm" was further differentiated into subcategories: everybody/nobody, girls/boys, and culture of origin. The subcategory everybody/nobody was maintained as a discrete category, because in many cases, it seemed to reflect a perceived general appreciation or distaste that a society projects toward cultural activities (cf. Korte, 2004) rather than a general apathy or difficulty when answering the question. However, since the statements regarding this category may also be a result of a question wording (Who would find it good/bad?), caution is warranted when interpreting this category. All categories were further differentiated according to positive and negative statements.

The development of the set of categories occurred in several steps. Approximately 20% of the material was used to generate the first version of the set of categories differentiated in a sub-category level. After that, a formative reliability check was applied. This included a discussion of the codings and the developed categories within the project team. Subsequently, minor modifications to the categories were made. While generating the set of categories, guidelines for the categorical definitions, illustrative "anchor examples" for the categories, and exact delineations of the categories were developed, as suggested by Mayring (2008, 55). Finally, the closing analysis with all material, including the interviews used for category formation, was conducted. After the initial rating, an independent colleague (one not involved in the generation of the set of categories or its modification) performed a follow-up rating of all interviews in reference to the guidelines for the analysis. After completing both the initial and the follow-up ratings, inter-rater reliability was assessed. The raters reached a consensus in case of disagreement regarding the assignment of children´s statements.

4.2.3 Results

The elicitation study resulted in a range of beliefs that were found to be essential for children's participation in cultural activities. As can be seen in Table 2, a unique insight into the determinants of cultural participation of primary school children was established. The reasons for and against cultural participation—289 statements altogether—could be adequately assigned to the set of categories leading to an excellent inter-rater agreement of $K_n \geq .86$[9] (e.g. Fleiss, Levin, & Cho Paik, 2003).

Table 2 The set of categories based on elicited beliefs regarding cultural participation of primary school children

Subcategory	Definition of the Category	Statements[1]	*n*[2]
Main category: Attitude ($K_n = .89$)		163	23
Intrinsic attitude	Positive (e.g. "have fun") or	94	23
	negative (e.g. "not liking") intrinsic value of cultural activities	44	23
	Positive: benefits (e.g. "learning") or	13	12
Extrinsic attitude	negative: costs (e.g. "lost time") through cultural activities	12	10
Main category: Subjective Norm ($K_n = .94$)		57	18
Parents	Positive (+) perceived attitude	15	15
	Negative (-) perceived attitude	5	5
Everybody/nobody	+	13	13
	-	3	3
Siblings	+	8	8
	-	1	1
Relatives	+	2	2
Friends	+	3	3
	-	3	3
Teacher	+	2	2
Same gender	+	1	1
	-	1	1
Main category: Perceived Behavioral Control ($K_n = .86$)		69	21
Controllability	Positive (e.g. "support") or	6	5
	negative (e.g. "high costs") extrinsic control factors	39	17
Self-efficacy	Positive (e.g. "habit") or	2	1
	negative (e.g. "lack of knowledge") self-efficacy expectancy	23	16

[1] Children's statements on different cultural activities (museum, theater, opera, and ballet) were aggregated over all activities.
[2] Persons with statements in more than one lower-level category (subcategory) were counted only once for the respective higher-level category (main category). Thus, the number of interview participants at higher-level categories is often less than their sum of the corresponding lower-level categories.

[9] Corrected Cohen's Kappa, which compared to Cohen's Kappa (K), additionally takes into account the number of categories used in the analysis (see Brennan & Prediger, 1981).

Of the 11 belief categories identified at subcategory level, two presented behavioral beliefs, seven presented normative beliefs, and two presented control beliefs. The 11 subcategories were further differentiated according to the positivity or negativity of the statements included in the category. All deductively derived categories (see Chapter 4.2.2) were kept over the deductive-inductive procedure aimed at generating the set of categories. Additionally, the main category "subjective norm" could be further differentiated inductively, as the children named social agents unidentified in previous studies. These were the group of everybodys and nobodys (interpreted to reflect the perceived general appreciation or unappreciation of a society), a group reflecting attitudes of same-gender peers, and attitudinal restrictions sensed by the culture of origin.

Most of the statements (163) about the reasons for and against cultural participation indicated participants' attitudes and were mostly positive (107). Fifty-seven statements were made in the main category "subjective norms." These statements were also mostly positive (44). The main category "perceived behavioral control" (containing 69 statements) turned out to have the most negative statements (62). The preliminary results suggest that although the children themselves have positive attitudes toward cultural activities and generally sense positive attitudes from their significant others, they also sense that participation is not under their control. In the following section, the components of the developed set of categories are described in further detail.

4.2.3.1 Main category "attitude"

All children expressed themselves in terms of the main category "attitude" (N = 23)[10]. With regard to this category, the deductive presumption was found valid, as the main category could be further differentiated into two subcategories: intrinsic and extrinsic attitudes. Within the main category, claims about intrinsic attitude were most common, since over 85% of the statements regarding attitude were coded in this subcategory. The children especially cited *having fun* (n = 23) and having *new and different experiences* (n = 15) as reasons for taking part in cultural activities, whereas *not having fun* (n = 18) and *lack of interest* (n = 10) were reasons for not taking part. Statements coded under the subcategory "extrinsic attitude" were named by 17 children. Twelve children found cultural participation beneficial, as they emphasized the aspect of *learning* through cultural experiences (n = 9). Ten children expressed the costs that arise in participation in cultural activities, the most emphasized of which was *lost time* (n = 7), including statements like having less time to do other things or be with friends. A listing of all behavioral beliefs is presented in Appendix B.

[10] The number in parentheses refers to the amount of the children accounted for.

4.2.3.2 Main category "subjective norm"

This category was differentiated into groups who approved or disapproved of cultural participation. Based on 60 statements children (n = 18) made in this category, three clearly definable groups could be identified whose positive or negative attitude toward cultural activities of children can be seen as essential for their cultural behavior: *parents* (n = 17), *siblings* (n = 8), and *friends* (n = 6). For parents and siblings, the perceived attitude was mainly positive; however, the perceived attitude of friends was generally negative. One girl, for example, explained: "Perhaps my friends would think it was bad that I went to a museum and they didn't come with me. After all, I couldn´t really play with them because I would be gone… [Vielleicht könnten meine Freunde das schlecht finden, wenn ich ins Museum oder Theater gehen würde und sie nicht mitgehen könnten. Weil man will ja mit ihnen spielen, weil man sieht sich ja nicht so oft…]" (Int. 8). Other subcategories theoretically defined and empirically verified in advance were *relatives* (n = 2) and *teachers* (n = 2).

In addition to these predefined deductive categories, two further groups of social agents could be identified and inductively appended to the main category of subjective norms. The category including statements like "Nobody thinks it is bad if I do such things (participate in cultural activities) in my leisure time [Schlecht findet es niemand, wenn ich so was in der Freizeit mache]" (Int. 7) was called *everybodys and nobodys*. In this category, we coded 16 statements (n = 13). Two statements were coded into the subcategory *same gender* (n = 1); these were interpreted to reflect attitudes connected to gender regarding a certain type of activity (e.g. "Only girls [find visits to the opera or ballet good] because there are only girls in there [Nur die Mädchen … weil da nur Mädchen sind]" in Int. 16). The same girl continued that in her opinion, boys would not find visits to the opera and ballet good for the same reason—there are only girls participating. Her statements indicate that some cultural activities are perceived to be directed toward a certain gender. Hence, although stated by only one participant, this category was held as an independent subcategory.

4.2.3.3 Main category "perceived behavioral control"

The main category "perceived behavioral control" refers to factors enabling or hindering cultural behavior. Almost every child presented things that would make it easy or difficult for them to take part in cultural activities (n = 21). Overall, 69 statements were coded into this main category and were further differentiated into the subcategories controllability and self-efficacy, as suggested by Ajzen (2002). Most of the statements referred to aspects of external control—the subjective evaluation of the actual environmental conditions and one's own control over these conditions. These mostly impeding reasons were coded into

the subcategory controllability. The most frequently named factor hindering children's cultural participation was the perceived *lack of support* (n = 10) experienced mostly on the part of the family. Lack of support was described as parents not having enough time to go with children, not giving permission, or not providing transportation to cultural places. The *high costs* of such activities (n = 7) and *long distances* to these places (n = 6) were examples of other factors named by the children as impediments. Under the subcategory controllability, one factor that could be interpreted as characteristic of the children with migrant backgrounds was coded. This factor, named *culture of origin* and stated by three children, described perceived cultural or religious restrictions regarding participation in cultural activities through statements like "Nobody from my family goes to the museum, theater, or opera, because the Muslims just don't do so [Von meiner Familie geht niemand ins Museum, Theater oder in die Oper, weil Muslime das nicht so machen]" (Int. 12) or "Because we Turks do not go there so often [weil wir Türken gehen nicht, also so oft dahin]" (Int. 14). A specified listing of all control beliefs is presented in Appendix B.

Regarding the subcategory controllability, six children named factors facilitating their participation in cultural activities. *Support* on behalf of the parents (e.g. Int. 6: "My parents understand that I like going to the museum, and they bring me there on the weekend [Meine Eltern verstehen, dass ich gerne ins Museum gehe und bringen mich am Wochenende hin]") and *accessibility of the facilities* (e.g. Int. 13: "It is easy for me to go to the museum, because it is not that far away from us, we only have to go through Plärrer and we are there [Es ist mir leicht, ins Museum zu gehen, weil es nicht so weit weg von uns ist, weil wir nur durch den Plärrer fahren müssen und dann sind wir gleich dort]") were mostly facilitators making cultural participation easier.

Another subcategory differentiated under perceived behavioral control was self-efficacy. It was named by 16 children, and the *lack of knowledge*, e.g. not knowing enough about cultural activities to participate, was mentioned as the main reason that it was difficult to take part in cultural activities (n = 7). Also, seven children named *requirements involving cultural participation* as reasons for not participating. According to these children, participation in cultural activities requires too much from them, they cannot or will not sit still for that long, and they find passive watching too difficult.

4.2.4 Discussion

The objective of the elicitation study was to analyze the reasons for and against cultural participation in primary school children, with an additional objective to derive the possible effects of an immigrant background. For this purpose, a systematic approach based on the Theory of Planned Behavior was adapted, and the steps presented in a manual by

Francis et al. (2004) on how to construct a TPB questionnaire were followed. Children's beliefs about cultural participation were elicited through one-on-one interviews and systematically analyzed in a combination of deductive and inductive approaches (cf. Mayring, 2008). This resulted in a set of categories that were successfully derived based on the TPB.

4.2.4.1 Summary of main results

Based on the qualitative interviews, a more detailed picture of the determinants influencing cultural participation for primary school children emerged. The main result of the study is the generated set of categories presented in Table 2, with its elaborated subcategories, examples, and definitions mentioned in the text and specified in Appendix 2. The two-step procedure, implementing both deductive and inductive components of analysis, proved to be useful; the classification of the deductively specified categories could be maintained over the complete coding process. The inductive approach enabled further division of these categories, which provided a more differentiated insight into the beliefs children hold about cultural activities.

Children's statements from the interviews could be assigned to the set of categories with high inter-rater reliability. The empirical findings of the elicitation study, i.e. the categories extracted from children's statements, enable the generation of content-valid, quantitative, analyzable questionnaire scales to study the reasons for and against cultural participation in primary school children, which can also be used for children with a Turkish immigrant background. However, immigrant-specific determinants were rather rare, named by only a few children. The small number of children emphasizing immigrant-specific factors and the homogeneity in the statements indicate that the scope of reasons influencing children's cultural participation is only marginally marked by the specific ethnic or national backgrounds of the children. However, since the interview participants all come from same school and neighborhood, forming a homogeneous group, it is advisable to study the frequency and strength of these effects in supplementary future studies.

In addition to the applicability of belief elicitation for constructing the scales and questionnaire, the developed set of categories is crucial for identifying the main facilitative or inhibitory factors of children's cultural participation. Hence, this is a starting point for actions promoting equal participation in culture. As illustrated above, the children gave numerous reasons for and against cultural participation. Wigfield and Eccles (2000) highlight one crucial factor when making decisions about leisure-time activities—the activity should be fun and offer new experiences. As the predominance of positive behavioral beliefs cited by the children showed, a general positive attitude among these

children exist. Having fun and trying new, different experiences inspired them. Children also sensed a positive attitude among their significant others. However, as learned during the interviews, one's own positive attitude and the perceived positive attitude of others alone do not lead to participation. This becomes apparent because the children made mainly negative statements in the category "perceived behavioral control." According to these children, many parents do not have enough money or time to support their children regarding cultural participation. Although children sense a positive attitude on the part of their families, the lack of resources prevents them from taking part in such activities. Perceived parental barriers reflect the barriers named by adults in a corresponding study (see Mandel, 2006), which speaks to the validity of children's perceptions. In light of these preliminary results, the named barriers seem to collide with the right to participate freely and equally in cultural life and the arts in terms of § 31 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

4.2.4.2 Limitations and prospects for follow-up studies

As discussed above, the validity of the set of categories developed in the present study is confirmed by the applied systematic approach, as well as high inter-rater agreement between the two independent raters (cf. Mayring, 2008). However, in spite of the preliminary results regarding the determinants of children's cultural participation, further validation should be undertaken and limitations revised in further studies. Although the selected sample size corresponds to one suggested for elicitation studies within the TPB (cf. Francis et al., 2004), its composition may raise criticism, since only children with a Turkish immigrant background were interviewed. However, the selection is justified because Turks represent the biggest group of immigrants in Germany (cf. Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012). Furthermore, they are proven to have the biggest gap between their population and the German middle class (cf. Keuchel, 2012). Thus, the selected sample can be assumed to be effective in eliciting aspects of an immigrant background. However, the validity of the developed set of categories on children without or with other than Turkish immigrant backgrounds should be verified in future studies. Nevertheless, the few statements identified as typical only for children with a Turkish background speak to the generalizability of the results. Hence, the developed set of categories can be used to derive items for further quantitative studies not limited to children with (Turkish) immigrant backgrounds. However, in order to confirm the generalizability of the derived items and the developed questionnaire, children with different backgrounds should be questioned, and open-ended questions like "I take part in cultural activities for different reasons, namely…" should be included. Possible responses can be content analyzed and used to develop the questionnaire further.

The use of open-ended questions in follow-up quantitative pilot studies is also beneficial in order to confirm the completeness of the beliefs included in the set of categories, since structured and guided interviews—regardless of their effectiveness in ensuring the reliability of the coding—may prevent children from giving more self-originated and detailed descriptions about their beliefs (cf. Helavirta, 2007). The use of the open-ended questions in pilot studies can also reduce the possible effect of suggestibility in the elicitation phase, an issue common in researching children (e.g. de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004; Harden, Scott, Backett-Milburn, & Jackson, 2000). Suggestibility can result from cognitive factors, i.e. limited memory capacity by atypical, uninteresting, or unexperienced events, and/or from social and motivational factors, such as the willingness to please the interviewer, which can appear as answering in socially desirable ways or using other response strategies, like "yes" or "do not know" answers (de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004, 413-414).

Evidence of cognitive restrictions pointed out above was identified in the present study. The children were short in their statements and were not always able to specify their answers. E.g. stated the children museum visits being fun (the first thing occurred), but they could not find other reasons or they were unable to specify "the fun" more in detail. This resulted in many "do not know" answers, especially when speaking of activities unfamiliar to them (especially opera and ballet). As several studies have shown, unreliable responses appear if the children are not involved or interested in the subject (e.g. de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004). Therefore, a specific definition and description of the activities in question should be emphasized in further studies. This is important, as these activities seem to be abstract ideas in the lives of many children with a (Turkish) immigrant background.

Three children stated restricting factors identified as typical for children with an immigrant background. These statements were coded under the subcategory controllability and were named as *culture of origin*. However, the coding of these statements raised discussion about whether they presented control factors or aspects of social attitudes (i.e. either cultural or religious group norms) and so should be coded into the subjective norm category. The original coding was held for further studies, and an item regarding *culture of origin* was added to the control scale analogous to the original set of categories. However, the role of these aspects remains to be discussed more precisely.

In all, the conducted elicitation study was successful; it resulted in a reliable set of categories for the development of content-valid questionnaire items. Next, the stability and generalizability of the set of categories was proven in consecutive quantitative validation studies.

4.3 Study 2: Questionnaire development and pilot studies

The objective of study two was to construct a measurement instrument based on the developed set of categories generated in the elicitation study described in previous chapters. Thus, after eliciting the salient beliefs regarding cultural participation of primary school children, those considered to be the most salient were selected for use in the main questionnaire. For that purpose, the categories identified and the extent to which they were endorsed were used to construct questionnaire items created by using "anchor examples" derived from children's belief statements. The development of the scales followed the main constructs of the TPB, as they were divided in into "attitude," "subjective norm," and "perceived behavioral control" (Ajzen, 1985; 1991). After scale construction, the effectiveness was evaluated by measurement reliability and validity. These are the two important and distinct parts of the overall research validity—and thus the quality of the whole study (cf. Carmines & Zeller, 1979).

The applicability and reliability of the constructed scales were tested in two pilot studies: 2a and study 2b. Both studies sought to answer the same research questions: to what extend do the constructed scales show evidence of internal consistency (*RQ2a*) and measurement validity (*RQ2b*)? Reliability concerns the extent to which a measurement yields the same results in repeated trials (Carmines & Zeller, 1979, 11). A widely used type of measurement reliability—internal consistency—was employed to test the dependability of the constructed subscales. It refers to homogeneity of the items comprising a measurement scale, i.e. how highly the items correlate to one another (De Vellis, 1991). For that purpose, the study relies on Cronbach's alpha, the most commonly used method (Cronbach, 1951).

In addition to measurement reliability, sufficient measurement validity is an important characteristic; it is the extent to which a measurement instrument calculates what it is intended to measure (Carmines & Zeller, 1979, 17). Several types of measurement validity can be addressed. However, for the purpose of this dissertation, three validity aspects are discussed. The first is content validity, which refers to the measurement scale's ability to capture all the major aspects of the phenomenon being assessed, i.e. the representativeness of the items (Carmines & Zeller, 1979; Morgan, Gliner, & Harmon, 2001). The process of establishing content validity in this research began with an elicitation study (Chapter 4.2). The concept (criterion) under study and the predictor constructs (TPB constructs) were defined through a qualitative interview study. Content validity refers to whether the content that makes up the measurement instrument is representative of the concept under examination, so the aim of the elicitation study was to confirm that the instruments being used included all major aspects of the constructs (attitude, subjective norm, and behavioral control) but not material that is irrelevant (cf. Morgan, Gliner, & Harmon, 2001). The latter point is

of particular importance, since the target group consisted of primary school children with limited literacy and patience.

The second aspect of validity, construct validity, shows the logic behind the development of the measurement instrument and its function (Morgan, Gliner, & Harmon, 2001). It is concerned with "the extent to which a particular measure relates to other measures consistent with theoretically derived hypotheses concerning the constructs that are being measured" (Carmines & Zeller, 1979, 23). Asking whether the attitude scale really measures attitude and not some other aspect of the TPB is an example of examining construct validity.

The third aspect of validity, criterion validity, refers to the extent to which one measure estimates or predicts the value of another measure or quality. To measure the criterion validity of the scales, they must be calibrated against a known standard or some form of external criterion (Morgan, Gliner, & Harmon, 2001). In the present study, criterion validity is demonstrated by the predictive evidence between the constructed scales and criterion—the intentions and cultural behavior of the children. Based on the TPB, the theoretical prediction is that the more positive the attitude, the stronger the intention to perform the behavior (Ajzen, 1991). For the purpose of preliminary testing of the scales' criterion validity, bivariate correlations between the constructed scales and the criteria were examined.

4.3.1 Construction of the questionnaire

The construction of the questionnaire was made up of three phases. First, items were derived from children's statements collected in an elicitation study. The construction of the items in light of the TPB constructs attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control followed the guidance of TPB literature (Ajzen, 2006; Francis et al., 2004). The "75 percent rule" proposed by Ajzen (2006) was used as a starting point in constructing items for the scales. Thus, as many beliefs as were necessary to account for 75 percent of all beliefs elicited were selected. One item—culture of origin—was additionally added into the perceived behavioral control scale, although it was not used often enough to fulfill the 75% rule. However, the addition of this item was theoretically justified, as it presented the only factor characteristic of the children with a (Turkish) immigrant background. Therefore, the validity and generalizability of the belief that "such activities are not typical for Turkish people or Muslims" should be tested quantitatively before restricting the item from the questionnaire.

The first version of the questionnaire was tested on three primary school children in order to identify any issues regarding content, layout, and the operationalization of the items.

Because of reported difficulties, some items were rephrased and simplified. For example, the question enquiring parent's occupational status [Ist deine Mutter berufstätig?] was formed in a more simple way asking whether the parents work and what they do as a job [Arbeitet deine Mutter und welchen Beruf hat sie?]. Furthermore, the seven-point scale suggested by Francis et al. (2004) was reformed into a four-point scale. This reduction was based on the opinions of test subjects who found the wider scale too abstract and difficult. The original scale (where only the two extremes were labeled: 1 = strongly agree and 7 = strongly disagree) was transformed into fully-labeled scales (where every point has a label). These revisions appeared to be theoretically reasonable, because a limited number of response categories and fully labelled scales have been proven to give better results among children of this age (e.g. Borgers, Hox, & Sikkel, 2003; de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004).

The challenge of measuring children's behavior retrospectively has been generally acknowledged (e.g. Bell, 2007). Although researchers have suggested (ibid.) using a concrete reference period (e.g. "within the last seven days") to anchor the questions and make it easier for children to answer, the test subjects had difficulty recalling the frequency of cultural activities measured as visits "within a year." Hence, the original scale (1 = never, 2 = 1-2 times a year, 3 = 3-4 times a year, 4 = more than 4 times a year) concerning the frequency of activities ("How often did you visit a museum last year?") was changed to refer not only to visits in the past year but to visits at all ("How often have you visited a museum?"). This revision was made according to "think-aloud speak," as respondents were thinking about visits since nursery school. The visual aids presented to the children during the elicitation study were included in the questionnaire. However, pictures of opera and ballet were left out, since the interviewed children had no or only minor experience with such activities.

4.3.2 Pilot study 2a

4.3.2.1 Participants and procedure

The first pilot study (2a) was conducted in one primary school in Nuremberg, Germany with $N = 99$ 3rd and 4th grade primary school children ($n = 53$ girls, $n = 46$ boys) in autumn 2009. The participants were all between 8 and 11 years old ($M = 9.94$, $SD = 0.67$). Eighty five of the participants were children with an immigrant background,[11] mainly Turkish ($n = 33$). The children completed the questionnaires under the supervision of a researcher or trained research assistant during a normal classroom lesson. After presenting the study and giving the instructions, the researcher/assistant remained present for the

[11] Two types of immigrant background status were distinguished: 1) children *without* an immigrant background (i.e. children and parents born in Germany), and 2) children *with* an immigrant background (i.e. children and at least one parent born in a foreign country).

whole test time to address any issues. On completion of the questionnaire, the children were encouraged to ask questions about anything that was difficult to understand. Special attention was paid to explaining what is meant by cultural activities in the present study.

4.3.2.2 Measures

The questionnaire was divided into six sections. In addition to the three TPB constructs and questions about cultural participation, a series of questions were asked about the demographics of the children and (based on the objectives of the third-party funded project presented previously in Chapter 4.2.1) their school success and the perceived educational aspirations of their parents. The items, analysis, and results regarding school success and parents' aspirations are not discussed in the following; more information on the project and its results is available in af Ursin & Kröner (2009). Although Ajzen (2006) recommends mixing questions designed to measure different constructs of the TPB, the advice to keep children's questionnaires straightforward and as simple as possible was followed (cf. de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004). Therefore, the TPB items were grouped by construct, and no further differentiation within the main constructs (e.g. intrinsic vs. extrinsic attitude) was made. At this point, the criterion was measured as an actual behavior, since the interest was to explain children's cultural participation, not their intention to participate (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012).

A criterion: cultural activities

Based on the corresponding research (cf. Kunter et al., 2003) and the results of the elicitation study reported in previous chapters, two self-report measures of cultural behavior were used. The children were asked to indicate on a scale of 1 (I have never been there) to 6 (more than 4 times, namely…) how often they had been to museums and theaters (cf. Figure 5). The bivariate correlations between the items $r = .23$ ($p = .02$) allowed the use of an aggregated scale of "cultural activities" for the analysis ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.33$). This was used in case no significant differences between the different forms of cultural activities existed. Regarding participation in cultural activities, the children were also asked with whom they were accompanied when visiting museums and theaters.

15. Wie oft warst du schon im Museum?

War noch nie da	1-mal	2-mal	3-mal	4-mal	Mehr als 4-mal
□	□	□	□	□	□ ... nämlich:_____-mal

Figure 5 An example of a cultural activity measurement. How often have you visited a museum? Response scale varied between "have never been there" to "more than 4 times, namely…."

Explanatory variables

As Ajzen (2011, 1123) points out, the most essential information about the determinants of a behavior is contained in a person's behavioral, normative, and control beliefs. He continues, however, that these beliefs do not develop in a vacuum; rather, they are dependent on life values, which are affected by a host of background factors. For the present study, three background factors—gender, social background, and immigrant background—are considered theoretically relevant and of special interest; these factors together with the TPB constructs were applied as explanatory variables to predict children's cultural participation in the following empirical studies.

Based on the international PISA study, three questions were asked to find out the immigrant backgrounds of the children: "In which country were you born?" "In which country was your mother born?" and "In which country was your father born?" (cf. Kunter et al., 2003). The response options were: "In Germany" and "In another country, namely…." The coding of the item has been presented above. For measuring socio-economic background,[12] parental occupation was examined (cf. Kunter et al., 2003). The items were: "What is your mother's/father's occupation?" and "What does she/he do in that work?" The open-ended questions were coded according to an International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO, International Labour Office, 1990). ISCO coding (with its different versions, here ISCO-88) has been developed to enable international comparison of occupational data and is the most widely used occupational classification standard (e.g. Bergman & Joye, 2005). ISCO classifies work according to both tasks and duties related to an occupation (ten major occupation groups) and relevant skills (skill levels 1-4) that are necessary for fulfilling the formal and practical requirements of a particular occupation (International Labour Office, 1990). For the present study, information about parents' tasks and duties was collected. The classification of parents' occupations occurred in its broadest aggregate level, as presented in Table 3. The highest occupational group in the family is reported. Due to a zero response to the occupational group "armed forces," it was removed from further analysis.

[12] The terms "class" and "socio-economic status" are used as equivalents in the present study in spite of opposition to that classification in some previous studies and discussions (e.g. Rubin et al., 2014). Because most of the studies derive a person's class or status from their (or their parents') position in the labor market, the difference between these two terms will not be further decoded here (cf. Virtanen, 2007).

Table 3 The ISCO-88 groups and the percentage of study participants (study 2a) by the groups

Code	Major Groups	%
1	Legislators, senior officials, and managers	3.1
2	Professionals	6.2
3	Technicians and associate professionals	8.2
4	Clerks	10.3
5	Service workers and shop and market sales workers	36.1
6	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.0
7	Craft and related trades workers	12.4
8	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5.2
9	Primary occupations	17.5
10	Armed forces	-

Notes: $N = 97$

The TPB section of the questionnaire contained 21 items measuring attitudes (7 items), injunctive subjective norms (8 items), and perceived behavioral control (6 items). All questions were formed and presented as linked to the pictures (see Figure 6). The children were instructed to first look at the pictures and then answer the questions.

Figure 6 Pictures presented in reference to the questionnaire items

As discussed in the context of the elicitation study, two open-ended questions ("I have different reasons why I visit (or do not visit) the museum or theater, namely…") were included in the questionnaire. The precise formulation of other questions, their division into the TPB categories, descriptive statistics of the items and scales, and the internal consistency of the scales is presented in Table 4.

Table 4 Measures of the TPB and item and scale statistics

TPB construct	Item construction	M	SD	α
Attitude	scale: 1 = totally agree to 4 = totally disagree	2.06	0.73	.79
atti1	I find going there interesting	1.80	0.89	
atti2	Going there is fun	1.76	0.98	
atti3	I can learn something there	1.89	1.03	
atti4	I can learn something new and special there	1.64	0.87	
atti5	It is boring there	3.52	0.98	
atti6	If I go there, I have less time for other hobbies	2.34	1.34	
atti7	If I go there, I have less time for my friends and family	2.36	1.20	
Subjective norm	scale: 1 = totally agree to 4 = totally disagree	1.70	0.45	.42
sn1	When I go there, my parents find it…	1.58	0.58	
sn2	When I go there, my sisters and brothers find it…	1.96	0.88	
sn3*	When I go there, my relatives find it… (e.g. grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins)	1.70	0.66	
sn4	When I go there, my friends find it…	2.12	1.02	
sn5*	When I go there, other girls find it…	2.32	1.06	
sn6*	When I go there, other boys find it…	2.33	1.02	
sn7	When I go there, my teacher finds it…	1.23	0.42	
sn8*	When I go there, other adults find it…	1.63	0.68	
Behavioral control	scale: 1 = totally agree to 4 = totally disagree	3.17	0.67	.71
control1	I do not go there, because they are too far away	3.31	0.98	
control2	I do not go there, because it is too expensive	3.15	1.07	
control3	I do not go there, because it is not suitable to my religion or culture	3.42	0.88	
control4	I do not go there, because my parents do not support me at it (e.g. do not allow, have no time or do not know the way)	3.18	1.13	
control5	I do not go there, because I do not know enough about it (e.g. I am not familiar with such activities or I do not know the way)	3.22	1.00	
control6	I do not go there, because it is easier to do something at home instead of going there (e.g. play at home, play with friends)	2.76	1.16	

* These four extra items were added during the pilot study for one class (n = 13) with the objective of improving the internal consistency of the scale. Adding the items (outlining the salient beliefs rule of 75%) resulted in an alpha coefficient = .64 (M = 1.94, SD = .70).

Responses for all items regarding the TPB scales were given on a four-point scale ranging for attitude and perceived behavioral control from 1 = totally agree (stimmt genau) to 4 = totally disagree (stimmt gar nicht) and for subjective norm from 1 = really good (sehr gut) to 4 = really bad (sehr schlecht). In accordance with the previous discussion on children's cognitive limitations in response behavior, a four-point scale was chosen over a five-point scale (cf. Adelson & McCoach, 2010). To obtain an overall measure of the TPB constructs, the mean of all items within the constructs was derived.

4.3.3 Pilot study 2a: Results

The children had visited museums on average 3.6 times (*SD* = 1.78). Typically, museums were visited in leisure time with family or friends (60%). Similar results were true for theaters, where they had visited on average 3.5 times (*SD* = 1.52). In contrast to museums, theater performances were visited mostly as part of school (74 %). Gender comparisons revealed no differences between girls and boys in cultural activity. With respect to other background variables, children with an immigrant background (*M* = 3.37, *SD* = 1.75) were found to visit museums less frequently than children without an immigrant background (*M* = 4.92, *SD* = 1.44). Independent samples t-test showed significant differences between these groups ($t(93) = -3.05$, $p = .003$), however the effect size for the difference was modest ($ES_r = .43$). The socio-economic status of a family showed a statistically significant correlation with museum visits ($r = .33$, $p < .01$) but had no significant effects on visits to theaters ($r = .004$, $p = .98$). Descriptive statistics regarding the explanatory variables attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control are presented in Table 4.

4.3.3.1 Reliability

The constructed scales showed acceptable (i.e. $\alpha > .70$) internal consistencies for attitude and perceived behavioral control (e.g. Nunnaly, 1978). The four items selected as the most salient reference groups for the subjective norm scale proved to have an unsatisfactory reliability ($\alpha = .42$). However, through the addition of four more items during the pilot study, the internal consistency could be increased to $\alpha = .64$. This indicates that the subjective norm scale can be reliably used if expanded further.

4.3.3.2 Validity

Before testing the complete model of behavioral prediction, the correlation of each of its three major components (attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control) with the criterion (visits to museums and theaters) was tested. For that purpose, the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (Pearson's correlation *r*) was selected, as it measures the strength and direction of association that exists between two variables (e.g. Metsämuuronen, 2011). The correlations are presented in Table 5. Contrary to the hypothesis that all TPB scales would correlate with the criterion, only one significant correlation between the TPB construct (perceived behavioral control) and visits to museums could be found. The scales for attitude and subjective norm showed non-existent association to the criterion. Due to missing correlations, further analysis with the present data was not advisable.

Table 5 Bivariate correlations (Pearson) between predictor variables and criteria

	Museum	Theater	Attitude	Subjective norm
1. Museum				
2. Theater	.23*			
3. Attitude	.06	.21		
4. Subjective norm	-.02	.11	.59**	
5. Behavioral control	.25*	.04	.49**	.39**

Note: $N = 82$; cases excluded listwise; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

4.3.4 Pilot study 2a: Discussion

The present study served as a quality test of the TPB scales developed to predict primary school children's cultural participation. The items for the scales were derived from the set of categories constructed in a systematic elicitation study with the objective of ensuring the content adequacy of the set of items for further prediction of the behavior (cf. Ajzen, 2006; Francis et al., 2004). However, as the preliminary analyses showed, not enough evidence could be collected about the reliability and validity of the constructed measurement instrument. Although the scales for attitude, subjective norm (with supplementary items), and perceived behavioral control proved to have satisfactory internal consistencies, they failed to disclaim correlations with the criterion and thus showed no evidence of criterion validity. Consequently, no further analyses were conducted with the collected pilot data. In the following, possible deficiencies are identified and solutions for the second pilot study are presented.

4.3.4.1 Identification of the deficiencies

Even if a scale has high reliability, it may not necessarily be valid (e.g. Carmines & Zeller, 1979; Morgan, Gliner, & Harmon, 2001). In the case of the present study, the internal consistency of the scales was satisfactory, but they failed to measure what they were supposed to measure. Carmines and Zeller (1979) discuss different interpretations for the lack of evidence—here, missing correlations—relevant to criterion validity. According to them, the most typical interpretation would be that the scale items fail to measure the theoretical construct on which they are based. This interpretation does not, however, seem plausible for the present study, since the construction of the items and scales was based on an elicitation study conducted on the target population (children under study), which should ensure the saliency of the collected beliefs underlying the scales. Another explanation they provide is the incorrectness of the theoretical framework (in this case, the TPB) used to generate predictions. From this perspective, the constructs might be valid, but the theory beneath them may not be. This explanation is even more unlikely

than the previous one, since research in various fields has provided unquestionable evidence regarding the applicability of the TPB (see Chapter 3.2).

Theoretically, a positive attitude toward cultural activities should be positively associated with cultural participation if measured with reliable and valid scales. However, as Carmines and Zeller (1979, 25) point out, the lack of validity may also be due to unreliability of other variables in the analysis. In the case of the present study, it could be asked whether the TPB constructs were measured valid but the measure of the criterion (visiting museums and theaters) was invalid or unreliable. The following critique can indeed be placed on the criterion: it was measured rather narrowly, as only two different activities were observed. This might have led to a minor variation in responses, which may in turn have caused the low correlations between the explanatory variables and the criteria. Moreover, the low variation in responses might have been due to the high homogeneity of the population examined; the children were all from the same school, all living in the same neighborhood, and all had relatively similar social backgrounds.

Another critical factor may be the cognitive issues of the questionnaire. As discussed previously, it is crucial to consider whether the respondents (children) understood the questions and have the knowledge or memory to answer them accurately (e.g. de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004). As noted above, the children represented a relatively homogeneous group with a mainly migrant background. Although no reduced literary competencies or problems in understanding the questions emerged in an interview situation, the questionnaire might have been too difficult for them.

4.3.4.2 Handling of named deficiencies

In reference to identified deficiencies, the following modifications were recommended for the second pilot study (pilot study 2b). First, the criterion should be expanded (more variables measuring cultural activities). Adding rather than strictly delimiting items is also recommended by Carmines and Zeller (1979), since inadequate items can still be eliminated at a later stage in the research. Following this principle, additional items for the subjective norm and perceived behavioral control scales were supplemented. Thus, the 75% rule of most salient beliefs in these two categories was not strictly followed. Second, the understandability of the questionnaire—the wording of the questions, layout, and response scale—was examined by the research group. As a result, the scales and questions were kept persistent, but the semantically differentiated response categories were transformed into graphical representations, as recommended in the literature about research on children (cf. Ajzen, 2006; de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004). The third modification concerned the sampling. In order to avoid the excessive homogeneity of the research population, a more heterogenic (and if necessary, larger) sample was to be

collected. This could be achieved by selecting schools and classes from different regions or neighborhoods. This was expected to ensure heterogeneity of family backgrounds of the children and sufficient variation in criterion behavior.

4.3.5 Pilot study 2b

The pilot study 2b served the same objectives as the first (pilot study 2a) to test the internal consistency (*RQ2a*) and measurement validity (*RQ2b*) of the constructed scales. For the present study, the modifications discussed under the first pilot study were controlled.

4.3.5.1 Participants and procedure

The second pilot study (2b) was conducted in the area of Nordrhein-Westfalen (Cologne and county of Wesel), Germany in June and July 2010. In total, 24 primary schools with $N = 383$ 3rd grade primary school children (50% girls) took part in the study. The participants were from 52 different classes. For financial and organizational reasons, the pilot study was conducted with other research projects (cf. Kröner et al., 2012; Schüller, ahead for publication; Staudenmaier, 2012). On average, eight children per class took part in the study; half of the class filled in the cultural activity questionnaire, and half completed the questionnaire of another project. The participants were between 7 and 11 years old ($M = 9.04$, $SD = 0.58$). 34% of the participants were children with an immigrant background. Children's socio-economic backgrounds based on the highest occupational status in the family are presented in Table 6. Similar to pilot study 2a, the occupational group "armed forces" was eliminated from analysis due its zero incidence. The children completed the questionnaires under the supervision of a trained research assistant during a normal classroom comparable to pilot study 2a, depicted in chapter 4.3.2.

Table 6 The ISCO-88 groups and the percentage of study participants (study 2b) by the groups

Code	Major Groups	%
1	Legislators, senior officials, and managers	0.9
2	Professionals	9.8
3	Technicians and associate professionals	6.8
4	Clerks	10.4
5	Service workers and shop and market sales workers	26.1
6	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.3
7	Craft and related trades workers	21.7
8	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	9.8
9	Primary occupations	14.2
10	Armed forces	-

Notes: $N = 337$

4.3.5.2 Measures

The constructed questionnaire was initiated with the modifications depicted above. The first questionnaire section about the demographics of the children was assigned unmodified. The criterion (cultural activities of the children) was expanded by six additional activities. In addition to museum and theater, the following items were included: 1) ballet, opera, and dance performances, 2) concerts, 3) cinema, 4) library, 5) guided city tour, and 6) art exhibition. The response alternatives were equal to the pilot study 2a. Both scales, one for all examined cultural activities ($\alpha = .72$) and the other delimited on highbrow cultural activities, i.e. museum, theater, ballet, opera and dance performances, and art exhibitions ($\alpha = .68$) indicated satisfactory internal consistencies.

The predictors (the TPB constructs attitude and subjective norm) were implemented unmodified, as presented in Table 4 in Chapter 4.3.2.2. However, the items "parents" and "siblings" were merged into a single item to avoid issues with families with an only child, where the response would generate a non-random *missing data* (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012, 25). All questions were presented in reference to the pictures as depicted in the first pilot study. The additional four items marked with an asterisk were included in the subjective norm scale. The perceived behavioral control scale was extended by five items, two of which presented aspects of self-efficacy ("I do not go there, because I do not understand it" and "…, because I am not used to it"), and three that represented aspects of controllability ("…, because you have to be quiet there," "…, because you have to remain seated so long," and "…, because you are not allowed to move around"). Additional new items were not included in the scales, since no further reasons influencing cultural participation were presented in the open-ended questions included in pilot study 2a.

The major modification of the questionnaire was made regarding the response scale of the predictor items, as the semantically differentiated scale was restructured into a more concrete graphical scale as depicted in Figure 7. The big "NEIN" (no) represented a strong rejection, the small "no" a rejection, the small "ja" (yes) an agreement, and the big "JA" a strong agreement. This response scale had already been successfully applied among primary school children (e.g. Fritzsche, 2012).

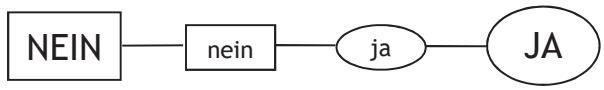

Figure 7 The four-point response scale (NO–no–yes–YES)

The descriptive statistics and internal consistencies for the predictor scales attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control are presented in Table 7.

Table 7 Descriptive statistics and internal consistencies for the TPB scales

Scale	items	*M*	*SD*	α
Attitude	7	2.94	0.79	.80
Subjective norm	7	2.52	0.72	.78
Perceived behavioral control	12	1.88	0.73	.88
Controllability	9	1.91	0.75	.85
Self-efficacy	3	1.81	0.84	.72

4.3.6 Pilot study 2b: Results

The children had taken part in all inquired cultural activities on average 2.5 times (*SD* = 0.95) and in selected highbrow cultural activities on average 2.4 times (*SD* = 1.18) in their leisure time. Gender comparisons revealed no differences between girls and boys in any of the reported forms of cultural activities except in a single item level—visits to ballet, opera, and dance performances. Those were more frequently visited by girls (M = 2.11, SD = 1.61) than boys (M = 1.46, SD = 1.04), t (325) = 4.59, $p < .001$, ES_r = .23). However, after computing the effect size for the significant t-test, the difference was found non-significant. Similar to the gender differences, children's socio-economic background correlated statistically significantly with participation in cultural activities (r = .20; $p < .01$). Children with higher socio-economic backgrounds had often taken part in (especially highbrow) (r = .26; $p < .01$) cultural activities. However, the effect size for these differences was also found non-significant (ES_r = .26). Immigrant background correlated less in regards to statistical significance with highbrow cultural activities (r = .11; $p < .05$). However, the effect size for a significant t-test (t = 2.16, $p < .05$) indicated no critical difference in participation activity between children with or without an immigrant background (ES_r = .24).

4.3.6.1 Reliability

The internal consistencies for the predictor scales attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control applied in the second pilot study held a high degree of internal consistency ($.78 \leq \alpha \geq .89$). This is depicted in Table 7. Furthermore, the addition of two items presenting the aspects of self-efficacy in the perceived behavioral control scale enables a reliable division of the scale into the sub-scales "controllability" and "self-efficacy," as discussed both theoretically and with regards to an elicitation study. However, in the examination of the preliminary validity of the TPB scales in the following section, the perceived behavioral control scale held constant.

4.3.6.2 Validity

The bivariate correlations between the TPB constructs and the criteria are shown in Table 8.

Table 8 Bivariate correlations between the TPB scales and the criteria

	1	2	3	4
1. Cultural activity				
2. Highbrow CA	.86**			
3. Attitude	.12*	.16**		
4. Subjective norm	.06	.07	.40**	
5. Perceived behavioral control	-.19**	-.23**	-.46**	-.14**

Note: $N = 359$; cases excluded listwise; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

With respect to the TPB variables, minor (and so statistically insignificant) correlations could be found between the two constructs (attitude and perceived behavioral control) and cultural participation. Children with a positive attitude and a stronger sense of control over the behavior had taken part in cultural activities more often than children with a less positive attitude or less perceived control over the behavior. However, the construct subjective norm again did not correlate with cultural behavior.

Since correlations between the criteria and explanatory variables could be found, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to test whether children's cultural participation can also be predicted based on the TPB constructs and additional background variables. A summative score for all measured cultural activities represented the dependent variable. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 9.

Table 9 The TPB scales and background variables as predictors of criterion

	Model 1 ($N = 356$)				Model 2 ($N = 312$)			
Predictor	**B**	***SE***	**β**	***p***	**B**	***SE***	**β**	***p***
Attitude	.03	.08	.03	.68	.06	.08	-.05	.45
Subjective norm	.06	.08	.05	.43	.05	.08	.04	.52
Perceived behavioral control	-.23	.08	-.18	<.01	-.15	.08	-.11	.08
R^2	.03							
Socio-economic background					-.08	.02	-.18	<.01
Immigrant background					-.11	.11	-.06	.29
R^2					.06			

The three constructs of the TPB (attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control) were entered simultaneously into model 1 of the regression equation and were found to explain three percent of the variance in children's cultural participation. Perceived behavioral control explained the most variance ($F(3.35) = 5.03$, $p < .01$, $R^2 =$

.03). Socio-economic and immigration background variables were entered into model 2 and found to contribute significantly to the prediction ($F(5.31) = 4.81$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .06$), accounting for an additional three percent of the response variance. However, the predictive power of the complete model stayed modest. After controlling for background variables, none of the TPB constructs predicted cultural participation of the children. This result defends controlling the effects of socio-economic background in further studies.

4.3.7 Pilot study 2b: Discussion

The objective of the second pilot study was to handle deficiencies identified in the first pilot study and evidence the reliability and validity of the constructed TPB scales, thus answering the research questions *RQ2a* and *RQ2b* (see Chapter 4.1). For that purpose, several modifications regarding questionnaire content and sampling were applied, which indeed resulted in minor improvements in both internal consistency and correlations; however, the changes failed to support the quality of the constructed measurement instrument. Although all the TPB scales displayed a good or high degree of internal consistency, correlations between them and the criteria, i.e. all cultural activities and highbrow activities in particular, remained low or non-significant. Despite the correlations between attitude and cultural participation, the attitude scale failed to predict cultural participation of children in a multiple regression analysis after controlling for other TPB constructs. The only TPB construct that predicted the criterion was perceived behavioral control. However, after controlling for children's socio-economic background, this also effect disappeared.

Overall, the findings of pilot study 2b indicate the relevance of social background in defining children's cultural participation. This finding is consistent with many previous studies, as presented more extensively in Chapter 2.3 (e.g. Bos, Gröhlich, & Pietsch, 2007). Thus, the results of the present study speak in favor of the fact that children's cultural participation is more person-extern than determined by individual factors. This is evident because the socio-economic background affected cultural participation even after controlling for the TPB constructs in a regression model. Again, the constructed scales failed to predict the behavior as hypothesized based on the TPB. In the context of an instrument development process, however, the conclusion that the TPB is not a functional theory for researching cultural participation in children would be premature. In the following section, the possible causes of the missing predictive power of the scales will be discussed. In doing so, the validity issues regarding the questionnaire are further examined and resolved.

4.3.7.1 Identification of the remaining deficiencies

Another pilot study having gone awry concerning implementation of the TPB in researching children's cultural participation necessitated deep consideration about why the scales were not functioning. Upon reflection, both the survey situation and questionnaire within the research group revealed deficiencies that were thought to produce invalid measures regarding the objective of the present study. As the experiences of the research assistants among the children indicated, the questionnaire was still found too difficult or confusing, both linguistically and structurally. This was especially evident in the amount of questions children asked during the survey. Further examination of the literature and expert views revealed several deficiencies that needed to be revised before continuing on to the empirical part of the dissertation (see the next section, 4.3.7.2).

Middle childhood (constituting this study's participant group) begin to learn about classifications and temporal relations, but they still have problems with logical forms such as negations (e.g. de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004), which are commonly used in the scales adapted in the present questionnaire. Negative statements (i.e. "I do not go there, because…" or "because I am not used to…" ["Ich gehe dort nicht hin, weil…" or "weil ich nicht gewohnt bin"]) are not only more difficult to understand but also less valid. As Benson and Hocevar (1985, 239) emphasize, caution should be exercised when using negative item phrasing, particularly when the target population consists of primary school children.

Another point that should be emphasized is primary school children's ability to think abstractly and understand "vague" words. These are two abilities essential for understanding the instruments applied in the present study. Although children in middle childhood become more capable of abstract thinking, they are still very literal in interpreting words (e.g. Holaday & Turner-Henson, 1989). Furthermore, a considerable variation among children in their abilities exists depending, for example, on their heredity, academic skill, experiences, and socio-economic factors (e.g. de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004). In the present study, the criteria (different cultural activities) were asked separately. However, the items predicting cultural activities (i.e. the explanatory or independent variables) were presented in reference to collective "cultural activities"—a construct that may have been too abstract for the children (cf. Keuchel, 2012). Although the visual aids used to ensure understanding were thought to be illustrative, presenting them with the questions might have caused further confusion. For example, the question "I do not go <u>there</u>…" ("Ich gehe <u>dort</u> nicht hin…") can be seen as both abstract and vague.

Another contributor to the criterion's abstraction is its diversity. In the present study, several cultural activities were combined under one construct. In TPB research, this has worked well enough—for example, in researching children's leisure-time

sports (e.g. Staudenmaier, 2012). However, as Ostrower (2008, 87) notes, cultural participation cannot (or should not) be discussed as a single thing, since it increasingly includes a broad and diverse array of forms and activities. Therefore, if the activities included under the concept of "cultural" differ in forms and arts, it is to be expected that the determinants of cultural activities also vary in different cultural domains. As Ostrower (2008, 89) illustrate, people indeed attend different types of cultural events for different reasons. Therefore, because the pictures shown to the children depicted both a museum and a theater, it could have been problematic to answer e.g. the question "To go there is a lot of fun…" if children's experiences about the two activities were contradictory.

4.3.7.2 Handling of the remaining deficiencies

The TPB was applied to predict children's cultural participation, which involved several cultural activities. However, the theory with all of its determinants—attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control—failed once again to predict the behavior. This served as evidence against the theory's validity, at least with respect to the behavior under study and/or within the population studied (cf. Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 180). To discover the flaws in the research process leading to the constructs' lack of predictive utility, several deficiencies were identified and controlled, as described in the following. As pointed out above, negatively phrased items reduce the validity of a questionnaire (e.g. Benson & Hocevar, 1985). Therefore, in future studies, the questionnaire should be modified such that no negatively phrased items exist. Questions have to be simplified to avoid abstraction problems.

As indicated above, the diversity of cultural activities measured as one phenomenon was too abstract for children. In fact, as Fishbein and Ajzen (2010) note, it is more difficult to develop good measures of behavioral categories (cf. cultural activities) than to assess the performance of a single behavior. They also highlight that when studying determinants of behavioral categories, it may be challenging to ensure that all participants have the same definition and understanding of the behavioral category (and that their definition matches that of the investigator). To solve this conceptual confusion, one central activity could be selected to prototypically exemplify other cultural activities. Hence, the TPB questions have to be modified analogically to the criterion, which facilitates simpler questions.

Selection of a criterion

The museum was selected to be the criterion for a primary measure of highbrow cultural activity. This selection was made for several reasons. Based on the UNESCO framework for

cultural statistics (cf. UNESCO-UIS, 2009), museums fall under the category of cultural heritage (in addition to historical places and archeological sites). A museum—defined as an institution that cares for a collection of artifacts and other objects of scientific, artistic, cultural, or historical importance and makes them available for public viewing through exhibits that may be permanent or temporary (cf. Alexander & Alexander, 2008)—is a place where participants extend their understanding of history and society, explore scientific phenomena, and learn. In fact, learning is the aspect most commonly attached to museums. This also became evident in the elicitation study of this dissertation, as children exclusively connected museums with learning.

According to Fishbein and Ajzen (2010), the most important condition for the prediction of a behavior is sufficient variation in the behavior in the target population. This is one of the reasons why the museum was chosen as the representative cultural activity. Support for the selection of a museum as a criterion can be found in large-scale studies (e.g. Eurobarometer, 2007; 2011; 2013; Lintunen, 2007). Among the various forms of receptive cultural participation, visiting historic buildings and museums is one of the most popular activities. As shown in Eurobarometer (2011), 67% of European young people had visited a museum, gallery, or historical monument in the past year. The number of young museum visitors in Finland (66%) aligned with the average of the EU, whereas among German youth, the number of visitors was even higher (72%). Furthermore, despite the widely discussed trends of diminishing interest in highbrow cultural activities, museums have maintained their popularity and show no declines in interest among the population. For example, German youth (between 16 and 29 years old) visit museums (especially in contemporary art museums and exhibitions) twice as often as other cultural locations (Keuchel, 2005). A similar growth in museum visits could be found among Finnish children; the percent of children (aged 10 to 14) who had visited museums in the past year was 33% in 1999, compared to 58% in 2009 (Central Statistical Office of Finland, 2009). Thus, when it comes to visits to museums, children and youth are the primary audience (e.g. Eurobarometer, 2011; Huysmans, van den Broek, & de Haan, 2005).

Museums also proved to be the most familiar and most-visited cultural activity among the children in the present study (pilot study 2a). A reassessment of the interview data from the elicitation study showed that a museum embodies all the best aspects of cultural participation (cf. "learning," which occurred exclusively with regards to museums). Furthermore, the most variance between children could be found in the number of visits to museums (pilot study 2b). These results also apply to Finnish primary school children, proven with $N = 111$ 3rd graders (af Ursin & Sipilä, 2011). The Finnish data was collected as part of an unpublished pilot study conducted by the researcher and research assistant in the city of Turku in autumn 2011.

In the literature, museums also have a history of use as indicators of the possession of embodied cultural capital (e.g. DiMaggio, 1982; Dumais, 2002; Kracman, 1996; Nagel, 2010). For example, Bourdieu (1977) favored museum attendance above other indicators of fine arts participation. This was because of the lack of economic obstacles involved in museum attendance as compared to attendance at concerts or the theater, for example. Thus, analyzing visits to museums as a measure of cultural capital removed the economic constraints dictating class differences while maintaining the relationship between class and cultural activity. Another strong argument for choosing museums over other art forms comes from DiMaggio and Mukhtar's (2008) study on trends in arts attendance; they noted a decline in several other cultural activities but not in attendance at art museums and galleries between 1982 and 2002. Attendance at art museums also remained stable among the youngest subsection (ibid.).

Beside the economic factors described above, museums were chosen because of their diversity. Museums—and not just art museums—have shifted their image of a central upholder of "high culture" to an activity emphasizing popularity, pleasure, and immediate accessibility (cf. Hanquinet & Savage, 2012). While only a minority are art museums, most contain themes that represent areas of broader culture. Therefore, museums with different emphases may draw all kinds of participants. However, despite the variety and the professed changes of image, different kinds of visitors tend to share the same conceptualization of what museums represent (Hanquinet & Savage, 2012), which is a crucial condition for the validity of the research (cf. Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010).

In all, the identification of deficiencies regarding the research instruments listed above—the negatively phrased items and vague or abstract items and criterion—resulted in simplification of the questionnaire. The largest modification concerned the selection of one activity, the museum, to represent the primary measure of cultural activities. In making this change, the study can avoid conceptual confusion. A narrower definition of the criterion enables the formation of items analogical to it, so it can be more simple and precise. Furthermore, abstract conceptualization can be eliminated this way. The effects of these modifications were tested in the next two studies, presented in chapter 4.4, consisting of one study conducted in Finland and another in Germany. However, for cross-national purposes, samples were combined and will be presented simultaneously under Study 3.

4.4 Study 3: Exploring cultural participation

Study 3 included several objectives. First, it aimed to assess the reliability, interrelations, and predictive validity of the constructed and modified TPB scales in assessing children's beliefs related to cultural behavior and, based on these behavioral beliefs, their intention

to take part and their actual participation in cultural activities cross-nationally to answer research questions RQ2a, RQ2b, and RQ3. In addition to an exploration of the quality of the measurement model, its invariance across countries was estimated to determine whether the model could be generalized across countries (RQ4). In examining the TPB measurement and structural models' cross-national generalizability, research questions regarding explanations for cultural participation in childhood are discussed (RQ5, RQ6, and RQ7).

Following literature recommendations regarding the construction and validation of questionnaire scales, a two-step approach was used (e.g. Brown, 2006; Byrne, 2012; Kline, 1998). First, the measurement components were analyzed separately, and in the second step, the structural part of the model was included in the analysis. This approach isolates potential problems of incorrect specification in the measurement model prior to testing structural and causal relationships between variables. These steps were conducted separately for both countries as follows.

First, the factorial structure and validity of all questionnaire scales were tested (the scales for attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control, as well as the criterion scales). Based on the TPB and previous research evidence, attitude was hypothesized to consist of internal and external aspects; subjective norm to consist of injunctive and descriptive norms; and perceived behavioral control to consist of the aspects of controllability and self-efficacy. To test these assumption, a single- and two-factor confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) for each construct was applied to both samples separately. Second, a structural equation model (SEM) was applied to specify the regression structure among the latent variables. Based on the theory, it was hypothesized that the more positive the attitude and subjective norm regarding a behavior and the greater the perceived behavioral control, the stronger should be the intention to perform the behavior under consideration.

After applying several models for both countries separately (testing the form invariance of models across countries), a series of multi-group structural equation models that included data from both countries with increasing restrictions on model parameters was computed. In doing so, the measurement invariance across observed countries was examined to determine whether the scores on each construct have the same meaning for each sub-sample (measurement invariance). Furthermore, to study the relations among the construct dimensions, the equivalence of the full structural equation model across countries was tested (structural invariance).

Statistical analysis

Factor analysis is the oldest and most well-known statistical procedure to investigate the relationship between sets of observed (i.e. items) and latent (i.e. constructs underlying

the items) variables (Byrne, 2012, 5). Two types of factor analysis are often used: explanatory factor analysis (EFA) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). In contrast to EFA, which does not place strong a priori restrictions on the structure of the model being tested, CFA requires that both the number of the latent variables (or "factors") and the specific pattern of loading for each of the measured variables be specified (cf. Byrne, 2012; Junttila, 2010). According to Brown (2006), CFA is used for four major purposes: psychometric evaluation of measures, construct validation, testing method effects, and testing measurement invariance (e.g. across populations). All the presented purposes are discussed in this dissertation. After confirming the latent structures of the constructed scales using CFA, structural equation modelling (SEM) was applied to study the structural relations of the scales. This method, compared to more traditional regression analysis, reduces the overall effect of measurement error caused by any individually observed variables, because the latent constructs are represented by multiple indicators (Kline, 1998; cited in Junttila, 2010).

The estimation method and fit indices

All analyses were conducted with M*plus* 6.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2010). The tests were based on the analysis of covariant structures from each sample using a robust maximum likelihood parameter estimation method (MLR). MLR produces maximum likelihood estimates with standard errors and test statistics that are robust to non-independence of observations when used with "type = complex" (see paragraph 4.4.2.2 Pre-analysis for school and class effects). Raw data is available from the author. In all cases, factors were allowed to correlate, and errors were assumed to be uncorrelated. The fit of the models was evaluated using a commonly applied combination (cf. Byrne, 2012) of the following values: chi-square, the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; Steiger & Lind, 1980), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI; Bentler, 1988), the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI; Tucker & Lewis, 1973), and the Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). Chi-square measures how much the data deviate from the hypothesized model. If it is statistically significant, this is an indication of model misfit. Although the most commonly used index, the chi-square test is not fully reliable, as it depends on the sample size. If the study has relatively few participants, the chi-square test may fail to reject even evidently ridiculous models simply because of the lack of power to reject the null hypothesis. In fact, the test tends to reject entirely adequate models with large sample sizes and thus is considered unreliable with large (over n = 500) sample sizes as well (e.g. Bentler & Bonett, 1980; Junttila, 2010). Therefore, while reading the fit indexes, this typical bias of the chi-square estimates should be acknowledged. The results of the chi-square test should be kept in mind, but one should not be overly influenced by them (Bentler & Bonett,

1980; Junttila, 2010; Metsämuuronen, 2011). In reference to this discussion, the relative adequacy of fit indices is presented.

RMSEA is related to the chi-square in that it tests how much the data deviate from the model by measuring the discrepancy per degree of freedom (e.g. Byrne, 2012, 73). Values over .10 are considered to be a bad fit, those between .08 and .10 indicate mediocre fit, values less than .08 represent reasonable fit, and those under .05 are a good fit (e.g. Browne & Cudeck, 1993). Hu and Bentler (1999) proposed a cut-off value of close to .06 as indicative of a good fit. The CFI indicates how good the model is compared with an independence model. The index yields scores between 0 and 1, but an acceptable value should be at least .90. If the chi-square test is significant, the CFI value should be at least .95 (Kline, 1998). Like the CFI, the TLI indicates how much better the model fits compared to an independence model. Also, TLI varies between 0 and 1 and should be at least .95 for the model to be suitable (cf. Hu & Bentler, 1999). The SRMR represents the average value across all standardized residuals and ranges from 0 to 1. In general, the smaller value, the better the model's fit (Byrne, 2012). According to Hu and Bentler (1999), a cut-off value of close to .08 indicates a good fit. The selection of these indices was based on their widespread use and their efficacy in comparing samples of unequal size (cf. Byrne, Muthén, & Shavelson, 1989, 459).

Measurement equivalence of questionnaire scales

It is evident that differences in social norms and values (and therefore different socialization practices) can play a major role in creating cultural differences both in the meaning and structure of a measured construct (cf. Byrne, 2008). However, use of the constructed scales to explain cultural participation across countries and cultures must be based on the assumption that the scales are operating in the same way and that underlying concepts have the same theoretical structure and psychological meaning across the groups of interest (Byrne, 2008; Byrne, Muthén, & Shavelson, 1989; Jöreskog, 1971). Thus, the concept of measurement equivalence refers to the extent to which parameters comprising the measurement portion of the CFA model are similar across different groups (Byrne, 2008). Clearly, the more similar the models are, the greater the comparability.

To enable cross-national comparisons between Finnish and German children, the equality of the factor patterns of the measurement models (see models 1-4 in Table 10) and the equality of path loadings for the structural model were tested across countries (see models 5 and 6 in Table 10). The evaluation of the measurement invariance included testing of various models by comparing a fully unconstrained baseline model with several nested models, presenting more stringent constraints.

Table 10 Description of multiple-group models in the analysis of the present study

Models	Constraints
measurement model 1	Same factor structure (unconstrained)
measurement model 2	Constraints on factor loadings
measurement model 3	Constraints on factor loadings and item intercepts
measurement model 4	Constraints on item error variances and item covariances
structural model 5	Unconstrained path loadings
structural model 6	Constraints on path loadings

Table 10 shows four different multiple-group models applied when analyzing the measurement equivalence of the constructed TPB measurement instrument. The first model (the configural model) has the same factorial structure across groups but has no constraints on the parameters. Configural equivalence implies that if an item loads strongly on the latent factor in one group, it also has a high factor loading in the other group. In the second model (the metric model)—also referred to as construct equivalence—the factor loadings are constrained to be equal across groups. The third model (scalar model) has equal intercepts across groups, in addition to the equal factor loadings. Scalar equivalence is a minimum prerequisite for latent mean comparisons across countries or over time. Finally, the fourth model (the factorial model) was a fully restricted model in which all parameters, including item error variances and item covariances, had the same value for both sub-samples (e.g. Byrne, 2008; Junttila, 2010.). However, this is a rather strict assumption that does not hold in most cases and is not a prerequisite for most practical questions. The assessment of equivalence of structural models proceeds from the fully constrained measurement model 4. After modelling a structural model with unconstrained path loadings (structural model 5), the structural regression paths were constrained equal (structural model 6).

Based on the process of model testing described above, the level of measurement equivalence can be determined by comparing the fit of a more restricted model with a less restricted one. If the fit of these models does not differ substantially, the more restrictive level of measurement equivalence may be assumed. As one indicator for the invariance of the measurement model, the difference in the overall $\chi 2$ values and the related degrees of freedom (i.e. Likelihood Ratio Test) of the models under scrutiny were compared. Since the models of the present study were computed based on robust statistics (MLR), a suggested correction to the value was used (Bentler, 2005; Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2010). The statistically significant $\chi 2$ difference value ($\Delta\chi 2$) suggests that the constraints specified in the more restrictive model do not hold—the two models are not equivalent across groups (Byrne, 2012, 256). However, since the chi-square-based tests of statistical significance tend to be problematic with larger sample sizes, the results regarding invariance of the measurement model were judged based on a practical approach involving a combination of the two following alternative criteria: 1) The multi-group model should exhibit an

adequate fit to the data, and 2) the ΔCFI values between models should be negligible, i.e. < .01 (Byrne, 2012; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). A partial measurement invariance procedure was applied in case of violations of the two criteria above (Byrne, Muthén, & Shavelson, 1989). According Byrne et al. (ibid.), valid comparisons can also be made if the parameters of at least two indicators per construct are equal across compared groups.

4.4.1 Method

In the period 2012–2013, two comparable questionnaire surveys were carried out. Following the goal of constructing an equivalent measurement instrument for cross-cultural assessment, a strategy taking into account the decentering of scale construction (the synchronized development of the same instrument in both cultures) was adapted (cf. van de Vijver & Tanzer, 2004). This procedure is a powerful tool for identifying possible construct bias, since words and concepts specific to one particular language or culture can be eliminated (ibid.). Hence, to ensure the simultaneous scale development process, the piloted German scales were first implemented in Turku, Finland, followed by comprehensive data collection in Cologne, Germany.

Because they are both limited to one city and the surrounding are, the surveys are not representative at a country level. However, the selected cities—representing the 6th (Turku) and 4th (Cologne) largest cities in the country and both offering similarly rich cultural possibilities—constitute suitable area representatives to compare cultural participation and its antecedents between the selected countries. Furthermore, after studying children in schools, speaking with all children in the classes, and attending carefully to school selection, it can be confirmed that children with all kinds of backgrounds were included in both samples.

4.4.1.1 Participants

The data set for the Finnish study was collected as part of a project entitled "Eviva," which is a welfare project (2011–2015) coordinated by the Cultural Services, Sports Services Centre, and Youth Department of the city of Turku[13] between April and May 2012. The questionnaire survey was targeted at students from third, sixth, and ninth grade. For the purpose of the present dissertation, only the data from the third-graders were analyzed. The sample consisted of children from all nine districts of Turku except Runosmäki-

[13] The Eviva project aims to improve the well-being of Turku residents by developing recreational services to meet their wishes and needs. Within this project, regional analyses about inhabitants' leisure time activities, self-reported well-being, and perceived possibilities to participate in decision-making were conducted.

Raunistula.[14] In order to follow the sampling design (minimum of 100 students from every targeted grade and district, all schools in suburban areas, and randomly selected schools in the city center), 29 schools were contacted to gain initial approval from the principal for student participation in the study. Of the schools selected, 23 participated. Overall, 711 third-grade school children from 40 classes completed the survey. Seven of them studied in a combined class and were fourth-graders at the time of the study. These seven participants and an additional six participants who either filled in the questionnaire only partially, missed all the items regarding cultural participation, or answered the questions systematically with nonsense, were excluded from the sample. This led to an overall sample size of $N = 698$. 53% of the participants were girls, and 21% of the children had an immigrant background. Participants' socio-economic backgrounds were based on the highest occupational status in the family (ISCO-08, an update of the ISCO-88; cf. International Labour Organization) and are depicted in Table 11. For further analysis, the original ISCO coding with ten categories was dichotomized as low vs. high categories.

Participants in the German study were recruited from eight schools: two rural, two urban, and four suburban primary schools in and around the city of Cologne. The selected schools represented different types of residential areas and populations regarding socio-economic status and migrational backgrounds. In total, 34 classes took part in the study. This resulted in a total sample size of 504 primary school children. Four cases were excluded during data control—two questionnaires were filled in with obvious nonsense, and two participants did not return parental approval. Thus, the final sample comprised $N = 500$ 3rd and 4th grade primary school children. 53% of the participants were girls, and 47% of the children had an immigrant background. Participants' socio-economic backgrounds were based on the highest occupational status in the family (ISCO), as presented in Table 11.

Table 11 Percentage of the participants in ISCO-08 groups

Code	Major Groups	FIN[1] %	GER[2] %
1	Legislators, senior officials, and managers	3.8	4.8
2	Professionals	34.4	30.0
3	Technicians and associate professionals	11.6	8.0
4	Clerks	3.3	7.2
5	Service workers and shop and market sales workers	31.1	26.3
6	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.3	0.4
7	Craft and related trades workers	10.2	10.9
8	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	3.3	7.0
9	Primary occupations	2.1	5.4
10	Armed forces	-	-

Notes: [1] $N = 579$, [2] $N = 460$; rotated response scale in further analysis

[14] This area acted as a pilot study to test the questionnaire a year earlier in autumn 2011.

4.4.1.2 Research procedure

The data for the Finnish sub-study was collected during three consecutive weeks between April and May 2012. The research procedure followed the procedure implemented in the pilot studies. The children filled out a pencil-and-paper questionnaire under the supervision of the researcher and/or a trained research assistant. Before filling in the questionnaires, participants were told about the research project, its purpose, and their anonymity, as well as the right not to take part in the study (this was emphasized). The children were carefully instructed in filling in the questionnaire and were told about the opportunity to ask for help during the survey. They had 45 minutes to fill in the questionnaires. If someone did not finish in time, he or she was given another 15 minutes to complete the survey. The research data was entered into the IBM SPSS Statistics program by the researcher herself. Parents' occupations were coded into corresponding ISCO-08 groups using the classification expert program[15] provided by Statistics Finland. In case of an unclear occupation, a consensus was negotiated in the research group or the case was recorded as a *missing value*.

Like the Finnish data collection, same procedure was adapted to the German sub-study. The data was collected during two consecutive weeks in April 2013.[16] The children filled in the paper questionnaires under the supervision of the author, who gave the children the same information and instructions that had been given to the Finnish participants. Parents were asked to give their written informed consent for their children's participation in the study.

4.4.1.3 Measurement instruments

The questionnaire implemented for this study is a modification of previous studies presented in this dissertation (see Chapter 4.3 Study 2: Questionnaire development and pilot studies). The first study was carried out in Finland, so the Finnish questionnaire functioned as a point of departure for the German questionnaire. All questions and response scales regarding items for comparative purposes were kept unmodified and were translated from Finnish into German by the author and a group of professionals possessing both linguistic and expert knowledge[17] (cf. Schmitt & Eid, 2007). The initial translation was carried out by the author. As a second step, consultations with a wide range of key people followed. The revised questionnaire was then back-translated (revised by

[15] http://www.stat.fi/meta/luokitukset/index_en.html.

[16] The German data collection was financed by the Kone Foundation (Koneen Säätiö).

[17] Professor Stephan Kröner, Ph.D. Eva Fritzsche, Ph.D. Regina Staudenmaier (Institute for Educational Research of University of Erlangen-Nuremberg); Ph.D. teacher, Claudia Standfest (primary school Schwabach); Ph.D. German language teacher Minna Maijala (University of Turku).

a third person—a Finnish university teacher who was an expert in both languages). This revision identified no problematic cases in translation, which permitted the acceptance of the back-translated questionnaire. The final questionnaire for both countries consisted of four parts: (1) background information, (2) leisure-time cultural activities including the TPB scales, (3) general leisure-time activities, and (4) perceived success in school. In addition to these parts, the Finnish questionnaire included further questions regarding school-related well-being and participation. An English translation of the research questionnaire regarding the scales and items applied to Finnish and German children is presented in Appendix C.

Dependent variables: cultural participation of children

In the present study, the frequency of museum visits and the intention to visit museums were treated as primary measures of children's cultural participation. Children's intention to visit a museum was operationalized by two items: "I intend to visit museums next year" and "I intend to visit museums as an adult." The original four-point scale implemented in the German pilot study 2b (NEIN-nein-ja-JA [NO-no-yes-YES]) could not be adapted to the main study, since the scale formation in the Finnish sub-study had to stay coherent to the practice used in the framework of the wider project presented above. Therefore, a four-point numeral rating scale was adapted in the present study for both Finnish and German sub-samples. The rating scale for intention was a four-point scale designating frequency as follows: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, and 4 = strongly agree.

The actual behavior—the frequency of museum visits—was operationalized through four items regarding different types of museums: art museums, museums of natural history, museums of cultural history, and specialized museums. For the present study, museum classification follows the classification of the Finnish Museum Association, including all the different kinds of Finnish museums.[18] The Finnish classification, being more broadly defined than the German one, was used as a basis for the German study as well. Therefore, the German classification of nine types of museums based on the UNESCO classification was reduced to four types. However, it can be assumed that by adapting the four-type classification of museums, all German museums are represented. Because the five other museums types represent further refinement or a combination of different museums (such as. museums including content from several types of museums or a joint museum where different museums are located in the same complex), they can be categorized under the wider four Finnish classifications (see Table 12). The lowest row, which presents two non-specified German museums with mixed content, is considered additional, since they consist of a combination of other

[18] Conversation with the Communications Officer Tuuli Rajavuori, Finnish Museum Association

classified museum types. In the questionnaire, the children were asked, "How often do you visit the following museums?" Item scores varied between: 1 = never, 2 = seldom, 3 = once in a while, and 4 = often.

Table 12 The origin of the items for museum visits based on Finnish and German museum classification

Finnish museum classification	German museum classification
1 Art museums	2 Art museums
2 Museums of natural history	4 Museums of natural history
	5 Museums of natural science and technic
3 Museums of cultural history	3 Castle and burg museums
	1 Folklore and local history museums
	6 Historical and archeological museums
4 Specialized museums	8 Specialized museum of cultural history
	7 Museums including joint content
	9 Complex of different museums

Explanatory variables: The TPB scales

The original German TPB scales as used previously in the pilot studies were translated into Finnish by the author and modified according to the discussion presented in Chapter 4.3.7.2. In doing so, negatively phrased items were corrected and made more concrete, and the questions were presented in reference to the behavior (for example, "I do not go there because it is too far away" was changed to "Museums are located near my home"). All the modifications implemented in the Finnish sub-study were kept as-is for the German sub-study. Before implementing the modified scales, they were tested for comprehensibility with a sample of ten Finnish primary school girls, one of whom had an immigrant background. In addition to filling in the questionnaires, the children were (informally) interviewed by research assistants in two groups of five people. They were asked the same questions presented to the German children in an elicitation study regarding the main constructs attitude ("What do you think is good/bad about museums?"), subjective norm ("Who would find it good/bad if you visit a museum?), and perceived behavioral control ("Why is it easy/difficult for you to visit a museum?). The objective was to test whether the stated reasons for and against cultural participation of the German children corresponded with those of Finnish pupils. Consequently, the scales were held mainly constant, as the statements of the Finnish children could be mostly categorized under the constructed set of German categories. However, some arguments were more highlighted among Finnish children,

which led to minor changes at an item level (linguistic clarifications, item extraction, and item supplementation).

The main addition in the TPB construct levels was made to the subjective norm scale; four items measuring descriptive norms were included. The objective was to increase both the internal consistency and especially the predictive utility of the scale, which was found nonexistent in both pilot studies. By way of adding complementary items measuring injunctive norm, the internal consistency of the scale could be approved in pilot study 2b. However, this did not increase the predictive power of the scale. Hence, for the present study, three items measuring injunctive norm ("other girls," "other boys," and "other adults") were removed, and four items measuring descriptive norm were added and piloted. Two of the descriptive items measured parents' own behavior (visits to museums) and two examined parents' interest in museums.

In addition to the insertion of the items described above, some were also removed. This was necessary due to a limited overall amount of items that could be implemented within the described project. Therefore, one item on the attitude scale was replaced based on the statements of the Finnish children, and four items from the perceived behavioral control scale were removed. The removal of these items was based on their infrequency in the interviews. Following the basic rules for general questionnaire construction—such as the rule to use one question at a time (e.g. de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004; Metsämuuronen, 2011)—the item regarding parents and siblings in a subjective norm scale was divided into three separate items: mother, father, and siblings. However, the item for siblings was excluded from the analysis, because including it would have led to a non-random *missing data* result in some cases (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012). This is due to the fact that a question regarding siblings is not answerable if a participant is the only child in a family. The final items included in the questionnaire, their assignment to the categories of the TPB constructs, and item statistics are presented in Table 13. Responses for all items regarding the TPB constructs were given on a four-point scale ranging from 1 = totally disagree (täysin eri mieltä) to 4 = totally agree (täysin samaa mieltä).

The TPB scales depicted above regarding the Finnish sample were adopted unmodified for the German questionnaire. The only exception was the piloting of additional items within the German sample, which sought to refine and improve the predictive utility of the TPB scales. However, these extra items were not the focus of the dissertation and thus are not taken into account in the present analysis. More information about these items is available from the author.

Table 13 Item formation, statistics, and their assignment to the TPB constructs

TPB	Restructured items (scale: 1 = totally disagree 4 = totally agree)	FIN		GER	
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Attitude: What do you think of museums?					
atti1	I like museums	2.52	0.96	2.90	0.96
atti2	I am interested in museums	2.53	1.03	2.76	1.04
atti3	You can learn different and new things in museums	3.05	0.99	3.55	0.77
atti4	Visiting museums is fun	2.66	1.05	2.94	1.01
atti5	I rather do something else than visit museums[1]	1.78	0.91	1.81	0.90
atti6	It is boring in museums[1]	2.75	1.10	3.02	1.03
atti7	I do not like museums because there have to be quiet[1]	2.80	1.08	2.93	1.08
Subjective norm: What your family and friends think of museums?					
Injunctive norm					
sn1	My mother finds it good if I visit museums	2.79	0.95	3.06	0.87
sn4	My father finds it good if I visit museums	2.54	1.03	2.93	1.00
sn7	My siblings find it good if I visit museums	2.06	0.96	2.23	1.10
sn10	My relatives find it good if I visit museums	2.53	1.00	2.64	1.05
sn13	My friends find it good if I visit museums	2.03	0.92	2.25	1.06
sn16	My teacher find it good if I visit museums	3.03	0.98	3.35	0.88
Descriptive norm					
sn2	My mother is interested in museums	2.44	1.00	2.74	1.01
sn3	My mother visits often museums	1.78	0.85	1.97	0.92
sn5	My father is interested in museums	2.16	1.02	2.50	1.07
sn6	My father visits often museums	1.69	0.83	1.91	0.91
Behavioral control: Why is it easy or difficult for you to visit museums?					
control1	Museums are located near my home	1.66	0.86	1.57	0.88
control2	Visiting museums costs too much for my family[1]	3.25	0.94	3.45	0.82
control3	I get a ride to museums if I want to go there	2.41	1.10	2.94	1.07
control4	I am used to visit museums	1.95	1.01	2.01	0.99
control5	I know enough about museums (e.g. their location, opening hours, exhibitions)	1.98	0.94	1.85	0.88
control6	It is difficult going to museums, because in most of them you have to have an adult with you[1]	2.50	1.11	2.73	1.08
control7	Visiting museums is expensive[1]	2.86	1.00	2.74	0.99
control8	Visiting museums takes time away from other hobbies[1]	2.47	1.20	2.23	1.10

Note: [1] rotated response scale, [2] for the applied full questionnaire see appendix C.
The original Finnish and German versions available from the author

4.4.2 Results

4.4.2.1 Descriptive statistics

First, to give a general impression of children's cultural participation, a percentage distribution of selected cultural activities was observed. Figure 8 presents the frequency of visits to four types of museums and seven other cultural events or places, which were selected based on the mode of participation, i.e. they all represent out-of-home, receptive activities.

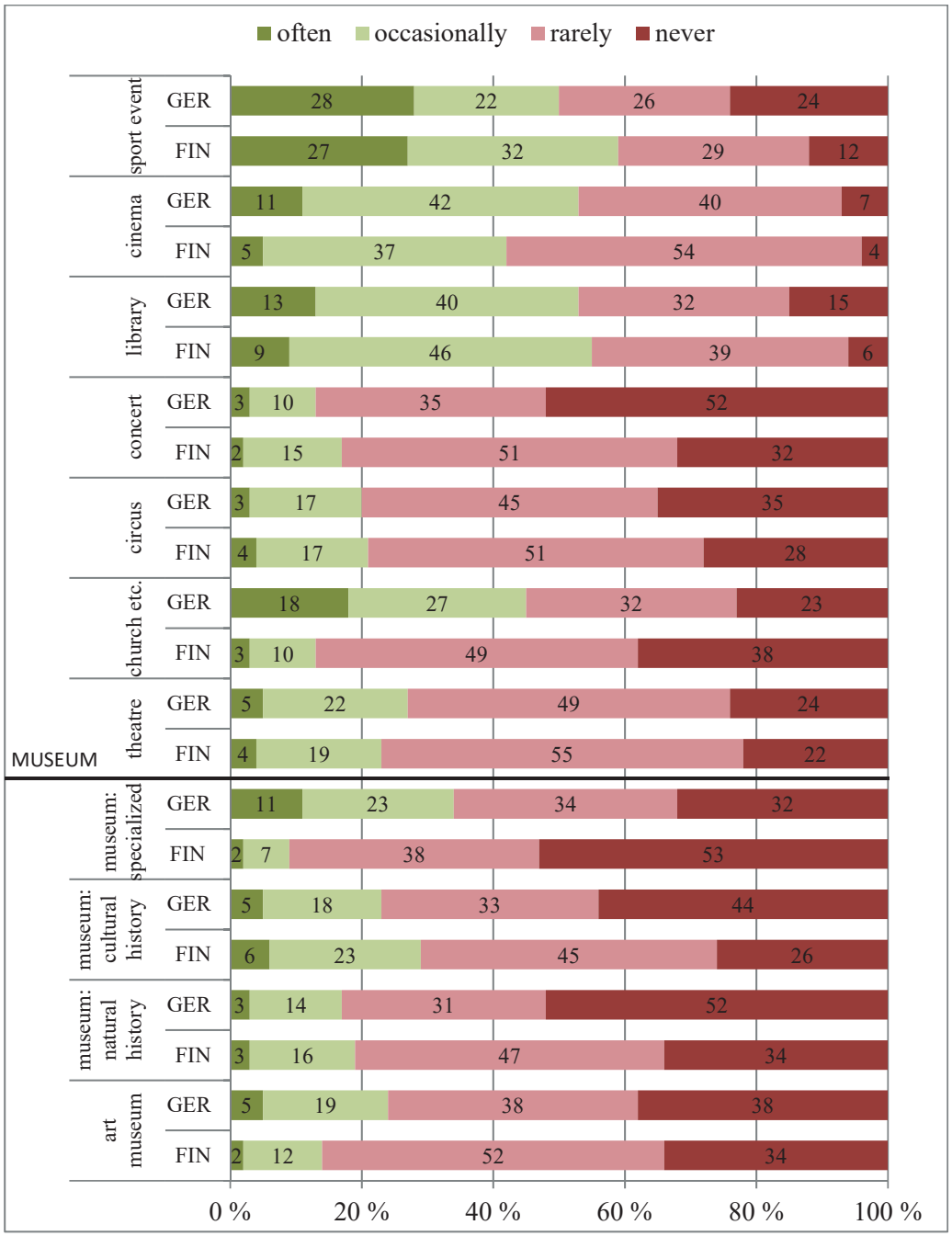

Figure 8 Cultural participation patterns of children by country (%)

Visits to sporting events were the most common cultural activity reported among the children in both countries. 28% of the German children and 27% of the Finnish children reported going to sporting events often, with half of them doing so at least

occasionally. Also, other (more popular) cultural activities (cinema, library) were found to be visited relatively often compared to those marked as "fine arts" (theater, concerts, museums). As can be seen in Figure 8, infrequency of visits or non-participation in traditional cultural activities is prevalent. Only a small percentage of both Finnish and German children reported visiting museums, theaters, circuses, or concerts often. Museums of cultural history—e.g. Turku castle, Kurala village (a rural farm), handicrafts museums—were the types most often visited among Finns, as 29% of them reported visiting these museums at least occasionally. Similarly, the museums with the most participants, was found concerning specialized museums – e.g. Chocolate museum, Cologne carnivals museum – among the German children. It should be noted that that the Cologne cathedral (Der Kölner Dom) is a famous landmark of the city and has special meaning, which may have influenced the substantial difference in visits to churches between the sub-samples. This may also explain the increase in visits to specialized museums by German children, since museums with religion and church-based historical content are considered in Germany to be museums of cultural history—categorized under specialized museums in the present study.

Table 14 outlines the means, standard deviations, internal consistencies, and measures of distribution for the predictor scales and criteria for both countries. Moreover, regarding behavior, descriptive statistics are differentiated for the museum types. Among the children of the present study, museum visits were intended more often than they actually happened. Generally, there were only minor differences between the Finnish and German children when it comes to the prevalence of visiting different museums (except for specialized museums). Compared to their Finnish peers (M = 1.59, SD = .72), German children (M = 2.12, SD = .99) visited these kinds of museums more often $t(1186) = -10.810$, $p < .001$. This difference, which shows a moderate practical significance (ESr = -.29), suggests that the difference is substantive. Girls and boys visited museums equally often. However, among the Finnish sample (N = 687), there was a statistically significant difference in the frequency art museum visits between girls (M = 1.90, SD = .71) and boys (M = 1.71, SD = .69), $t(685) = 3.604$, $p < .001$. However, the Cohen's effect size value (ESr = -.13) suggested only low practical significance.

Table 14 Descriptive statistics and internal consistencies for the scales of the study variables

		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Scale	item	*M*		*SD*		Skewness		Kurtosis		α	
Intention	2	2.36	2.67	.98	.87	-0.20	-0.31	-1.08	-0.70	.77	.69
Museum	4	1.84	1.89	.60	.70	0.50	0.59	0.26	-0.30	.79	.85
art	1	1.89	1.91	.71	.87	0.55	0.61	0.10	-0.45	-	-
natural history	1	1.88	1.69	.77	.84	0.56	0.90	-0.15	0.12	-	-
cultural history	1	2.09	1.85	.85	.90	0.43	0.73	-0.42	-0.44	-	-
specialized	1	1.59	2.12	.72	.99	1.18	0.44	1.24	-0.78	-	-
Attitude	7	2.57	2.41	.79	.75	-0.18	-0.43	-0.83	-0.55	.89	.86
Subjective Norm	10	2.31	1.96	.70	.71	0.06	0.16	-0.54	-0.71	.91	.89
Injunctive norm	6	2.52	2.40	.76	.81	-0.14	-0.05	-0.59	-0.54	.87	.84
Descriptive norm	4	2.01	1.97	.78	.84	0.47	0.43	-0.52	-0.62	.86	.86
Control	8	2.39	2.01	.54	.56	0.01	0.04	-0.05	0.17	.62	.59

Note: 1 = Finland, 2 = Germany

As can be seen in Table 14 above, the estimates of skewness and kurtosis were within reasonable limits for both data sets—all values were below 2.0 for skewness and 7.0 for kurtosis (Curran, West, & Finch, 1996, 26). The internal consistencies of the TPB scales on a main construct level varied between $.59 \leq \alpha \leq .91$. Following the general rules of thumb (e.g. George & Mallery, 2003, 231), the measurement consistency for the scale attitude ($\alpha = .89/.86$) can be held as good for both subsamples. Measurement consistency for the subjective norm scale was excellent, both as unidimensional ($\alpha = .91/.89$) and divided in subscales injunctive ($\alpha = .87/.84$) and descriptive norm ($\alpha = .86/.86$). However, the consistency for perceived behavioral control scale was questionable ($\alpha = .62/.59$). The low (questionable) internal consistency of the perceived behavioral scale is a commonly reported challenge that can be explained to some extent by the heterogeneity of the construct (cf. Ajzen, 2006; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). However, the accomplished coefficients, although slightly lower for both countries, still remain in line with the average alpha coefficient ($\alpha = .65$) reported in Cheung and Chan's (2000) meta-analysis.

The bivariate correlations of the predictor variables (TPB constructs and socio-economic background) with each other as well as with both criteria (intention to visit museums and visits to museums) are presented in Table 15. As can be seen in the table, all TPB predictor constructs (highlighted in gray) correlated statistically significantly with both criteria, i.e. intention to visit museums and visits to museums.

Table 15 Bivariate correlations (Pearson) between the predictors and criteria (correlations for Germany in parentheses)

	1	2	3	4	4a	4b	5
1. Intention[1]							
2. Visiting museum[1]	.44(.44)**						
3. Attitude[1]	.56(.45)**	.44(.34)**					
4. Subjective norm[1]	.48(.46)**	.51(.53)**	.54(.46)**				
4a injunctive norm[1]	.44(.38)**	.41(.44)**	.54(.44)**	.93(.86)**			
4b descriptive norm[1]	.42(.38)**	.52(.55)**	.43(.28)**	.86(.80)**	.65(.53)**		
5. Behavioral control[1]	.42(.39)**	.42(.43)**	.46(.39)**	.45(.53)**	.39(.43)**	.42(.47)**	
6. ISCO[2]	.22**(.11)	.16(.24)**	.10*(-.07)	.23**(.09)	.20**(.02)	.24(.28)**	.29**(.19)*

Note: [1] $N = 634(477)$, [2] $N = 457(294)$; cases excluded listwise; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

4.4.2.2 Pre-analysis for school and class effects

Collecting data from school children within classrooms or schools is a common sampling method used in educational research (Hill & Goldstein, 1998; Peugh, 2010). This inevitably leads to a hierarchical structure of the data, where multiple observations are nested within individuals and which often requires multilevel modeling (MLM) techniques to analyze the data (Peugh, 2010). Therefore, as the sample for this study was not collected randomly but instead includes the whole class or classes within the schools, the nested structure of the data was examined to identify the substantial differences in the level of classes and the resulting need for MLM. For this purpose, the intra-class correlations (ICCs) for criteria, explanatory variables, and explanatory scales were analyzed with the M*plus*-program (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2010).

Peugh (2010) defines the ICC as the proportion of measurement response (e.g. cultural activity) score variation that occurs across schools and as the expected correlation between the measurement response scores of two pupils in the same school. ICC values range from 0.0 to 1.0, where an ICC value of 0 indicates that there is no score variation across the classes and all variation occurs across pupils. As the ICC value increases, the proportion of score variation that occurs across schools increases, which results in violations of the independence assumption. According to general recommendations (e.g. Byrne, 2012), an ICC score greater than .10 necessitates the use of multilevel modeling. ICCs for all items and scales are presented in Appendix E. The ICC values were then used to calculate the design effects (*deff*) in measurement scale levels, as these additionally take into account the average size of the group. The design effects for the applied scales are presented in Table 16.

Table 16 Design effects for the measurement scales

Scale	$deff_{Finland}$	$deff_{Germany}$
Museum	1.62	2.12
Intention	1.42	1.11
Attitude	1.32	1.58
Subjective norm (injunctive)	1.55	1.94
Subjective norm (descriptive)	1.54	2.02
Perceived behavioral control	1.55	1.87

The intra-class correlations for Finnish measures varied between $0.003 \leq ICC \leq 0.08$, indicating that at most, 8% of the variance occurred across classes (see Appendix C, p. 217). For the German measures, four items (including the museum of natural history [museum2], injunctive norm teacher [sn10], descriptive norm mother [sn2] and location

of museums [control1]) showed ICCs greater than .10, indicating that more variation than is recommended occurred across classes ($0.004 \leq ICC \leq 0.287$). However, the ICC values at a scale level remained acceptable. Although the ICCs for all measures indicated no need for multilevel modeling, the design effect showed scores greater than the recommended 2.0 (e.g. Peugh, 2010) for two scales: museum and descriptive subjective norm. Therefore, "class" was applied as a cluster variable for the "type = complex" option in M*plus* to adapt the standard errors in further analysis.

4.4.2.3 Examination of the factorial structure of the TPB constructs

The measurement model for the present study consists of the predictor components attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control, as well as both criteria of intention to visit museums and visits to museums. The theoretically expected factorial structure and its fit to the data for both sub-samples were evaluated using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). In the following, the measurement models will be observed for each country separately. Doing will indicate whether the TPB model is appropriate as presented in its three main constructs (attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioral control) or if the data support further division into sub-scales (attitude as intrinsic and extrinsic, subjective norm as injunctive and descriptive norm, and perceived behavioral control as controllability and self-efficacy). This part of the analysis progresses stepwise, demonstrating the testing of a single-factor model compared to a two-factor model. A graphical depiction of both models applied to each TPB construct is given in Figure 9 below.

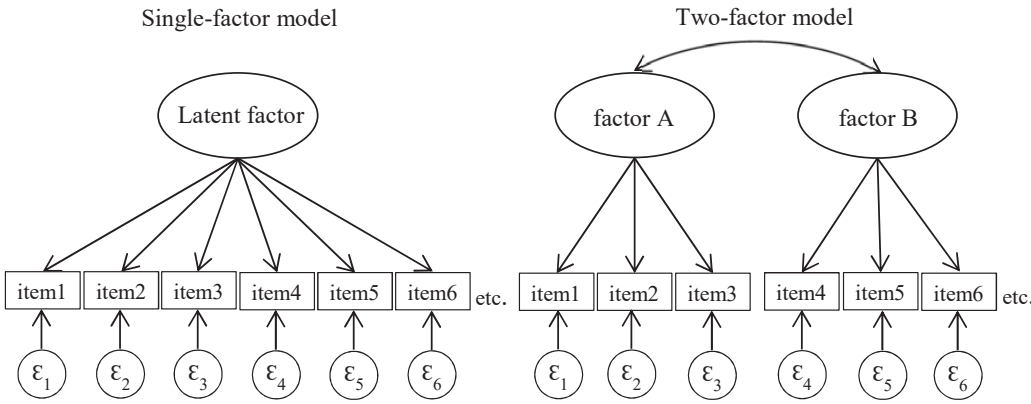

Figure 9 Graphical depiction of single- and two-factor models applied to each of the TPB constructs to derive the appropriate measurement model

The rectangles indicate observed, i.e. measured variables, and unobserved latent variable constructs appear in circles. The arrows in the figure indicate the direction of the hypothesized effect. The error terms are included for each exogenous variable, indicating a latent variable construct. The error term represents the error of the measurement. For example, the error term (ε_1) is an unobserved entity consisting of the portion of the measured value of item 1 that does not reflect the effect of the latent factor construct.

In addition to testing the structure of the TPB components, this study examines whether the TPB model is equally replicable and the items load similar to the same factors in both sub-samples (for a more precise description of the evaluation of the measurement instrument, see Table 10, pp. 110). If these two arguments are proven effective, the measurement invariance in the context of two group structural equation models will be estimated.

Attitude

The first simple single-factor model for the construct attitude—one without any modifications—showed a weak fit to the data in both sub-samples (for Finland: χ^2 = 194.13 (14) $p < .001$, CFI= .933, TLI= .899, RMSEA= .136, SRMR=.051; for Germany: χ^2 = 108.314 (14) $p < .001$, CFI= .942, TLI= .912, RMSEA= .116, SRMR=.044). As a result, modification indices were inspected to search for sources of ill fit. A review of these indices revealed some strong error covariances (atti1/atti2 and atti6/atti7) that were markedly misspecified. The same error covariances were identified by both sub-samples. The related attitude items were as follows:

- item atti1: I like museums
- item atti2: I am interested in museums
- item atti6: It is boring in museums
- item atti7: I don't like museums because you have to be quiet there

Given the obvious overlap of content between items atti1 and atti2, as well as the overlap in items atti6 and atti7, the model was re-specified by setting these two error covariances free and subsequently re-estimating. As shown in Table 17, the re-parameterization of the single-factor model resulted in an obvious improvement in model fit for both sub-data. Despite the significant χ^2 test, the RMSEA and SRMR values were under the suggested cut-off points, and other fit indices exceeded 0.90, indicating a good model fit.

Table 17 Fit indices for single- and two-factor models for the construct "attitude" (models applied for further analyses marked in bold)

Model	χ^2 (*df*)	*p*	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Finland						
Attitude (single-factor)	**57.48 (12)**	**< .001**	**.978**	**.961**	**.074**	**.036**
Attitude (two-factor)	55.88 (11)	< .001	.978	.958	.077	.036
Germany						
Attitude (single-factor)	**25.10 (12)**	**= .014**	**.988**	**.978**	**.047**	**.029**
Attitude (two-factor)	22.85 (11)	= .018	.989	.979	.046	.029

A representation of the two-factor structure, where attitudes toward visiting museums were nested within two factors, intrinsic (e.g. fun) and extrinsic (e.g. learning), and the two error covariances identified in the single-factor model were allowed, a good model fit for the two-factor model could be achieved (see Table 17). Comparison of the two-factor model with the previous single-factor model resulted a corrected $\Delta MLR\chi 2_{(1)}$ value 1.6 statistically not significant ($p = .21$). However, execution of this model resulted in the condition code noting a correlation greater than or equal to 1 between the two latent factors in both sub-samples. Because of the related warnings indicating insufficient discriminatory validity (cf. Brown, 2006), a single-factor model was applied for further analysis. The applied model and its fit indices are marked bold in Table 17 above. The final model and the standard solution of parameter estimates are presented in Figure 10. The regression slopes for Germany are given in parentheses.

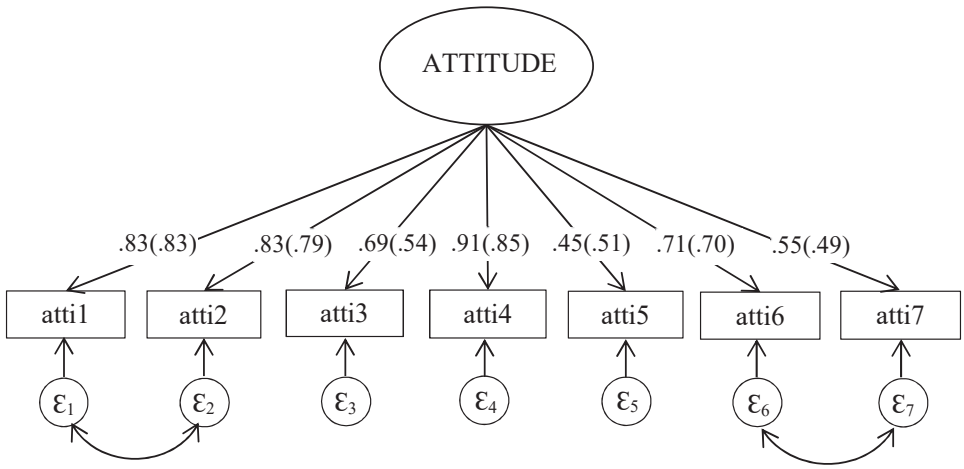

Figure 10 Single-factor model for the construct "attitude"(Finland: $N = 696$, Germany: $N = 499$, standardized solution, $p < .001$ for all specified factor loadings; loadings for Germany in parentheses)

Subjective norm

The results of a simple single-factor model for subjective norm that included both injunctive and descriptive norm items indicated pervasive problems with model misspecification and was thus a misfit for the single-factor structure for both sub-data (see Table 18 below).

Table 18 Fit indices for single- and two-factor models for the construct "subjective norm" (models applied for further analyses marked in bold)

Model	χ^2 (*df*)	*p*	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Finland						
Subjective norm (single-factor)	524.80 (27)	< .001	.786	.715	.166	.075
Subjective norm (two-factor)	**49.16 (18)**	**< .001**	**.987**	**.973**	**.051**	**.032**
Germany						
Subjective norm (single-factor)	420.97 (26)	< .001	.811	.739	.174	.077
Subjective norm (two-factor)	**50.10 (18)**	**< .001**	**.982**	**.964**	**.060**	**.036**

A review of the model misfit indices of the analyses of both sub-samples revealed strong error covariances between four items, all of which presented aspects of descriptive subjective norm. This speaks to the division of the factor into injunctive and descriptive norms. The first two-factor model for the construct subjective norm presented a misfit in both sub-samples (for Finland: $\chi 2 = 460.86$ (26) $p < .001$, CFI = .856, TLI = .801, RMSEA = .157, SRMR = .057; for Germany: $\chi 2 = 235.01$ (26) $p < .001$, CFI = .883, TLI = .838, RMSEA = .127, SRMR =.054). The modification indices revealed strong error covariances between the following items concerning children's parents:

- item sn1: My mother thinks it is good if I visit museums
- item sn2: My mother is interested in museums
- item sn3: My mother visits museums often
- item sn4: My father thinks it is good if I visit museums
- item sn5: My father is interested in museums
- item sn6: My father visits museums often

Above presented error covariances were caused by the analogous formulation of the items (sn1/sn4; sn3/sn6), the connection of mother and father as members of the family and parental relationship, and the relationship of the items which concern norms within the same individual (sn1/sn2; sn1/sn3; sn2/sn3; sn4/sn5; sn4/sn6; sn5/sn6). Sometimes, a correlated error can imply an additional factor. Whether it would be reasonable to divide the factors otherwise, a second-order factor solution was tested. This is a general way to avoid highly correlated constructs failing to produce a "clean" factor structure when

subjected to factor analysis (cf. Koufteros, Babbar, & Kaighobadi, 2009). In the present case, the second-order factor model solution was tested (see Figure 11).

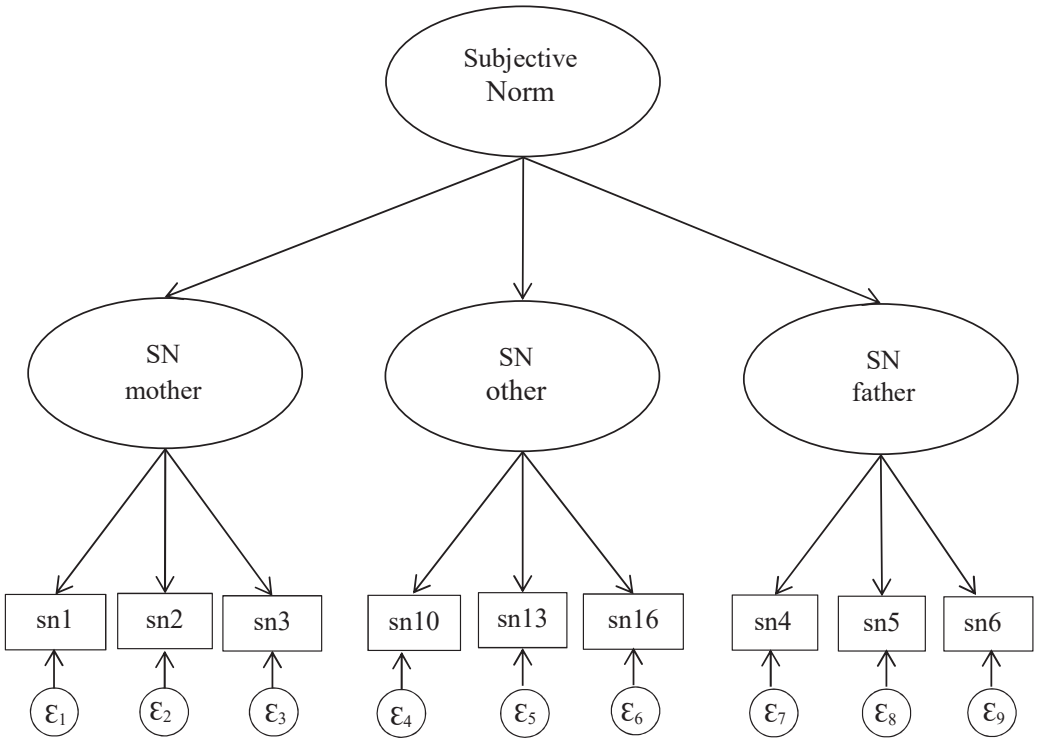

Figure 11 Second-order factor solution for the construct "subjective norm"

The second-order model included subjective norm as a second-order factor, and the subjective norm mother, subjective norm other, and subjective norm father were the three first-order factors. The above depicted second-order factor model resulted in a misfit in both sub-samples (for Finland: $\chi 2 = 371.92$ (24) $p < .001$, CFI= .851, TLI= .776, RMSEA= .147, SRMR=.059; for Germany: $\chi 2 = 318.07$ (24) $p < .001$, CFI= .835, TLI= .752, RMSEA= .157, SRMR=.071). The model modification indices pointed out two strong error covariances (sn1/sn4; sn3/sn6), which can be explained theoretically. When allowing these error covariances to correlate freely, the model fit improved. However, the model fit remained unacceptable for both sub-samples. Furthermore, the indices for model misfit revealed several cross-loadings.

Since there was no theoretically justifiable reason to allow the cross-loadings for the subjective norm construct, the model was rejected. Next, the original two-factor model was re-specified by allowing the aforementioned error covariances. This re-estimation of the model resulted in a good model fit for both sub-samples (cf. Table 18, the bolded

models) and was selected for further analysis. The final model and the standard solution of parameter estimates for both sub-samples are presented in Figure 12. The variable names under the factors were renamed to make them more descriptive. Hence, "m" in an item name stands for mother, "o" for other, and "f" for father.

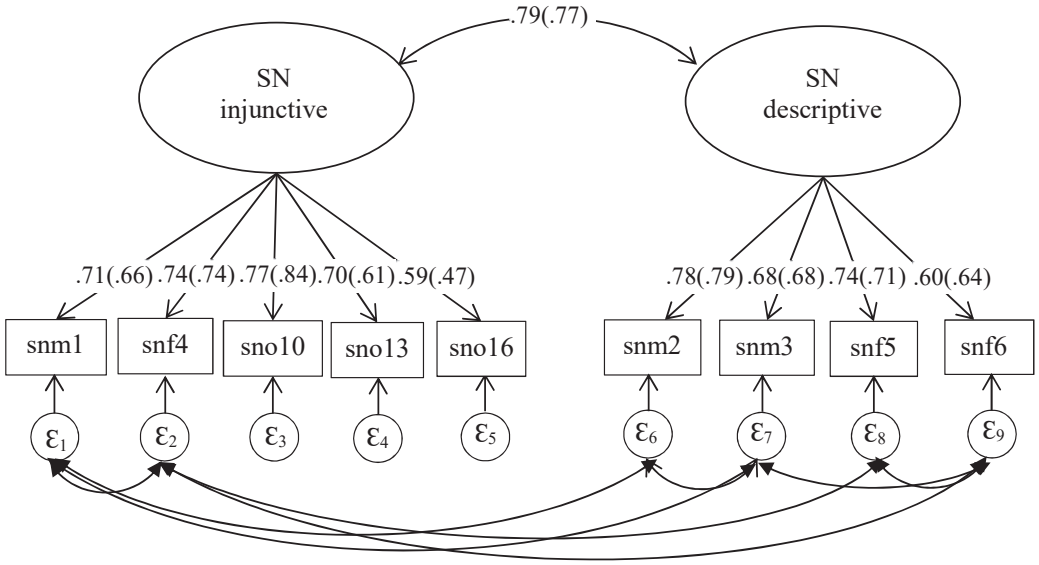

Figure 12 Two-factor model for the construct "subjective norm" (Finland: N = 675, Germany: N = 500, standardized solution, p < .001 for all specified factor loadings; loadings for Germany in parentheses)

Perceived behavioral control

Similar to the previously presented model estimation procedure for attitude and subjective norm, a single-factor model including all items was estimated to present the perceived behavioral control construct as a unidimensional structure. Thus, both enabling and hindering control factors were nested within one factor. This resulted in poor fit of the model to both sub-samples. One cause for the misfit was a strong error covariance between two items (control2/control7), both presenting the costs of visiting museums. Therefore, given the obvious overlap in content between these items, the described error covariances were approved. This improved the model fit considerably but still did not result in an adequate fit in either of the sub-samples (for Finland: $\chi 2$ = 159.32 (19) p < .001, CFI= .805, TLI= .713, RMSEA= .104, SRMR=.075; for Germany: $\chi 2$ = 130.81 (19) p < .001, CFI= .719, TLI= .585, RMSEA= .109, SRMR=.082).

Kline (1998) has suggested that evidence of convergent validity for first-order models exists if all observable variables load significantly on the latent factor. In the single-factor model presented above, two items (control2 and control6) had a low factor loading in

both sub-samples (≤ .16 for Finland; ≤ .20 for Germany) and only a small, non-significant amount of shared variance with the latent factor ($R^2 \leq .05$ for both countries). These items emphasized that the museum was perceived to be too expensive for the family and difficult to participate in because of the need for an adult escort. Consequently, items 2 and 6 were removed from the model. Again, the model fit improved but was still not acceptable. Because one item (control7: Visiting museums is expensive) still had a low factor loading in both sub-samples (≤ .23 for Finland; ≤ .15 for Germany) and only a small amount of shared variance with the latent factor ($R^2 \leq .04$), it was removed from the model. Consequently, the fit of a single-factor model with five items was estimated. In light of Table 19, this model showed a good fit to the data.

Table 19 Fit indices for single- and two-factor models for the construct "perceived behavioral control" (models applied for further analyses marked in bold)

Model	χ^2 (*df*)	*p*	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Finland						
Behavioral control (single factor)	**12.53 (5)**	**= .028**	**.977**	**.954**	**.047**	**.024**
Behavioral control (two-factor)	9.52 (4)	= .049	.975	.936	.053	.025
Germany						
Behavioral control (single factor)	**10.31 (5)**	**= .067**	**.968**	**.936**	**.046**	**.028**
Behavioral control (two-factor)	12.48 (4)	= .014	.975	.938	.056	.024

As seen in Table 19, the two-factor model also fit well to the data of both sub-samples. Similar to attitude construct, the execution of the two-factor model for perceived control resulted in warnings indicating high correlation between the two latent factors controllability and self-efficacy in both subsamples. Therefore, in Figure 13, the single-factor model was applied for further analysis. The factor loadings for Germany are presented in parentheses.

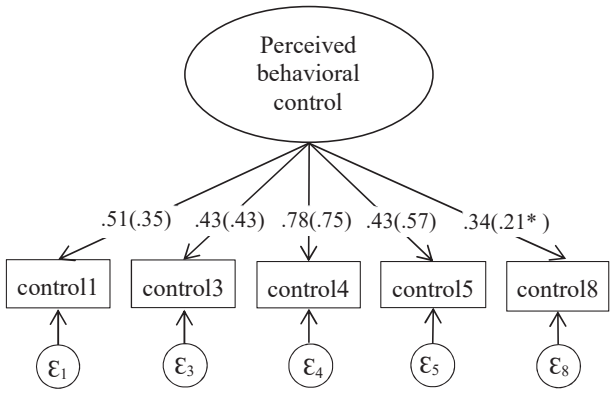

Figure 13 Single-factor model for the construct "perceived behavioral control" (Finland: $N = 684$, Germany: $N = 498$, standardized solution, $p < .001$ for all specified factor loadings [exception: * $p < .01$]; loadings for Germany in parentheses)

Factorial structure of the criteria

The museum attendance was measured by four kinds of museums representative of the spectrum of Finnish and German museum types: art, natural history, cultural history, and specialized. The other criteria—the intention to visit a museum—was operationalized by two variables: "I intend to visit museums next year," and "I intend to visit museums as an adult." To examine the factor structure of the self-constructed scale for visiting museums and the intention to do so, confirmatory factor analysis was conducted, as presented in Figure 14. The model regarding the criteria showed a good fit both for Finnish ($\chi 2 = 9.14$ (8) $p = .331$, CFI= .999, TLI= .998, RMSEA= .014, SRMR=.015) and German data ($\chi 2 = 20.21$ (8) $p = .001$, CFI= .983, TLI= .968, RMSEA= .055, SRMR=.028).

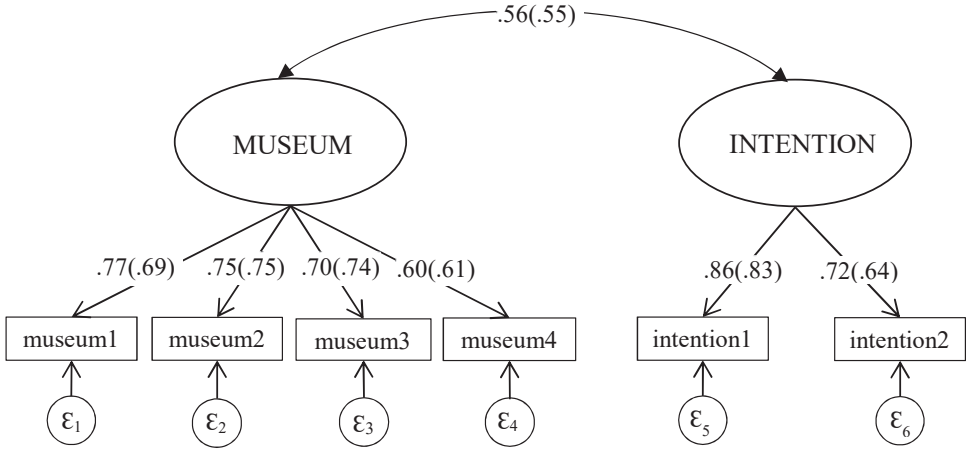

Figure 14 Model for the criteria "visiting museum" and "intention" (1Finland: $N = 693$, Germany: $N = 499$, standardized solution, $p < .001$ for all specified factor loadings; loadings for Germany in parentheses)

Factorial structure of full TPB measurement model

After estimating the factor structures of the separate TPB constructs, the six constructed factors (named as attitude, injunctive norm, descriptive norm, perceived behavioral control, intention, and museum) were included in an overall TPB measurement model. The latent factors were allowed to correlate among one another, as suggested in the theory. The error covariances identified by the examination of the factor structures of the single TPB constructs were also allowed to correlate. The six-factor model of the TPB constructs showed a moderate fit to the data for both countries. The model fit for Finland was $\chi 2 = 752.16$ (300) $p < .001$, CFI= .949, TLI= .940, RMSEA= .046, SRMR=.048 and for Germany $\chi 2 = 708.56$ (300) $p < .001$, CFI= .930, TLI= .918, RMSEA= .052, SRMR=.055.

In both analyses, the modification indices revealed a strong cross-loading of item control8 on the attitude factor. However, the allowance of this control item to load

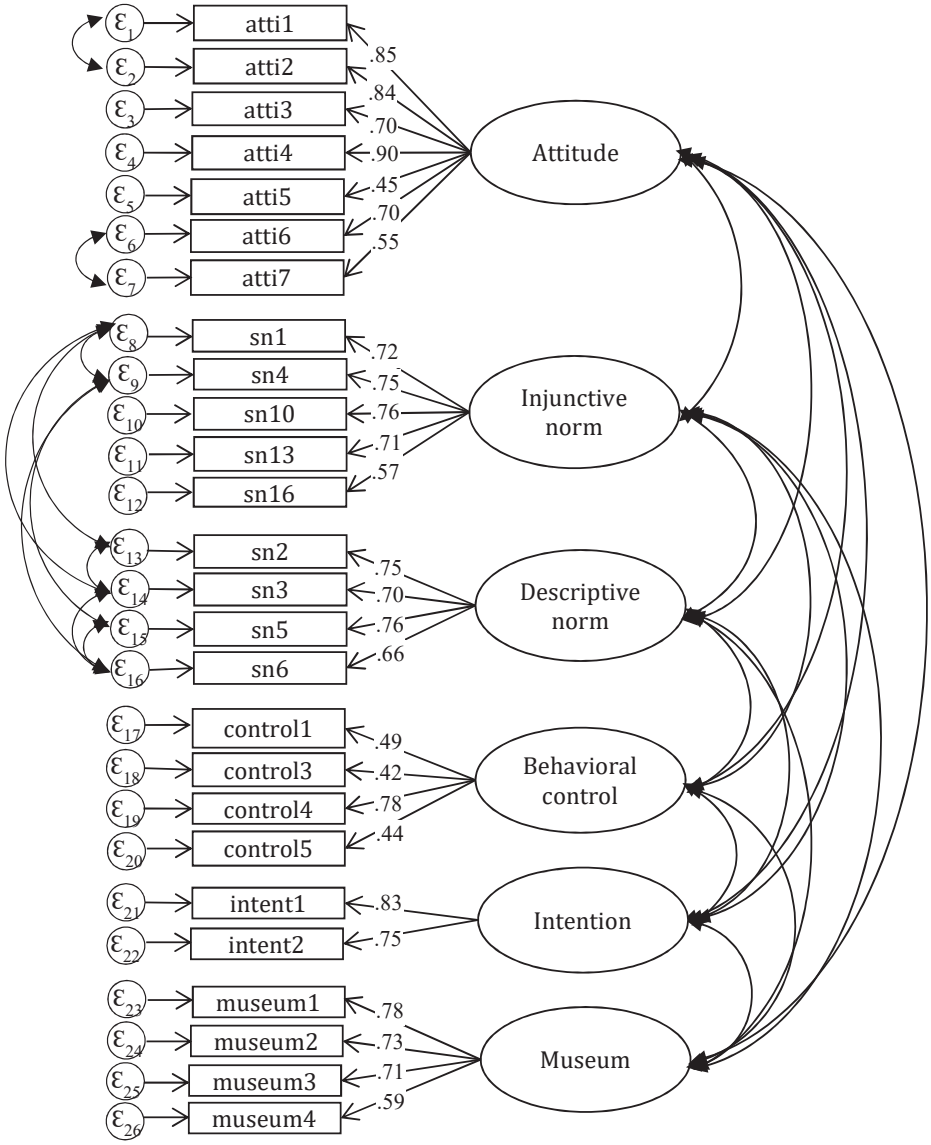

Figure 15 Full measurement model for the TPB constructs – Finland (N = 698; standardized solution, $p < .001$ for all specified factor loadings and correlations)

into the attitude factor resulted in a disappearance of the original loading into control factor. This suggest that this item ("Going to the museum takes time away from other hobbies") had been understood by the children as an attitudinal factor (i.e. valuing other hobbies over museums) rather than a control factor regarding time resources. Because of obvious problems in the item control8, it was excluded from further analysis, and the model was re-estimated. The re-specification revealed an improvement in model fit for both countries, which was $\chi 2 = 520.20$ (274) $p < .001$, CFI= .966, TLI= .960, RMSEA=

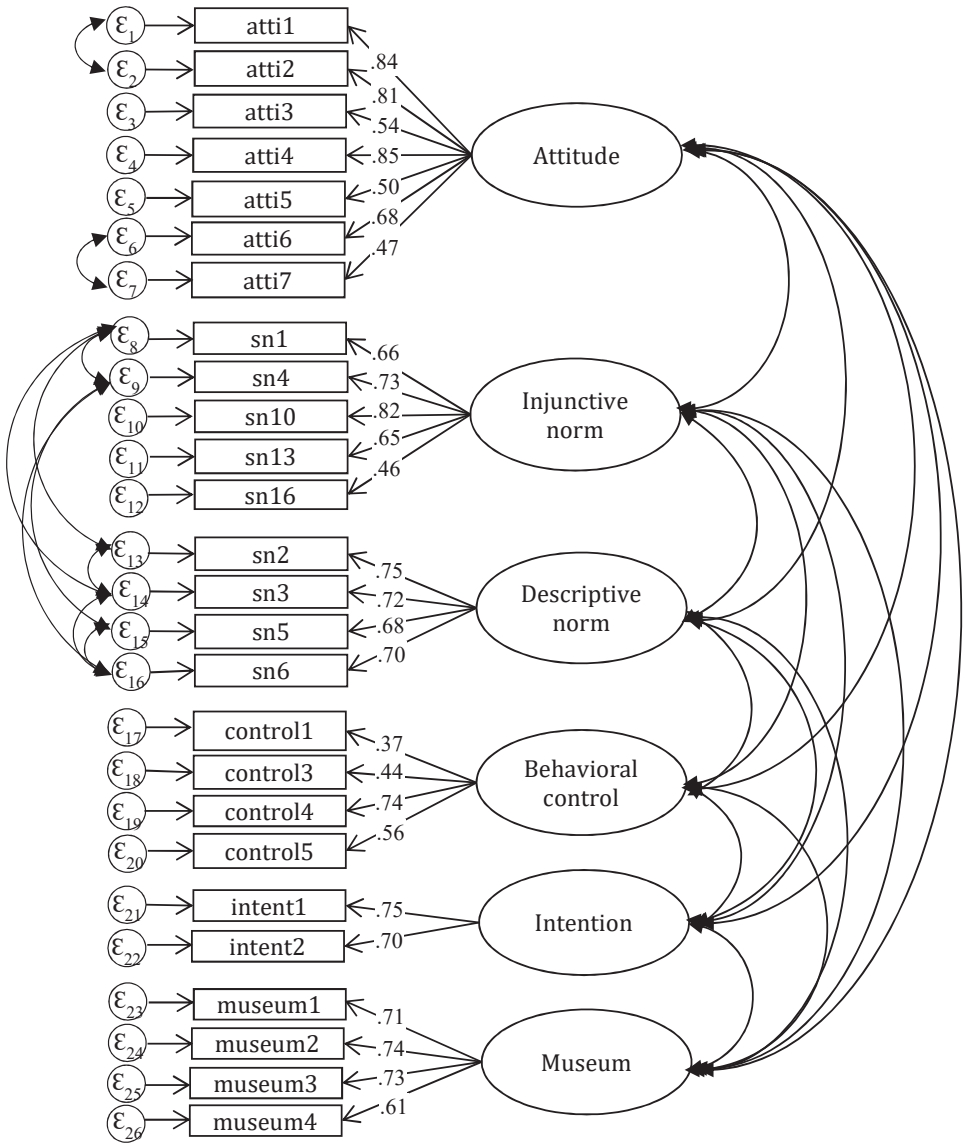

Figure 16 Full measurement model for the TPB constructs – Germany (N = 500; standardized solution, $p < .001$ for all specified factor loadings and correlations)

.036, SRMR=.041 for Finland and $\chi 2$ = 508.94 (274) $p < .001$, CFI= .954, TLI= .945, RMSEA= .041, SRMR=.045 for Germany. The final estimated measurement models are presented in separate figures below; the one for Finland is presented in Figure 15, and the corresponding model for Germany can be found in Figure 16.

The correlations between the six latent factors for both sub-samples are presented in Table 20 below (correlations for Germany in parentheses).

Table 20 Correlations between the latent factors of the measurement model (correlations for Germany in parentheses)

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Intention					
2. Visiting museum	.56(.57)				
3. Attitude	.72(.65)	.54(.45)			
4. Injunctive norm	.57(.61)	.54(.57)	.64(.61)		
5. Descriptive norm	.58(.61)	.64(.69)	.56(.43)	.80(.78)	
6. Perceived behavioral control	.71(.68)	.74(.79)	.67(.59)	.69(.69)	.75(.82)

Note: $N = 698$ (Finland), $N = 500$ (Germany); $p < .001$ for all presented correlations; correlations for Germany in parentheses

4.4.2.4 Structural equation model to museum attendance

Based on the Theory of Planned Behavior (see Chapter 3.1), causal paths (regression coefficients) were added between the TPB latent factors intention and behavior using structural equation modelling. The objective was to test the utility of the TPB model to predict children's cultural participation, i.e. the intention to visit museums and actual visits. Again, the chi-square statistic was significant for both sub-samples (for Finland: $\chi 2 = 524.63$ (277), $p < .001$; for Germany: $\chi 2 = 510.71$ (277) $p < .001$). However, regarding the other indices, models represented an adequate-to-good fit to both data based on the other

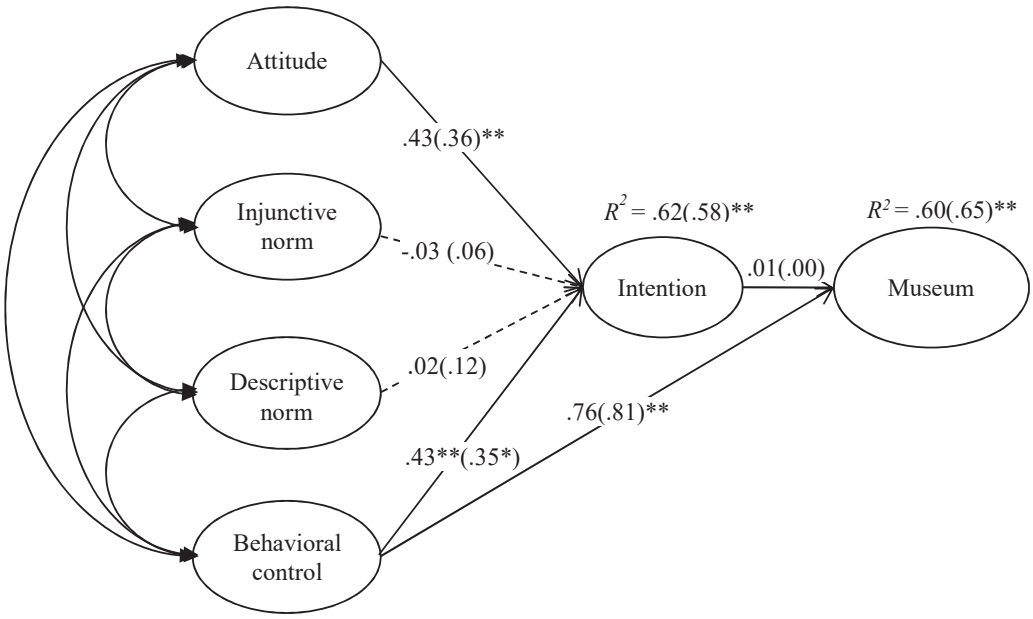

Figure 17 Standardized parameter estimates for pathways among constructs from the TPB for Finland $N = 698$ and Germany $N = 500$; ** $p < .001$; * $p < .05$; coefficients for Germany in parentheses; correlations between latent factors are presented in Table 23

indices (for Finland: CFI = .966, TLI = .960, RMSEA = .036, SRMR = .041; for Germany: CFI = .954, TLI = .946, RMSEA = .041, SRMR = .046). Standardized coefficients are reported in Figure 17 for both sub-samples. The coefficients for Germany are presented in parentheses.

The model explained 62% of the variance in children's intention to visit and 60% in visits to museums in the Finnish sample, but only three of the TPB pathways were statistically significant. The paths from both aspects of subjective norm turned out to be statistically insignificant. Both attitude and perceived behavioral control predicted intention, but perceived behavioral control alone predicted actual visits to museum. Unlike hypothesized in the TPB, intention failed to predict behavior. The correlations between the latent factors are presented in Table 21 below.

Table 21 Correlations between the latent factors of the structural model (correlations for Germany in parentheses)

	1	2	3
1. Attitude			
2. Injunctive norm	.63(.60)		
3. Descriptive norm	.51(.41)	.77(.74)	
4. Perceived behavioral control	.68(.59)	.68(.70)	.73(.77)

Note: N = 698 (Finland), *N* = 500 (Germany); $p < .001$ for all presented correlations; correlations for Germany in parentheses

4.4.2.5 Factorial invariance of the TPB measures across cultures

The equality of the factor patterns in the constructed measurement models could be verified within the sub-samples. Until now, the structure of the TPB model has been tested for each group separately. In the following, the invariance of the measurement models will be tested in the context of multi-group models. The procedure of testing measurement equivalence involves the estimation of progressively more constrained nested models that correspond to the four primary forms of measurement invariance: equal form (configural), equal factor loadings (metric), equal intercepts (scalar), and equal error variances and residual covariances (factorial). After demonstrating the measurement invariance across the sub-samples, the strictest factorial model will be applied to assess the equivalence of structural models.

The starting point for multi-group invariance was the well-fitting baseline models that have already been separately established for each group (see Figure 15 and Figure 16). For each group, the baseline model specifies the number of factors, location of the items, and postulated correlations among the factors (Byrne, 2008, 873). Both baseline models rendered the corresponding data adequate (see Table 22). These provide a foundation against which the series of increasingly stringent hypotheses related to the

measurement model structure is tested. In the next step, the established baseline models were combined in the same file, and a multi-group model was formed. As shown in Table 22, the goodness-of-fit statistics related to the testing of the configural model yielded a well-fitting model, suggesting that the configural model represents the data well. It can therefore be concluded that both the number of factors and the pattern of their item loadings are similar across Finnish and German samples (cf. Byrne, 2008, 877).

For testing measurement equivalence, factor loadings were then constrained to be equal across the sub-groups (FIN vs GER). The overall fit for the first constrained model including equal factor loadings was acceptable. Although the ΔCFI (.003) did not exceed a value of .01, the $\Delta MLR\chi^2_{(1)}$ value 20.11 was clearly statistically significant ($p < .001$). The equivalence tests of measurement parameters revealed one item, atti3 ("You can learn new and different things in a museum") to be operating differentially across Finnish and German children; therefore, a condition of partial measurement invariance was adapted. As noted above (see paragraph 4.4.1), the condition of partial measurement still allows valid comparisons if the parameters of at least two indicators per construct are equal across compared groups (Byrne, Muthén, & Shavelson, 1989). A model in which factor loadings for the item "atti3" were freely estimated resulted in an improved overall fit of the model, as well improved corrected chi-square difference test results and minimal chances in CFI (Model 2 in Table 22). Thus, all factor loadings except one item (atti3) for the TPB measurement model operate equivalently across Finnish and German groups, which demonstrates that the content of each item is being perceived and interpreted in exactly the same way across the groups (Byrne, 2008).

In the next step, in addition to constrained equal factor loadings, the observed variable intercepts were constrained to be equal (Model 3 in Table 22). In doing so, the scalar invariance of the measurement model was tested. Results from analysis of this model were $\chi 2 = 1431.59$ (586), $p < .001$, CFI= .932, TLI= .925, RMSEA= .049, SRMR=.056, suggesting a fairly adequate fit to the data. The corrected $\Delta\chi^2_{(19)}$ value 367.37 was clearly statistically significant ($p < .001$), and the changes in CFI (.028) were unacceptable. An examination of the MIs for this model revealed several extremely large values, with the value for museo4 (visiting specialized museums) being the largest (M.I. = 141.57). Testing of subsequent model, in which the intercept for museo4 was freely estimated, yielded improved goodness-of fit indices ($MLR\chi 2 = 1268.513$ (585), $p < .001$, CFI= .945, TLI= .939, RMSEA= .044, SRMR=.053), however, the difference test still showed an extremely high and statistically significant $\Delta MLR\chi^2_{(18)}$ value 187.08 and unacceptable changes in CFI (.015). In total, continuation of the tests for invariance revealed further two intercepts to be nonequivalent across the two groups. A subsequent model was estimated, in which the intercepts for control3 (I get a ride if I want to go there) and museum1 (art museum) were estimated freely. Results bearing on this final scalar model were as follows: $MLR\chi 2$

Table 22 Goodness-of-fit indices for group invariance models of TPB scales

Model[1]	χ^2	df	*p*	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	SRMR	(scaling corr. for MLR) $\Delta\chi^2$	Δ df	*p*	Δ CFI
Single group solutions											
Finland	520.20	274	<.001	.036	.966	.960	.041	-	-	-	-
Germany	508.94	274	<.001	.041	.954	.945	.045	-	-	-	-
Measurement invariance											
M_1	1029.43	548	<.001	.038	.961	.954	.043	-	-	-	-
$M_{2(atti3)}$	1066.93	566	<.001	.038	.960	.954	.048	37.37	19	= .007	.001
$M_{3(atti3,\ museo4,\ control3,\ museum1)}$	1147.45	583	<.001	.040	.955	.950	.050	72.25	17	< .000	.005
$M_{4(atti3,\ museo4,\ control3,\ museum1)}$	1238.95	601	<.001	.042	.949	.945	.058	50.25	18	= .008	.002

[1] Models: Finland (N = 698), Germany (N = 500); M_1, configural invariance (equal form); M_2, metric invariance (factor loading constrained to be equal across groups); M_3, scalar invariance (factor loadings and item intercept constrained to be equal across groups); M_4, factorial invariance (equal item error variances and residual covariances)

=1147.45 (583), $p < .001$, CFI= .955, TLI= .950, RMSEA= .040, SRMR=.050 (Table 22 model 3). Even if the $\Delta MLR\chi^2$ value remained clearly significant, the ΔCFI (.005) did not exceed the value of .01. Therefore, this model was considered to appropriately represent the final test of intercepts related to the TPB measurement model. This partial condition of the two museum items demonstrate that the pattern of behavior consisting of visiting different kinds of museums may differ between the sub-samples. More precisely: Finnish and German children visit museums equally often. However, they differ in which types of museums they visit. Likewise they differ in that, how they perceive being dependent on transport to the museum locations.

Equality of the item error variances and residual covariances across the subgroups were examined in factorial model 4 (Table 22). The variances and covariances were all fixed equal for identification and the rest of the model parameters were estimated as described for the past partial scalar invariance model 3. As can be seen in Table 22, the data even supported evidence for strong partial factorial measurement invariance. This was shown by a well-fitting model and minor chances in CFI (.002).

The measurement invariance test results indicated that the factor structure and items (with the exception of¨atti3, museum4, control3, and museum1) function equivalently across groups, allowing comparisons between Finnish and German children using composite scores. If differences between the two groups exist, they are independent from the measurement structure and the items used.

4.4.2.6 Invariance of latent means and differences between groups of children

After the constructed measurement instrument was found to be equivalent across Finnish and German children, comparisons in latent factor means between the groups were allowed. Thus, the next subject under examination was whether Finnish children differ from German children in their attitudes toward museum visits, as well as how they perceive the attitudes of their significant others, the frequency of museum visits, interest in museum from their significant others, and enabling or hindering factors regarding museum visits. In doing so, the invariance of latent factor means related to the six TPB scales across the sub-samples was tested.

First the factor variance in the German subgroup (which had been estimated freely) was constrained equal to the factor variance in Finnish group. This resulted in decrease in fit relative to the last partial factorial invariance model 4 presented in Table 22. The difference test $MLR\Delta\chi2(6)$ showed value 29.58 clearly statistically significant ($p < .001$). However, the difference in CFI (.002) was acceptable, which suggest similar variability in the factors across the subsamples. Next, also the factor means were set equal across the subgroups. This resulted in significant decrease in fit to the last model (equal factor

variances). ΔMLRχ2(6) showed value 100.53 statistically significant ($p < .001$) and the change in CFI (.010) was not acceptable. These results indicate differences in factor means between the subgroups, which were examined next.

In examining factor mean differences between the sub-samples, the latent factor means for one group were fixed to zero, and those for the other group were estimated freely (see Byrne, 2012, 251). The Finnish group operated as the reference group against which the German group was compared. As can be seen in Table 23 the means for museum attendance, attitude, and both subjective norm factors for German children were significantly different from those for the Finnish children, whereas the means for intention and perceived control were not. The German children appear to be have more positive attitude towards museum attendance and they perceive more positive attitudes on behalf of their significant others. On the other hand, museum attendance is more frequent among Finnish children.

Table 23 Latent means differences between the subsamples

Finland	**Unstandardized Model Results**			
Means	***Estimate***	***Standard Error (SE)***	***Estimate/SE***	***p***
Intention	0.045	0.087	0.519	= .604
Museum	-0.199	0.063	-3.139	= .002
Attitude	0.312	0.068	4.622	< .001
Injunctive norm	0.287	0.073	3.959	< .001
Descriptive norm	0.283	0.082	3.463	= .001
Perceived behavioral control	-0.019	0.081	-0.233	= .815

Note: Finland operates as a reference group against which the German group is compared

4.4.2.7 Invariance of a causal structure of the TPB model

First, the structural equation model was tested separately in the Finnish and German samples (see Figure 17). The model fit indices for the single-group solutions can be seen in Table 24 in the upper section. Despite the significant chi2 value, other fit indices indicated the hypothesized model to be an acceptable representation of the data in both groups. Next, the partial invariant factorial model (Model 4 in Table 22, pp. 142) was used to assess the equivalence of the path coefficients between Finnish and German children. In this model—model SM_1 in Table 24 below—the measurement of all variables (except atti3, museum4, control4, and museum1) and intercorrelations between attitude, injunctive norm, descriptive norm, and perceived behavioral control was constrained to be equal.

As can be seen in Table 24, the unconstrained multi-group structural model (SM_1) presented an adequate fit to the composite data. The constrained model controlling structural coefficients to be equal across Finnish and German subgroups also fitted the

Table 24 Goodness-of-fit indices for group invariance of structural paths

Model[1]	χ^2	df	*p*	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	SRMR	(scaling corr. for MLR) $\Delta\chi^2$	Δ df	*p*	Δ CFI
Single group solutions											
Finland	524.63	277	<.001	.036	.966	.960	.041	-	-	-	-
Germany	510.71	277	<.001	.041	.954	.946	.046	-	-	-	-
Measurement invariance											
$SM_{1(atti3,\ museo4,\ control3,\ museo1)}$	1212.57	627	<.001	.040	.953	.951	.057	-	-	-	-
$SM_{2(atti3,\ museo4,\ control3,\ museo1)}$	1225.04	633	<.001	.040	.953	.951	.059	12.45	6	<.001	.000

[1] Models: Finland (N = 698), Germany (N = 500); SM_1 (path loadings allowed to estimate freely), SM_2 (path loadings constrained to be equal across groups)

data well. The model showed minor, although statistically significant changes in MLRχ2 (6) = 12.45, $p < .001$. However, the change in CFI = .000 was non-existing. That the CFI value remained unchanged from the one reported for partial invariant factorial structural model (SM_1 in Table 24) speaks well for cross-group equality of the structural regression paths specified in constrained model SM_2.

4.4.2.8 Indirect effect of socio-economic background

This part of the study examines the role of the social mechanisms affecting children's cultural participation and so discusses research question *RQ7*. In Ajzen's extended TPB model, a person's background factors, such as the socio-economic status of the family, education, gender, etc., are regarded as time-invariant antecedents and predictors in the TPB model (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). In addition, as discussed in Chapter 2.3, previous research and literature suggest that participation in cultural activities is especially associated with socio-economic status. However, instead of having a measureable direct effect on cultural behavior, the effect of socio-economic background is hypothesized to be fully mediated by the theory's proximal constructs. Such mediation, or an indirect effect, is said to occur when the causal effect of an independent variable (socio-economic background) on a dependent variable (cultural behavior) is transmitted by a mediator (the TPB constructs). In the following analysis, the indirect effect of one's socio-economic background is tested. Figure 18 depicts the conceptual model with expected relationships between children's socio-economic status (based on the highest occupation in the family by ISCO classification) and their cultural behavior. The same fit indices examined by previous models were appraised to test the goodness of fit of the mediation model.

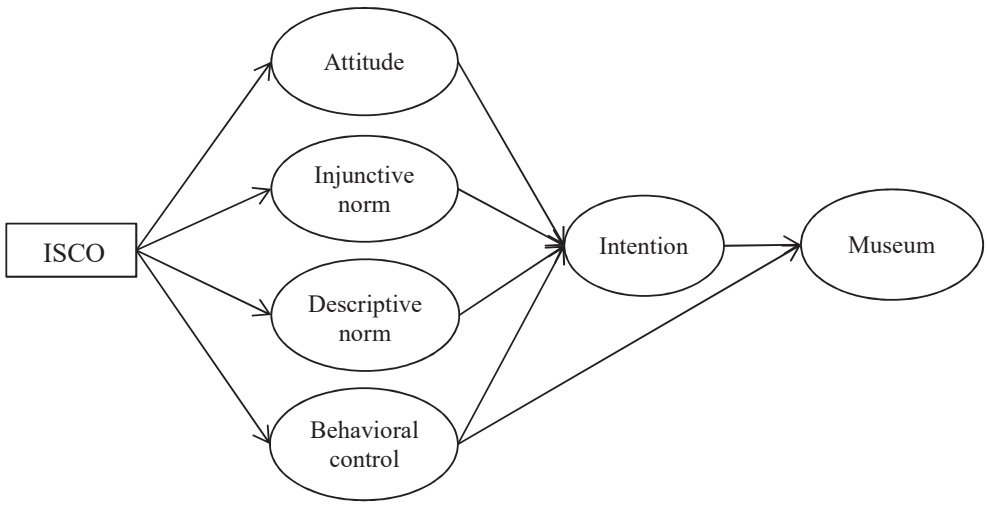

Figure 18 Conceptual mediation model: the TPB constructs mediate socio-economic status and cultural intention and behavior.

The mediation model presented good model fit indices for both sub-samples (for Finland: $\chi 2 = 501.41$ (297), $p < .001$, CFI= .960, TLI= .953, RMSEA= .039, SRMR=.046; for Germany: $\chi 2 = 532.77$ (297) $p < .001$, CFI= .951, TLI= .943, RMSEA= .042, SRMR=.047). As seen in Figure 19, the first condition necessary for mediation effects was met, as significant effects of socio-economic background on all the TPB constructs (with one exception) were identified. This exception was the non-significance of socio-economic background on the attitudes of the German children. Figure 19 demonstrates the results of the final mediation model for both countries, presenting the relationships between the socio-economic status of the family, the TPB dimensions and criteria, and the magnitude of the effects. The coefficients for Germany are presented in parentheses. For the sake of clarity, only significant paths are presented.

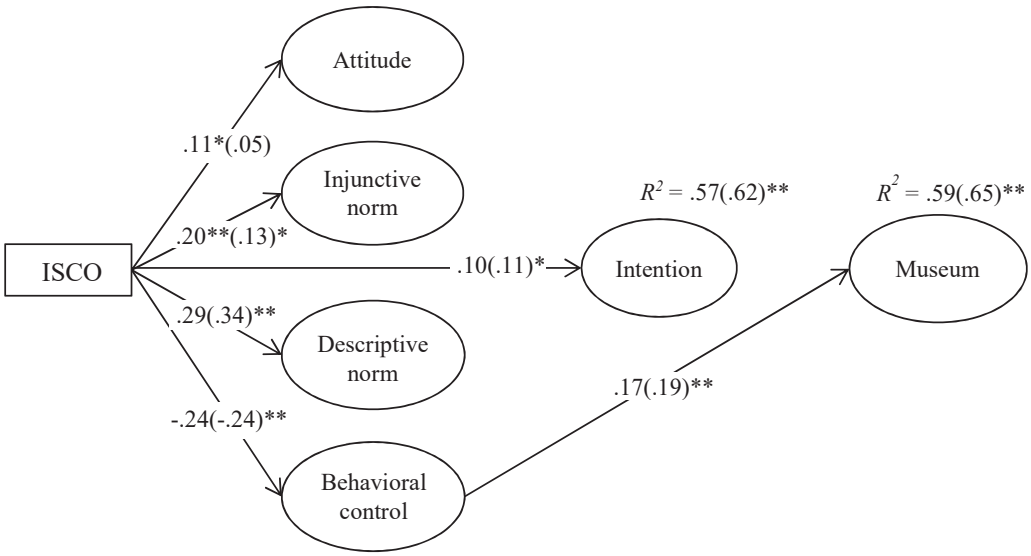

Figure 19 Mediation model and significant regression coefficients for Finland $N = 580$ and Germany $N = 460$; ** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$; coefficients for Germany in parentheses

As can be seen in Figure 19, all effects between the socio-economic status of the family (ISCO) and the TPB predictor constructs were statistically significant, meaning that children from families with higher socio-economic status had a more positive attitude toward museums, sensed more positive attitude and interest toward museums among their significant others, reported more often that their significant others are interested in and visit museums, and felt less inhibitory control factors restricting their visits to museums than did children from families with lower socio-economic backgrounds. These results apply to both countries with one exception. In contrast to the Finnish data, socio-economic background showed no effects on attitudes toward museums among German children. Otherwise, the analysis displayed similar results with minor changes in coefficients.

One's socio-economic background did not predict behavior directly, but its effect was mediated among both groups by control factors (β = .17(.19), $p < .001$) on museum attendance. Although the effect of socio-economic background was mediated through control factors, the socio-economic status of the family did not explain the variance in children's behavior over the TPB constructs.

4.4.2.9 Specific examination of perceived behavioral control

Because perceived behavioral control was found to be the key factor (the strongest predictor) explaining children's museum attendance in an overall model, and due to its heterogenic nature, its effect was observed on a single-item level as well. Figure 20 depicts a regression model that includes only perceived behavioral control items as explanatory variables for both sub-samples.

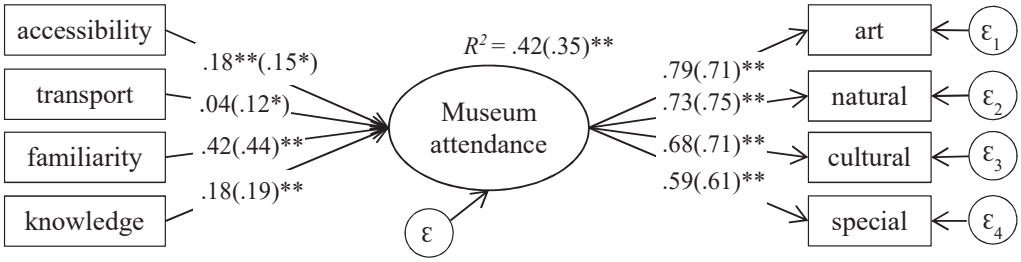

Figure 20 Explanatory model of museum attendance with manifest predictors of perceived behavioral control for Finland $N = 697$ and Germany $N = 500$; ** $p < .001$, * $p < .01$; coefficients for Germany in parentheses

As can be seen in Figure 20 the four predictors representing accessibility, transport, familiarity and knowledge explained altogether 42 % of variance in Finnish children´s museum attendance ($\chi 2 = 22.84$ (19) $p < .001$, CFI= .996, TLI= .994, RMSEA= .017, SRMR=.023) and 35 % of variance among the German children ($\chi 2 = 37.23$ (19) $p < .001$, CFI= .979, TLI= .969, RMSEA= .044, SRMR=.029). Familiarity ("I am used to visiting museums) was the strongest predictor of the behavior in both groups (β = .42(.44), $p < .001$). Beyond familiarity, accessibility (museums are located near home) and knowledge (knowledge about locations and opening hours etc.) for Finland, and transport (getting a ride to museums) additionally for Germany, all had significant effects on museum attendance of the children.

4.4.3 Summary

This part of the dissertation (study 3) investigated the utility of the Theory of Planned Behavior in predicting cultural participation in and across Finnish and German children,

thus answering research questions *RQ3–RQ6* (Chapter 4.1). First, the preliminary reliability and validity of the constructed and modified TPB scales were analyzed. After that, several confirmatory factor analyses were employed to examine the factorial structure of the scales, to assess the fit of the measurement models to the data, and to examine the relationship of the scales with the criteria. In doing so, information about the relationships of the predictor constructs to children's intention to visit and actual visits to museums was provided, and reasons for and against cultural participation in childhood were explained. Reliability and validity testing were carried out for both groups separately. After that, the equivalence of the measurement model for cross-cultural comparisons was tested. At the same time, the results concerning cross-national differences or similarities in cultural participation and its determinants were analyzed. In conclusion, the last research question related to the role of familial social status in cultural participation (*RQ7)* was discussed, as parents' occupational status (ISCO) was used as a covariate in structural equation modelling. In the following, the results are summarized and discussed.

4.4.3.1 Summary of the main results

The TPB scales constructed through the elicitation study and modified during the pilot studies turned out to be well adaptable to groups of primary school children in both countries. The results of study 3 provided evidence of reliable, content-valid, and cross-national invariant scales for the prediction of museum attendance in primary school children. Furthermore, the measurement model—with the exception of one attitudinal item (atti3), one control item (control3), and two items on a criterion scale (museum4 and museum1)—was found to operate sufficiently equivalently across groups. However, the scores from the final version of the measurement model and the paths between the related constructs were found only partly consistent with the theoretical assumptions (e.g. Ajzen, 1985; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010); the combination of positive attitude, perceived positive attitude and practices of significant others, and perceived absence of constraints increase the probability of visiting museums, which should have been observable in actual museum attendance. However, the relations between the constructs could not be fully replicated, as supposed in the TPB. Consistent with the TPB, results from the structural equation modelling showed that intentions to visit museums were predicted by children's attitudes and perceived behavioral control, while museum attendance was influenced by perceived control factors. While intention was not found to be a direct determinant of reported museum attendance, the attitude scale failed to predict the behavior. Similarly, both aspects of the subjective norm construct failed to predict children's intention to visit a museum when tested according to the TPB.

Perceived behavioral control and the item measuring familiarity within it proved to be the most important predictor in explaining variance in both criteria. Moreover, as the effect of the family's socio-economic background was proven to be mediated strongly by the perceived control factor, this predictor alone would be enough to explain children's museum attendance. Therefore the effects of single items included in the control scale were observed separately as well. The results showed that for Finland, two items (both measuring the aspect of self-efficacy—the familiarity with and knowledge of museums) affected leisure-time museum attendance. In these items, familiarity clearly had more predictive power than knowledge. An identical pattern of the effects of single control items was found among the German children. Location of museums (availability) was the only practice-related predictor that also predicted children's visits to museums among both populations.

The analysis described above demonstrates a common underlying structure across the countries. Therefore, the measurement instrument could be implemented reliably to observe cultural participation cross-nationally. The above demonstrates the relevance of the single determinants applied cross-nationally with minor differences in regression coefficients. The TPB predictors—and more precisely, the construct perceived behavioral control alone—managed to explain a little more of the variance in museum attendance among German children (65%) in comparison to their Finnish counterparts (60%). The numbers were opposite regarding the intention to visit museums later on. The number explained by the scales attitude and perceived behavioral control were 58% for Germany and 62% for Finland.

Associations between socio-economic background and participation

Based on the previous literature, it was hypothesized that children's participation in cultural activities is associated with family background. These associations could be verified in bivariate correlations between socio-economic status of a family (ISCO) and both intention as well as behavior for both countries. Further evidence of its relevance was found via structural equation modelling, as the results showed that the socio-economic background of the parents was significantly related to children's attitudes toward museums, how they perceived the attitudes of their significant others toward museums, and how the children felt able or unable to participate. In other words, children from the families with higher socio-economic status had a more positive attitude, sensed more positive attitudes among their significant others, and perceived fewer factors that might hinder them from participating. Socio-economic background of the family affected children´s museum attendance as expected via the TPB construct perceived behavioral control. This indirect effect could be replicated in both samples. However, despite the significant indirect effects among both data, ISCO as an individual variable in an overall model did not contribute to an additional

explanation of variance in children's museum attendance over the TPB constructs. Hence, a family's socio-economic background affects children's cultural behavior as theoretically assumed: mediated through the theory's proximal constructs.

School and class effects

The data for the present studies originated from school children within classrooms and schools, which inevitably led to a hierarchical structure of the data where multiple observations were nested within individual pupils (see paragraph 4.4.2.2.). Based on the pre-analysis of school and class effects, differences in criterion and the descriptive subjective norm scale could be found that were accounted by the belonging in a certain school class in the German data. Though the design effects for both scales (museum, *deff* = 2.12; descriptive norm, *deff* = 2.02) were within a lower range of the suggested limit considering the need for multilevel modelling (MLM), "class" was applied as a cluster variable to adjust the standard errors in the analysis. The established class effects indicate that the pupils in a certain school or class are more similar to each other than to pupils in other schools. Thus, the frequency of museum attendance and the control perceived regarding museum visits depend on for example school resources, teachers, residential district etc. The same differences between schools could not be found in Finnish data. Although interesting from a comparative view, conducting further multilevel calculations was outside the limits of the present study.

Reliability and validity

All scales (except perceived behavioral control) showed excellent internal consistency. However, since the reliability of the control scales was adequate in light of the average alpha coefficient reported for the perceived behavioral control scale in previous studies (cf. Ajzen, 2006; Cheung & Chan, 2000), it was approved for further analysis. Both the Finnish and German data supported the use of constructed TPB scales and models in predicting children's cultural participation. The theoretically postulated factor structure of the scales and measurement model could be verified with confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Almost all standardized pattern coefficients were satisfactorily high for the scales. However, for perceived behavioral control, the pattern coefficients of the items varied more widely than those of the other factors. Furthermore, some items in the scale had to be removed because their loadings were too low or insignificant. The central features used to explain children's cultural behavior were presented in the final version of the constructed TPB measurement model (see Figure 15 pp. 136 for Finland and Figure 16 pp. 137 for Germany).

In summary, the results of the descriptive analysis (correlations) and confirmatory factor analysis provided evidence of the scales' construct validity and suggested that the

measurement model was best presented as four explanatory scales (attitude, injunctive norm, descriptive norm, and perceived behavioral control), intention, and behavior. The measurement model was applied to structural equation modelling, and causal paths were added between the TPB latent factors: intention and behavior. The final structural equation model failed to represent the full TPB model, as the related constructs and their relations were found only partly consistent with the theoretical assumptions. The fact that intention entirely failed to predict the behavior means that only perceived behavioral control was found significant in predicting children's museum attendance. Possible explanations for these missing effects are discussed during a broader reflection on the methodological aspects below (see Chapter 5.1).

Equality of factor patterns and structures for the two countries

In order to test the equality of factor patterns in the measurement model, including the TPB scales attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control for Finnish and German children, a sequence of four increasingly restrictive models was constructed (Byrne, 2008; Junttila, 2010). The factor model was largely the same for both groups, but four differences across the groups must be noted. Four items—one in the attitude scale, one in the perceived behavioral control scale, and two in the museum attendance scale—were found operating differently across groups. Thus, a condition of partial measurement invariance was adopted (Byrne, Muthén, & Shavelson, 1989). Leaving the loadings of these four items unconstrained, partial measurement invariance could be verified, and the measurement instrument was found reliable for cross-national comparisons.

4.4.3.2 Strengths and limitations

Sampling

The strength of the present sampling compared to previous research lies in the fact that this method is not skewed or restricted regarding the socio-economic status of the respondents or limited to children attending museums. Thus, it allows for reliable conclusions about the spectrum of determinants effecting children's cultural participation. However, despite a large number of respondents in both countries, neither of the samplings allows the study results to be generalized to all primary school children at a country level. Because the surveys were limited to one city and its surrounding area each, interpretations can only be made within these areas. Additionally, the voluntary participation in the study might have caused the selection primarily of schools already interested in and affirmative of cultural participation. However, despite these limitations, the sampling aligned with the objectives of the present study; the

primary objective was to identify the determinants of cultural participation, and based on these identifications, develop reliable questionnaires to study it. Generalization on the country level was not intended in the first place.

Finally, when interpreting the study results, Finnish sample needs to be pointed out; the city of Turku had been named a cultural capital of Europe only four to five months before the survey (year 2011). The increase in general cultural activity that year might have positively affected children's estimations about the frequency of cultural activities. Acknowledging the existing limitations of the present study, future studies should utilize a more balanced distribution of the sample nationally and locally. The present study serves only to deliver preliminary evidence of relevant determinants of children's leisure-time museum attendance.

Measures of socio-economic background

The classification of parent's occupations by the highest occupation in the family was the foundation for examining the effects of socio-economic status on children's cultural activities. Typically, information about occupations is collected in a detailed official classification with several hundred categories (cf. International Standard Classification of Occupations; ISCO), which are then refined into a more manageable size and sociological relevance depending on the researcher's preferences and the nature of the research questions (cf. Ganzeboom & Treiman, 2003). In the present study, ISCO-08 was used to classify parents' occupations based on children's knowledge of their parents' work. However, children's statements did not allow the use of the detailed hierarchical four-digit classification of the ISCO, since the children were only able to conceptualize their parents' occupations at most at a two-digit level, e.g. as a salesman or teacher.

This naturally yields criticism about the ability of major level classification—applied unchanged as ISCO-08 classes—to reflect socio-economic status scales in a sociological sense. Since it was not possible to distinguish different occupations and their tasks and duties based on the strength of the children's responses, the original ISCO-08 was used unchanged. In order to further refine the socio-economic variable, the ten original ISCO categories were dichotomized into two groups: low vs. high socio-economic status. Furthermore, since both the Finnish and German data were classified based on similar ISCO coding, it can be assumed that a certain level of immediate cross-national comparability was achieved. However, given the limitations of this rough measure of occupations, caution is needed when interpreting and generalizing the results, and further studies with more precise occupational categorization are recommended (for example, by asking the parents themselves). However, the results of the present study speak in favor of a sufficient segregation

Validation of the scales

The present study produced preliminary evidence of reliable and valid scales that can be applied to study children's cultural participation. The developed scales showed evidence of criterion validity, as all the predictor scales correlated significantly with both criteria; however, the validity of the scales should be further evaluated. So far, the predictor scales have been validated using only other self-constructed or modified scales. Thus, it is recommended to validate the scales through, for example, content-related and standardized constructs used in other studies (construct validity). One limitation of the present study is its reliance on self-reported data. All information, including measurement of the criterion, was based on children's self-reports. It is suggested, however, that these self-reported responses are gathered either through an external estimation (e.g. parent questionnaires) or through the application of objective measures of children's museum attendance and participation in cultural activities. The inclusion of parental questionnaires measuring the same scales used for the children are recommended so as to collect valid, first-hand information about the parents' occupations as well as their museum attendance (descriptive norm), which were both based on children's perceptions in the present study.

The TPB constructs as predictors

Despite the significant correlations between all the TPB predictor scales and both criteria, subjective norm failed to predict children's intention to visit and attendance at museums. The only statistically significant pathways observed in both groups were those from attitude to intention and from perceived behavioral control to both intention and museum attendance. The limited association between intention and behavior is noteworthy and is not uncommon (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 59). The intention-behavior gap could be explained in part by the fact that perceived behavioral control accounted for a greater proportion of the variance in museum attendance than it did for intention, in addition to the relatively strong correlation between attitude and perceived behavioral control, which mitigated the intention-behavior relationship in the full model (cf. Plotnikoff, Lubans, Costigan, & McCargar, 2013). Furthermore, a brief measure of the intention with only two items may have potentially limited its content validity.

Despite the general assumption that social environment can exert strong influence on people's cultural intentions and actions, the connection between children's intentions and the perceived attitude of their significant others could not be verified in either of the sub-samples. The children perceived the attitude of their significant others to be generally positive, but the perceived attitude had no effect on intention to visit museums or actual museum attendance. The lack of predictive power of the injunctive norm scale has been

found to be due to a too-minor variance in responses, as the lack of variance can reduce scale´s ability to explain the behavior (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012). Furthermore, the lack of predictive power can also be linked to the potential validity problems of the applied intention scale. The lack of predictive power of both intention and subjective norm are discussed further in the overall discussion on the validity of the scales (see paragraph 5.1.1). Based on the present results, maintaining the differentiation of subjective norm into injunctive and descriptive norm is recommended. However, due to a wide range of item error variances identified within and between the two subjective norm factors, it is recommended to include a quorum of three items in a scale per significant other in order to estimate a functional second-order factor model or create more discriminant validity between the scales.

The four items of the construct perceived behavioral control explained the most variance in children's visits to museum. Since the control factor was composed of heterogeneous variables, it was interesting to analyze the scale at an item level as well. Thus, an additional model including these four items as predictors of children's visits to museums was generated for both countries (see Figure 20). The results were analogous for both subsamples; familiarity with museum attendance explained the most variance in behavior in both subgroups. Other items—knowledge and accessibility for Finland and knowledge, accessibility, and transport for Germany—each explained an additional small amount of variance in museum attendance. The results suggest dissolving the heterogeneous factor into four more components. Regarding the aspect of familiarity, additional items have already been developed within the German sample in the present study, though it remains for further studies to validate the scales including these new items.

Longitudinal stability of the determinants

Although this study provided evidence for the existence of several connections between the predictor scales and cultural participation of children, caution should be paid in drawing causal assumptions based on the demonstrated associations. In reference to Abramson (1995, 259-267), not all criteria demonstrating the causality of the relationships between the determinants (i.e. scales) and criteria (i.e. intention or behavior), were met. The strongest limitation regarding causality lies in the cross-sectional research design of the presents study—it allows no conclusions about temporal causality, i.e. the consistency of or change in the associations (cf. Abramson, 1995). Thus, the effects and associations discovered through the analysis of the data can be assumed to be of importance in the exercise of cultural activities among children. However, we cannot make any statements about the developmental processes affecting participation based on the data from the present study. There is a need to control possible seasonal patterns in the effects to ensure the stability of findings.

5. OVERALL DISCUSSION

Drawing on the framework of the Theory of Planned Behavior, the present dissertation sought to contribute knowledge about children's cultural participation and its determinants. The research design included two objectives. First, it aimed to develop a reliable and valid instrument to study the factors influencing cultural participation in childhood, and second, it implemented the developed questionnaire in order to explain children's cultural behavior in a comparative research setting between Germany and Finland—two countries with differences in educational and social disparities but similarities in cultural participation structures and possibilities. To achieve the research objectives as outlined above, a number of research questions were formulated and elaborated in several steps. In doing so, the present study systematically dealt with numerous research gaps presented at the beginning of this dissertation (Paragraph 3.2.2 p. 67).

Overall, the results of the present study support the TPB as an appropriate theoretical model for explaining determinants of cultural participation behavior in Finnish and German primary school children, both individually and cross-nationally. Based on qualitative interviews, determinants of cultural participation could be identified and successfully categorized according to the main constructs of the TPB, attitude (sub-divided in intrinsic and extrinsic categories), subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control (sub-divided in controllability and self-efficacy). The elicitation study provided a comprehensive vision of children's motives for taking part in cultural activities in their leisure time, which could be verified in quantitative follow-up studies as well.

The final measurement model—including the elicited motives constructed in four scales based on the main categories of the TPB (subjective norm was further divided into injunctive and descriptive norms)—accounted for at most 62% and 58% of the variance in intention and 60% and 65% of the variance in cultural behavior in the Finnish and German sub-samples, respectively. Thus, a multifaceted view of the determinants of children's cultural intentions and participation was achieved. The factors identified by the children themselves—both the facilitators and especially the barriers—provide us (parents, guardians, other adults, educators, and politicians) with knowledge that can form the basis of decision-making to promote the cultural participation of children. At the same time, however, field work remains to be done. The present study showed some limitations, which are pointed out next, and suggestions for future research are given. The first chapter of overall discussion (5.1) deals with the methodological aspects of the study, and the second chapter (5.2) discusses the explanatory part of this research.

5.1 Reflection on the methodological aspects of the study

The present research incorporated numerous methodological considerations, which were processed stepwise throughout the dissertation. These steps, including definition of the behavior under study, a pre-study to elicit the behavioral beliefs, construction of the questionnaires, testing the validity, and application of the measurement model to predict children's behavior, present a method filled with strengths and challenges. These have already been discussed to some extent when reporting the results of separate studies. However, the following section collects the most central considerations from the study at large.

5.1.1 Strengths and limits of the used methodology

The introduction of the present dissertation was opened with a citation about the dearth of research on cultural participation of children. As Professor Schneider noted in his speech, culture and children rarely fit into the same sentence. My experience examining the research literature confirmed his opinion. There was an obvious need to map both children's overall cultural participation and its determinants. The greatest strength of the present research lies in its effort to deliver a multifaceted view on children's participation in cultural activities. The study also shows originality in applying the framework of the TPB in the context of receptive cultural participation in children. Despite its strengths, the theory has not been commonly used on children (or used at all regarding the behavior in question) (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012). The literature review revealed one study applying the TPB to identify beliefs underlying visiting museums (see Yamada & Fu, 2012). However, this targeted adults and included only respondents visiting museums, thus leaving non-visitors unaccounted for.

Through a systematic process of belief elicitation and scale construction provided by the framework of the TPB, an economic and content-valid questionnaire to study children's cultural leisure-time activities was achieved. In doing so, the thesis provides valuable insight into children's cultural intentions and behaviors, which can be translated into practical settings when planning actions to promote (equal) cultural participation. Furthermore, when observing the results of the present study in connection to previous studies that have applied the TPB to explain children's leisure-time activities, it can be argued that the behavioral, normative, and control beliefs differ between activities; thus, the items based on beliefs are not transferrable from one activity to another (e.g. Schüller, 2014; Staudenmaier, 2012). In other words, a model developed to explain sports activities (cf. Staudenmaier, 2012) cannot be applied to study highbrow cultural activities. The greatest strength of the present study is in its originality and ability to elicit the beliefs children hold about highbrow cultural participation.

With respect to equality of participation, the present study attempted to explain the role of the family's social status in children's cultural participation. Although most previous TPB studies have collected some demographic information about the participants, these have mostly been used only to describe the sample's characteristics, and only in a minority of studies have the effects of demographic characteristics been explicitly tested for influencing the theoretical determinants of intention and behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 234). However, as noted by Fishbein and Ajzen (ibid.), the most interesting substantive information about the role of demographic characteristics is obtained by examining the underlying behavioral, normative, and control beliefs. This was the case in the present study, as the socio-economic status of the family was included in the overall model to explain children's cultural participation.

Although the TPB proved to be a useful and suitable theoretical framework to study the determinants of children's leisure-time cultural activities, some limitations should be acknowledged when interpreting the study results. In the following, both strengths and limitations are discussed.

Securing reliable and valid measurements

The strength of the present study lies in its attempts to avoid several pitfalls identified in previous TPB research. As criticized by Sutton et al. (2003), Darker and French (2009), and Staudenmaier (2012), many TPB studies have missed the most important step of the process: the elicitation study or pre-study. This is a crucial step to gain reliable and valid scales based on a well-grounded scientific approach. Thus, the presented points of critique were addressed in the present study by 1) emphasizing an accurate pre-study in order to elicit salient beliefs from the target group, 2) piloting the items derived from the system of categories, and 3) delivering detailed documentation of the realization and evaluation of all processes. The lack of reliability and validity testing of the scales implemented in many studies often result often from the scales only being developed for one-time use. However, by doing this, possible problems with the scales remain undiscovered, and the adoption of these scales can lead to incorrect conclusions (Darker & French, 2009; cited in Staudenmaier, 2012, 97).

To avoid this pitfall, the present study attached importance to both testing reliability and validity carefully and documenting psychometric values throughout the studies. This started from the first pilot study, when the internal consistency was tested. During this time, the first evidence of the validity of the scales based on correlations with the criteria and the regressions of the criteria on attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control was collected. These stages cannot be overemphasized, as both pilot studies revealed several weaknesses in need of correction. Although the internal consistency of

the constructed scales was satisfactory, the problem seemed to be in their ability to predict what they were supposed to predict. The scales had obvious validity issues and needed to be modified. Three significant modifications were made after the first pilot study, which included expansion of the criteria and ensuring the heterogeneity of the sample (for a more detailed description, see section 4.3.4.2). The most significant modification after the second pilot study was selecting museums to be the criterion to prototypically exemplify other cultural activities, after which the TPB scale questions were modified accordingly (see section 4.3.7.2). These modifications resulted in successful main studies where both reliability and validity could be confirmed. The internal consistency of all scales was satisfactory. The validity of the scales was verified by confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), which spoke in favor of subdividing the constructs into attitudes, injunctive norms, descriptive norms, and perceived behavioral control.

After a successful estimation of the factor structures of the separate TPB constructs, all TPB factors were included in an overall measurement model. The resulting six-factor model showed a good model fit for both countries, suggesting that the TPB was applicable for the study's purpose. However, in order to achieve a satisfactory model fit, several modifications—including item execution and error-covariance allowance—were conducted (for a more detailed discussion, see section 4.4.3.2). The use of model modifications, especially item execution, is always questionable. Since the beliefs (reasons for and against the behavior) regarding the TPB constructs were derived from the target group itself, it was expected that all the stated features would be salient in predicting a particular construct. The greatest number of problems with minor loadings was found in the perceived behavioral control scale. Because of non-significant factor loadings, two items regarding economic aspects of participation and one portraying the difficulty of participation (being dependent on adults) were removed. The low factor loading and cross-loading of one additional control factor item on the attitude scale were explained by the unprecise formulation and ambiguity of the items. Although meant to measure obstacles in the form of time restrictions ("Visiting a museum takes time from other hobbies"), the children understood the item more as an attitudinal factor measuring preferences of some activities over others. To what extent the problem of minor factor loadings was caused by the items' compositions needs to be investigated more precisely in future studies.

The lack of significance of economic control factors might be due to an overestimation of economic factors from the elicitation phase of the study. It might have been easier for the children to describe concrete economic obstacles such as entrance fees than more internal motives like self-efficacy in an interview situation. Because the children were rather reticent and said little during the course of the interviews, items within self-efficacy may have remained undiscovered. Thus, despite the strong explanatory power of

the presented four-item perceived behavioral control scale, the scale should be revisited and self-efficacy measured more precisely. This development was applied to some extent in the collection of the German data, as the German questionnaires included additional items to increase the specificity of the TPB measures. However, it was not within the limits of the present study to examine the effects of these additional items. The potential effects and causes of these items will be addressed in future studies.

The present study sought to develop a valid research instrument to explain cultural participation in childhood. The instruments were developed in a cross-national context, which allowed comparisons between Finnish and German children. Although the applied process of questionnaire development for international comparisons can raise criticism for being established through a process including several steps and studies, the most common error was avoided. Instead of using an instrument developed in one country and applying it to the second country while assuming that the instrument measured the same constructs in exactly the same way for each group (see Byrne & Campbell, 1999), a strategy of synchronized development was used (cf. van de Vijver & Tanzer, 2004). Thus, the scales were originally developed and piloted in Germany, modified and implemented in Finland, and ultimately, implemented again in Germany to collect comprehensive data. Moreover, the present study included analyses of scale invariance to examine whether the test scores obtained in Finnish and German populations can be interpreted in the same way across these populations (e.g. Byrne, 2008; van de Vijver & Tanzer, 2004). The measurement invariance test results indicated that the factor structures and items functioned similarly across groups (with four exceptions). Because there were only four exceptions in a single item level on separate scales, the condition of partial measurement invariance could be adopted and the measurement model found equivalent for group comparisons (see Byrne, Muthén, & Shavelson, 1989). All in all, the cross-national nature of the present study gave further support for the validity of the constructed research instrument, as well as enabled additional observation of cultural determinants and their strengths on a societal level.

Explaining what? The definitional challenges of the study

A clear definition of the research object is critical, as discussed above (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 29). Likely the most difficult challenge in the present study is the targeted behavior to be explained. Because the use of cultural activities as a categorical criterion was constantly proven to fail in the pilot studies, methodological changes were required. These changes have been described carefully throughout the dissertation. The major definitional change concerns the selection of a single activity (museum) to represent other highbrow cultural activities and the formation of the explanatory scales regarding the selection. By doing this, the research specified the already narrow definition of cultural participation as "high

arts" even further. However, selecting a museum as a criterion to exemplify highbrow cultural activities was justifiable; museums have shifted their image from that a central upholder of "high culture" to an activity, which also emphasizes popularity (cf. Hanquinet & Savage, 2012). Thus, it is an activity likely included in the leisure time of many or most children (e.g. Eurobarometer, 2011; Huysmans, van den Broek, & de Haan, 2005).

The difficulty of explaining categorical behavior was the most challenging task during the research process. Ostrower (2008) explains this problem with the argument that "one size does not fit all" when the aim is to explain cultural participation. This means that the reasons for and against cultural activities can vary depending on the type of event. Therefore, the use of behavioral categories was impossible, as the children in the present study clearly failed to evaluate cultural activities as an overall concept or a category that included different types of activities (see also Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 47). The use of a categorical criterion made answering the questions too difficult for the children. This problem became evident, for example, when children tried to respond to questions including statements such as "I am interested in cultural activities"; what if they are extremely interested visiting museums but could not care less about going to a ballet? Children may attend different types of cultural events for different reasons (cf. Ostrower, 2008). As a consequence, to study cultural participation as a unit, the questions measuring the determinants of the TPB constructs should have been posed for every highbrow activity separately. This would have made the questionnaire substantially longer and thus liable to systematic bias resulting from factors like differences in children's literacy or attention spans. Thus, the museum was selected as the primary measure exemplifying highbrow cultural activities. The determinants (attitudes, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control) were observed in relation to this criterion.

In a way, it is surprising that cultural activities could not be researched as a unit, since e.g. Staudenmaier (2012) was able to adapt the TPB in a similar research setting to explain children's sports activities. However, as proven by Ostrower (2008) regarding adults' cultural participation and then discussed methodologically by Fishbein and Ajzen (2010), it is more difficult to develop good measures of behavioral categories than to assess the performance of a single behavior. The restriction of the criterion in the present study can be evaluated two-dimensionally. From a theoretical perspective, it might have been more valuable to know why children participate in cultural activities in general, rather than why they attend a particular type of cultural activity (here, museums). However, since the items were constructed based on children's statements about their reasons to participate or not to participate in various cultural activities, it may be assumed (but has not been proven) that the developed TPB scales maintain their ability to explain and predict other highbrow cultural activities as well. However, it is not expected that the effects of each item and the relations between the items stay constant between different activities.

Children as respondents

This research was targeted at primary school children, which represent an age group with particular cognitive development challenges. Failing to take these into account could have had an influence on response quality. As children's cognitive, communicative, and social skills are still developing at this age, there is a need for awareness of the developmental issues that can interfere when surveying children (cf. Borgers, de Leeuw, & Hox, 2000; de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004).

The children filled out a pencil-and-paper questionnaire individually under the supervision of the researcher and/or trained research assistant. They were carefully instructed on how to fill out the questionnaire and were told about the opportunity to ask for help during the survey. After this, they completed the survey at their own pace (for a more precise description, see e.g. section 4.4.1.2). This method presumed that, based on the school curriculum, children in the 3rd grade are able to read and understand these sorts of texts (e.g. Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung (ISB), 2013; The Finnish National Board of Education, 2004). Furthermore, former TPB-based questionnaire surveys were proven to work well among the children of this age (cf. Schüller, 2014; Staudenmaier, 2012).

The present research aimed to avoid response bias by providing several approaches proposed in the literature to facilitate children's survey response: Designing questionnaire carefully (an elicitation study was used to elicit the most salient beliefs), managing questionnaire length by limiting items to those showing predictive power, limiting response alternatives (the four-point response scale was used), avoiding retrospective, complex, or negatively formed questions in order to make them more understandable (e.g. "how often do you visit?" instead of "how often in the past year have you visited?"), and securing enough response time, the objectivity of data collection was verified.

Despite these well-planned procedures, the validity of the results would have been further optimized by working out the whole questionnaire under the instruction of a test manager. The test manager would have read the questions out loud, and the class would have filled in the questionnaires simultaneously. This procedure has been especially recommended for children with reading disabilities or children with immigrant backgrounds (cf. Schüller, 2014, 97). In the present study, children who did not finish responding to the questionnaire during the normal class were given extra time to fill out the questionnaire.

Strengths and limits of a cross-sectional research design

As already discussed in Study 3 above (see Chapter 4.4.3.2), the cross-sectional research design of the present study has its own limitations. The results of the present study still

allow no conclusions about the causal effects between the determinants of cultural participation and actual participation. There may be other unobserved determinants that are correlated with the TPB constructs that also influence children's museum attendance. Furthermore, the associations found in the present study are only correlational; thus, some of the links between the model variables might also work in the other direction. However, the effects and associations identified in the present study are important. As stated by Abramson (1995, 261), "We can never really prove a causal relationship. What we want, however, is reasonable proof, strong enough to be used as basis for decision and action" (cited in Shulruf, 2010). For the purpose of practical implications and further research, the present study has laid essential groundwork. However, to get a more accurate picture of the true causal links between determinants and children's cultural behavior, the subject should be studied longitudinally.

Predictive power of the TPB constructs

Despite the strength of the present study it nevertheless showed some weaknesses. A major challenge during the research was the limited or non-existent predictive power of some of the TPB constructs. This could be partly explained due to the definitional problems of the criteria (for a more precise, discussion see section 4.3.7). A narrower definition of the criteria and the related TPB questions led to correlation with and prediction of both intention and behavior. However, when modeling all the constructs in the full TPB model, the effects of both aspects of subjective norm disappeared. In addition, intention failed to predict behavior.

The lack of predictive power can be interpreted in multiple ways. First, perhaps the measurement scales which were missing the predictive power after all were not able to measure what they were intended to. Despite the many "revisions" of belief elicitation through open-ended questions in the pilot questionnaires, did some crucial item stay unidentified? Unfortunately, no statistical test can be used to answer this question and confirm or reject the requirements of content validity (cf. Junttila, 2010, 28). As mentioned many times, the strength of this study lies in its construction of a questionnaire based on the TPB presented by Ajzen (2006) and Francis and colleagues (2004). By implementing all the steps of the process beginning with literature review, an elicitation study, item generation, and item modification and then moving on to factor analysis, it is unlikely that the lack of predictive power results from an imprecise process of item construction.

According to Fishbein and Ajzen (2010), when measured properly, TPB can account for about 50% to 60% of the observed variance in intentions and for about 30% to 40% of the variance in behavior. Based on the analysis in the present study, the measured TPB model accounted for at most 66% of behavioral intention and 65% of actual behavior.

Overall, the constructed measurement model succeeded in predicting intention and behavior. However, contrary to the theory's assumptions regarding its determinants, a single construct—perceived control—was enough to account for the high amount of variance. Although these results suggest the importance of control factors over other determinants when predicting children's cultural participation, one must critique the lack of significance in the other expected predictors.

Although careful attention was paid to developing the subjective norm construct by including several items to measure it, when placed in the original TPB model, it showed no significant effects on children's intention to visit museums and was not mediated through the intention predicting children's museum attendance. The absence of predictive power for the subjective norm construct could be due to its relation to the target behavior. As Ajzen (1991; 2005) has pointed out, in some instances, only one or two of the constructs are needed to explain or predict behavior, while in others, all of the TPB predictors can make independent contributions. Since it is acknowledged that the relative importance of the constructs may vary across behaviors and situations, the variation in the present study can be partly explained by the fact that subjective norm simply did not contribute to the variance in children`s intention to visit museums.

Lack of predictive power of the injunctive norm is no exception in TPB research (e.g. Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010; Plotnikoff, Lubans, Costigan, & McCargar, 2013; Schüller, 2014). Because there is usually a widespread agreement about what others think someone should do, it is a common problem that injunctive norm scales do not create enough variance in responses. The lack of variance may reduce the predictive power of the scale (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). The children, for example, perceived the attitudes of their significant others to be generally positive. Thus, the injunctive norm may well be an important determinant of the intention to visit museums, but because it is perceived similarly for all individuals, its influence is not reflected in the correlation with intention (ibid.). In the present study, although the attitude of significant others was perceived to be generally positive, a similar lack of variance—observable through an average and standard deviation—could not be identified clearly. However, difficulties understanding the hypothetical nature of the items (e.g. "My mother finds it good if I visit museums") on the injunctive norm scale were identified. Based on the personal experience of the researcher during data collection in schools, many children found it difficult to estimate the opinions of their significant others. A common comment was that "everyone thinks it is good to visit museums"—a statement reflecting widespread agreement on what significant others think children should do. Despite some variation in responses, the possible difficulty of question wording and the hypothetical nature of the items cannot be dismissed when evaluating validity and the lack of predictive power of the present scale.

In the TPB, intentions are usually good predictors of behavior when assessed properly (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). The effect of intention on behavior varies significantly depending on the type of behavior (e.g. McEachan, Conner, Taylor, & Lawton, 2011), and the gap between intention and behavior has been especially highlighted when applying the TPB model to children (e.g. Rhodes, Macdonald, & McKay, 2006; Wigginton, 2012). In the present study, intention entirely lacked the power to predict behavior despite the substantial intention-behavior correlation. Two items were used to study children's intention to visit museums, both of which can be critiqued. The problem with the first item (intention to visit in the next year) might have been the requirement for self-regulation (cf. Ajzen, 2011). As the results generally showed, children's behavior was strongly steered by structural factors and perceived control, leaving little space for individual attitudes and desires. Within a year, big differences in the factors affecting one's participation cannot be expected. Thus, the intention to visit next year essentially demonstrates a lack of actual control over the behavior, which generally tends to reduce the predictive validity of intentions (ibid.). The second item (intention to visit as an adult) deals with the problem of temporal distance, though not in exactly the same way that Ajzen (2011) describes the problem (the distance between measurement of intention and observation of behavior). Rather, one must consider a child's ability to predict or assess his or her behavior as an adult.

The lack of an intention-behavior relationship can also be explained in other ways. Fishbein and Ajzen (2010, 62) have noted that people sometimes act irrationally in the sense that they fail to carry out an intended behavior. For example, children may realize that museum attendance is fun but may still select other leisure activities. In the present study, a more probable explanation for the lack of an intention-behavior relation among children is the fact that cultural participation in the presented groups of children was not a fully reasoned action. As Ajzen (2011, 1115) has argued, "Whether intentions predict behavior depends in part on factors beyond the individual's control, i.e. the strength of the intention-behavior relation is moderated by actual control over the behavior." As the results of the present study show, perceived behavioral control accounted for such a great amount of the variance in museum attendance that the control exceeded children's intentions, their positive attitude, and interest.

The lack of predictive validity for subjective norm and intention may also be explained by the fact that perceived behavioral control alone accounted for such a significant amount of the variance in children's visits to museums. This, along with high correlations between perceived control and other TPB constructs (especially descriptive norm), might have mitigated the subjective norm-intention and intention-behavior relationships in the full model. In summary, when it comes to cultural participation of children, they may intend to act, but because of barriers they perceive to be too strong, they fail to enact those

intentions. This raises the question of whether we have reached the limits of *planned* behavior when it comes to cultural participation in childhood. Because the children were found to be strongly influenced by control factors (either person-internal or person-external control), the decision to participate cannot be made by the children in a more or less rational manner. Although both study groups represent Western cultures, their responses reflect rather non-Western contexts, where decisions are more influenced by social factors. This, as noted by Fishbein and Ajzen (2010, 308), can present a challenge when applying the theory.

Overall, the above reported results regarding factor structures as well as measurement and structural models appeared analogous for both study groups. Not only did the TPB model operate similarly across Finnish and German children, but so did the reported limitations regarding items and scales (i.e. error covariances, low item loadings) and path coefficients. This demonstrates the validity of the instruments developed within the framework of the present dissertation. In reference to the strong impact of control factors and the full lack of predictive power of intention on behavior, the applicability of the full TPB model including intention within children and in the context of cultural participation is questionable.

5.1.2 Conclusions and implications for further research

Despite the above-mentioned limitations, the present study succeeded in responding to several shortages acknowledged in the introduction regarding research on cultural participation. First of all, a diverse picture of primary school children's participation in cultural activities and its determinants was achieved. Drawing on samples of the total population within certain schools and classes, a non-restricted sample was accomplished and an accurate picture of the determinants—including aspects of both participants and non-participants—was collected. Second, as an end product of this dissertation, a measurement instrument that is both compact and easy to use for children in the category of cultural heritage (at minimum) was developed successfully. Because the belief elicitation and resultant categories of motives were based on highbrow activities, it can be fairly assumed that the constructed scales are applicable to other (especially outward-oriented) cultural activities, like theater, opera, concerts, and ballet as well.

Further measures for improving validity and revision of the scales

The findings of this study need replication using revisited scales. This is recommended in order to examine whether the lack of predictive power of attitude, subjective norms, and intention on behavior were indeed due to their non-significance as predictors, or whether

it resulted from invalid item and scale construction. A recommended future research avenue would be to further increase the level of specificity within the constructed scales. As noted earlier, the most variance in children's museum attendance could be explained by one construct (behavioral control) and a single item—the familiarity with museums. Therefore, it is recommended to expand the perceived behavioral control scale to measure aspects of self-efficacy in more detail.

As theorized above in section 3.1, demographic characteristics segment the population into subgroups with very different life experiences. As a result, members of the various subgroups, e.g. based on socio-economic statuses, are likely to form different beliefs relevant to a given behavior. The present study proved that a family's socio-economic status has an effect on children's cultural participation; the higher the status of the family, the more favorable the attitudes and intentions toward museums, the less perceived behavioral barriers, and the more frequent attendance at museums. In future studies, it would be interesting to examine the subgroups based on socio-economic status in more detail. The data allows for clarifying e.g. whether social status differences in cultural activity can be attributed to different attitudinal, normative, or control beliefs. Linked to the subgroup thematic, gender has also been proven to be a significant predictor of children's cultural behavior in previous research (e.g. Christin, 2011; DiMaggio, 1982; Dumais, 2002; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004). In fact, many of Bourdieu's works imply that gender is a secondary characteristic to social class (Dumais, 2002). Girls are not only more encouraged to but also do participate in cultural activities more than boys. Since the preliminary analysis of the data showed practically no significant differences between girls and boys in their museum attendance activity, the gender was delimited from more accurate analysis within this thesis. However, in light of strong previous evidence of the effects of gender, taking this aspect into more precise consideration in future analysis is recommended.

Direct and indirect measures

Participation in cultural activities was surveyed using subjective measures. Future studies should incorporate more objective measures of behavior, since self-report measures for cultural participation are potentially predisposed to bias due to limitations in terms of accuracy of recall (cf. Borgers, de Leeuw, & Hox, 2000; de Leeuw, Borgers, & Smits, 2004). The challenge in objective measurement lies in the nature of the activities. Participation in cultural activities is arbitrary, and within everyday life, rather seldom. This poses challenges for research, as objective measures would require a longer period of observation. One possibility to improve the reliability of subjective measures would be using multisource assessment. Objectively assessed activities could be verified with additional measures. Since the parents are usually most familiar with children's leisure-

time activities, their ratings should be taken into account to test the convergent validity of the measure of children's cultural participation. Asking significant others directly would help overcome the problem children face regarding the difficulty of question wording and the hypothetical nature of injunctive norm items as well. This might enhance the predictive power of the subjective norm scales or at least allow researchers to assess the validity of children's perceptions.

Between-school differences in level of cultural activities

Based on the pre-analysis for school and class effects (see paragraph 4.4.2.2), schools selected in the German sample differ from each other in how often their pupils visit museums. The differences in cultural activities indicate that it is not necessarily the school itself but the profile of the schools included in the sample that is related to the activities of the pupils and how they approximate the cultural participation of their parents (cf. Kröner, Vock, Robitzsch, & Köller, 2012). The results of school-related differences regarding cultural activities have been reported previously. For example, Fritzsche et al. (2011) show in their study focusing on high-track[19] secondary school students that a school's profile can constitute a huge explanatory factor for students' musical activities. Hoerner (2004) explain the significant differences in cultural activities regarding school track by the fact that a culturally favorable school profile is in most cases attached to high-track schools (cf. Kröner, Vock, Robitzsch, & Köller, 2012). Naturally, a culturally favorable school profile goes hand in hand with the higher educational and/or occupational status of the families. Based on the present study, differences between schools in "cultural participation activity of the students" can be hypothesized to reflect different socio-economic statuses of families and/or residential areas. Future research could examine what role the cultural profile (i.e. cultural offerings) a school offers play in differences in museum attendance of children. With respect to the role of school in children's cultural participation and extracurricular activities, the role of the teacher cannot be forgotten; in the end, cultural opportunities provided by the school depend on teachers' own interests, activities, and priorities.

Similar differences between schools could not be found in the Finnish sub-sample. Whether the result suggests a more equal school profile regarding cultural supply

[19] High-track schools (Gymnasium) are one of three different German education tracks, separated traditionally to secondary general school (Hauptschule), intermediate school (Realschule), and high (track) school (Gymnasium).The secondary general school provides general education as a basis for apprenticeship training, intermediate school provides the basis for further apprenticeship training (usually in white-collar occupations), and high school involves completion of an entire upper secondary cycle and thus serves as the basis for academic education at universities and other institutions of higher education.

in Finnish schools or is due to the more separable sampling in Cologne compared to Turku is unknown. Particularly interesting from a comparative view would be to conduct multilevel calculations including variables at the class level. Such variables of interest could be things such as the number of children with migrant backgrounds within the class and school-related participation in cultural activities. In order to make any comparisons between leisure time and school-related determinants of cultural participation, the constructed TPB scales would require revision via further elicitation studies in order to be applicable to school-based participation. The scales developed to predict leisure-time cultural participation are context-based and thus are not applicable. As Schüller (2014) points out, such comparison—with equivalent instruments—would bring interesting insight into the contrasting or consistent motives in both contexts.

The expansion of comparative aspects

The comparative part of the study sought to both validate the constructed measures and reveal either differences or similarities in cultural participation practices and determinants between Finnish and German children. The tests for measurement invariance supported the validity of the constructed scales. The determinants of cultural participation displayed a similar pattern across the countries. Although minor differences in path coefficients could be identified between countries (e.g. coefficient between perceived control and behavior), these were proven statistically insignificant in multi-group analyses. The results regarding control, importance of social aspects, and preliminary inter-school differences should be examined more closely within and between countries, especially in light of the prolific fear of school segregation. Future studies should investigate whether the instrument developed herein is valid across other countries and a wider range of cultures. As an equivalent instrument between the observed countries, it lays the groundwork for further application in studies seeking to broaden the knowledge of children's cultural behavior and the factors affecting it.

5.2 Explaining cultural participation in childhood

Participation in cultural activities, together with equal access to them, forms the backbone of human rights (cf. Laaksonen, 2010). As Laaksonen (ibid.) frames it, "What we probably all agree on is that we should be given the opportunity to have access, we should be able to choose whether or not to participate and that all this should have a regulatory basis that ensures this in any given circumstances and to everyone." Despite these rights being secured by the law itself (United Nation, 1989) the general trend in

cultural participation points to a decreasing tendency to participate. The cross-sectional data of the present study provides no interpretation of the trends in children's cultural participation. What it does show is a generally low rate of participation in "out-of-house" cultural activities (see Figure 8, pp. 120), especially those with highbrow connotations. Additionally, a group of children entirely non-participatory in such activities could also be identified. This dissertation pursued to examine the reasons why children do or do not take part in cultural activities.

The theoretical discussion to which the present study contributes covers mainly sociological fields of thought in its attempts to explain children's cultural participation. Based on the Bourdieusian tradition, participation in cultural activities was examined as a reflection of social status (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984). However, in light of the sociological discourse on the state of modern society, cultural participation and artistic experiences were also studied as an important manifestation of individualization, allowing person-internal elements to explain cultural behavior. Drawing on the broader framework of the theory of planned behavior, including eliciting children's beliefs through a qualitative pre-study, a large number of elicited and categorized reasons for and against such activities could be identified and reduced to a set of items. This resulted in a total of four relatively clear scales based on the dimensions of the TPB. This theory's proximal components—attitude, injunctive norm, descriptive norm, and perceived behavioral control—were supposed to comprise the most detailed substantive information about the determinants of cultural participation.

As argued throughout this work and confirmed by the results of the present study, primary school-aged children live within a complex matrix of influences—both individual and environmental—when making choices about their leisure-time cultural activities. These different levels are not separable, nor do they exist parallel to each other; rather, they coexist in a complex bundle of contemporaneous motives. Figure 21 describes this composite of significant determinants as identified in the present study. Interconnected determinants from three different levels form children's intention to take part in cultural activities, as well as their attendance at cultural events and venues. A child's choice, be it for or against cultural participation, is based primarily on a broad cultural level that contains e.g. country- or region-related determinants. This level includes not only determinants like facilities and supply but also those related to the general "value" of certain activities. In children's language, this societal level of appreciating cultural participation came up in the statements like "everyone thinks it is a good thing to take part in cultural activities." Such statements replicated the generally felt appreciation of cultural participation identified in previous studies (cf. Eurobarometer, 2007; Keuchel & Larue, 2012; Myllyniemi, 2009).

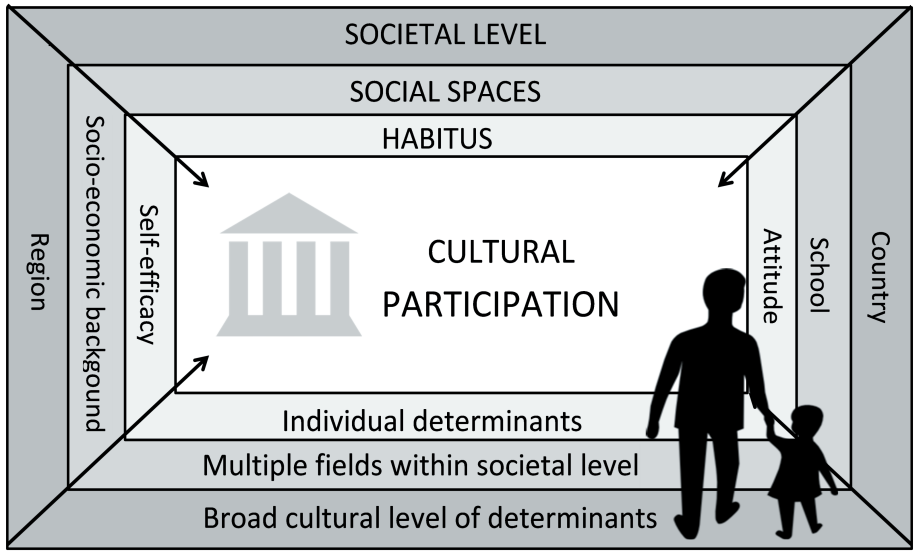

Figure 21 The foundation of children's cultural participation based on the determinants of different structural levels

The broad societal level includes multiple fields or social spaces, such as social class and school, which reflect certain values and practices regarding cultural participation (see Figure 21). This level was found to be the most crucial in determining children's participation. The generally perceptible appreciation of cultural activities or a multifold cultural supply did not lead to cultural behavior in and of itself. Primary school children still depend on adult guidance when it comes to taking part in cultural activities within their everyday lives. The provided chances also rest upon the social background of the family. The level of different social spaces and the groups of people children are connected to strongly relate to their innermost level of motives: the individual determinants of cultural participation.

The individual level of determinants was operationalized through attitudinal factors in the present study. It was expected that the more positive or negative one's attitude, the more likely it is that one would behave in accordance with that attitude (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010, 260). Children's attitude, assessed by means of a seven-item construct containing both experiential (e.g. fun, boring) and instrumental (educative, dislike) items, significantly explained children's intentions to visit museums in the next year or later on in both countries. When interpreting the attitude factor on a single item level, three items portraying experiential aspects were found most significant. Taken together, *fun* was the most crucial factor motivating children to visit museums.

Attitudinal motives mentioned by the children—the desire to learn, interest, and fun—provide reasons for children to take part in cultural activities. However, despite the

favorable intentions generated through these attitudinal factors, children failed to act on them. Overall, attitude had no predictive power on actual behavior, either via intentions or directly. This can be explained because individual motives, whether attitudinal or in regards to self-efficacy, need to be joined by the factors that link all the way to the outermost frame of the Figure 21 in order to turn into cultural behavior. In Bourdieu's (1990, 116) words, "Habitus becomes active in relation to a field, and the same habitus can lead to very different practices and stances depending on the state of the field." In practice, the lack of parental support and knowledge, unfamiliarity with cultural activities, and lack of opportunities will suppress even the greatest individual interest. This was confirmed in multiple analyses where the reasons for and against cultural participation were placed in an overall model to predict children's actual participation.

The strongest determinant of children's cultural participation was perceived control, which depended on and reflected the family of origin; as the results showed, children visiting museums more commonly come from families with higher socio-economic statuses. This replicates past research (e.g. Bos, Gröhlich, & Pietsch, 2007). The present study also showed that the socio-economic status of the family does not necessarily correlate directly with cultural behavior, but it is strongly connected to children's self-efficacy about performing the behavior. Self-efficacy—or more precisely, familiarity with cultural activities—strongly predicted cultural participation. In reference to Bourdieu's works, reproduction of cultural behavior seems to result from the very inner habitus of a person. Children's cultural self-efficacy, which is connected to their families' socio-economic status in the present study, seems to be generated by their place in the broader social structure. Based on unconsciously internalized social status and one's place in it, a child becomes able to determine what is common or possible in his or her life and develops aspirations and practices according to these determinations (cf. Dumais, 2002). The above described process realized by unconscious socialization can be identified, for example, in statements children made during the interviews like "we do not do such things" or "such things are not for us." The effect of the socio-economic status of the family was found partly responsible for inequalities in children's cultural participation. Because the effects were observable in museum attendance—one of the least highbrow activities in the present study—similar or even stronger effects can be expect within other highbrow cultural activities.

Unequal cultural opportunities stand against children's right "to participate freely in cultural life and the arts" (United Nation, 1989) and places pressure on national, regional, and local actors, who are obliged to ensure that children's rights are upheld. The fulfilment of this right requires individual will and enjoyment, a legal framework, and an enabling environment (for a detailed discussion, see section 2.2). The first two preconditions stand in both countries being examined in the present study. First, in both regions, children's

right to participate is secured all the way from the national level (Kinderkommission, 2008; OKM, 2014) to local actors (e.g. Ministry for the School and Further Education of the State Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2008; The Finnish National Board of Education, 2004). Second, both Finnish and German children reported large personal motivation as well as highly perceived positive attitudes of their significant others toward visiting museums. However, the third factor—an enabling environment—can have such a strong effect that it overcomes children's own will to participate. Based on the results of the present study, an enabling environment refers not so much to facilities and economics (the most outer level of determinants in Figure 21) but to parental socialization and cultural exposure (and even the individual self-efficacy that rests upon these).

The present study included two countries that do not differ considerably in cultural opportunity structures and facilities (i.e. the possibilities children have to choose an activity), but interestingly, they differ in educational and social inequalities caused by families' cultural resources (e.g. Baumert, Watermann, & Schümer, 2003; Baumert & Maaz, 2006). Taken together, the two countries included in this dissertation did not show different cultural realms. Despite the differences found in the perceptions of Finnish and German children, they did not differ in factors explaining their cultural behavior. The perceived control was found the most important predictor of museum attendance in both groups. Similarly for both countries, the control factor was found mediating the effects of family's socio-economic background. Thus, the results regarding cultural activities as a manifestation of cultural capital are not self-evidently in accordance with the aforementioned difference in the strength of social correlates in educational inequalities in these countries. However, social inequalities in cultural participation still exist and the results point to a shared phenomenon. This similarity will be surveyed more accurately in studies to follow.

5.2.1 Cultural participation in childhood—an inherited choice

The fact that both positive attitude and the intention to visit museums "got buried under" the perceived barriers reflecting the family of origin indicates that cultural participation is less of an individual choice than an inherited one. As Reay (2004, 435) summarizes in her interpretations of Bourdieu's texts, "Choice is at the heart of habitus, but at the same time the choices inscribed in the habitus are limited." Family background, measured as the highest occupation in the family, was found to be a strong single factor determining cultural participation in childhood. The effect of family background not only predicted all the TPB constructs but also explained children's actual cultural participation. The structural model and the paths between the factors within the model were similar between the two countries. In both countries, family background indirectly explained

a considerable amount of variance in behavior. Summarizing the results of the present study, socio-economic correlates still play a role in determining cultural participation in families.

Children, "being placed in similar conditions and submitted to similar types of conditioning, have every chance of having similar dispositions and interests, and thus of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances" (Bourdieu, 1990a, 231). With respect to Bourdieu's notions, children's cultural dispositions and behavior remain at least explainable through their relative positions in a social space. However, as proposed and demonstrated by the applied theory of planned behavior, the relationship between a person's social position and his or her cultural behavior cannot be made visible without taking into consideration the more proximate determinants of the behavior. Perceived control in particular functioned as a linkage between family status and cultural participation, suggesting that the relationship between socio-economic background and cultural participation is in no way one-dimensional or simplistic. Just as every piece of art originates and becomes meaningful only through a creative process of reception and interpretation, this meaning-making process reflects not only on the interpersonal capacities of individuals but is affected (or limited) by social and cultural attachments (cf. Hanquinet & Savage, 2012).

Every child should have a right, an equal right…

… But this is not true. The results of the present study support the traditional view that highbrow cultural participation and its determinants are affected by the family of origin, even today. Be it due to structural or individual factors, children from families with lower socio-economic status experience more insurmountable barriers than their counterparts from more advantaged families. Considering the fact that not all children have equal opportunities to take part in cultural activities in their leisure time and be exposed to become affected in the first place (cf. Bourdieu, 2000), we need to focus even more on eliminating or diminishing barriers caused by social inequalities.

In today's cultural policy planning, it is easy to establish the objective of making culture as accessible as possible, i.e. to remove concrete obstacles such as economic barriers. These are the actions typically applied to expand the accessibility of culture, both locally and nationally. Efforts to provide free entry or organizing transport are important steps toward making participation more equal. However, in light of the present study, the roots of cultural non-participation seem to be even deeper. It is justifiable to argue that promoting free entry or transport will not be enough to support children's commitment to culture. In fact, items measuring economic determinants such as entrance fees and money were eliminated from the present analysis entirely, because they lacked predictive power. The non-relevance of

economic factors either confirms that financial barriers have become less influential in determining cultural participation (cf. van Eijck & Bargeman, 2004), or it can be partly explained due to criterion selection. Museum attendance lacks economic obstacles when compared to attendance at, for example, concerts or theaters (cf. Bourdieu, 1977). Linked to the methodological discussion about the generalizability of the constructed scales, the role of the eliminated economic items should be tested further in research to follow.

Whatever the explanation for the lack of significance of economic factors is, the results of the present study indicate that more internal determinants account for participation or non-participation. This is the point where we enter the previously blurry zone of non-knowledge—into one's habitus as a system of dispositions regulating our actions and the meanings we make out of them (cf. Bourdieu, 1984). As Laaksonen (2010, 18) puts it, it is easy to establish an objective to make culture as accessible as possible, but it is a much more difficult task to find out exactly what that access involves. Is merely entering a cultural site enough to call it participation, or does it include also enjoying the content and building meaningful cultural experiences? Based on the results of the present study, accessibility is strongly linked to being familiar with and having knowledge of such activities among children. Thus, it is not adequate only to secure access, since there are barriers to be removed in children's minds too.

But is it the barriers in children's minds or their parents' minds the ones that need to be removed? I would say both. Bourdieu views the habitus—composed of unconscious dispositions (cf. beliefs in the TPB)—as the product of opportunities and constrains framing a child's earlier life experiences. This calls for an (early) exposure to cultural experiences in order to develop the skills and knowledge required to appreciate and enjoy such activities. With regards to cultural experiences observed in the present study, primary school-aged children still rely strongly on their social environment (i.e. parents) when it comes to gaining these experiences. In families distant from cultural activities, there are obvious barriers to be removed in parents' minds too.

The present study pointed out a group that reported never having visited cultural activities. The number of such children was at minimum 22% and at most 53%, depending on the activity in question. This constitutes a relatively large number of children who either do not or cannot take advantage of their right to "participate fully in cultural and artistic life" (United Nation, 1989). To find out the exact reason for these children to remain non-participants, the responses of this group should be analyzed separately. The comparison between non-visitors and visitors could bring out further aspects of children's cultural participation overall. Furthermore, it could deliver information about how to motivate children toward culturally active leisure time, which is, from the perspective of intrinsic and extrinsic values of participation, recommended.

5.2.2 Implications and future inspirations

The overall theoretical contribution of the present thesis lies in its effort to emphasize a cross-disciplinary discussion and integration of previously unconnected interdisciplinary aspects of cultural participation. In doing so, a multifaceted and complementary view considering both contextual and individual elements of children's cultural participation was accomplished. Although the results pointed rather strongly toward Bourdieusian interpretations about children's cultural behavior being linked to social factors, one additional theoretical strength in the present study is its additional examination of the ways in which theoretically postulated social disparities in cultural participation function. Examining the existence and strength of the connection between socio-economic status and cultural participation offers more precise and practical tools to plan interventions or actions to promote equal access to cultural activities. So too does the identification of specific behavioral, normative, or control beliefs that one's socio-economic background affects.

To change behavior, possible interventions should be based on components most strongly associated with the target behavior (e.g. Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). This study suggests that a child's motivation to participate in cultural activities based on individual attitudes, interests, and wishes can only be converted into actual participation if a child has competencies (i.e. the cultural capital to take part, feel familiar with, and have knowledge of cultural activities), as well as arranged opportunities to participate (such as getting a ride to the locations or ensuring that the activities are otherwise achievable or located nearby). Due to the fact that children's cultural competencies and opportunities are linked to the socio-economic background of the family, social disparities have to be taken into account when planning actions to promote equal access. Interventions or other actions seeking to increase cultural participation opportunities should consider the close dynamic between the concepts of habitus, capital, and field described by Bourdieu. The dynamic and interaction between both person-internal and environmental factors in children's cultural participation were observed in the present study as well. It is necessary to consider both one's resources (capital, e.g. family practice and opportunities) and the orientation (habitus, e.g. attitude and self-efficacy) one has toward using those resources when studying differences in cultural participation practices between children.

As discussed extensively in research literature, early experiences can make a huge difference in cultural participation throughout life. This means that the role of parents as cultural middlemen cannot be overstated. However, attempts to educate parents about the importance of cultural experiences or attempts to affect children's participation by providing more family-based opportunities are likely to fail. First of all, this would need to influence parents' own attitudes and values in order to make them form favorable

attitudes toward cultural activities. Second, a problem that plagues these types of solutions is that they tend to target already active participants, leaving those most in need of precise targeting out of reach. Interventions aimed at equal participation should be targeted at schools, where they would reach all children regardless of social background and other family-related barriers and thus would be less socially selective.

In reference to the results depicted above in connection to school and class effects, schools in Germany differed in the cultural practices of their pupils. Although further research is needed to confirm the origins of school differences, the result can be discussed within the wider context of general concern regarding the increasing polarization and segregation of schools also true Finland (e.g. Seppänen, Rinne, & Riipinen, 2012). Ongoing school segregation perpetuates the issue of engaging those who are already engaged. Expressing this development in more extreme words presented by Erickson (2008, 345), "Whereas higher-status people are diversifying their cultural portfolios and are reaping large gains in social network diversity and work success, poorer (or lower-status) find themselves locked in cultural ghettos with a narrowing range of choices and experiences." Despite the rather extreme metaphor, Erickson does not devalue the activities of lower-status families. According her, the cultural lives of lower-status families can be narrow but deep, and shared pleasurable experiences with their homogeneous social circles can be rewarding. However, these cultural lives are not—in a Bourdieusian way—culturally advantageous to moving up in school, work, or networking (ibid.).

Returning the above discussion back to practical implications, what can be done to promote every child's equal access to cultural opportunities? Perhaps the simplest practical implication of the present study pertains to art education in schools—not just the schools with special emphasis on arts, but in those with fewer possibilities as well. While out-of-school cultural settings can supplement and complement classroom teaching by contributing to increased interest, motivation, and engagement in the subject matter (see e.g. Sturm & Bogner, 2010), in-school exposure can provide children with opportunities to become familiar with different kinds of cultural activities. Art education and out-of-school practices should include an emphasis on individual experiences and the intrinsic value placed on the experience. In addition to knowledge-based *art education*, attitude- and value-based *cultural education* should be promoted.

School field trips often focus on learning and deepening children's understanding of subjects taught in the classroom. Besides reflecting on what the children learned, what it felt like and the intrinsic value of participation should be highlighted. For children, intrinsic value consists mostly of fun. If the school visits succeed in terms of affective outcomes leading to awakening a pupil's interest, it may lead to individual or even family-based cultural participation.

Conclusion

The present study touched on only a minor segment of cultural participation in the broad field of children's leisure-time activities. During the course of this research, I have consistently been confronted with two points of critique: The focus of the study is said to be both too narrow and irrelevant to the lives of today's children. The results of this study override such critique. Children, even today, still visit museums. Hence, they do take part in highbrow cultural activities. And if they don't, most of them still find it interesting and fun. The strongest reason for not taking part can be found "outside the child" and is inextricably linked with aspects of social disparities. As this conflicts with human (children's) rights, the selected activity was perfect for bringing out this still-extant defect. Based on the general lack of previous knowledge of children's cultural participation, the critiques presented above are understandable. So far, studies and leisure barometers have described participation quantitatively. Knowledge about the *reasons* has not been expanded. As proven by the present study, besides asking *what,* it is crucial to ask *why* as well. If we want to understand (deeply), predict (reliably), and eventually promote (effectively) a certain behavior, describing the behavior is not enough.

This study did not merely scratch the surface of children's highbrow cultural participation, it plumbed the depths of it. In the framework of the theory of planned behavior, children's behavioral beliefs specific to the activity in focus were made visible and used to predict cultural participation among primary school children. Based on these analyses, two facts can be highlighted: If we want our children to take part in cultural activities, we need to teach them cultural *competencies*, make them familiar with these activities, provide *opportunities*, and simply take them there. Considering the unequal participation from different social strata, the role of schools and cultural education must be given emphasis. Schools harbor the potential to remove barriers for all children. Recall the very first study of the thesis—many or most of the interviewed children's only highbrow cultural experience happened in school. Even as a single experience, cultural activity can be an important one. It can create interest, deliver knowledge, and most of all, ensure that every child's right is fulfilled.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: Interview manual

Hintergrund:

1. Geschlecht
2. Alter
3. Wo bist du geboren? Wie lange wohnst du schon in Deutschland?
4. Wo ist deine Mutter geboren? Wo ist dein Vater geboren?
5. Wer lebt alles bei dir zu Hause?
6. Welche Sprachen sprichst du?

Freizeit: erzähl mir etwas über deine Freizeit…

7. Was machst du nachmittags?
8. Was machst du an den Wochenenden?
9. Wenn du Urlaub hast?
10. Welche Hobbys hast du? Andere Hobbys?

Kulturelle Aktivitäten:

11. Was heißt für dich Kultur? Was hältst du davon?
12. Erzähl mir etwas davon, wo du schon mal mit Kultur zu tun hattest…
13. Welche Beschäftigungen würdest du als kulturell bezeichnen?

Hier sind einige Bilder, in den kulturelle Beschäftigungen vorgestellt wird

[Bilder zeigen]:

Einstellungen:

14. Was denkst du über solche Sachen allgemein?
15. Warum tust du so was? Warum gehst du ins Museum/Theater/Oper/Ballett
16. Was findest du dabei gut?
17. Warum tust du so was nicht? Warum gehst du nicht ins Museum/…
18. Was findest du dabei schlecht?
19. Machst du so etwas gern in deiner Freizeit?
20. Welche von diesen Sachen möchtest du gerne machen, warum?
21. Welche von diesen Sachen möchtest du nicht oder eher ungern machen? warum?

Subjektive Norm:

22. Wer findet es gut, wenn du so etwas machst? (Personen/Gruppe)
23. Warum finden sie es gut, dass du so etwas machst?
24. Wer findet es schlecht, wenn du so was machst? (Personen/Gruppe)
25. Warum finden sie es schlecht wenn du so was machst?

Verhaltenskontrolle:

26. Warum ist es dir leicht, so etwas zu machen? (Museum/Theater/Oper/Ballett)
27. warum ist es dir schwierig, so etwas zu machen? (Dinge/Umstände)
28. Was fällt dir außerdem noch ein, wenn du daran denkst, in deiner Freizeit öfters so etwas zu machen?

APPENDIX B: List of elicited beliefs

Categories **Aspects**	**Beliefs**
Attitude:	Why do you think it is good/ not good to participate in cultural activities?
Intrinsic attitude: positive	
Emotion:	Fun, liking, finding it cool/ funny/ good/ normal/ ok/ exciting/ something just for me, being in the mood for, not being bored
Interest:	To be interested in, having interest to try, having interest to do more
Experience:	Experiences, new/different experiences, alternation, discovering
Intrinsic attitude: negative	
Emotion:	Not liking, not having fun, not finding it nice, finding it rubbish/ weird/ boring/ old-fashioned, something for other, not for me
Disinterest:	Lack of interest, having other interests
Extrinsic attitude: positive	
Learning:	Learning, learning for the school, learning by doing, informative activities
Well-being:	Promote well-being, makes you happy/laugh, calms one down, experience emotions
Teaching:	To pass information to others, to teach
Extrinsic attitude: negative	
Costs:	Lost time, time away from friends/other hobbies/playing/other doing
Learning:	Not learning, learning bad things
Subjective Norm:	Who would find it good/bad if you participate in cultural activities?
Significant other:	Parents, siblings, friends, relatives, everybody, nobody, person´s with same gender, culture of origin[1]
PBC:	Why is it easy/ difficult for you to participate in cultural activities?
Controllability: positive	
Distance:	Places are located nearby/ convenient
Social support:	Parents understand the interest of a child, parents give permission, parents drive them there, parents know what and where something take place
Controllability: negative	
Distance:	Places are located too far
Costs:	Activities too expensive
Social support:	Parents do not have time, they have too much stress, they do not know the language, they do not know the places, they do not give permission
Time:	Time restrictions because of other hobbies/ homework's
Effort:	It is easier to do other things, other things you can do at home
Practical obstacles:	Difficulty of becoming tickets, difficulties with transport, no public transport
Self-efficacy: positive vs. negative	
Familiarity	I am used to/ I am not used to do such things
Knowledge	I know/ I do not know enough about such activities

[1] The category "culture of origin" was originally (i.e. based on the first set of categories) coded under a main category perceived behavioral control and further on under "controllability", where it also served as an item in a questionnaire used in the pilot studies.

APPENDIX C: Research questionnaire

This appendix presents an English translation of the items applied to Finnish and German children. The original Finnish and German version of the full questionnaires are available from the author.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Are you a girl or a boy?

1 = girl
2 = boy

2. How old are you?

(With an empty line for filling in)

3. Do you have sisters and/or brothers?

1 = I do not have sisters or brothers
2 = yes I have sisters or half-sisters, how many (with an empty line for filling in)
3 = yes I have brothers or half-brothers, how many (with an empty line for filling in)

4. What language or which languages do you speak at home?

Finnish items:
1 = Finnish
2 = Swedish
3 = other language, namely (with an empty line for filling in)

German items:
1 = only German
2 = only other language, namely (with an empty line for filling in)
3 = German and other language, namely (with an empty line for filling in)

5. Which country were you born in?

1 = in Finland (Germany)
2 = in other country, namely (with an empty line for filling in)

6. Which country were your mother born in?

1 = in Finland (Germany)
2 = in other country, namely (with an empty line for filling in)

7. Which country were you father born in?

1 = in Finland (Germany)
2 = in other country, namely (with an empty line for filling in)

8. Does your mother work at the moment?

1 = yes
2 = no, because (with an empty line for filling in)

9. Does your father work at the moment?

1 = yes
2 = no, because (with an empty line for filling in)

10. What is your mother´s occupation? (Only in German questionnaire)

(with an empty line for filling in)

11. What does your mother do for work?

(with an empty line for filling in)

12. What is your father´s occupation? (Only in German questionnaire)

(with an empty line for filling in)

13. What does your father do for work?

(with an empty line for filling in)

LEISURE TIME

14. How often do you visit following places in your leisure time?

(evaluated at a Likert scale from 1 = never, 4 = often)

a) library
b) cinema
c) city center or shopping mall
d) church, mosque, synagogue
e) concert
f) theatre
g) circus
h) sport event

15. How often do you visit following museums?

(evaluated at a Likert scale from 1 = never, 4 = often)
(every item included local examples of presented museums types)

a) art museum
b) museum of natural history
c) museum of cultural history
d) specialized museum

16. What do you think?
(evaluated at a Likert scale from 1 = I do not agree at all, 4 = I totally agree)

a) I am going to visit museum next year
b) I am going to visit museum as an adult

17. What do you think of museums?
(evaluated at a Likert scale from 1 = I do not agree at all, 4 = I totally agree)

a) I like museums
b) I am interested in museums
c) You can learn different and new things in museum
d) Visiting museum is fun
e) I rather do something else than visit museum
f) It is boring in museum1
g) I do not like museum because there have to be quiet

18. Why do you think it is easy or difficult to visit museums?
(evaluated at a Likert scale from 1 = I do not agree at all, 4 = I totally agree)

a) Museums are located near my home
b) Visiting museum costs too much for my family
c) I get a ride to museum if I want to go there
d) I am used to visit museums
e) I know enough about museums (e.g. their location, opening hours, exhibitions)
f) It is difficult going to museums, because in most of them you have to have an adult with you
g) Visiting museums is expensive
h) Visiting museum takes time away from other hobbies

19. What do you think?
(evaluated at a Likert scale from 1 = I do not agree at all, 4 = I totally agree)

a) My mother finds it good if I visit museums
b) My mother is interested in museums
c) My mother visits often museums
d) My father finds it good if I visit museums
e) My father is interested in museums
f) My father visits often museums
g) My siblings find it good if I visit musems
h) My relatives find it good if I visit museums
i) My friends find it good if I visit museums
j) My teacher find it good if I visit museums

APPENDIX D: Intra-Class-Correlations (ICC´s) for measurement items and scales

Item/Scales		ICC_FIN[1]	ICC_GER[2]
Museum		0.038	0.083
museum1	Art museum	0.026	0.069
museum1	Art museum	0.026	0.069
museum2	Museum of natural history	0.036	0.100
museum3	Museum of cultural history	0.049	0.069
museum4	Specialized Museum	0.040	0.095
Intention to visit museum		0.052	0.008
intention1	I am going to visit museum next year	0.038	0.002
intention2	I am going to visit museum as an adult	0.066	0.014
Attitude		0.020	0.043
atti1	I like museums	0.018	0.009
atti2	I am interested in museums	0.003	0.003
atti3	You can learn different and new things in museum	0.046	0.097
atti4	Visiting museum is fun	0.027	0.046
atti5	I rather do something else than visit museum	0.022	0.072
atti6	It is boring in museum[1]	0.004	0.038
atti7	I do not like museum because there have to be quiet	0.019	0.039
Injunctive subjective norm		0.035	0.070
sn1	My mother finds it good if I visit museums	0.031	0.049
sn4	My father finds it good if I visit museums	0.039	0.047
sn10	My relatives find it good if I visit museums	0.054	0.047
sn13	My friends find it good if I visit museums	0.029	0.037
sn10	My teacher find it good if I visit museums	0.022	0.170
Descriptive subjective norm		0.034	0.076
sn2	My mother is interested in museums	0.030	0.102
sn3	My mother visits often museums	0.043	0.096
sn5	My father is interested in museums	0.038	0.063
sn6	My father visits often museums	0.023	0.043
Perceived behavioral control		0.035	0.065
control1	Museums are located near my home	0.055	0.287
control2	Visiting museum costs too much for my family	0.009	0.059
control3	I get a ride to museum if I want to go there	0.034	0.029
control4	I am used to visit museums	0.031	0.033
control5	I know enough about museums (e.g. their location, opening hours, exhibitions)	0.058	0.010
control6	It is difficult going to museums, because in most of them you have to have an adult with you	0.038	0.012
control7	Visiting museums is expensive	0.034	0.033
control8	Visiting museum takes time away from other hobbies	0.019	0.055

[1] Number of classes 40, average class size 16.8
[2] Number of classes 34, average class size 14.4