Reading for pleasure in Britain: trends, patterns, and associations

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Abstract

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This thesis investigates reading for pleasure in Britain from a variety of perspectives, in the context of popular concerns surrounding levels of readership, particularly among young people, and consists of four substantive chapters.

The first chapter reports how book sales and library circulation have changed, and what predicts readership in the Taking Part survey. I show that claims surrounding changes in reading in Britain may be overstated, although the number of issues from British libraries has fallen, and that while the predictors of readership are largely as expected, there are some important results surrounding social status, and ethnic differences in children.

The second chapter investigates changes in young people's reading behaviour, using the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England. I show that changes in young people's reading cannot be explained through a displacement effects account, and that socioeconomic differences in readership do not increase as panel members get older.

In the third chapter, I investigate whether the relationship between reading for pleasure and educational attainment can be explained through cultural capital, and extend this with occupational attainment, using the 1970 British Cohort Study. I show a relationship between reading for pleasure and occupational attainment net of education, and I show that this relationship seems to have a cultural dimension beyond a cognitive effect account.

In the fourth chapter, I show that the relationship between leisure in adolescence and educational and occupational attainment is not driven purely by highbrow activities, as on a certain understanding of Bourdieu: in particular, I show a relationship between occupational attainment and middlebrow activities.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The portrayal of reading for pleasure in popular media in Britain tends to take place in two stages. At the first stage, it is established that people read for pleasure less than they used to. Depending on the data analysed, this may mean that the overall rates of reading in the population are lower than they were at some previous point, this may mean that young people read less than their predecessors did, or this may mean that people are reading less as they get older. Whichever type of data is used, however, the second stage of the discussion of reading for pleasure in British popular media is consistently that there are some major social implications of this decline in reading for pleasure. These social implications might be that people will be less educated than they would have been otherwise, they might be that overall levels of civic participation decrease, or they might be that the overall levels of public discourse will worsen. This thesis aims to seriously assess this discussion: is it true that people read less than they used to; who are these people who aren't reading any more; and what might some of the implications of such a decline be?

This introduction aims to demonstrate that such a narrative is present in Britain, and that an even more striking narrative is present in the United States. It aims to then explain that some elements of this narrative are relatively established in the academic community, and subsequently how this thesis will go about addressing remaining elements.

The main organisation addressing overall levels of reading in Britain is the National Literacy Trust (NLT). As indicated in the name, the NLT's primary focus is on literacy *per se* rather than on reading for pleasure. Their campaigns largely focus on young children's accumulation of reading skills, and much of their research evaluates the effectiveness of these campaigns: for example, they have investigated the impact of television on language development for very young children [Close, 2004], the advice given to care professionals about communication, language, and literacy [Halden et al., 2011], and how parents are encouraged to read to their babies [Hamer, 2012]. Their research has also investigated the roles of other public institutions (such as museums) in addressing adult literacy [Barzey, 2003], the relationship between levels of literacy and offending behaviour [Clark and Dugdale, 2008], and the efficacy of professional sportsmen and women as role models for literacy campaigns [Clark, 2007].

However, the NLT's output which has captured the public imagination to the greatest extent in Britain comes from their work on levels of young people's reading. The NLT has conducted surveys on young people's literacy and reading behaviour annually since 2005, and their more recent output has been able to demonstrate whether young people's reading is increasing or decreasing as there are several waves of data. In "Children and Young People's Reading Today" [Clark, 2012a], they claim that while the proportions of young people who claim to enjoy reading

either very much or quite a lot has remained constant over the period (at about 50%), the proportion of young people who read daily has fallen from 38% to 30%. This study has been augmented by an additional survey investigating young people's attitudes towards reading, which started in 2010; the first wave of data revealed that 46% of young people read fiction at least once a month, with 35% reading nonfiction at least once a month [Clark, 2011]. It is this sort of finding that can capture the popular imagination: this datapoint was reported in national media with substantial dismay. The *Daily Telegraph* reported this finding on the front page with the headline "Half of children don't read fiction" [Adams, 2010] with relatively little commentary, comparing the number of children (not) reading fiction with the number of children using social networking sites.

While this *Telegraph* report had relatively little commentary, such restraint is unusual. The reception of the report on the subsequent wave of data [Clark, 2012a], which reported similar results, focused primarily on two things. The first is competition from other media: while the data collected is cross-sectional, a *Telegraph* headline following this release began "Warning as children shun books in favour of Facebook" [Paton, 2011]. The second is the perception of reading among young people: the *Daily Mail* published an article titled "Be seen with a book? It's just not cool, say one in five children" [Clark, 2012b], and the *Telegraph* published an article titled "Children 'too embarrassed' to read" [Paton, 2012]. These two positions reflect concerns about the possible reasons for young people's declines in reading: both that reading for pleasure represents one good competing in a market for young people's free time, and losing market share; and that reading for pleasure is increasingly associated with the stigma of being a 'geek' [Paton, 2012].

The relevance of such a decline in the British context is addressed in the section

of "Children's and Young People's Reading Today" [Clark, 2012a] titled "Why does it matter whether young people enjoy reading or read frequently?". This section identifies a number of relationships. Clark shows that young people who read more frequently are more likely to have reading ability above the expected level for their age group (as are young people who report enjoying reading). She also demonstrates positive associations between reading frequency and self-perceived reading ability (that is, whether respondents think of themselves as good readers or not), and a negative association between reading performance and peer pressure surrounding reading (that is, weaker readers are more likely to say they would be embarrassed if their friends saw them reading). This section is written cautiously: Clark states explicitly that "(their) research design can make no inference about causality" [18].

It is this context that much of the comment surrounding young people's leisure reading takes place in Britain. The *Telegraph* [Chilton, 2012] contrasted the fact that "young people who read outside class on a daily basis were 13 times more likely to read above the expected level for their age" with their position that "[t]he choice of books (fiction, comic and factual) available has never been stronger or more varied", and concluding that "[e]ven if one single child feels embarrassed about reading, then something is badly wrong." An editorial in the *Sunday Express* [Tominey, 2011] described the situation as "...something out of Tracy Beaker", criticising parents of young non-readers more than the young non-readers themselves: "some parents have completely lost the plot when it comes to bringing up their children", with a causal pattern drawn: "Britain's slide down the world literacy rankings from 7th (sic[1]) to 25th, I strongly suspect, is the result of the kind of

[1]The actual slide was from *17th* to 25th [OECD, 2010]

laissez-faire child rearing condoned by New Labour... Parents who do not read to their children are the same ones who have CBeebies switched on all day."

However, while these reports have largely been confined to young people's reading, in the United States there has been much less restraint in the descriptions of changes in macro-level reading behaviour, with changes in reading behaviour described in extremely dramatic tones, with disastrous expected implications. The most similar body to the NLT in this context is the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), which is an independent agency of the federal government that supports high arts, such as through providing grants (similarly to Arts Council England). They also conduct a large amount of research on a wide range of areas, such as trends in the economic performance of nonprofit dance companies [Smith, 2003], the second jobs held by American artists [Alper and Wassall, 2000], and the age profiles of participants in different art forms [Stern, 2011]. Much of this research is based on the Survey for the Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA), which they run. This survey has taken place in 1982, 1985, 1992, 2002, and 2008, with data having recently been collected for a 2012 wave. This survey has also formed the basis for a huge amount of concern about the state of reading in the United States: most prominently, two publications entitled "Reading at Risk" [Bradshaw and Nichols, 2004], and "To Read Or Not To Read: A Question of National Importance" [Bauerlein, 2007], both of which focused on the 2002 wave of data. "Reading at Risk" identified a decline in the number of Americans who carried out what they called "literary reading" (consisting of reading prose fiction, poetry, and drama) across the different waves of the SPPA, with the percentage of adult Americans who ever read literary fiction having fallen below 50% for the first time in their study; the study also identified a sharper decline among younger

generations than among older generations. The editorial from Dana Gioia, the then director of the NEA (appointed by George W. Bush) described the state of affairs as "dire" [vii], an editorial in the *Washington Times* stated that "we'll pay a very high price for this" [Fields, 2004], and an editorial in the *El Paso Times* described the situation as "tragic" [Subramanian, 2004], echoing the *Sunday Express* in blaming adults: "[p]arents, and definitely teachers, must open a few good books before they can expect children to do the same."

While the perceived implications of a decline in reading in Britain were relatively restrained, confined primarily to the relationships between reading behaviour, reading attitude, and reading ability, "To Read Or Not To Read" claims that declines in reading frequency and reading comprehension "have serious civic, social, cultural, and economic implications" [5] – in the preface, the NEA's chair claims that

> "Strictly understood, the data in this report do not necessarily show cause and effect. The statistics merely indicate correlations. The habit of daily reading, for instance, overwhelmingly correlates with better reading skills and higher academic achievement. On the other hand, poor reading skills correlate with lower levels of financial and job success. At the risk of being criticized by social scientists, I suggest that since all the data demonstrate consistent and mostly linear relationships between reading and these positive results – and between poor reading and negative results – reading has played a decisive factor. Whether or not people read, and indeed how much and how often they read, affects their lives in crucial ways." [3]

and also claims that reading "seems to awaken a person's social and civic sense", inferring that "[i]f, at the current pace, America continues to lose the habit of regular reading, the nation will suffer substantial economic, social, and civic setbacks." In order to justify these claims, the authors point to differences between readers and non-readers in participation in high arts (such as attending arts museums and classical concerts), in participation in sports (both playing and watching), and in civic participation (volunteering and charity work). Gioia's editorial makes it clear that the NEA's editorial line is that there are causal links between reading and these other activities.

This publication was received with a great deal of analysis. An editorial in *The New Yorker* [Crain, 2007] was clear that a decline in reading for pleasure would represent a major cultural shift: "the world will feel different, even to those who still read. Because the change has been happening slowly for decades, everyone has a sense of what is at stake, even if it is rarely put into words." By contrast, in an editorial titled "The Death of Reading", the *Washington Times* [Editorial, 2007a] described the release as "troubling", and the trend as "a kind of creeping national illiteracy which should concern everyone", and the *Roanoke Times* [Editorial, 2007b], in accepting the NEA's causal narrative – "the fewer books they read, the duller their thinking skills become and the less involved they are with their communities" – describe the situation in similarly loaded terms: "[by] the time kids reach high school, though, the pleasure in reading is sucked from their souls." Indeed, the reception of this publication was not limited to the United States: an editorial in the *Cape Times* of South Africa [Fakir, 2008] argued that "[t]he death of reading, too, may well spell the end of the thinking citizen – if we are not already there." In addition, even before the publication of "To Read

or Not to Read" (but after the publication of "Reading at Risk"), an editorial in the *Telegraph* argued that a decline in reading was the consequence of "a cultural and educational climate that does not accord books the respect they deserve", and accepted that "book reading also contributes to the flourishing of a civilised society" [Furedi, 2004].

Following the publication of "To Read or Not to Read", its author carried out a large amount of followup work, including both media appearances and two key publications. In "A Very Long Disengagement" [Bauerlein, 2006], he specifically focuses on non-reading college students in the United States: in this, he argues that given improvements in technology and education the ability levels of students should have correspondingly risen, but that this has not been the case, citing examples such as the following:

> On the 2001 National Assessment of Educational Progress history exam, the majority of high-school seniors, or 57 percent, scored "below basic," and only about one in nine reached "proficient" or better. [3]

> While 64 percent knew the name of the latest "American Idol," only 10 percent could identify the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. [3]

This argument is extended in *The Dumbest Generation* [Bauerlein, 2009], which is subtitled "how the digital age stupefies young Americans and jeopardises our future". The book essentially argues that the generation transitioning to adulthood at the time of writing is uniquely unqualified to do so, with major implications for intellectual and civic life in America in the long term. The argument follows that this is at least partly due to these young people reading literary fiction less

frequently than their predecessors: in the second substantive chapter, "The New Bibliophobes", Bauerlein claims that "[i]t's a new attitude, this brazen disregard of books and reading" [40], that reading is "the very activity that best draws them out of the high school mindset" [56], that "[i]f all adults followed the same pattern, literary culture would collapse" [46], and that high college dropout rates are due to low levels of leisure reading. He rejects any explanation for a decline in reading due to reading material being either unappealing or unaffordable, stating both "[y]oung Americans have the time and money to read, and books are plentiful, free on the Internet and in the library, and 50 cents apiece for Romance and Adventure paperbacks at used bookstores" [46–47] and "[i]t costs less than cable television and video games, it doesn't require a membership fee (like the gym), and you can still read in places where cell phones are restricted and friends don't congregate" [49]. Instead, he argues that a decline in reading is at least partly due to substitution effects: "[l]engthy exposure to finer things is the best education in taste, and it's hard to sustain it when the stuff of pop culture descends so persistently on leisure time" [58], themselves caused by cultural elites no longer emphasising books as much as they should:

> When science writer Steven Johnson appears on The Colbert Report and asserts that 12-year-olds who play *Civilization IV*, the second most popular game in 2005, 're-create the entire course of human economic and technological history,' the screen rises into a better and faster teacher than the textbook. Bibliophiles end up in the rearguard, bereft of cultural capital, forced to reargue the case for books. [67]

This leads to the book's conclusion, that

> As of 2008, the intellectual future of the United States looks dim. Not the economic future, or the technological, medical, or media future, but the future of civic understanding and liberal education. The social pressures and leisure preferences of young Americans, for all their silliness and brevity, help set the heading of the American mind, and the direction is downward. [233]

I have focused on Bauerlein to this extent since, as the then research director of the NEA, his position on an apparent decline in reading among young people in America (and among the American population more generally) deserves to be seriously assessed empirically. In his defence, and particularly in the defence of the research published by the NLT in Britain, many of the described associations between reading for pleasure and other things are well-established in the academic literature: in particular, some of the relationships between reading for pleasure and various educational outcomes. For example, there are strong relationships between young people's frequency of leisure reading and *subsequent* reading ability [Cipielewski and Stanovich, 1992, Guthrie et al., 1999]; *writing* ability [Anderson et al., 1988, Taylor et al., 1990, Krashen, 1993]; overall vocabulary size [Cunningham and Stanovich, 2001, Angelos and McGriff, 2002]; and confidence in reading [Guthrie et al., 1999]. This final relationship also holds among adults [Sheldrick-Ross et al., 2005].

However, many of Bauerlein's claims deserve a greater level of scrutiny, particularly if his conclusions are to be extended to a British context. Firstly, is the apparent decline in reading for pleasure that he observes in the United States also present in Britain? Secondly, is a decline in reading as children become teenagers

due to competition from other activities, a more general cultural decline, or something else? Thirdly, are the outcomes of reading for pleasure as he described? This thesis aims to address all of these questions.

1.1 Aims

This thesis aims to address some of the questions raised by the NLT and the NEA's reporting of reading for pleasure in a British context. Many of the issues raised in these reports are relatively uncontroversial, and so I will not address them here; in addition to this, the investigation of every claim raised within the reports cited thus far would be a task beyond the scope of this thesis.

In particular, I am not intending here to investigate the role of reading and literacy in early childhood in terms of development – as studied in, for example, Sénéchal and LeFevre [2002] – nor the more associations more generally between young people's reading and their literacy. This is as I am focusing particularly on reading *for pleasure*, as opposed to all reading (which includes the instruction of reading in a school context). I am also not intending to investigate the relationship between reading for pleasure and civic engagement.

The first part of the thesis, chapters 2 and 3, is designed to establish whether the picture of a decline in reading, as Bauerlein describes in the United States, holds in Britain. Firstly, this involves establishing whether there is a decline in reading in Britain, both among young people and adults, by comparing existing collated data with other sources. Secondly, it involves investigating whether reading is becoming an increasingly socially marginalised activity, not just in terms of an increasingly smaller minority of people reading for pleasure, but also in terms of reading for

pleasure becoming increasingly confined to certain social groups. Thirdly, taking his claim that young people read less as they get older at face value, it involves asking *who* it is who is likely to read less as they get older (and, indeed, who, if anyone, reads *more* as they get older) – is it people who are substituting their reading for other activities, such as playing video games? Is it people who are members of groups with existing low levels of reading?

The second part of the thesis, chapters 4 and 5, is designed to establish whether Bauerlein's claim that leisure readers are more likely to become successful than non-leisure readers is correct. This involves investigating the relationship between reading for pleasure as a teenager, and subsequent educational and occupational attainment. This investigation is extended in a number of directions. Firstly, I attempt to disaggregate cultural and cognitive factors to an extent by distinguishing between the different *ways* in which young people read: firstly by distinguishing between literary fiction, genre fiction, and non-fiction, and then by distinguishing between different frequencies of readership. Secondly, I attempt to identify whether the association between reading for pleasure and educational and occupational attainment is peculiar among leisure activities, or whether it more closely resembles highbrow or middlebrow activities, and in doing so, assess the relationships between other leisure activities and educational and occupational attainment. In the process, I intend to both address popular concerns as identified above, and to address a large literature within sociology about the association between leisure activities and educational attainment, often framed in a discussion about cultural capital, also investigating the relationship between leisure activities and occupational attainment net of education.

These aims can be distilled into the following specific questions:

1. How has the popularity of reading for pleasure in Britain changed over time?
2. What is the contemporary profile of a reader in Britain?
3. Are the associations between socioeconomic factors and reading consistent as young people get older?
4. Are the associations between other media use and reading consistent as young people get older?
5. Are changes in young people's reading better predicted by socioeconomic factors or other media use?
6. How large are the differences between the educational and occupational attainment between young people who read for pleasure with varying frequencies at age 16?
7. How large are the differences between the educational and occupational attainment between young people who read literary fiction, genre fiction, and non-fiction, at age 16?
8. How do the associations between reading for pleasure at 16 and educational and occupational attainment compare with the associations between other leisure activities at 16 and educational and occupational attainment?

While the publications from the NLT and NEA, and Bauerlein's more general body of work, provides a useful context for this thesis, each of these questions explicitly addresses broader discussions within sociology, which are discussed within each individual chapter as these questions are raised.

1.2 Outline

As this thesis aims to address several issues raised by the NLT and the NEA, it does not contain a single literature review and methodology; instead, it consists of four empirical chapters, each of which contains literature review and methodology sections, in addition to results and discussion sections. Each chapter nonetheless builds on the last. The structure of the thesis is as follows.

In **Reading for pleasure in Britain**, I aim first to assess the extent to which rates of both young people's and adults' reading for pleasure have changed over time in Britain. In doing so, I aim to replicate some of the findings in Bauerlein [2007] from the United States, in addition to augmenting the existing findings from pieces of work conducted in Britain by the NLT. This will help to contextualise any associations between reading for pleasure and both educational and occupational attainment: if such associations do exist, what might the implications be if rates of reading are declining in the population? This chapter also assesses the profiles of leisure readers in Britain, both children and adults, in order to establish whether the trends that Bauerlein describes – with reading behaviour being confined to older, richer people, but nonetheless decreasing across the board – also hold in Britain. Answering this question allows us to contextualise any associations between reading for pleasure and sociodemographic variables.

In **Investigating changes in young people's reading behaviour**, I aim to address Bauerlein's explanation for why teenage reading frequency is apparently declining (while younger children's reading frequency is increasing): that teenagers are rejecting reading in favour of other, less intellectually demanding pursuits such as watching television and playing video games. Such a difference between younger

children and teenagers implies that more young people stop reading than start, and this chapter will investigate whether those young people who stop reading are disproportionately likely to do these activities Bauerlein suggests. In addition, this chapter addresses changes in reading behaviour based on socioeconomic factors as well: are young people more likely to stop reading if they are from families with lower socioeconomic status, or if they are from single parent households?

In **Reading for pleasure: cultural capital or cognitive effect?** I aim to establish whether Bauerlein's predictions about the implications of young people's reading behaviour might be true. In doing so, I investigate the relationships between reading for pleasure and educational attainment and between reading for pleasure and occupational attainment, focusing particularly on how the strengths of these associations vary by both how frequently young people read for pleasure, and what kinds of material they were reading. This chapter is situated in the context of a wide sociological literature into the relationship between cultural capital and educational attainment, and aims to establish whether any differences between the educational and occupational attainment of different kinds of readers can be better explained by cultural capital theory, or the educational explanations set out above.

In **Leisure practices and life course outcomes: assessing claims from Bourdieu and Kaufman & Gabler**, I extend the analysis from the previous chapter by comparing the associations between reading for pleasure and educational and occupational attainment with the associations between other leisure activities and educational and occupational attainment: are these relationships in some way special, as some authors predict, or are they similar to the associations of other leisure activities? In doing so, I compare Bourdieu – whose explanation of

cultural capital and its operationalization by subsequent authors, I argue, is contingent on a specific highbrow understanding of cultural capital – with Kaufman & Gabler – whose explanation of cultural capital is open to a broader range of activities – in order to establish both which activities are associated with educational and occupational attainment, and which resemble reading for pleasure most closely in their associations.

Finally, in the **Conclusion** I draw together the findings from all four substantive chapters, and assess what their implications are both in the context of the work of the NLT and NEA, and in the context of the sociological literature surrounding reading and cultural capital.

Chapter 2

Reading for pleasure in Britain

2.1 Introduction

This chapter asks two questions. First, it asks whether there has been a long-term decline in reading for pleasure in Britain, motivated by descriptions of similar declines in the Netherlands [Knulst and Kraaykamp, 1998] and in the United States [Bauerlein, 2007], and by a description of a short-term decline in children's reading in Britain [Clark, 2012a], as identified in the introduction. Second, it asks whether the profile of a reader in Britain is similar to the profile of a reader in North America, as described in Griswold et al. [2005], which shows that people are more likely to read for pleasure if they're female, more highly educated, middle class, urban, and white. I also expand on this by investigating whether social status better predicts people's reading than does social class. To do so, I use data on book sales and library circulation over time at the macro-level, and I use a repeated cross-sectional survey on leisure activities, with both adult and child modules.

This chapter, and this thesis more generally, will consistently use the term

"Reading for pleasure" as defined by the National Literacy Trust[1]. "Reading for pleasure" is used as distinct from "reading" in order to highlight people's choice to read, rather than being compelled to – the term therefore excludes reading for school or work. This definition fits into the broader sociological literature, with the focus in Griswold et al. [2005] being people's *choice*, rather than ability, to read.

2.1.1 Perceptions of reading

The key idea from Griswold et al. [2005] that I aim to assess here is that there is such a thing as a distinctive "reading class", defined as "a self-perpetuating minority" [138] that *chooses* to read on a regular basis. These authors argue that, historically, the membership of any reading class might have been determined by the minority of people who were capable of reading in the first place, with the primary distinguishing factor between the reading class and everyone else being reading ability (that is, everyone who could read did read). The argument continues that in the contemporary United States this is no longer the case, with the reading of literature *by choice* being the key determinant of membership of the reading class. In this section, I aim to establish people's perceptions of reading, assessing what beliefs about membership of the reading class may entail.

As mentioned in section 2.1, there is a general belief among people that reading is an important and positive activity for individuals that should be encouraged. A 1990 survey in the United States showed 90% of respondents describing reading as "a good use of your time" [Gallop, 1990: cited in Griswold et al. [2005]]. A survey

[1] "...reading that we do of our own free will anticipating the satisfaction that we will get from the act of reading... [or] reading that having begun at someone else's request we continue because we are interested in it."[Clark and Rumbold, 2006, 5].

from Book Marketing Limited and The Reading Partnership [2000] shows that 43% of British adults claim to read as much as they did 5 years ago, and 36% claim to read more. Of the 36% who claim to read more, 61% attribute this to having more free time available; of the remaining 21% who claim to read less, 65% attribute this to having less free time available. To put it another way, when people report that they read less than they used to they attribute this to constraints, rather than to choice. Although these results may reflect social desirability response bias, it is clear from the fact that such bias might exist in the first place that people in this sample consider reading to be important and positive, whether or not their claims about the changes in their reading over time are true. This suggests that membership of the "reading class" is something to which people aspire.

Sheldrick-Ross et al. [2005] and Csikszentmihalyi [1990] both emphasise that such an attitude towards reading is particularly prominent in literate households, with children of parents who value reading being much more likely to value reading themselves; children observing parents reading for pleasure, imitating them, are more likely to read. Baumann and Duffy [1997] highlight the synergistic effect of this: individuals with more positive attitudes towards reading at younger ages are more motivated to read, read more, and subsequently have even more positive attitudes towards reading as a result of having invested more time and reaped greater rewards through reading [see also Stanovich, 1986, Pfost et al., 2012]. Thus, while the general belief among people is that reading is an important and positive activity, this is particularly likely to be the case for members of literate households, and people who were heavily exposed to books in childhood.

The relationship between seeing others read and one's own propensity to read emphasises reading's position as a *social* activity. Hartley and Turvey [2002]'s

study on reading groups in Britain and Long [2003]'s study on reading groups in the United States both illustrate that, while reading groups are overwhelmingly dominated by those who we would expect to be heavy readers anyway (highly educated women with large amounts of free time), adding a community structure to the process of reading encourages the group's members to read even more frequently. This shows that the reading groups in question do not transform people from non-readers into readers, rather they transform heavy readers into extremely heavy readers – the boundaries of the "reading class" are reinforced through community structures. Indeed, from another perspective, reading is emphasised as a social activity that fills an important gap for many – in this case, women who might otherwise not have a great deal of social contact, on account of not being in employment, and often having young children. Hartley emphasises particularly that reading groups are no longer as heavily confined to highly-educated housewives as they once were, with a huge growth in their number in the 1990s, often organised by, for example, magazines and bookshops, or encouraged by television, such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. The implication here is that social structures such as reading groups make the "reading class" even more distinct in its practices from others.

The distinctive nature of a "reading class" can also be assessed by *what* its members are reading, or whether there is any overlap between what's read by members and nonmembers of the reading class. In Britain, Wright [2006] shows that readership of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, for example, isn't confined to a particular social status group, with 50% of his sample having read it, and 93% of his sample having at least heard of it. While *Pride and Prejudice* has been a GCSE set text, and it is perhaps best-known for the 1995 television adaptation

by the BBC, that such a large percentage of people have read it points towards something of a universal cultural reference point. Such a concept is emphasised further with Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*, with a middle-class pensioner in his sample claiming "I read a *Harry Potter* because I thought I should". A smaller fraction of people had read higher-brow books, with 4% of Wright's sample having read Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, and 7% having read Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*; in both cases, these books were predominantly read by better-educated respondents. However, almost all readers of *Madame Bovary* had read *Pride and Prejudice* as well, and they were also more likely to have read *Harry Potter* than the overall sample. So, while there are some books confined to the reading class, members of the reading class had also read the more popular books, consistent with the omnivore thesis [Peterson and Kern, 1996]

An alternative interpretation of this phenomenon, however, is that the emergence of what might be called more universal reading practices actually marginalize readers from lower-status groups. Aronowitz [1993] and Lipsitz [2001] both suggest a gentrification of sorts of previously lower-status cultural preferences, including some types of reading. This account closely resembles the first part of the omnivore thesis: while previously, activities considered lower-brow, such as reading genre fiction, would be confined to lower-status people, higher-status people are increasingly participating in them in addition to their higher-brow activities. Both authors argue that such a process leads to a decline in participation in these activities (again, including reading genre fiction) among lower-status groups, as the sense of ownership they have over these activities declines. In terms of the perceptions of reading, this argument suggests that the perceived universality of reading

as described in the previous paragraph might be in decline, as lower-status reading communities become marginalised[2].

These perceptions of reading can be useful in terms of identifying what might serve as predictors of reading for pleasure, and of membership of the "reading class": why some groups are more likely to practise reading than are others, and also why this might be changing over time.

2.1.2 Predictors of reading for pleasure

That membership of the "reading class" is something which is largely respected and idealized is therefore fairly clear. In this section, I aim to identify what membership tends to be associated with. Griswold et al. [2005] describe the profile of readers and the reading class in the United States as being predominantly female, older, whiter, more urban, and better-educated: I aim to assess the evidence for this statement here.

While Griswold et al's answer to their first question, "who reads?", is "just about everyone" [128], education is generally the strongest predictor of reading for pleasure, with educational attainment having been found to be the strongest predictor of reading for pleasure in 17 of a sample of 20 countries [Kirsch, 2001]. Such a difference has also been shown more particularly in the United States: Rainie et al. [2012] found that those with higher education having read on average four books more per year than those with high school education or less as of 2011, and

[2]Such a difference in reading cultures can be identified in Hoggart [1957]: his argument has been interpreted by Williams [1957], amongst others, a claim that "working class culture" and "mass culture" had become synonymous, with middle class people consuming "elite culture" instead. However, even in 1957 Williams argued that a "mass culture" was consumed by middle class people to the same extent as it was by working class people. Such an account would suggest that the reports from Aronowitz and Lipsitz are nothing new.

Bradshaw and Nichols [2004] show monotonic increases between reading for pleasure and respondents' educational attainment: 14% of those with no high school education read fiction for pleasure rising to 74% of postgraduate degree holders reading fiction for pleasure [12]. In addition to an association between individuals' educational attainment and reading behaviour, it has also been shown that children's reading behaviour is strongly predicted by both their own educational performance and by their parents', independent of each other [Roberts and Foehr, 2003], with Bradshaw and Nichols [2004] also demonstrating that the association between parents' education and one's own reading persist into adulthood, with 34% of those with mothers with no high school education reading fiction for pleasure, rising to 76% of those with mothers with postgraduate degrees reading fiction for pleasure. The corresponding numbers for children in the United States are reported in Roberts and Foehr [2003]: children were asked if they had read books the previous day for pleasure, with 37% of the children of those with high school diplomas or less having done so, 44% of the children of those with some college having done so, and 50% of the children of those with degrees or greater having done so [290].

The association between gender and reading is also pronounced: while in Britain men are more likely to read newspapers than are women [Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b], women are substantially more likely to read fiction than are men, with Cushman et al. [2005] finding differences that persist internationally. They found that 57% of British men had reported reading for pleasure in the last four weeks compared with 66% of British women [118], and that, while measures differ, gender differences are similar in Australia [26], Canada [54], Finland [66], France [89], Israel [145], New Zealand [182], Poland [201], and Spain [237] (al-

though the picture is more mixed in Hong Kong [133] and Russia [224]). One explanation for this difference is that women are less likely to work full-time, having more leisure time to read books [Hakim, 1996]; however, Tepper [2000] finds that varying amounts of leisure time only accounts for a small part of the difference in men's and women's reading behaviour, with far more of the difference being due to the socialization process, with women being much more likely to have been encouraged to read in the first place. Such a socialization account can also be used to explain the differences in reading by gender among *children*, which are present in both the United States and Britain: 25% of boys and 35% of girls reported reading daily in Britain in 2011 [Clark, 2012a], and 43% of boys and 50% of girls reported reading daily in the United States in 1999 [Roberts and Foehr, 2003]. The outcomes of this socialization process can be seen through later life; not only do women spend more time reading, they are also more likely to be members of reading groups [Hartley and Turvey, 2002]. However, the role of reading groups in explaining the difference between men's and women's reading is relatively minor: not only is much of the participation in reading groups being associated with greater free time, but (as shown above, based on Hartley and Turvey, and Long's findings) few participants moving from not reading at all to reading due to their participation in reading groups; instead, existing readers increase their reading behaviour even further. So, as stated before, the boundaries of Griswold et al's reading class are reinforced, rather than transformed, by the behaviour of reading groups.

The (cross-sectional) association between age and reading behaviour can also at least partly be attributed to free time. The stereotypical narrative follows that people begin adulthood reading with a given frequency, which decreases or at least

plateaus as working hours increase, and subsequently increases again upon retirement: this is therefore a curvilinear account. The evidence for such an account is mixed: again, Cushman et al. [2005] assess the evidence for this crossnationally, finding that there is no clear relationship between age and probability of reading in Britain (with similar proportions of all age groups reading, except those aged 16–24 or over 75), while a curvilinear account emerges in Australia, although one that peaks for those aged 30–49. This is somewhat reinforced by Bradshaw and Nichols [2004], who find a peak among people aged 45–54. Such an inconsistency might be due to the measures used, which in Bradshaw and Nichols' case are of those people who read at least once per year; Southerton et al. [2007] find that in contemporary Britain, retired people spend more *time* reading, even if the fraction of retired people reading is smaller. This distinction, again, reinforces the relevance of a reading class: while there may not be differences in the fractions of people reading *at all* across different age groups, there might nonetheless be differences in membership of the reading class, as it becomes increasingly restricted. Among children, the account is more straightforward, with free time playing less of a role than peer effects: the general pattern is relatively consistent levels of reading in early childhood, which then decrease as children become teenagers and throughout the teenage years [Roberts and Foehr, 2003].

However, there is also data that suggests younger generations are reading less than previous generations did, leading to an overall decline in reading due to a cohort replacement effect; Knulst and Kraaykamp [1998] find evidence for such a trend in the Netherlands. In this case, such a decline might partly be driven by changes in types of reading, with a supposed decline in reading actually representing a move away from "the literary". However, a cohort replacement effect may

not be limited to a change in reading preferences, given claims that overall reading for pleasure among younger generations is lower than among older generations at their age in the United States [Bradshaw and Nichols, 2004]. This potential ambiguity should reinforce the relevance of identifying the predictors of a "reading class" by age as well as assessing reading behaviour over time.

In addition to differences by gender, education, and age, Bradshaw and Nichols also identify significant differences in reading behaviour across ethnic groups, with 51% of their white respondents, 37% of their black respondents, and 28% of their Hispanic respondents, participating in "literary reading"[3]. The differences between the most and least highly educated members were also much more pronounced for the minority ethnic groups, with 6.5% of the least educated black respondents ever reading for pleasure (compared with 19% of the least educated white respondents). These differences persist net of other sociodemographic characteristics [DiMaggio and Ostrower, 1990]. Such differences may be accounted for by differences in attitudes towards reading among different ethnic groups: McKenna et al. [1995] investigates children's attitudes towards reading over time in the United States, finding that children from minority ethnic groups tend to have more negative attitudes towards reading than do white children, and also that the differences between ethnic groups increase over time. While these findings about children are reinforced by Roberts and Foehr [2003], who find a 6% difference in readership between their black and white respondents, Clark [2012a] finds no differences in reading frequency between children of different ethnic groups in Britain.

The associations between area type and reading behaviour have changed over time. Griswold et al describe a narrative under which reading begins as a primarily

[3]As in the introduction,"literary reading" is defined as fiction, poetry, or drama. [5]

urban phenomenon, but subsequently disseminates into the suburbs and away from inner cities; they also note that industrial cities are less likely to cultivate a reading environment at first than do commercial or administrative centres. They further claim that in more contemporary societies, levels of reading tends to be higher in suburban areas than in either urban or rural areas. However, more recent research has not found differences between suburban and urban areas in patterns of reading, only between urban and suburban, and rural areas: in the United States, while Bradshaw and Nichols [2004] find that the fraction of rural residents reading is 5% lower than the fraction of urban residents reading, and 7% lower than the fraction of suburban residents reading, while Rainie et al. [2012] find no difference in the fractions of urban and suburban residents reading, but that these fractions are 9% higher than the fraction of rural residents reading; and in Finland, Purhonen et al. [2009] find that urban and suburban residents are more likely than rural residents to read what they call "serious literature"[4]. Based on this, it seems likely that members of the "reading class" are more likely to be found in urban areas.

The associations between gender, age, and ethnicity and reading for pleasure seem to largely be driven by a combination of the socialization process and free time, with the relationship between education (particularly parents' education) and reading for pleasure also plausibly explained through the socialization process. However, Ganzeboom [1982] provides a useful alternative perspective for explaining the association between education and reading for pleasure: that people's participation in high cultural activities, including reading, may not be a reflection of their social status, nor of an attempt at changing one's status through conspicu-

[4] "Serious literature" is defined as "modern and classical literature, poetry and plays plus biographies" [45]

ous consumption. Rather, the variation in consumption of high cultural activities might be down to cognitive ability. The argument follows that as cognitive ability improves, the stimuli required to satisfy it become more complicated, so the cultural activities carried out must become more complicated. If this argument is correct, the association between social status and cultural consumption is a red herring, as both are a function of cognitive ability. This argument might be most usefully tested using education as a proxy, however; if a relationship between reading behaviour and some measure of socioeconomic status persists net of education, then an account on which cognitive ability is sufficient to explain reading behaviour would fail.

In addition to the associations between gender, age, and ethnicity, and reading for pleasure, many studies have also demonstrated associations between different socioeconomic variables and reading frequency. In both the United States and Britain, there are clear associations: among British adults, Le Roux et al. [2008] demonstrate inequalities in reading frequency on class lines using the NS-SEC schema, showing for example that 27% of their working-class adult sample had not read a book in the past year, while 8% of their professional class adult sample had not read a book in the past year [1066], while Clark [2012a] demonstrates inequalities along the lines of "socioeconomic background" [16] in reading among British children by using data on free school meals, with a 7% difference in reading at least once a month between recipients and non-recipients. The chapter on Britain in Cushman et al. [2005] also demonstrates that socioeconomic variables used to assess reading behaviour in Britain have historically been on similar lines, with data from the General Household Survey and the Arts in England survey both being assessed in the context of the NS-SEC schema.

In the United States, by contrast, socioeconomic differences in reading behaviour tend to be measured through income data. Having already identified a monotonic trend between reading for pleasure and educational attainment, [Bradshaw and Nichols, 2004] also identify a monotonic trend between reading for pleasure and income among adults, measured using $10 000 bands, increasing from 32.1% of people in households with annual incomes less than $10 000 doing "literary reading", to 61% of people in households with annual incomes more than $75 000 doing "literary reading". Roberts and Foehr [2003] also use household income data in identifying differences in children's reading behaviour: the differences they find are small, with those with parents earning less than $25 000pa read books for an average of 2 minutes per day less than those with parents earning more than $40 000 pa. Indeed, one of the two chapters on the United States in Cushman et al. [2005] observes a similar approach in the National Survey on Recreation and the Environment, comparing households by income brackets.

While this may indicate differences between socioeconomic disparities in reading in Britain and the United States, it is also likely that socioeconomic differences in the two countries between both adults and children are at least partly due to the different socioeconomic measures used. Indeed, the term "socioeconomic" can be considered to conflate a number of discrete characteristics which vary in predicting reading behaviour. Chan and Goldthorpe [2007a] argue that social *status* might be a more powerful predictor of cultural consumption – of which reading books for pleasure represents part – than social class, as social status is more strongly associated with a social hierarchy in which individuals recognise their own positions than the positions of others, with this status signalled by cultural practices. They find that social status is a stronger predictor of cultural consumption and cultural prac-

tices than is social class; they also find in another paper [Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b] that social status is a strong predictor of *newspaper* readership, while social class is much weaker, only useful for distinguishing between redtop and broadsheet readership. They also find that, in addition to one's own social status, parents' status and the status of reported close friends are both significant predictors of newspaper readership.

The relevance of this distinction and of these findings is that much of the literature discussed thus far uses "socioeconomic" in fairly crude ways, and there are good theoretical reasons to expect social status to be particularly powerful in predicting membership of any "reading class" in Britain. This is reinforced by Bukodi [2007], who investigates book readership in Hungary in the context of the distinction between social class and social status. She finds significant status effects on reading behaviour (both respondents' social status and their parents' social status) which are stronger than class effects. While there are reasons to expect that the Hungarian case might not be directly applicable to Britain, as the relationship between cultural consumption and education was historically unusually strong, the results from these papers provide a strong basis for assessing both social class and social status as predictors of reading for pleasure in Britain, as opposed to a single measure of socioeconomic status.

Finally, briefly, this account of the socialization process as relevant to individuals' reading behaviour takes on an additional dimension for children's reading in particular: that is, whether their parents are a part of the "reading class" themselves. In addition to evidence that children in literary households are more likely to value reading (as shown by Sheldrick-Ross et al. [2005] and Csikszentmihalyi [1990]), there is evidence to suggest that young people whose parents read are more

likely to read themselves, net of parental education [Kraaykamp, 2001, Verboord, 2005, Nagel and Verboord, 2012]. In particular, Nagel and Verboord [2012] show that parents' reading and parents' education, net of each other, are both significant predictors of children's reading in their panel of Dutch teenagers; in addition to this, when children's own educational trajectory is incorporated (with secondary education in the Netherlands consisting of five different paths), parents' education is no longer a significant predictor of children's reading, while parents' reading remains significant. Thus, we might expected children of readers to be more likely to read themselves – both children and adults, as a result of the socialization process.

The literature therefore suggests that the strongest predictors of reading are broadly similar for adults and children: educational attainment (one's own for adults, parents' for children), gender, and socioeconomic status, which has been measured in different ways, in addition to the socialization process, particularly whether parents encouraged reading. Meanwhile, the strength of ethnicity and location type as predictors of reading for pleasure vary across different studies. In predicting both adults' and children's reading, then, I will incorporate all of these variables, comparing the magnitudes of differences; I will also incorporate measures of both social class and social status to see which distinguishes more clearly between a "reading class" and others.

2.1.3 Change over time

Both Knulst and Kraaykamp [1998] and Bradshaw and Nichols [2004] describe long-term declines in reading behaviour within countries over a long period. Knulst & Kraaykamp investigate reading behaviour in the Netherlands over the period

1955–1995, using a number of different time budget surveys, and observe that the mean time spent reading declines by about half across the period, with the majority of the decline in the first half[5]. In addition, as discussed in the introduction, Bradshaw & Nichols investigate reading behaviour in the United States between 1982 and 2002 (based on available data from the Survey for Public Participation in the Arts), observing a decline over the period which holds for all genders, age groups, and ethnicities, which is *sharper* in the second decade observed. They point in particular to the fact that, by 2002, less than half of adult Americans ever carry out what they classify as "literary reading", the first time in the history of the SPPA. While the subsequent report "Reading on the Rise" [Gioia, 2009] observes an increase in reading behaviour, with 50.2% of respondents doing what they call "literary reading", this still represents the second-lowest datapoint across the history of the SPPA[6]. However, the picture in Britain is more mixed, with different measures generally suggesting different trends. Hall and Coles [1999] study children's reading between 1971 and 1995, finding an *increase* in the mean number of books read by younger children, but a decrease among older children; meanwhile Southerton et al. [2007] investigate adults' time diaries in Britain between 1970 and 2002, finding that the mean time spent reading in the population does not decrease, although the fraction of the population reading does: the mean amount of time read among adults increased from 22 to 27 minutes per day, while the percentage of adult readers fell from 66% to 58% of the population. This reinforces the idea of a "reading class" from Griswold et al. – the number of people reading

[5]The majority of the study investigates reasons for the decline, rather than the presence or absence of a decline itself. This will be addressed at more length in the next chapter.

[6]I have addressed these findings at more length in the introduction – the SPPA reports show declines in reading among both children and adults.

decreases, and the amount that those people read increases, with the differences between readers and non-readers therefore increasing.

This chapter focuses less on reading for pleasure from the perspective of time use than on the idea of a "reading class": identifying non-readers and readers, and how the balance of the two changes over time. Because of this, the results from Southerton et al that the percentage of adults in Britain who regularly read seemed to fall between 1975 and 2000 are more relevant here, particularly as they seem consistent with Knulst & Kraaykamp's findings from the Netherlands, and Bradshaw & Nichols' findings from the USA; they are also consistent with Southerton et al's own comparisons in France, as well as the Netherlands and the USA (although not Norway). However, book readership among *children* is particularly relevant for the discussion in the introduction: a large part of the expressed concern relates to the apparent decline in reading in Britain and the United States among children's reading in particular. I will therefore investigate whether other British data reinforces these trends, and identify how these trends change beyond 2000.

2.2 Expectations and hypotheses

I will first address the question of changes in reading behaviour in Britain, followed by the question of what the profile of a reader is. It is difficult to assess hypotheses for changes in overall reading behaviour over time, particularly for changes over time since 2000, as a substantial majority of data referenced only assesses changes over time up to earlier periods. However, the National Endowment for the Arts reports [Bauerlein, 2007, Gioia, 2009] with results from the SPPA show a gradual

decline in readership in the United States from the early 1980s until at least the mid-2000s, followed by a slight increase (indeed, the data from Southerton et al. [2007] show a decline in the fraction of the population reading over this same period, with such findings in four out of the five countries investigated), while Hall and Coles [1999] find an overall increase in children's reading in Britain over time. These trends indicate that there might be a decrease in adult reading, while children's reading might stay constant. The first hypothesis is therefore:

- Hypothesis 1: There will be a decline in macro-level reading of adults' material, but not of children's

In terms of predicting readership, however, I largely expect that Griswold et al's predictors of readers in the United States will hold in Britain, with many of the explanations ascribed for differences between groups' reading behaviour in Britain at least being the case in Britain, such as different working hours for men and women and different experiences of childhood socialization. Where Griswold et al's predictors of reading for pleasure have been shown to not be consistently accurate across countries (such as between different ethic groups and different types of regions) I expect this to be true for both adults and children, while acknowledging that the relationships between different demographic variables and reading behaviour are not identical for adults and children: in particular, the associations between age and reading. The second hypothesis is therefore:

- Hypothesis 2: The profile of adult and child readers in Britain will be similar to that in Griswold et al. [2005], that is, the following associations will persist net of each other:

  - Women and girls will read more than men and boys
  - White adults read more than adult members of minority ethnic groups, while there will be no differences between the reading of children from different ethnic groups
  - People with higher socio-economic status, and their children, will read more than people with lower socio-economic status
  - More educated people, and their children, will read more than less-educated people
  - Adults whose parents read will read more than adults whose parents didn't read, and children whose parents read will read more than children whose parents don't read
  - Older adults will read more than younger adults, with differences decreasing as people get older; older children will read less than younger children
  - People living in urban areas will read more than people living in rural areas

However, as specified above, "socio-economic status" is ambiguous in the context of predicting reading for pleasure, as it is a multidimensional term. Chan and Goldthorpe [2007b] find that social status is a stronger predictor than social class of cultural consumption in England generally, and Bukodi [2007] indicate that social status is a stronger predictor of reading books in particular in Hungary. This leads to the third hypothesis:

- Hypothesis 3: social status will be a stronger predictor of reading for pleasure

than social class

2.3 Data and methods

I am asking about both change in readership over time, and profiles of readers. In order to do so, I use macro-level data over time, and a repeated large-N survey.

2.3.1 Change over time

There is a number of different data sources on changes in macro-level reading behaviour over time, each of which is imperfect for establishing whether the size of the reading class is decreasing. I aim to use two: data on book sales, and on library circulation. This should reveal an additional layer of data that should augment the information on adult reading from time diaries gathered by Southerton et al. [2007], and the information on children's reading over a shorter period in Clark [2012a], as well as a means of comparing the different trajectories of the two different types of data.

Book sales

The relationship between book sales and reading behaviour is clearly not a direct one. There are at least two obvious reasons why book sales cannot be used as a perfect proxy for reading behaviour: firstly, not all books which are purchased are completed, with some people's buying large numbers of books not entailing high levels of actual material read, as highlighted in BBC News [2007]; secondly, in a more extreme version of the first case, people buy books and do not even start reading them in the first place, as highlighted in Baker [1995]. Moreover,

official data includes neither imported books nor the second hand market, which is estimated at 8.4% of overall consumer spending on books [BISG, 2006], and this market is not captured in industry-level data in Britain [The Booksellers Assocation, 2006]. Nonetheless, data on book sales still provide useful information about the readership of books, revealing both the volume of books sold and the amount of money spent on them. This difference is particularly important since 1995, when the Net Book agreement, which was an agreement between publishers and sellers to not discount books, broke down (and was subsequently ruled illegal by the Restrictive Practices Court) [Ansell, 1998].

The data I use here for book sales here come from three different sources. Two of these sources are from National Statistics' PRODCOM (PRODucts of the European COMmunity) survey, an EU-wide survey of production, across around 250 industries. Sales of books from this survey were collected in a consistent way from 1997–2007, originally in a larger document classified as "Publishing", 1997–1999 [National Statistics, 1999] (a different method was used in National Statistics [1996], so those data are not used here); for data from 2000–2007, the data was collected in a similar way and reported in a dedicated "Publishing of books" module [National Statistics, 2000, 2003, 2007]. After 2007, National Statistics' reporting of data on book sales was subsumed into the "Information and communication" section of the Standard Industrial Classification [Prosser, 2009], with the closest datapoint being the overall sales of the publishing industry; since then, National Statistics have used data from the Publishers Association [The Publishers Association, 2008, 2011] for similar fine-grained information about book sales [eg Seddon, 2011], which I will use here.

The data I'm focusing on from these sources are those classified as nonfiction,

fiction, and children's[7]. There are slight disparities between the PRODCOM and the PA data due to data collection methods; the PA data is scaled to the PRODCOM values across the period in which the data overlaps, with that scale extended to the data extending beyond the domain of the PRODCOM data. I have omitted other categories, such as schoolbooks and maps and atlases, as it's unlikely that they'd be read for pleasure.

Each datapoint for each of these categories (such as "General non-fiction books...") contains the following pieces of information:

- the total value, in thousands of pounds, of sales by UK manufacturers in that category.
- the total volume, in number of units, of sales by UK manufacturers in that category
- on the basis of the previous two pieces of information, the amount paid per unit

In order to establish whether there is a decline in book sales, this chapter will express the data graphically as a time series, to demonstrate both whether there is a decline between the start and end points, and whether any decline is consistent and significant. Given I am using data on each of fiction, nonfiction and children's books, I will also be able to establish whether any decline takes place similarly

[7] "Nonfiction are more precisely defined as "General non-fiction books published by you or printed and published by you EXCLUDING: - electronic publishing on disc or CD for use with a computer."; children's are more precisely defined as "Children's books published by you; or printed and published by you EXCLUDING: - children's picture; drawing or colouring books - electronic publishing on disc or CD for use with a computer."; and fiction is more precisely defined as "Books, booklets and brochures of fiction, literature and classics published by you, or printed and published by you EXCLUDING: - electronic publishing on disc or CD for use with a computer.".

across all types of books, or whether changes in sales of the three types of books are different from each other.

Library circulation

Using library circulation as a way to establish overall levels of reading for pleasure in a population has some of the same problems as does using book sales to establish overall levels of reading for pleasure in a population: not all library books that are read are actually issued, particularly among children (such as during summer reading programmes set in libraries, as described by Fiore [2005]), and not all books that are issued are read in their entirety, with an early estimate of 36% of issued books being either abandoned or not read at all [Dick and Berelson, 1948]. In addition, it may be that much library circulation is driven by a small fraction of library users, with an early estimate [Trueswell, 1969] that 80% of library issues in the United States are from 20% of library users. In addition, public library users are not representative of the overall population: for example, 29% of public library users are 65 or over [Greenwood and Maynard, 2006], whereas 16.5% of the overall population is [National Statistics, 2012], and 59% of adult public library users are female. Nonetheless, public library circulation data is a useful way of identifying trends in reading for pleasure, and should identify patterns in a different way from data on book sales, with fewer financial barriers, and particularly identifying trends among children's reading, with 63.6% of child library users being under 10 [Greenwood and Maynard, 2006]. While it is an imperfect measure of library usage at a given time, changes in library usage reflect certain changes in reading behaviour.

Data on library usage comes from Loughborough University's Library and In-

formation Statistics Unit (LISU), whose Library and Information Statistics Tables (LIST) provide data from 1983 to 2003 [Library and Information Statistics Unit, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004], and whose Libraries Archives Museums Publishing Online Statistics Tables (LAMPOST) provide data since 2003 [Library and Information Statistics Unit, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009a,b, 2010]. As with the data for book sales, these are industry-level data, and contain separate categories for adult fiction, adult nonfiction, and children's books, and therefore provide a helpful reference point: I can both identify how circulation of each of these types of books has changed over time, and whether it corresponds to changes in sales of similar books. As with book sales data, this entails not using all of the data available to us: the LAMPOST series in particular has large amounts of data on library employees, acquisitions, internet usage, people's views on their use of libraries, and so on. For consistency, I'm focusing on its data on raw numbers of issues each year, in the categories "Adult non-fiction", "Adult fiction", and "Children's".[8]

As with book sales, this chapter will express the data on library circulation graphically as a time series, to both demonstrate whether there is a decline in usage, and whether any decline is consistent; once again, I can establish whether any decline takes place similarly across the different types of books.

I therefore have two separate measures of changes in overall reading behaviour over time: data on library circulation from 1986–2009, and data on book sales from 1997–2010, and each of these measures can be broken down into three constituent parts: fiction, nonfiction, and children's books. While, as shown, this does not

[8]There's also a category for Audio/Visual issues, which is omitted as it doesn't correspond to reading for pleasure.

capture all the different dimensions of reading for pleasure, it can be used to augment the other literature surrounding changes in reading behaviour in Britain – in particular, I can identify how these trends correspond to time use data, and the fraction of children reading, over the same period. In addition to this, as will be shown in section 2.3.2, the data that I use to assess reading profiles is a repeated cross-sectional study, so data from these longer periods can be assessed against this, although it is obviously important to be skeptical of any trend drawn from a short period.

2.3.2 Reading profiles

In order to answer questions about the profile of readers, I use the Taking Part survey [Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010a,b,c,d]. Taking Part is a large repeated cross-sectional survey commissioned by the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport, with surveys conducted in England and Wales for adults and children aged 11–15 separately: the first wave took place over 2005/2006 (with fieldwork commencing in July 2005), with data continuing to be collected on the most recent wave, and with more waves due to be collected in future. In this chapter, I pool data from the first four waves collected; this provides potential Ns of 92 463 adults, and 9 312 children aged 11–15. The data is weighted to compensate for unequal probabilities of selection and to adjust for differential nonresponse [Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2011].

Respondents (in both adult and child modules) are asked "In the last 12 months, have you done any of these activities? Remember, don't include paid work, school or academic activities", and presented with a large number of ac-

tivities. In all four adult modules, and the first three child modules (2005/2006–2007/2008), one of the possible responses is "Read for pleasure (not newspapers, magazines or comics)". Respondents who answer "yes" are then routed to the subsequent question "How often in the *last* twelve months have you done this? Remember don't include paid work, school or academic activities." The response categories in the first three wave (2005/2006–2007/2008) are:

- At least once a week
- Less often than once a week but at least once a month
- Less often than once a month but at least 3 or 4 times a year
- 1–2 times a year
- Don't know

while in the fourth wave (2008/2009) the category "1–2 times a year" is replaced with two categories: "Twice a year" and "Once a year".

For the adult module, most of the other variables that are of interest given the hypotheses in section 2.2 are relatively straightforward: sex, age, NS-SEC classification of job (on a seven-point scale, as in Rose and Pevalin [2001]), highest educational qualifications (coded down to "Higher education", "A-levels or other key stage 5", "GCSEs or other key stage 4", and "No qualifications", broadly according to the number of years of full-time education necessary for the qualifications in question), ethnicity, based on respondents' self-identification (and coded down within the survey to "White", "Mixed race", "Asian", "Black" and "Other"), and a dummy variable for living in an urban environment, as opposed to a rural

one[9]. These items are the same for the child module, with the exceptions that NS-SEC classification refers to the main earner in the household, and that data on being in an urban or rural area is not recorded. The first two waves of the child module also contain a dummy variable corresponding to whether or not either of their parents ever reads for pleasure, which can be used to assess whether children of reading parents themselves read more – because of this, I will limit analysis of the child module to the first two waves of data.

In addition to these items, there was a question in a subsample (of half of the respondents in each wave) of the first three waves of data, which asked how much parents encouraged their reading in childhood, with the possible responses "Encouraged a lot", "Encouraged a little", and "Didn't encourage at all". For the adult module, I will therefore run parallel models for both the complete sample (excluding this variable), and the subsample asked about parental encouragement of reading. While this is not a perfect measure of whether parents read themselves, it is a useful proxy for the socialization process.

While measures of social status are not so readily available in the data, I follow Chan and Goldthorpe, who derive a measure of social status based on a multidimensional scaling exercise on the British Household Panel Study based on close friendship, and use the status scores that they derive [Chan and Goldthorpe, 2004, 516–517], applying them to the data here based on SOC2000 codes. However, SOC2000 codes for individual respondents are only available at the third wave of data, while SOC2000 codes for close friends and primary wage earners when respondents were 16 are only available at the first wave of data. This is

[9]The survey in 2005/2006–2006/2007 had a separate category for "semi-rural", but this had been removed by 2007–2008

not ideal, as Chan and Goldthorpe [2007b] demonstrate independent associations between each of respondent's status, father's status, and close friend's status, and newspaper readership; however, it is sufficient for the goal of assessing the independent associations between reading for pleasure and each of class and status. I will therefore run separate models incorporating respondent's status, and the status of significant others, for the waves at which such data is available.

In order to establish the profile of reading for pleasure, I will predict the variable for reading for pleasure using ordered logistic regression, as the categories can be ordered from low to high, if the proportional odds assumption holds (with some categories having been combined if there are few responses in those categories). If not, the variable will be predicted using multinomial logistic regression.

2.4 Results: Change over time

In this section, I use industry-level data to identify whether there are any significant changes in book sales and library issues over time.

2.4.1 Book sales

Figures 2.1 and 2.2 report the overall book sales in Britain for each of nonfiction, fiction, and children's books between 1997 and 2010, based on the data from PRODCOM and the Publishers Association, as described in section 2.3.1. Figure 2.1 reports the total amount of money spent on books within each category over the period, adjusted for inflation, based on the data in Bari [2012]; figure 2.2 reports the total number of books sold over the period. A consistent, monotonic decline would have R^2 values equal to 1, with coefficients showing the rate of decline.

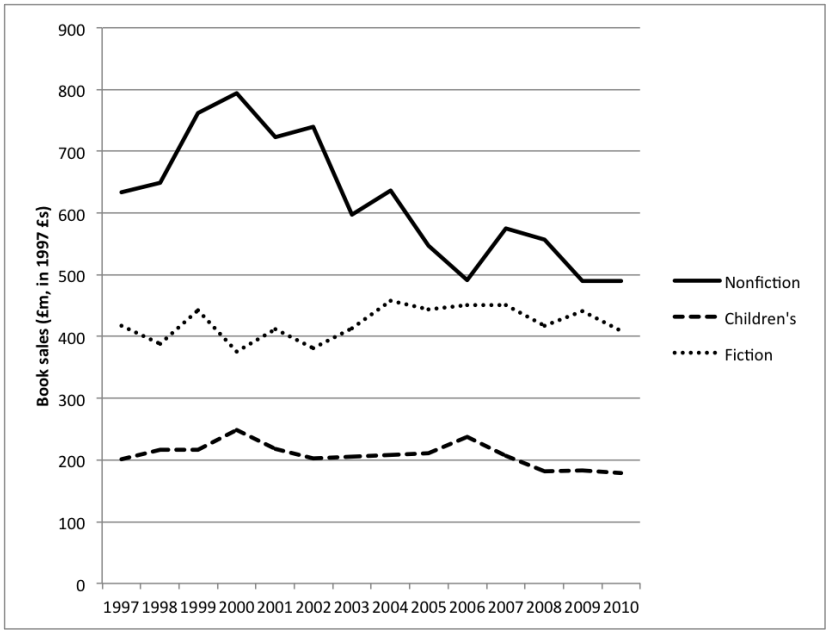

Figure 2.1: Book sales: value (data from PRODCOM and Publishers Association)

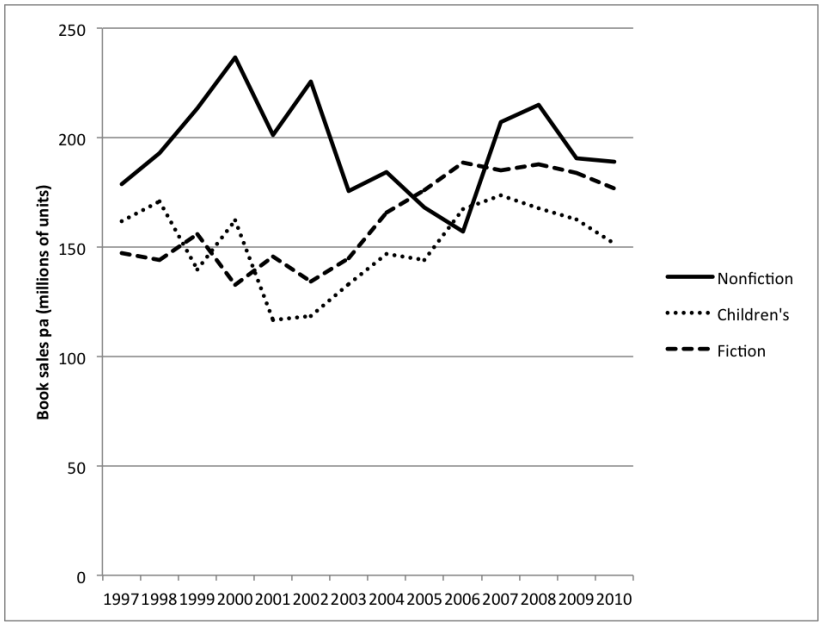

Figure 2.2: Book sales: volume (data from PRODCOM and Publishers Association)

It is difficult to identify any clear trends from these results. Figure 2.1 shows that the overall amount of money (in 1997 pounds) spent on books of fiction varied between a low of £375 million in 2000 and a high of £457 million in 2004, with the start and end points of this series only £8 million apart: when estimating a linear model using this trend, the coefficient represents a marginal annual increase of £2.6m pa . While the low point of money spent on children's reading (at £178 million) came at the end of the series, this is close to the value at the start of the series (£201 million) and not vastly far from the peak (an anomalously high £249 million) . However, the overall amount of money spent on nonfiction declines over the period, from a high of £794 million in 2000 to a low of £490 million at each of 2006, 2009 and 2010 .

While the data on value of books sold indicates a decline in nonfiction books, and a more marginal decline in children's books, any decline is much weaker in the data on the volume of books sold shown in figure 2.2. The range of nonfiction books sold varies from a low of 157m in 2006 to a high of 236m in 2000, but with much more variation year-on-year . The range of children's books varies to a similar extent, from a low of 116m in 2001 to a high of 173m in 2007 . Finally, volume of fiction books sold increases, as did the value of fiction sales; the range is smaller, varying from a low of 133m in 2000 to a high of 189m in 2006, but with a clearer upward trend .

The overall number of nonfiction books sold only decreased very marginally over the period addressed here, while the number of children's books sold increased marginally and the number of fiction books sold increased more substantially. If there is a decline in reading for pleasure, it is not reflected in book sales.

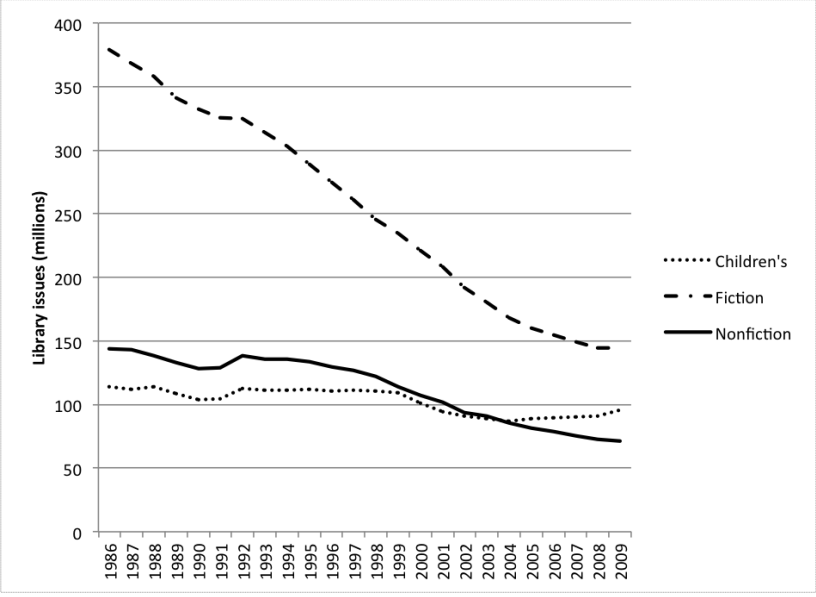

Figure 2.3: Library issues (data from LISU)

2.4.2 Library circulation

Figure 2.3 reports issues in UK public libraries per year between 1986 and 2009 for each of adult fiction and nonfiction, and children's books, in millions of units.

There is a far clearer picture of decline in these results than in those of book sales. While there are occasional small increases in library issues from year to year – for example, nonfiction issues rose from 129 million in 1991 to 139 million in 1992 – there has been a general, roughly linear trend in declining library usage. This is most striking in the case of fiction: the number of fiction issues in 2009 is 38% of the fiction issues in 1986 (144 million compared with 289 million), and the trend is very close to linear . However, the trend in nonfiction issues is not dissimilar, with issues in 2009 at 49% of the 1986 value, and another almost linear trend . The change in issues of children's books is much less pronounced, with the lowest value at 76% of the highest value; indeed, the low point comes in 2004,

with a slight upward swing subsequently.

One potential explanation for this effect is book sales, as discussed in the previous section. Fiction sales rose by 37.7 million between 1997 and 2007, while fiction issues from public libraries fell by 111.9 million. The disparity between these numbers masks the fact that each book bought may be read by more than one reader; Phillips [2007] highlights the increase in second-hand book readership in the latter part of this period, stimulated by the rise of online marketplaces such as Amazon and eBay, which presents a far larger range of secondhand titles than would any physical bookshop. I cannot be sure about the size of any substitution that might take place: as highlighted in section 2.3.1, the size of the second hand book market in Britain is much less well estimated than it is in North America.

These results show that there is a pronounced decrease in the issue of adult library books (both fiction and nonfiction) and a slighter decrease in the issue of children's library books between 1983 and 2009. Since the decrease, particularly in the issue of adult library books, is roughly linear, it can be compared with the change over the period 1997–2009, for which I have data on book sales, shown in section 2.3.1. It is clear that the decline in library issues over this period is not reflected in book sales; the sharpest decrease in issues is among fiction books, while fiction sales increased over the same period.

These results therefore show a mixed picture in terms of any change over time. The data on book sales reinforces the findings from Southerton et al. [2007] that overall *quantity* of reading in the population stays roughly constant, although this is not reinforced by the data on library issues. However, the data for both library issues and book sales show no decline in *children's* books, only adults'. In the next section, I will identify what the contemporary profile of a reader is, and can also

assess whether, if there *is* a decline in reading not captured elsewhere, whether it is visible in the short period covered by the repeated cross-sectional study.

2.5 Results: Taking Part

In this section, I report the results from the Taking Part survey for both adults and children, in order to test whether the profile of a reader in Britain is similar to that described in Griswold et al. [2005]. In doing so, I will also be able to assess whether there is any decline in the proportion of the population reading over the period of the surveys. Section 2.4 found no monotonic decline in book sales, and Southerton et al. [2007] found no monotonic decline in time spent reading, so such a finding would be surprising.

2.5.1 Descriptive statistics

Table 2.1 shows the descriptive statistics for the adults in the Taking Part survey, with all four waves described in section 2.3.2 pooled.

With a total N across all four pooled waves of the survey of 92463, most questions were answered by all respondents; 305 people refused to answer the question on their age, 128 people refused to answer the question on ethnicity, and 32 people refused to answer how frequently they read. The items where the Ns are smaller are on parental encouragement of reading, and of status measures. The question about parental encouragement went to a subsample of respondents at the first three waves, explaining why the N for responses to that question is about 41% of the overall N. The variables containing data on best friend's occupation, and the occupation of the primary earner in the household when respondents

were 16, from which status measures have been derived, were only present in the first wave of the study, while the variable containing sufficient data on one's own occupation to derive status measures was only present in the third wave of the study. Within these measures, 35% of respondents do not have status scores for close friends, mainly due to not having a close friend to whom they can refer; 22% of respondents do not have status scores for parents when they were 16, mainly due to the "don't know" category; and 6% of respondents do not have status scores for their own occupations, most of whom have never worked.

These results show that, compared with the United States as reported in Bauerlein [2007], the proportion of regular readers among adults in England and Wales is fairly high: 50% of the sample claims to read for pleasure at least once a week, with another 13% of the sample claiming to read for pleasure less often than that, with 37% never reading for pleasure. These proportions are not dissimilar from the proportions of people whose parents encouraged them to read, with 53% of respondents having parents who encouraged them to read a lot, and 22% having parents who didn't encourage them to read at all. Beyond this, there is a fairly even distribution within the sample of adults classified as professional and managerial (29%), intermediate (33%) and semi-routine and routine (32%), with 6% of respondents' occupations not being classified. 31% of the sample has at least some higher education, and another 42% of the sample have some educational qualifications, leaving 27% of the sample without qualifications. 88% of the sample is white, which is similar to the overall proportion of white people in Britain as of the 2001 census [National Statistics, 2004], and slightly more than half of the sample is female (56%). The mean status scores of respondents' parents at 16 is lower than respondents' own status scores and those of their close friends, which are similar

Table 2.1: Descriptive statistics (Taking Part adults, weighted data)

Variable	**Mean**	**Total N**
Reading for pleasure frequency		
At least once a week	0.49	92 431
At least once a month	0.07	92 431
At least 3–4 times a year	0.05	92 431
1–2 times a year	0.03	92 431
Never	0.37	92 431
Sex (1=male)	0.49	92 463
Age	49.39	92 159
Class		
I	0.10	92 463
II	0.20	92 463
III	0.15	92 463
IV	0.08	92 463
V	0.10	92 463
VI	0.14	92 463
VII	0.12	92 463
Never worked	0.03	92 463
Not classified	0.09	92 463
Educational qualifications		
Higher education	0.32	92 463
A-levels or other KS5	0.20	92 463
GCSEs or other KS4	0.25	92 463
No qualifications	0.24	92 463
Ethnicity		
White	0.90	92 335
Mixed race	0.01	92 335
Asian	0.05	92 335
Black	0.02	92 335
Other	0.01	92 335
Urban (dummy)	0.80	92 463
Parental encouragement of reading		
Encouraged a lot	0.53	38 071
Encouraged a little	0.26	38 071
Didn't encourage at all	0.22	38 071
Own status score	-0.04	24 092
Parent's status score at 16	-0.19	21 826
Best friend's status score	0.01	18 163
Survey wave		
2005–2006	0.30	92 463
2006–2007	0.26	92 463
2007–2008	0.28	92 463
2008–2009	0.16	92 463

to each other. Finally, the sample size is slightly smaller in the final wave (14794) than the previous waves, for reasons of cost.

The descriptive statistics for the children surveyed by Taking Part are shown in table 2.2. The total N across both the waves that I use here is 5372. Most questions are answered by all respondents: there are four non-responses or refusals to the question about ethnicity, and the other items with non-response relate to parents: there are 64 non-responses to both the questions about parents' NS-SEC classification and about parents' reading behaviour.

These descriptive statistics show that the fraction of teenagers reading for pleasure is even higher than the fraction of adults reading: 55% of respondents report reading for pleasure more than once a week, another 21% report carrying out reading for pleasure, but less often than that, leaving 24% of respondents who report never reading for pleasure. Beyond that, the demographic profile is similar to that of the overall population, with 51% of respondents being male, the mean age being 13 (with the sample consisting of 11–15 year olds), and 81% of respondents being white. Slightly more of the adult survey have some higher education than do the parents of respondents to the child survey (31% compared with 28%), and far more have no qualifications (27% compared with 17%), with a larger proportion of parents of respondents to the child survey holding GCSEs or similar as their highest qualification (35%). Similarly, slightly fewer parents of respondents are classified as managerial or professional compared with the adult sample (26% compared with 29%), although far more parents of respondents to the child survey aren't classified than respondents to the adult survey (11% compared with 6%). The sample is also slightly larger in 2006 than in 2007.

Due to the distributions of reading behaviour for both adults and children, I

Table 2.2: Descriptive statistics (Taking Part children age 11–15)

Variable	**Mean**	**Total N**
Reading for pleasure frequency		
At least once a week	0.55	5 372
At least once a month	0.17	5 372
At least 3–4 times a year	0.04	5 372
1–2 times a year	0.01	5 372
Never	0.23	5 372
Sex (1=male)	0.51	5 372
Age	13.0	5 372
Parent's class		
I	0.09	5 304
II	0.18	5 304
III	0.14	5 304
IV	0.08	5 304
V	0.09	5 304
VI	0.17	5 304
VII	0.10	5 304
Never worked	0.05	5 304
Not classified	0.10	5 304
Parent's education		
Higher education	0.29	5 372
A-levels or other KS5	0.19	5 372
GCSEs or other KS4	0.34	5 372
No qualifications	0.17	5 372
Ethnicity		
White	0.81	5 368
Mixed race	0.04	5 368
Asian	0.10	5 368
Black	0.05	5 368
Other	0.01	5 368
Parents' reading (dummy)	0.61	5 304
Survey wave		
2005–2006	0.54	5 372
2006–2007	0.46	5 372

transform the reading variable into three categories: more than once a week; less often than once a week but at least sometimes; and never.

2.5.2 Regression results

The regression results will be reported in three parts. Firstly, in table 2.3 I report the regression results for adults' reading behaviour excluding status measures; secondly, in tables 2.4 and 2.5 I report separately the regression results for adults' reading behaviour incorporating status measures, comparing models with and without status measures; thirdly, in table 2.6 I report the regression results for children's reading behaviour. In all models, when ordered logistic regressions were run the proportional odds assumption was violated (with P-values of less than 0.0001): because of this, multinomial logistic regressions were run instead. These models are based on the equation in the captions of the tables, where "Often" corresponds to more than once a week, and "Sometimes" corresponds to less often than once a week but still reading. βs correspond to the vectors of coefficients being estimated, αs correspond to the respective intercepts for the models being estimated, and ϵs correspond to error terms. The xs correspond to the vectors of the variables used in the models.

Adults

Here, Model 1 reports results for the entire sample, while Model 2 reports results for that subsample of respondents who were asked about parental encouragement of reading during childhood. "Often" corresponds to reading more than once a week", and "Sometimes" corresponds to reading less often than that, but at least

reading occasionally.

Table 2.3: Multinomial logistic regression: Predicting reading frequency (base outcome: none) (Taking Part adults, 2005–2009)

	Model 1				Model 2			
	Sometimes vs never		Often vs never		Sometimes vs never		Often vs never	
Variable[a]	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**
Male (dummy)	-0.331**	(0.022)	-0.808**	(0.016)	-0.315**	(0.034)	-0.738**	(0.026)
Age	0.035**	(0.003)	0.040**	(0.002)	0.035**	(0.005)	0.043**	(0.004)
Age squared	-0.0004**	(0.000)	-0.0003**	(0.000)	-0.0004**	(0.000)	-0.0003**	(0.000)
Class[b]								
I	0.792**	(0.050)	0.808**	(0.037)	0.852**	(0.077)	0.782**	(0.060)
II	0.563**	(0.042)	0.680**	(0.030)	0.553**	(0.064)	0.629**	(0.048)
III	0.572**	(0.043)	0.626**	(0.030)	0.491**	(0.065)	0.533**	(0.048)
IV	0.138**	(0.049)	0.175**	(0.035)	0.210**	(0.074)	0.183**	(0.055)
V	0.133**	(0.046)	0.223**	(0.032)	0.142*	(0.069)	0.219**	(0.051)
VI	0.209**	(0.042)	0.276**	(0.029)	0.203**	(0.064)	0.242**	(0.046)
Never worked	-0.255**	(0.073)	-0.174**	(0.048)	-0.239*	(0.110)	-0.294**	(0.077)
Not classified	0.544**	(0.050)	0.664**	(0.037)	0.553**	(0.075)	0.564**	(0.059)
Educational qualifications[c]								
Higher education	0.772**	(0.037)	1.180**	(0.026)	0.759**	(0.056)	1.037**	(0.042)
A-levels or other KS5	0.580**	(0.036)	0.785**	(0.025)	0.524**	(0.054)	0.672**	(0.040)
GCSEs or other KS4	0.384**	(0.033)	0.486**	(0.023)	0.368**	(0.050)	0.406**	(0.037)
Ethnicity[d]								
Mixed race	-0.242**	(0.085)	-0.301**	(0.064)	-0.146	(0.128)	-0.363**	(0.105)
Asian	-0.663**	(0.048)	-0.745**	(0.035)	-0.655**	(0.074)	-0.685**	(0.055)
Black	-0.501**	(0.067)	-0.700**	(0.050)	-0.616**	(0.104)	-0.803**	(0.079)
Other	-0.860**	(0.147)	-0.425**	(0.089)	-0.869**	(0.225)	-0.235†	(0.138)
Area type: urban (dummy)	-0.103**	(0.027)	-0.136**	(0.020)	-0.085*	(0.041)	-0.133**	(0.031)
Parents' reading encouragement[e]								
Encouraged a lot					0.309**	(0.042)	0.906**	(0.032)
Encouraged a little					0.366**	(0.044)	0.269**	(0.035)
Survey wave[f]								
2006–2007	-0.051†	(0.028)	0.048*	(0.020)	-0.060	(0.040)	0.080**	(0.030)
2007–2008	0.045†	(0.027)	0.052*	(0.020)	0.043	(0.038)	0.065*	(0.029)
2008–2009	-0.300**	(0.034)	-0.049*	(0.024)				
Intercept	-1.980**	(0.087)	-1.416**	(0.063)	-2.122**	(0.137)	-1.908**	(0.105)

N	91960	37858
Log-likelihood	-85726.865	-35068.375
$\chi^2_{(44)}$	11643.478	6028.163

[a]The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Often)}{\Pr(Y_i=Never)} = \beta_1 x_i + \alpha_1 + \epsilon_1, ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Sometimes)}{\Pr(Y_i=Never)} = \beta_2 x_i + \alpha_2 + \epsilon_2$

[b]Reference category: VII

[c]Reference category: no qualifications

[d]Reference category: white

[e]Reference category: didn't encourage at all

[f]Reference category: 2005–2006

There are no differences between models 1 and 2 where the coefficients behind any variable change sign, or the strength of associations change drastically. Because of this, I will discuss the models together here, while discussing the differences between the models subsequently.

These results are broadly supportive of Hypothesis 1, with one exception. As predicted, women are more likely to read than are men; older people are more likely to read than younger people, with marginal differences decreasing as people age; people in non-manual jobs are more likely to read than people in intermediate jobs, who themselves are more likely to read than people in class VII; more highly-educated people are more likely to read than are less highly-educated people; white people are more likely to read than are members of minority ethnic groups; and people who live in urban areas are less likely to read than people who live in rural areas. This last finding is surprising, given the evidence elsewhere that people in urban areas read more than people in rural areas; however, this difference is the smallest of all the significant associations in the table.

Given that I have conducted a multinomial logistic regression in the first place as the proportional odds assumption was violated, it is important to investigate the variables where there are differences between the coefficients for often vs never, and sometimes vs never. The largest difference is for the coefficients behind the male dummy: while men are less likely to read sometimes, compared with never, than are women, the (negative) coefficient is more than twice the size for reading often, compared with never. There are also similar differences for educational attainment, most prominently with larger (positive) coefficients behind often vs never for those with higher education than behind sometimes vs never. There are also differences, although smaller, for older people, for members of minority

ethnic groups (with the small number of people classified as "other" having the relationship inverted: the difference between often and never is larger than the difference between sometimes and never). By contrast, the differences between people in professional and managerial jobs and people in semi-routine and routine jobs, while pronounced, are similar for both sometimes vs never and often vs never. These results suggest that the differences in Griswold et al. [2005] hold, with the predictors of reading for pleasure as opposed to not reading in England and Wales being similar to those predictors of reading for pleasure in the United States, with the predictors of membership of the reading class in particular (which might be expressed as those people reading more than once a week, as opposed to occasional readers) being particularly pronounced in the case of gender and education.

These findings hold for both models in table 2.3. The differences between the models are driven by the additional question asked to a subsample of the first three waves, about parental encouragement of reading: people whose parents encouraged them to read a little are more likely to read as adults than are those people whose parents didn't encourage them at all, and people whose parents encouraged them to read a lot were much more likely to read more than once a week than people whose parents didn't encourage them at all: the only larger difference is between people with some higher education and people with no educational qualifications. Most of the coefficients in the two models are similar to each other, although there are some differences: in particular, the coefficients behind being male and having higher educational qualifications are smaller in model 2 than in model 1. This provides support for the socialization theory in section 2.1.2: if men are less likely to have been encouraged to read a lot by their parents than women, this can account for the smaller coefficient. Similarly, people who were encouraged to read

might be more likely to enter higher education in the first place, accounting for the smaller coefficient.

The relative sizes of these differences, independent of each other, can be shown in figure 2.4. This figure reports the predicted probabilities of reading for pleasure more than once a week, less than once a week, and never, for different profiles of individuals, based on the regression results in model 2 of table 2.3. "Neutral" is classified as a 47-year-old white woman in a semi-routine or routine job with no educational qualifications, living in an urban environment, who wasn't encouraged to read by their parents, having participated in the survey in 2005/2006. I report the probabilities of this person reading, as well as the probabilities of such a person reading with the following changes:

- being aged 16 (rather than 47)
- being aged 60 (rather than 47)
- being female (rather than male)
- having higher education (rather than no qualifications)
- self-identifying as Asian (rather than white)
- having been encouraged to read a lot by parents (rather than not at all)
- being in a class I job (rather than class VII)

These results shows that the biggest difference in profiles from the "neutral" profile (with predicted probabilities of 0.30 for reading more than once a week and 0.13 for reading less often) is the profile with higher education, with predicted probabilities of 0.51 of reading more than once a week, and 0.16 of reading less

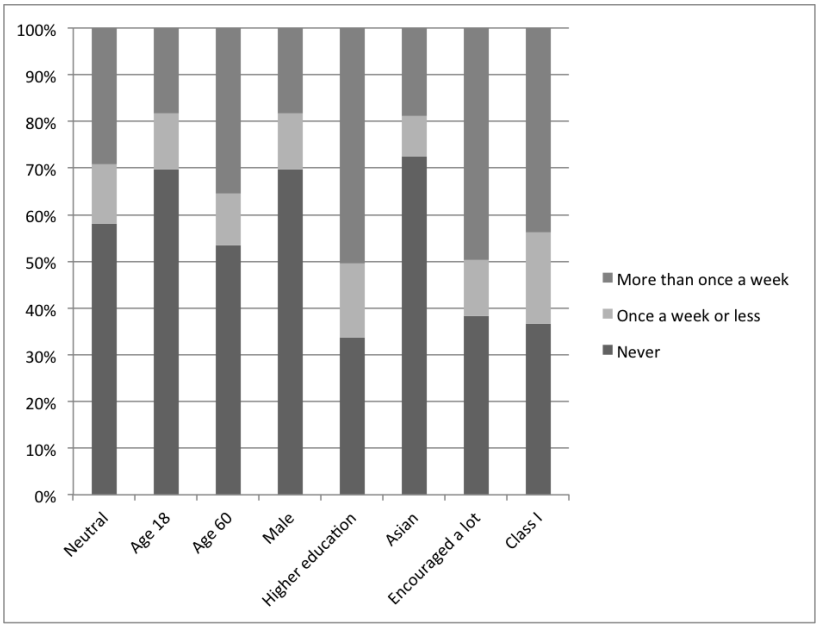

Figure 2.4: Predicted probabilities of reading different volumes, Taking Part adults (2005/2006–2007/2008)

often. While the probability of reading more than once a week is similar for people who were encouraged to read a lot by their parents (0.50), the probability of reading occasionally is lower (0.12) – people who were encouraged to read a lot are marginally more likely to not read at all. The predicted probabilities of people with higher education but in class VII jobs reading are similar to the predicted probabilities of people in class I jobs without higher education: the people in class I jobs are less likely to read more than once a week than people who were encouraged to read as children, but are also more likely to read at all rather than never. We can also see that the difference in predicted reading behaviour is similar for 60-year-olds to that of 47-year-olds, with a difference of 0.05 between predicted probabilities of reading once a week, showing the magnitude of the quadratic term; by contrast, the predicted probability of reading for a 16-year-old reading is much

lower, with predicted probabilities of 0.18 of reading more than once a week, and 0.12 of reading less often than that; these are identical to the predicted probabilities of a 47-year-old *man's* reading behaviour.

It is worth noting, as well, that model 1 in table 2.3 also allows us to assess whether there is a change in overall levels of reading across the period 2005/2006–2008/2009. If there were a monotonic, significant decline in the reading class over this period, even if small, it should have been identified by those results; however, these results show that any changes in reading across the waves of the survey are unsystematic, with no monotonic decline: the high point of reading is actually the wave of data collected at 2007/2008, and if I identify the "reading class" as people reading more than once a week, this group increases in size between 2005/2006 and 2007/2008, with the decrease between 2005/2006 and 2008/2009 not significant at the 95% level.

Adults: status

The results in section 2.5.2 have therefore established that hypothesis 1 is broadly correct, with the exception that people living in rural areas are more likely to read than people who live in urban areas. However, as discussed in section 2.1.2, hypothesis 1, based on Griswold et al's idea of a "reading class", treats socioeconomic status fairly crudely: while different studies consistently find that higher-SES people tend to read more, this is sometimes based on household income, and sometimes based on occupational class. In this section, I therefore aim to address whether *status* can predict reading behaviour, as shown in the case of Hungary by Bukodi [2007], addressing both one's own status and the status of significant others: close friends and parents. In doing so, I can compare the predictive power of social

status and class.

Table 2.4 reports two models. Both are the results of multinomial logistic regressions, based on the equations in their captions, with the same outcome categories as in section 2.5.2. Model 1 of table 2.4 corresponds to the results in table 2.3, but only for the third wave of data, as this is the only wave at which there is sufficient data on respondents' occupation to derive their status; model 2 of table 2.4 adds a variable for respondents' own status scores.

Table 2.4: Multinomial logistic regression: Predicting reading frequency including respondents' status scores (base outcome: none) (Taking Part adults, 2007–2008)

	Model 1				Model 2			
	Sometimes vs never		Often vs never		Sometimes vs never		Often vs never	
Variable[a]	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**
Male (dummy)	-0.455**	(0.042)	-0.820**	(0.032)	-0.417**	(0.044)	-0.768**	(0.033)
Age	0.043**	(0.006)	0.050**	(0.005)	0.048**	(0.006)	0.054**	(0.005)
Age squared	0.0004**	(0.000)	0.0003**	(0.000)	0.0005**	(0.000)	0.0004**	(0.000)
Class[b]								
I	0.916**	(0.094)	0.863**	(0.072)	0.654**	(0.120)	0.472**	(0.092)
II	0.522**	(0.078)	0.719**	(0.057)	0.298**	(0.101)	0.383**	(0.075)
III	0.565**	(0.080)	0.704**	(0.058)	0.392**	(0.094)	0.443**	(0.070)
IV	0.065	(0.092)	0.126†	(0.066)	-0.019	(0.095)	-0.007	(0.068)
V	0.183*	(0.084)	0.254**	(0.061)	0.156†	(0.084)	0.209**	(0.061)
VI	0.162*	(0.078)	0.286**	(0.056)	0.082	(0.081)	0.169**	(0.058)
Not classified	0.580**	(0.096)	0.736**	(0.075)	0.535**	(0.117)	0.537**	(0.092)
Educational qualifications[c]								
Higher education	0.806**	(0.076)	1.270**	(0.057)	0.732**	(0.079)	1.179**	(0.059)
A-levels or other KS5	0.563**	(0.065)	0.830**	(0.047)	0.530**	(0.066)	0.786**	(0.048)
GCSEs or other KS4	0.295**	(0.065)	0.430**	(0.047)	0.273**	(0.066)	0.404**	(0.048)
Ethnicity[d]								
Mixed race	-0.316*	(0.153)	-0.413**	(0.120)	-0.448**	(0.167)	-0.425**	(0.126)
Asian	-0.581**	(0.091)	-0.708**	(0.070)	-0.581**	(0.096)	-0.709**	(0.074)
Black	-0.554**	(0.130)	-0.686**	(0.098)	-0.527**	(0.134)	-0.664**	(0.101)
Other	-1.297**	(0.388)	-0.797**	(0.226)	-1.642**	(0.455)	-0.811**	(0.230)
Area type: urban (dummy)	-0.013	(0.051)	-0.091*	(0.038)	0.010	(0.052)	-0.081*	(0.038)
Status score					0.333**	(0.095)	0.486**	(0.071)
Intercept	-2.114**	(0.166)	-1.720**	(0.124)	-2.114**	(0.168)	-1.610**	(0.125)

N	24655	23981
Log-likelihood	-23146.025	-22442.802
$\chi^2_{(34)}$	3124.791	3101.492

[a]The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Often)}{\Pr(Y_i=Never)} = \beta_1 x_i + \alpha_1 + \epsilon_1, ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Sometimes)}{\Pr(Y_i=Never)} = \beta_2 x_i + \alpha_2 + \epsilon_2$

[b]Reference category: VII

[c]Reference category: no qualifications

[d]Reference category: white

Model 1 in table 2.4 uses the same predictor variables as does model 1 of table 2.3, with the difference between the two models being that table 2.3 takes as its sample respondents to the 2007–2008 wave of data: the results are almost identical, as they should be if the associations between the predictor variables and frequency of reading for pleasure do not vary across the four waves.

Model 2 shows that there is a significant relationship between respondents' social statuses and their frequency of reading for pleasure. Higher-status respondents are more likely to read than lower-status respondents, and are particularly likely to read more than once a week: the coefficient behind social status for the "often vs never" column is significantly larger than is the coefficient behind social status for the "sometimes vs never" column.

The primary benefit of model 2 in this context is to assess how class and status jointly predict reading frequency. These results show that when status is introduced into the model, class remains significantly associated with reading frequency, although much more weakly: the coefficients behind membership of classes I and II approximately halve in size when status is introduced into the model. However, merely comparing the magnitude of the coefficients is not illuminating in itself, as the status variable is continuous while the class variables represent dummies. They can be more meaningfully compared by comparing the highest and lowest categories in each case. The range of the status variable is 1.16 (as in Chan and Goldthorpe [2007b]), so a coefficient for the "often vs never" column comparing the highest and lowest categories would be 0.544; as the reference category for class is class VII, the difference between the highest and lowest categories is the coefficient behind class I: 0.472. However, the difference in the "sometimes vs never" column is far more pronounced for class than for status; 0.654 compared

with 0.373. Thus, the association between reading for pleasure and class is similar to the association between reading for pleasure and status when comparing reading often with reading never; however, when comparing reading sometimes with reading never, the association between reading and class is stronger than the association between reading and status. Class is therefore a better predictor of whether respondents read at all, while status is a similar predictor of reading more than once per week.

The role of status, net of class, can be seen in figure 2.5. In this figure, the first two bars show the predicted probabilities of reading with different frequencies for men aged 40, who are white, with higher education, and members of class I, while the second two bars show the predicted probabilities of reading with different frequencies for men aged 40, who are white, with GCSEs or similar, and in class VI. The first two bars differ in the specific occupations: in the first bar, I show the predicted probabilities of reading for higher professionals (with status scores of 0.564), while in the second, I show the predicted probabilities of reading different amounts for other managers (with status scores of 0.236). I thus compare members of class I with more or less status. Similarly, in the third bar I show the predicted probabilities of reading different amounts for sales workers (with status scores of -0.115) with those for general labourers (with status scores of -0.598).

The results in figure 2.5 show that the differences in status seem relatively minor, when all other variables are held constant. However, this is not to state that status is insignificant. For example, the difference in predicted probability of reading more than once a week between sales workers and general labourers (which would have had identical probabilities based on table 2.3) is 5%. These results more generally reinforce the findings from Chan and Goldthorpe [2007b] that status is

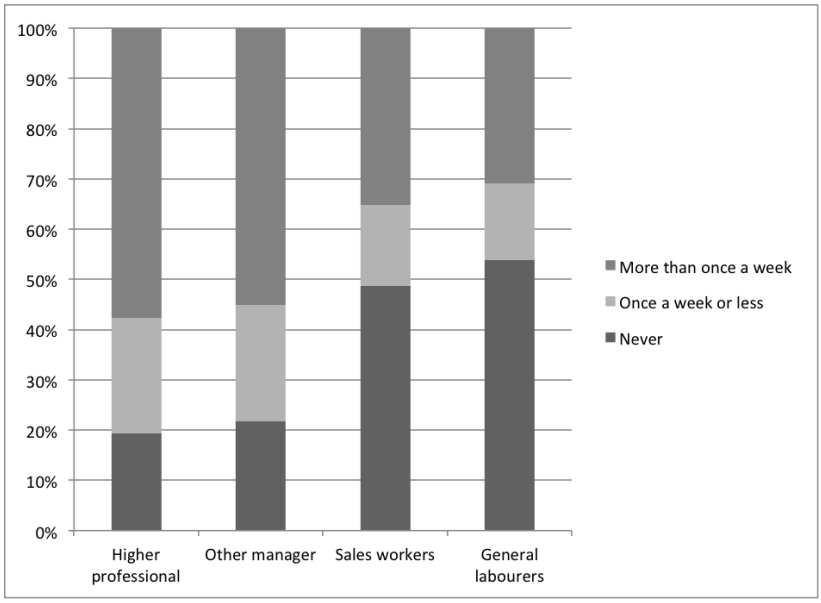

Figure 2.5: Predicted probabilities of reading different volumes incorporating respondents' status scores, Taking Part adults (2007/2008)

important to incorporate into any model to understand cultural consumption, of which reading for pleasure forms a part; however, it also suggests that social class remains at least as important in predicting reading *books* for pleasure, as opposed to predicting reading newspapers, where they show that respondents' social status is more useful as a predictor.

Table 2.5 differs from table 2.4 in that I incorporate the social status of respondents' significant others – primary household earner at 16, and close friend – instead of respondents' own social status. This information is held in the first wave of data. Model 1 of table 2.5 therefore corresponds to model 2 of table 2.3, as it contains the variable on the extent to which respondents were encouraged to read by their parents when they were growing up, while model 2 incorporates status scores for their parent and close friend.

Table 2.5: Multinomial logistic regression: Predicting reading frequency incorporating significant others' status (base outcome: none) (Taking Part adults, 2005–2006)

	Model 1				**Model 2**			
	Sometimes vs never		**Often vs never**		**Sometimes vs never**		**Often vs never**	
Variable[a]	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coeff.**	**(Std. Err.)**
Male (dummy)	-0.179**	(0.056)	-0.719**	(0.044)	-0.194*	(0.080)	-0.785**	(0.062)
Age	0.024**	(0.008)	0.035**	(0.006)	0.042**	(0.013)	0.040**	(0.010)
Age squared	0.0003**	(0.000)	0.0002**	(0.000)	0.0004**	(0.000)	0.0002*	(0.000)
Class[b]								
I	0.766**	(0.127)	0.916**	(0.102)	0.656**	(0.172)	0.802**	(0.137)
II	0.506**	(0.106)	0.738**	(0.082)	0.473**	(0.147)	0.694**	(0.113)
III	0.547**	(0.106)	0.664**	(0.081)	0.511**	(0.150)	0.632**	(0.114)
IV	0.255*	(0.122)	0.351**	(0.094)	0.290†	(0.164)	0.327**	(0.127)
V	0.206†	(0.112)	0.373**	(0.086)	0.319*	(0.154)	0.395**	(0.118)
VI	0.194†	(0.104)	0.374**	(0.078)	0.353*	(0.146)	0.323**	(0.111)
Never worked	-0.270	(0.186)	-0.307*	(0.133)	-0.433	(0.457)	0.089	(0.257)
Not classified	0.510**	(0.119)	0.728**	(0.094)	0.573**	(0.195)	0.497**	(0.157)
Educational qualifications[c]								
Higher education	0.911**	(0.091)	1.126**	(0.069)	0.933**	(0.132)	1.018**	(0.101)
A-levels or other KS5	0.504**	(0.088)	0.614**	(0.067)	0.525**	(0.127)	0.612**	(0.095)
GCSEs or other KS4	0.391**	(0.083)	0.465**	(0.062)	0.475**	(0.121)	0.417**	(0.090)
Ethnicity[d]								
Mixed race	0.048	(0.219)	-0.085	(0.180)	0.104	(0.324)	-0.258	(0.277)
Asian	-0.573**	(0.119)	-0.586**	(0.092)	-0.566**	(0.184)	-0.558**	(0.141)
Black	-0.654**	(0.173)	-0.821**	(0.134)	-0.558*	(0.261)	-0.833**	(0.207)
Other	-1.087**	(0.363)	-0.283	(0.209)	-1.066†	(0.595)	-0.069	(0.333)
Area type: urban (dummy)	-0.139*	(0.067)	-0.166**	(0.052)	-0.254**	(0.089)	-0.161*	(0.072)
Parents' reading encouragement[e]								
Encouraged a lot	0.193**	(0.069)	0.812**	(0.052)	0.057	(0.095)	0.690**	(0.073)
Encouraged a little	0.323**	(0.072)	0.137*	(0.058)	0.244*	(0.098)	-0.027	(0.081)
Close friend's status score					0.356**	(0.109)	0.343**	(0.087)
Parent's status score at 16					0.153	(0.106)	0.248**	(0.085)
Intercept	-2.135**	(0.355)	-1.514**	(0.274)	-2.392**	(0.344)	-1.676**	(0.264)

N	13641	7441
Log-likelihood	-12664.731	-6818.5
$\chi^2_{(42)}$	2305.011	1242.997

[a]The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Often)}{\Pr(Y_i=Never)} = \beta_1 x_i + \alpha_1 + \epsilon_1, ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Sometimes)}{\Pr(Y_i=Never)} = \beta_2 x_i + \alpha_2 + \epsilon_2$

[b]Reference category: VII

[c]Reference category: no qualifications

[d]Reference category: white

[e]Reference category: didn't encourage at all

Model 1 of table 2.5 closely resembles model 2 of table 2.3, which is consistent with the assumption that the associations between predictor variables and reading should not differ across waves of the study.

Model 2 shows that both close friend's status and primary earner's status at 16 are significantly associated with frequency of reading for pleasure; however, while close friend's status is significantly associated with the difference between reading sometimes and never, and reading often and never, primary earner's status at 16 is not significantly associated with the difference between reading sometimes and never, only between reading often and never.

These results differ from the results in table 2.4 in many ways. Firstly, the results in table 2.4 showed that the coefficients behind different classes decreased between models 1 and 2, as measures of respondents' status were introduced; in this table, however, there are no significant changes in any other coefficients except for those about encouragement to read in childhood. This can be explained by the socialization process – higher-status parents are more likely to encourage their children to read than lower-status parents – except that the coefficient for the difference between reading often and reading never behind respondents being encouraged to read a lot in childhood is only marginally lower in model 2 than in model 1; in table 2.4, by contrast, the coefficient for membership of class I for the model containing respondents' status scores was half the size of the coefficient for the model without respondents' status scores.

The relevance of these associations can be seen in figure 2.6. In this figure, I report the predicted probabilities of reading based on model 2 of table 2.5 for men aged 40, who are white, in class I, with GCSEs or other KS4 qualifications, who weren't encouraged to read at all in childhood. In the first bar, I report

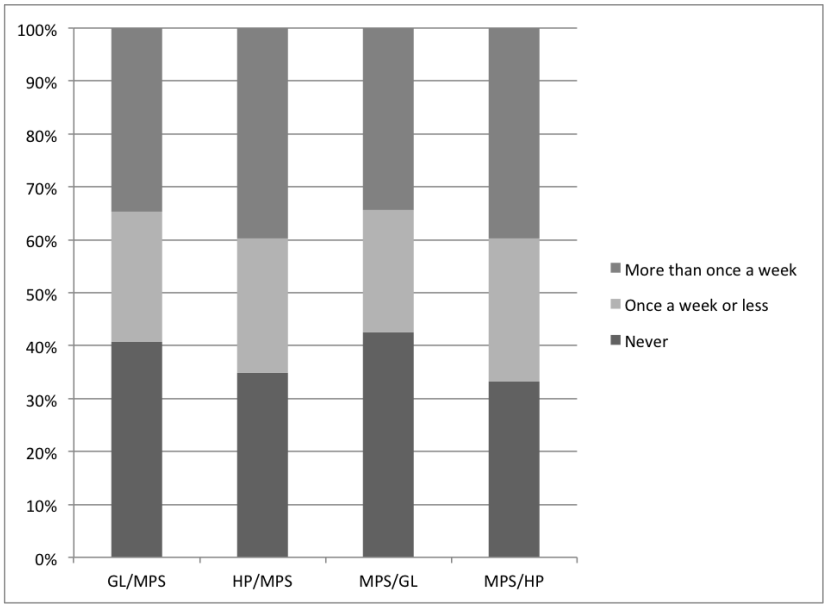

Figure 2.6: Predicted probabilities of reading different volumes incorporating significant others' status scores, Taking Part adults (2007/2008)

the predicted probabilities for an individual for whom the primary earner in their household when they were 16 was a general labourer (GL, status score = −0.598) and whose reported close friend is a manager or proprietor (MPS, status = −0.045); in the second, an individual for whom the primary earner at 16 was a higher professional (HP, status score = 0.564) and whose reported close friend is a manager or proprietor; in the third, an individual for whom the primary earner at 16 was a manager or proprietor, and whose close friend is a general labourer; and in the fourth, an individual for whom the primary earner at 16 was a manager or proprietor, and whose close friend is a higher professional. In this way, I first vary the status of the primary earner at 16 while keeping the reported close friend's status constant (across the first two bars), and secondly, vary the status of the reported close friend, while keeping the primary earner at 16's status constant.

The difference in predicted probability of reading more than once a week be-

tween the child of a general labourer and a higher professional is 5%, as is the difference between the friend of a general labourer and a higher professional; however, there is no difference in the predicted probability of reading less often than that by father's status, while there is by reported close friend's status (4%). These differences are small but significant; the associations between significant others' status scores and reading behaviour are far smaller than the associations between respondents' class, educational attainment, gender, and childhood encouragement of reading, but usefully add to an overall model predicting reading behaviour.

Children

Table 2.6 reports the regression results for children's reading behaviour, based on the multinomial logistic regression equation in figure 2.5.2. As explained in section 2.5.1, there are fewer variables than for the adult regression models, as there is no data on whether individuals live in an urban or a rural environment; in addition, while the adult module contained information on whether individuals were encouraged to read by their parents, the child module contains data on whether or not parents themselves read for pleasure. The sample size for this model is smaller than the models of adults because the child survey is smaller than the adult survey at each wave, and because I am only using the first two waves of data due to relevant questions not being included in subsequent waves.

These results are also broadly consistent with the description of Griswold et al's "reading class", although there are some differences between these results and the results for adults, which are not entirely down to the much smaller sample of children than adults. As predicted, girls are more likely to read for pleasure than are boys, older children are less likely to read than younger children, the children

Table 2.6: Multinomial logistic regression: Predicting reading frequency (base outcome: none) (Taking Part children 11–15, 2005–2007)

	Sometimes vs never		**Often vs never**	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Male (dummy)	-0.411**	(0.085)	-0.841**	(0.072)
Age minus 11	0.044	(0.110)	-0.410**	(0.090)
Age minus 11 squared	0.006	(0.025)	0.062**	(0.021)
Parent's class[b]				
I	0.215	(0.213)	0.398*	(0.177)
II	0.622**	(0.176)	0.715**	(0.150)
III	0.551**	(0.168)	0.413**	(0.144)
IV	0.377*	(0.192)	0.437**	(0.163)
V	0.225	(0.182)	0.178	(0.155)
VI	0.173	(0.155)	0.214†	(0.130)
Never worked	-0.327	(0.220)	-0.274	(0.180)
Not classified	0.265	(0.178)	0.380*	(0.150)
Parents' educational qualifications[c]				
Higher education	0.231	(0.151)	0.671**	(0.128)
A-levels or other KS5	0.138	(0.140)	0.195	(0.121)
GCSEs or other KS4	-0.014	(0.120)	0.081	(0.103)
Ethnicity[d]				
Mixed race	-0.256	(0.255)	-0.230	(0.210)
Asian	0.029	(0.167)	0.049	(0.141)
Black	-0.066	(0.220)	-0.073	(0.186)
Other	-0.165	(0.528)	-0.129	(0.433)
Parents' reading (dummy)	0.268**	(0.088)	0.356**	(0.075)
Year = 2006–2007 (dummy)	-0.093	(0.083)	-0.080	(0.071)
Intercept	-0.179	(4.292)	13.108**	(3.594)

N	5286
Log-likelihood	-5063.206
$\chi^2_{(40)}$	466.126

[a]The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $[ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Often)}{\Pr(Y_i=Never)} = \beta_1 x_i + \alpha_1 + \epsilon_1, ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Sometimes)}{\Pr(Y_i=Never)} = \beta_2 x_i + \alpha_2 + \epsilon_2$

[b]Reference category: VII

[c]Reference category: no qualifications

[d]Reference category: white

of members of the professional and managerial classes, and of intermediate classes, are more likely to read for pleasure than are the the children of the semi-routine and routine classes; children of parents with higher education are more likely to read than children of parents with no qualifications; and the children of readers are more likely to read themselves.

These differences in reading behaviour are particularly pronounced in the difference between reading more than once a week and never reading, compared with the difference between reading less than once a week and never reading. As with adults, the coefficient behind being male twice as large for the often vs never slope as for the sometimes vs never slope. In addition, however, the differences between younger and older children's reading behaviour are only significant between often reading and never reading, not between sometimes reading and never reading; similarly, there aren't significant differences between sometimes and never reading for the children of parents with higher education and those with no qualifications; only between often and never reading. The differences between the coefficients for the two slopes behind parents' reading and parents' NS-SEC classification aren't significant at the 95% level.

The profiles of adult and child readers therefore seem to be fairly similar, with the exception that the association between age and reading behaviour is reversed for children compared with adults. However, one key difference is that there are no significant differences in reading behaviour between white children and members of minority ethnic groups: while the coefficients behind minority ethnic groups are negative, none of them is significant at the 95% level, and while the sample size is much smaller than for the adult regression models, the size of the coefficients themselves are also far smaller. This indicates that the differences between ethnic

groups' reading behaviour manifests itself much more starkly among adults than it does among children, where any differences can be accounted for by other factors such as parents' education and socio-economic status.

The differences between the sizes of the associations can be shown in figure 2.7: as with figure 2.4, I report the predicted probabilities of each volume of reading behaviour for different profiles: "neutral" is a a 13-year-old white girl with parents with no educational qualifications in class VII jobs who don't read, while the other profiles differ in the following ways:

- age 11 (rather than 13)
- age 15 (rather than 13)
- male (rather than female)
- parent with higher education (rather than no qualifications)
- Asian (rather than white)
- parent who reads (rather than who doesn't)
- class II parent (rather than class VII)

These results show that the sharpest difference in reading behaviour are between girls and boys, and between the children of parents with higher education and no qualifications: the neutral profile has predicted probabilities of 0.49 of reading more than once a week, and 0.22 of reading less often than that, compared with 0.33 and 0.22 respectively for boys, and 0.63 and 0.19 respectively for the daughter of a parent with higher education. The age differences are also more striking between the 11-year-old and the 13-year-old than between the 13-year-old

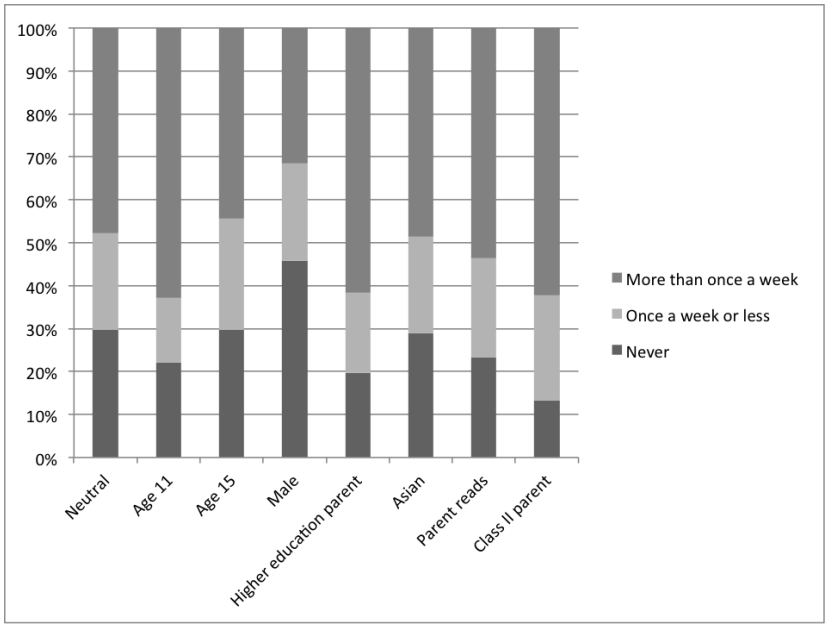

Figure 2.7: Predicted probabilities of reading different volumes, Taking Part children (2005/2006–2006/2007)

and the 15-year-old, with corresponding probabilities of 0.64 and 0.15 respectively for the 11-year old, and 0.45 and 0.26 for the 15-year-old, suggesting that differences in predicted reading behaviour largely plateau by the early teens. The absence of differences between ethnic groups can be demonstrated by the similar probabilities of reading for the neutral profile: again, 0.49 and 0.22.

Finally, similar to the adult results, there is no significant difference in readership levels between the two waves of data. It is unrealistic to extrapolate any trends based on two data points one year apart, but this shows at least that any decline in young people's leisure reading is not so pronounced and monotonic that it emerges between these two points.

These adult and child data show us, then, that the "reading class" in England and Wales is not dissimilar from Griswold et al's reading class in North America.

The key difference is that there are no significant differences between ethnic groups among children (although not adults) in England and Wales, and that adults in rural areas are *more* likely to read than people in urban areas. In addition, the results in section 2.5.2 show that class remains associated with reading once status is introduced into a model, and that the magnitude of this association is similar to that of respondent's status, while the status of significant others is also associated with reading, or less so.

2.6 Discussion

These results provide fairly weak support for Hypothesis 1, stronger support for Hypothesis 2 (with some exceptions), and support for Hypothesis 3.

The fairly weak support for Hypothesis 1 is partly a reflection of the limits of the data for the task at hand: it is impossible to establish the size of the "reading class" using aggregate-level data, as if transactions involving books remain constant this may reflect a consistent reading class, or a reading class becoming both smaller in number and more determined. In spite of this, the aggregate-level data reflect two trends fairly clearly: that library circulation has roughly monotonically declined over the period 1983–2009, particularly sharply for issues of adult books, while there is no obvious trend in the volume of books sold over the period 1993–2010, either positive or negative. The monotonic decline in the circulation of library books includes the period over which there is data from Taking Part on the size of the reading class; the Taking Part data do not show such a decline. While it is inappropriate to infer a trend from a small number of datapoints in the case of Taking Part, the fact that the decline in library issues is not reflected in our other

two sources of data over time implies that any decline in reading is not as stark as it is often made out to be. Indeed, these results are consistent with time use data that encourage caution in any statements about declines in reading in Britain.

Of particular note is the absence of a decline in sales of children's books, and of children's reading (albeit only over two datapoints), and the fact that issues of children's library books have declined much less steeply than adults'. This suggests that the concerns in Bauerlein [2006] about the rates of children's reading in the United States, as laid out in the introduction, should not apply in Britain: while it suffers from similar problems to the adult data, it provides no support for the hypothesis that children's reading in Britain is declining, as Bauerlein suggests. Indeed, the slight increases of sales of children's books year-on-year may suggest that the the reading class in Britain may itself increase in size.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the results from Taking Part would resemble the profile of a reader described in Griswold et al. [2005]: for adults, six out of the seven specific predictions in Hypothesis 1 held, with the exception being region. For children, five out of the six hypotheses held, with the exception being ethnic differences in reading (it wasn't possible to assess whether children in urban areas read more). It is worth commenting on both of these exceptions, as they present a challenge to the received wisdom on readership profiles. Table 2.3 shows that adults living in urban environments are less likely to read than are people living in rural environments: while this is the smallest difference of all of those tested in the adult models, the differences remain significant. This is inconsistent with a narrative under which reading for pleasure is an activity driven by the urban; however, the narrative surrounding the spatial diffusion of the reading class in Griswold et al is a more historical one, and given that only 20% of this sample

is classified as living in a rural area, any nuances of suburbia are likely to be missed. What is more noteworthy is the absence of any differences in children's reading behaviour by ethnicity. This could represent a number of different effects: on the one hand, divergences in reading attitudes not having yet emerged (with differences likely to emerge as respondents get older); on the other hand, decreasing differences in attitudes towards reading between ethnic groups in the first place.

In addition, tables 2.4 and 2.5 which present data on social status provide support for Hypothesis 3 – social status is significantly associated with reading for pleasure. However, these results also suggest that reading for pleasure in Britain cannot be understood straightforwardly as a generic activity within the domain of cultural consumption. While social status is a useful predictor of reading for pleasure, it is not substantially *better* as a predictor than is social class, as is the case for newspaper readership and indeed other forms of cultural consumption [Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a,b].

This provides a framework with which to move forward with the thesis. I have established that any apparent decline in overall reading behaviour in Britain is not a given, with only library circulation showing an obvious decline; this is consistent with the results in Southerton et al. [2007], who find a slight increase in the overall levels of reading going on in Britain over a similar period. I have also established some predictors of reading behaviour for adults and children, and that those predictors are broadly consistent with those in Griswold et al. [2005]. However, all data on individuals' reading behaviour is cross-sectional, with Taking Part a repeated study rather than a longitudinal study: I will now assess how changes in individuals' reading behaviour can be predicted over time. In addition, I can also address reading behaviour not only as something which is predicted, but also

assess its associations with other behaviours and outcomes: again, longitudinally. This chapter therefore demonstrates that reading for pleasure is not obviously in decline in Britain; I will subsequently assess what some of the implications of this might be.

Chapter 3

Investigating changes in young people's reading behaviour

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated that claims that young people's reading is declining, such as those in Knulst and Kraaykamp [1998] and Bauerlein [2007], may not be accurate in a British context: children's book sales and issues of children's books in libraries are not in decline, the fraction of readers in the youth module of Taking Part is relatively high, and other literature suggests that a long-term decline in young people's reading in Britain may be overstated. However, it is important to note in the context of these studies that even if young people's reading *is* in decline, this is not simply a cohort replacement effect: some young people decrease their reading over time, or stop reading entirely. Indeed, the results in table 2.6 show that older teenagers read less than younger teenagers. Having established in the previous chapter some predictors of young people's reading behaviour, such as

gender, age, and class, this chapter aims to identify what can predict when young people *change* their reading behaviour – what are the differences between young people whose reading behaviour changes, and young people whose reading behaviour doesn't change? I will address this from two perspectives: firstly, whether sociodemographic characteristics can predict changes in reading behaviour; secondly, whether changes in reading can be explained by competition from other activities.

This question is relevant to the literature on cultural capital and educational attainment (addressed in subsequent chapters): if reading behaviour is volatile in predictable ways, this raises questions about biased estimates. For example, if those people with parents in classes V–VII are more likely to stop reading between the ages of 14 and 16 than are people with parents in classes I and II, and the only measures of reading behaviour used are those at age 16, the differences in predicted educational attainment between people classified as readers and nonreaders are likely to be exaggerated, as those class V–VII respondents who stopped reading between 14 and 16 will be classified as nonreaders in spite of having read earlier.

However, this is not a chapter primarily about measurement error: it aims to investigate the differences between those whose reading behaviour changes over time, and those whose reading behaviour remains consistent, in order to probe *who* accounts for the apparent difference between younger and older children's reading. In order to do so, it will approach the question from two perspectives: firstly, investigating whether socioeconomic variables are associated with changes in reading behaviour; and secondly from a displacement effect perspective, investigating whether changes in other media use (and other leisure activity) are associated with changes in reading behaviour. In order to do so, I will use data from the Longi-

tudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE). In doing so, I will aim to identify whether any associations in changes in reading and other leisure activities can be explained by socioeconomic factors.

3.1.1 Socioeconomic dimensions

There is a large amount of evidence that suggests a relationship between changes in young people's reading behaviour and socioeconomic variables: specifically, that higher-SES young people are less likely to stop reading than are lower-SES young people. Much of the existing research on SES and changes in young people's reading behaviour is framed in the context that young people's motivation for reading, and consequent reading behaviour, declines as they get older [McKenna and Kear, 1990, Baker and Wigfield, 1999, Guthrie et al., 1999, Chapman and Tunmer, 2003, Logan and Johnston, 2009]. Chapter 2 showed that there is a nonlinear relationship between age and reading behaviour among young people: this literature suggests that is a consequence of lower-SES children being particularly likely to stop reading. While differences in reading motivation between higher- and lower-SES children are not insubstantial at younger ages [Gauvain et al., 2000, Hofferth and Sandberg, 2001, Storch and Whitehurst, 2001], these papers also suggest that these differences increase as children get older, particularly when reading is not directly supervised by parents. While this does not reveal a straightforward relationship on the individual level, this macro-level result suggests that lower-SES young people are more likely to stop reading than are higher-SES young people, as decreases in reading motivation among lower-SES groups are likely to entail decreases in reading frequency, given the relationship between reading motivation and reading

behaviour.

Situated in the context of a broader project on macro-level declines in reading in the Netherlands, van Schooten et al. [2004] investigate whether lower-SES young people are more likely to stop reading than are higher-SES young people, expecting reading to become an activity dominated by higher-SES young people as they get older. This should enable us to address the ambiguity in the previous papers about whether lower-SES individuals are more likely to stop reading, or if those results only reflect a macro-level trend. They studied a panel of students in the Netherlands over two years, finding a particularly sharp decline over time in the reading of boys, and the children of less-educated parents. While there are some issues with the generalizability of the results in this paper – for example, there is a disproportionate number of girls in the sample due to response rates, and all students were in schools from the top two tiers of the Dutch education system – these results indicate that SES is a reasonable predictor of changes in reading behaviour, as is gender, with boys stopping reading at a sharper rates than girls.

These results are called into question to an extent by the results in Lee et al. [2009]. This paper investigates the relationship between different forms of media use (including reading) and other social background variables, with the particular innovation of investigating media use at two different time points, five years apart. Using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) in the US, they found that while parental education was a strong predictor of reading behaviour at both time points across the panel generally, this only held for respondents who were younger than 14 by the end of the study. This indicates that SES might be a weak predictor of changes in reading behaviour for older children. Alternatively, this may be a reflection of differences between the Netherlands and the United States: Lee et

al's null finding in the US combined with van Schooten et al's finding of difference in the Netherlands demonstrates that the association between SES and changes in reading behaviour varies crossnationally. It is noteworthy, however, that both of these studies use parents' *education* as the key measure of SES, rather than occupational class or income.

There is clearly an ambiguity in the literature about whether differences in reading behaviour by SES increase as children get older, and particularly about the ages at which this might apply. In addition, these papers do not reveal which dimension of SES is most salient, with a consistent focus on parents' education. It also ambiguous about whether, if this is true, that lower-SES young people are more likely to stop reading than are higher-SES young people. However, there is clearly evidence that such differences might be the case, and it is worthwhile to investigate them in a British context. In addition, however, there is also a large literature on whether young people's changes in reading can be explained by their other behaviour, particularly their consumption of television. While there are associations in time with other leisure activities and dimensions of SES [Roberts and Foehr, 2003], it may be that participation in other activities can explain changes in reading behaviour over and above SES differences: If SES differences alone cannot explain changes in young people's reading behaviour, can differences in the other activities that young people participate in do so?

3.1.2 Behaviour and activities

Much of the discussion of the relationship between young people's other behaviour and reading behaviour stems from a large body of literature which investigates

reading and television consumption cross-sectionally, most of which finds negative relationships, with young people who spend more time watching television spending less time reading: for example, both Neuman [1988] and Potter [1987] find negative relationships. However, Mokhtari et al. [2009] conduct a similar study among college students in the US, finding no associations between reading behaviour and television consumption, suggesting that the negative curvilinear association in both Neuman and Potter might be confined to children and teenagers.

This approach to investigating reading is not limited to television consumption; indeed, Mokhtari et al.'s study investigates relationships between a number of different media, finding, for example, no relationship between reading and internet use. However, it may be that television has a stronger (negative) association with reading than other activities, with frequency of computer use not being significantly associated with reading frequency for children [Attewell et al., 2003], and being only inconsistently associated with reading frequency among adults [Kestnbaum et al., 2002]. Any relationships between activities other than television and reading should not be dismissed: Bickham et al. [2003] find a significant negative relationship between amount of time spent playing computer games and time spent reading.

In general, the trend in the literature is towards weak, unsystematic associations between reading behaviour and consumption of other media cross-sectionally. One possible inference is that as other media consumption increases, reading behaviour decreases, but cross-sectional data is insufficient to draw this conclusion. It is therefore important to look at the relationship between reading behaviour and consumption of other media longitudinally.

Longitudinal approaches to the relationship between reading behaviour and

other media consumption tend to take two forms. The first is functionally similar to that touched on in section 3.1.1: noting consumption of other media at the start of the study, and investigating the associations between that consumption and reading behaviour both at the start of the study and some later point. Lee et al. [2009] have already been mentioned for the investigation into the relationship between family background and reading behaviour; however, they also investigate the relationship between consumption of different media over time, showing whether those with higher levels of consumption of one medium are likely to decrease their consumption of others over time – for example, if young people who were always heavy television watchers are likely to stop reading as they get older. They find that, across the sample, those spending large amounts of time with TV, video games, and computers are likely to decrease their reading, but this only applies to those aged under 14 by the end of the study. So, while time spent with other media might predict changes in reading behaviour for younger children, this evidence suggests that there would be no such relationship for older teenagers.

The second longitudinal approach to the relationship between reading behaviour and other media consumption involves taking data on both reading and other media consumption at more than one time point, investigating whether changes in one activity are associated with changes in another. This can be most obviously understood in terms of displacement effects, such as where time spent reading is substituted for time spent watching TV instead. There is a large amount of research, such as Hendon and Hendon [1991] and Munasib and Bhattacharya [2010], into the relationship between television and reading in the context of displacement effects. Much of this focuses on the introduction of television into a community, constituting a natural experiment of sorts. In such cases, as televi-

sion viewing increases from a baseline of zero, there are three possible outcomes for reading behaviour – increase, decrease, or no change – with a displacement effects account assuming a decrease. In these cases, there are four key theories of displacement [Neuman, 1988] which can explain why an increase in television viewing might displace other activities, and the key one for the purposes of this chapter is the first, which addresses reading specifically: displacement of activities with functional similarity. On this account, if both reading and television are used for entertainment, and television is more entertaining than reading, time spent watching television will displace time spent reading; more generally, if television watching fulfils a similar need to that of other activities more effectively, those activities might be replaced by television consumption.

One example of a test of the displacement account is Koolstra and Van der Voort [1996], who investigate whether there's an association between the amount of time children spend reading books and the amount of time they spend watching television over two years. Their results seem to provide support for a substitution effect account, with decreases in reading accompanying increases in television consumption. However, they also suggest an alternative explanation, that watching large amounts of television can hinder the ability to concentrate on reading for long periods: heavy television watchers *can't* be heavy readers later on. However, the participants in this study are younger than those mentioned elsewhere, and this may explain why the results are more pronounced than others. The paper includes the explicit caveat that it can't be stated that television is the *only* factor that may reduce book reading, since book reading and television are the only two activities they investigate. This reinforces the idea that it is worthwhile to investigate other media consumption beyond television in assessing changes in reading

behaviour.

Kayany and Yelsma [2000] represent such an investigation to an extent: they investigate the relationship between online and offline media over time, although they don't investigate book reading itself. In this paper, they use a sample of (disproportionately highly educated and white) media-using households in the US in the late 1990s, investigating whether online media substitutes offline activity: specifically television, phone use, newspaper reading, and domestic conversation. They find no significant difference in television consumption by time spent with online media, but do find significant differences in the other three variables. This provides more support for the displacement hypothesis, and raises a query surrounding book reading: it's clear that there are displacement effects in media use generally, not merely television, and it is important to establish how this relates to book reading in particular.

This account suggests that displacement effects are driven entirely by substitution. However, this excludes the straightforward possibility that people might change their total amount of time spent with leisure activities: Lee and Leung [2008] frame this as the difference between medium-centric and user-centric approaches. Under a medium-centric approach, people use media for similar reasons and opt to use the media which best satisfy those reasons: for example, increasing TV consumption and reducing reading might better satisfy people's demands for entertainment given a certain time budget to be filled with leisure. However, a user-centric approach is more open to the possibility that increasing consumption of one medium might lead to increasing consumption of another. An obvious example of this is that fans of particular franchises in one medium are more likely to consume those franchises in another: for example, fans of Harry Potter books

are more likely to watch Harry Potter films [Burn, 2005], an effect described by Lin [2001] as "media supplementation". If this logic holds more generally, I expect that those people with a large amount of functionally similar media available to them would consume more on each medium. Their study focuses on use of the internet in particular, and they find that there is no significant relationship between internet use and book reading, addressing a question raised from Kayany and Yelsma [2000], and positive relationships between internet use and television consumption (among other variables), finding that increases in internet use are associated with increases in other media consumption more generally.

These studies vary in their samples used. Firstly, studies generally focus on either children or adults, with less research on teenagers: that research on teenagers that does take place tends to observe changes in reading behaviour over the transition into becoming a teenager, rather than over the course of being a teenager. Secondly, some of the studies choose a sampling frame that is not representative of the whole population – for example, van Schooten et al. [2004] studies the top two tiers of the Dutch educational system, and Kayany and Yelsma [2000] studies households using the internet in the late 1990s. The results from studies focusing on displacement effects are therefore still somewhat ambiguous in terms of their implications for the question here. Some studies indicate a displacement effect between television and reading, but this is not universally the case; the associations between changes in other media and reading for pleasure are less clear. For the study here, it is unclear whether it makes sense to expect supplementation effects between other leisure activities – not confined to home media – and reading for pleasure, substitution effects, or no associations.

3.1.3 Interactions

As portrayed in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, I have put forward two possible explanations for changes in reading for pleasure. Firstly, being lower-SES can be thought of as a "risk factor" for stopping reading. Secondly, other activities can both be thought of as risk factors (heavy TV watchers are likely to stop reading), and competitors for attention (as people's TV consumption increases, their reading behaviour decreases). However, it is misleading to draw too sharp a distinction between the two explanations, given the relationships between other leisure activities and socioeconomic variables: if a displacement effect *is* taking place, that does not imply that displacement is occurring to a similar extent across the whole population. Under a functional displacement account, one activity is replaced by another if both activities have similar functions, and one fulfils that function better than another. It is plausible that the relative utility of activities varies across SES groups, with lower-SES groups being more likely to have their reading displaced by other activities – for example, lower-SES groups might be more likely to use media for relaxation rather than stimulation, and might find TV to fulfil that role better. Such a situation is described by Knulst [1991]. This paper studies time diaries in the Netherlands between 1975 and 1985, across which period reading decreased and television consumption increased across the population. While this time diary data doesn't come from a panel, Knulst compares different subgroups within each wave of data, investigating whether changes in time spent reading and watching television are particularly pronounced in particular groups: specifically younger people and lower-SES people. The logic is that younger people, who are socialized in an environment in which television is pervasive, are more likely than

older people to spend their time watching television rather than reading books – such an explanation represents a cohort replacement effect, rather than changes on the individual level. However, they also find that changes are more pronounced among lower-SES people than higher-SES people, leading them to conclude that "books and newspapers are presently read more exclusively than before by a public from the higher social strata." [70]

Knulst's results indicate that the differences set out in section 3.1.1 could be driven at least partly by displacement effects: the distinction is somewhat misleading. The question here, however, is not what predicts reading behaviour, but changes in reading behaviour, which is why it is important to ask both which conditions at t_1 (including participation in other activities) are associated with changes in reading behaviour between t_1 and t_2, and ask whether changes in other behaviour between t_1 and t_2 are associated with changes in reading behaviour between t_1 and t_2. Existing studies tend to focus on only one of these questions; however, it may be that one set of variables is masking another. In each case, it is important to identify whether any apparent displacement effects (such as those found in Potter [1987] and Neuman [1988]) can be explained by socioeconomic factors: whether socioeconomic factors are sufficient predict both changes in reading behaviour and in other activities, or whether whether time spent with other activities remains a significant predictor.

3.2 Expectations and hypotheses

The aim, then, is to assess the way in which changes in reading behaviour can be predicted by both SES and by other activities: in order to do so, it is appropriate

to adopt a three-stage strategy.

The first stage is to investigate how the relationship between reading and socioeconomic variables, and between reading and other activities, vary as young people get older. This can identify whether the increasing gulf in reading by SES as young people get older as described by Bimmel and van Schooten [2004] holds in Britain; it can also show whether the associations between other activities and reading behaviour vary over time. This can help us to address whether the associations between reading for pleasure and other variables change over time: if differences in reading behaviour between high- and low-SES young people increase over time, then the strength of the association between reading and SES should vary over time. This approach is similar to the approach taken in van Schooten et al. [2004].

The second stage is to establish whether conditions at t_1 are associated with changes in reading behaviour over time: that is, what's associated with individuals both increasing and decreasing their reading, and starting and stopping entirely. While the first stage of the analysis shows how the strength of the association between conditions at t_1 and reading behaviour varies over time, the second stage shows what conditions are particularly associated with changes in reading behaviour: for example, whether people who watch a lot of television at t_1 are likely to decrease their time spent reading by t_2. This is similar to the approach taken in Lee et al. [2009].

The third stage is to investigate whether changes in initial conditions are associated with changes in reading behaviour – for example, whether people who *increase* their television consumption are more likely to decrease their reading behaviour. In this way, I investigate the different hypotheses from displacement effect ac-

counts: whether some activities displace reading, and other activities supplement it. I can also investigate whether changes in young people's domestic situations – such as their parents separating – are associated with changes in reading. This approach differs from the previous one in that it investigates the associations between *changes* in other factors and changes in reading behaviour, rather than treating other factors as initial risk factors, and is similar to the approach taken in Kayany and Yelsma [2000].

In terms of the first stage, about whether conditions (both SES and other activities) at t_1 are associated with reading behaviour at t_1 and at subsequent waves, I expect similar findings to those from van Schooten et al. [2004], that the relationship between SES and reading for pleasure is likely to change over time, with the difference between higher- and lower-SES individuals in their reading behaviour increasing as young people get older. In addition, the results from Lee and Leung [2008] suggest that the relationship between television and reading is fairly consistent among teenagers. Suspecting that these two findings will hold here, and that the relationship between television and reading from Lee et al. will also hold for other activities and reading, I form the following hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1: The association between SES and reading behaviour will vary over time, with lower-SES young people becoming less likely to read as they get older
- Hypothesis 2: The association between other activities and reading behaviour will not vary over time, net of SES

Expectations for the second stage of the question are similar to those for the first. This stage, however, does not assess what predicts reading for pleasure over

time, but predicts changes in reading behaviour. If the first hypotheses are correct, with macro-level changes in reading behaviour over time associated with SES, and not with participation in other activities at t_1, I predict that a similar effect will emerge at the micro-level, and form the following hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 3: Lower-SES individuals will be more likely to decrease reading over time than higher-SES individuals
- Hypothesis 4: Behaviour at t_1 will not be associated with changes in reading, net of SES

Finally, the third stage of the question focuses on the relationship between changes in both home environment and other activities and changes in reading behaviour. This both addresses displacement effects, and also external shocks on SES, such as family dissolution. "Other activities" are not limited to other media consumption inside the home: I will also focus on activities outside the home, both directed activities such as playing sport or musical instruments, and undirected activities such as hanging out in town and going to the pub[1]. I expect that the displacement hypothesis will largely hold for *changes* in reading behaviour for media at home: while I suspect that initial television viewing, for example, will not be associated with changes in reading behaviour, I do suspect that those people who increase their television consumption between t_1 and t_2 are likely to decrease their reading behaviour, following a substitution effect account. I also expect that those people who participate in more undirected activities outside the home are likely to change their reading behaviour, with going to the pub more often accompanying a decrease in reading. However, I expect that increases

[1] A broader justification for this distinction is in chapter 5.

participation in directed activities outside of the home would not accompany a decrease in reading, with directed activities as likely to represent a supplementation effect as a displacement effect. My final three hypotheses are therefore:

- Hypothesis 5: Increases in media use will be associated with decreases in reading, and vice versa
- Hypothesis 6: Increases in participation in undirected activities will be associated with decreases in reading, and vice versa
- Hypothesis 7: Changes in participation in directed activities will not be associated with changes in reading behaviour

Thus, hypotheses 5 & 6 both roughly correspond to displacement effects, with participation in media consumption and undirected activities displacing reading. However, I expect that participation in directed activities will not be associated with changes in reading behaviour, in either direction: neither a displacement effect nor a supplementation effect.

3.3 Data and methods

I use data from the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE) [Department for Children, Schools & Families and National Centre for Social Research, 2011]. This is a longitudinal study of a total of about 21 000 young people, commissioned by the (then) Department for Education and Skills, with the first wave of data having been collected between March and October 2004. At the time of writing, seven waves of the study have been collected, with data collection

having taken place at yearly intervals. In the first wave, participants were in year 9 of school, so were aged 13/14. The study includes an ethnic minority boost sample; all results in this chapter follow the weighting guidelines in Piesse and Kalton [2009]. At the first four waves, two interviews took place: both the young person and their parents (if accessible).

While cultural consumption and participation form a relatively small part of LSYPE's focus[2] there is still a large number of variables available in the data that allows me to address all of the questions set out here. Firstly, participants are asked: "How often do you read books, magazines or newspapers for pleasure?" at waves 1, 2, and 4 of the study (years 9, 10, and 12), with the possible responses "Most days", "More than once a week", "Once a week", "Less than once a week", "Hardly ever", and "Never". This gives us a relatively clear measure of participants' reading behaviour: while "Most days" and "Hardly ever" are more ambiguous terms, responses to this question represent a clear ordinal scale, and can be used for the purposes of this chapter to establish participants' reading frequency. In addition, while the categories vary I can draw the same distinctions as in chapter 2: between readership and non-readership, and between members of the "reading class" (people who read more frequently than once a week) and non-members.

In predicting changes in participants' reading behaviour, I have drawn a distinction between young people's SES, and their other activities, in order to assess

[2] "The main objectives of the LSYPE are: to gather evidence about the transitions young people make from secondary and tertiary education or training to economic roles in early adulthood; to enhance the ability to monitor and evaluate the effects of existing policy and provide a strong information base for future policy development; to contextualise the implementation of new policies in terms of young people's current lives." [National Centre for Social Research, 2010, 6]

whether any relationship between reading and other activities are net of SES. I investigate four socioeconomic characteristics: parents' education, parents' class (in the absence of detailed information from which status scores can be derived), household type, and ethnicity. These variables are based on responses to the parental questionnaire at the first wave of the study, when young people are 13/14. For parents' education, I take the educational attainment of the more educated parent, distinguishing between those with no qualifications, with GCSEs or other KS4 qualifications, with A-levels or other KS5 qualifications, with technical and professional qualifications, and with university degrees; for parents' class, I take the occupation of the main household earner on a 7-point NS-SEC scale; for household type, I distinguish between households where there are at least two adult parents in the household (including stepparents) and households with single parents; and for ethnicity, I distinguish between reported white backgrounds, and all other ethnic groups.

I distinguish four types of other activities. I use two measures of media consumption at home, due to measures available in the dataset: watching television and playing computer games. Both of these are asked about at the first two waves of the study, but not the fourth (the other wave with data on reading). For television, respondents are asked "On a normal school day, that is a day when you've been to school, about how many hours would you usually spend watching TV when you get home?", with the possible responses "None or less than an hour", "1–3 hours", "4–6 hours", "7 or more hours", and "No TV in household". I combine the categories of people watching less than an hour of television and those people with no TV in the household, with only 0.2% of respondents in the latter category, and change the variable into a continuous one, taking each value at its midpoint:

this is so it can be used as a continuous variable for fixed effects estimation.

For playing computer games, respondents are asked two questions. Firstly, "How many days a week do you use a computer at home for playing computer games?"[3] , with possible responses "None", "1–2 days", "3–4 days", and "Most days (5 or more)". Those people who don't respond "None" are then asked "On days when you play computer games at home about how many hours on average do you usually play for?" I then combine responses to these questions to generate hours spent playing video games per week.

The remaining two categories of other activities are leisure participation outside of the home. At waves 1, 2, and 4 – so when participants are in years 9, 10, and 12 – participants are presented with a list of activities and asked which of them they have participated in during the previous four weeks. At the third wave, the list of activities is shorter. I distinguish these into directed and undirected activities as shown in table 3.1, and sum the number of activities in each category to form scales: so the maximum numbers of directed and undirected activities at the first two waves are seven and five (respectively), and at the fourth are four and four (respectively).

As stated previously, the analysis proceeds in three stages. At the first stage, I dichotomise between those participants who read more than once a week, and those respondents who read less frequently than that. I dichotomise at that point due to the results and discussion in the previous chapter suggesting that reading more than once a week corresponds to membership of Griswold's distinctive "reading class" [Griswold et al., 2005], which here is the category of interest. This involves

[3]While this implies exclusively PC games, the interviewers' questionnaire makes it clear that "Playstations, X-Boxes etc" are also to be included.

Table 3.1: Classification of directed and undirected activities at waves 1, 2 & 4 of LSYPE (those at all three in italics)

Directed	Undirected
Took part in any sport	*Played snooker/darts/pool*
Went to see any sports event	*Went to an amusement arcade*
Went to the cinema/theatre/concert	*Went to a party/club*
Played an instrument	*Went to the pub*
Went to a political meeting/march/etc	Hung around near home
Did community work	Hung around in town
Went to a youth club or similar	

pooling all three waves of data at which reading is measured to model all three waves simultaneously, limited to those participants who responded at all three waves (in order that any associations are not exaggerated due to attrition), running random effects models given repeated observations on cases. In addition to the predictor variables already described, I also introduce dummies for the waves at which the data has been taken, interacted with all predictor variables, in order to establish whether any changes in associations between any variables and reading behaviour are significant. Any significant coefficients behind interaction terms would suggest changes in the magnitudes of associations as teenagers get older.

At the second stage, I run multinomial logistic regressions to predict changes in reading behaviour between waves 1 and 4 in order to address, for example, whether lower-SES respondents are more likely to decrease their reading. While in the first stage I assess whether individuals read more than once a week, at this stage I measure whether respondents increase their reading, decrease their reading, or don't change their reading, based on whether their response at wave 4 is at least two categories different from their response at wave 1, so a respondent who has moved from "More than once a week" to "Most days" is classified as "No change", while a respondent who has moved from "Once a week" to "Most days" is classified

as "Increase".

At the third stage, I use fixed effects logistic regressions to establish whether changes in other conditions – both participation in activities and household situation – are associated with changes in reading behaviour. As at the first stage, I use reading more than once a week as the baseline, and establish whether changes in reading behaviour are associated with changes in amount of time spent watching television, playing computer games, and so on, as well as whether it's associated with change in home situation. As we only have data on media use for the first two waves, these models investigate changes in reading behaviour over that period. At all three stages of analysis, I run separate models for boys and for girls, given the discrepancies between boys' and girls' reading shown in chapter 2.

3.4 Results

3.4.1 Descriptive statistics

The descriptive statistics for the variables used are shown in tables 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5. Table 3.2 presents socioeconomic variables across three waves, while table 3.3 shows participation in leisure activities (including reading) across the three waves: this provides context for the first and second part of the analysis, at which I assess whether the associations between both socioeconomic variables and participation in other leisure activities and reading change across waves, and whether initial background variables (that is, the data from wave 1 of table 3.2) and other behaviour (that is, the data from wave 1 of table 3.3) can predict changes in reading. In addition, the changes in some of the variables in tables 3.2 and 3.3

can be used at the third stage of analysis, to establish whether changes in these variables are also associated with changes in reading. Finally, table 3.4 shows the changes in reading behaviour between the waves 1 and 4, the dependent variable for the second stage of analysis, and table 3.5 shows changes in reading behaviour between waves 1 and 2 of the study, in order to address the third stage of analysis. All tables are limited to the 68% of cases responding at all three relevant waves of data.

Table 3.2: Descriptive statistics: background variables at wave 1 (LSYPE, weighted)

Variable	**Wave 1 Mean**	**Wave 2 Mean**	**Wave 4 Mean**	**Total N**
Single parent household	0.25	0.24	0.31	11 323
Parents' education				
Degree or greater	0.17	0.18	0.18	11 157
Tech/prof quals	0.15	0.16	0.16	11 157
A-levels or equivalent	0.17	0.17	0.17	11 157
GCSEs or equivalent	0.25	0.24	0.24	11 157
No quals	0.26	0.25	0.25	11 157
Parents' class at 10				
I	0.15	0.15	0.13	10 924
II	0.29	0.32	0.32	10 924
III	0.11	0.10	0.09	10 924
IV	0.10	0.07	0.10	10 924
V	0.10	0.11	0.08	10 924
VI	0.13	0.14	0.10	10 924
VII	0.08	0.08	0.05	10 924
LT unemployed	0.04	0.04	0.14	10 924
White	0.87	0.88	0.87	11 429

The statistics in table 3.2 show that parental education is roughly evenly distributed; the two largest groups are those with GCSEs or other KS4 qualifications, and those with no qualifications, with about a quarter of the sample at each stage in each of these groups across the three waves. The three other groups – those with

parents with KS5 qualifications and academic and non-academic higher education qualifications, respectively, are also similarly sized, each containing about a sixth of the sample at each of the three waves. There is some fluctuation in the class composition of the sample, with the fraction classified as long-term unemployed substantially increasing between waves 2 and 4, but across the sample about 45% are employed in salariat occupations and 20% are employed in intermediate occupations. About 87% of the sample is white, and about 25% of the sample are in single parent households, although this slightly increases (to 31%) by the third wave. There is also a slight increase of the number of young people in single parent households between the first and fourth waves, rising from 25% to 31% of the sample.

Table 3.3: Descriptive statistics: activities (LSYPE)

Variable	**Wave 1 Mean**	**Wave 2 Mean**	**Wave 4 Mean**	**Total N**
Reading frequency				
Most days	0.35	0.33	0.36	11 237
More than once pw	0.23	0.21	0.20	11 237
Once a week	0.17	0.18	0.15	11 237
Less than once pw	0.09	0.10	0.11	11 237
Hardly ever	0.11	0.11	0.12	11 237
Never	0.06	0.08	0.06	11 237
Undirected (limited)	1.04	1.15	1.86	11 249
Directed (limited)	1.31	1.24	1.33	11 249
Undirected (all)	1.89	2.02		11 325
Directed (all)	1.57	1.50		11 325
Hours with games (pw)	4.47	4.23		11 221
Hours with TV (daily)	2.35	2.21		11 299

Table 3.3 shows that reading behaviour seems to be relatively stable across the sample across the three waves, with the number of participants reading more than once a week falling from 58% to 54% between waves 1 and 2, and then increasing

to 56% by wave 4. By contrast, the number of participants reading hardly ever or never increases from 17% at wave 1 to 19% at wave 2, and falls back to 17% at wave 4. These results suggest that the respondents to the survey do not read less as they get older, at the macro-level.

The statistics in table 3.3 also show a slight *decrease* in respondents' home media use: the mean hours playing games per week decreases by 0.24 hours between waves 1 and 2, and the mean hours watching television per day decreases by 0.14. Between the first two waves, on both measures, the mean number of directed activities in which respondents participate slightly decreases, and the mean number of undirected activities slightly increases: of all activities asked about at the first two waves, the mean number of directed activities falls by 0.07, and the mean number of undirected activities increases by 0.13; of the activities asked about at all three, the mean directed falls by 0.09 and the man undirected increase by 0.11. However, while the mean number of undirected activities continues to increase to the fourth wave (by an additional 0.2), the mean number of directed activities actually increases beyond its baseline at the first wave – albeit marginally, at 0.02 more than at the first wave and 0.09 more than at the second.

Table 3.4: Descriptive statistics: changes in reading behaviour between waves 1 and 4 (LSYPE)

Value	**Mean**	**Total N**
Increase reading	0.12	11 009
No change	0.72	11 009
Decrease reading	0.16	11 009

The terms "increase" and "decrease" in table 3.4 correspond to the definitions in section 3.3. The data show that slightly fewer respondents increase their reading than decrease their reading between the first and fourth waves of the study: 72% of

respondents report stability in their reading, while 12% increase and 15% decrease. The numbers of people changing their reading behaviour are much larger than the absolute changes in reading shown in table 3.3.

Table 3.5: Descriptive statistics: changes in reading behaviour between waves 1 and 2 (LSYPE)

Value	**Mean**	**Total N**
Cross threshold positively	0.13	11 009
No change	0.70	11 009
Cross threshold negatively	0.17	11 009

In table 3.5, the threshold mentioned is between reading more than once a week, and reading less often than that: this is because the fixed effects model that will be used has to draw a boundary, and, as before, reading more than once a week is considered to correspond to membership of the "reading class" discussed at length in chapter 2. These results are similar to the results in table 3.4: a similar fraction of respondents does not change their reading behaviour between waves 1 and 2 of the study (70%), 13% of respondents increase their reading, and 17% of respondents decrease their reading.

3.4.2 Predicting reading behaviour at three waves

Tables 3.6 and 3.7 shows the results for logistic regression models predicting reading across different waves of LSYPE: table 3.6 contains only the variables available at all three waves of the study that include a question on reading, while table 3.7 also contains the additional variables on leisure from the first two waves of the study, and is therefore confined to those two waves. The sample is limited to those people who responded to the question about reading at all three waves. The models are based on the equation in the captions for the tables, where i refers to

individuals within waves, j refers to waves, β_{0j} refers to intercepts for each wave, β_{1j} and β_{2j} refer to vectors of coefficients across waves, $x_{(SES)ij}$ refers to a vector of SES variables, $x_{(leisure)ij}$ refers to a vector of leisure variables, U_i refers to the individual-specific random effect, and W_{ij} is the individual-specific error. The tables are in three parts: the first parts show the overall results for the models, predicting reading across all three waves; it can therefore be thought of as similar to table 2.6, which predicted reading behaviour in the youth modules of Taking Part. The second part shows the magnitude of the differences between waves; and the third part shows significant interactions between waves and other variables (nonsignificant interactions are omitted). In this way, the first part of the table shows the overall magnitude of associations between variables across the three waves; the second part of the table shows the extent to which reading behaviour varies over time; and the third part of the table shows whether any associations between variables and reading for pleasure vary over time – for example, whether SES differences in reading increase as respondents get older.

The results in tables 3.6 and 3.7 are illuminating for a number of reasons. Addressing the relationship between SES and reading behaviour first, while these results show that both parents' education and parents' class is significant in predicting reading more than once per week, though the results are less striking than those in table 2.6. For both boys and girls, there is a significant difference between respondents with degree-educated parents and respondents with parents with no qualifications; boys with parents with professional qualifications are also significantly more likely to read more than once a week than those with parents with no qualifications. In addition, boys and girls with parents from classes I and II are more likely to read more than once a week than those from class VII, with

Table 3.6: Random effects logistic regression: Reading more than once a week (LSYPE waves 1–4)

	Boys		**Girls**	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Single parent household	-0.121	(0.103)	-0.137	(0.102)
Parents' education[b]				
Degree or greater	0.839**	(0.163)	0.592**	(0.168)
Tech/prof	0.412**	(0.152)	0.155	(0.155)
A-levels or other KS5	0.341*	(0.140)	-0.059	(0.142)
GCSEs or other KS4	0.109	(0.122)	0.062	(0.124)
Parents' class[c]				
I	0.750**	(0.204)	0.481*	(0.204)
II	0.549**	(0.179)	0.364*	(0.176)
III	0.359†	(0.194)	0.135	(0.191)
IV	0.376†	(0.195)	0.217	(0.197)
V	0.066	(0.195)	0.074	(0.192)
VI	0.323†	(0.180)	0.097	(0.178)
Never worked/LT unemployed	0.745**	(0.243)	0.378	(0.244)
White	-0.207	(0.129)	-0.305*	(0.133)
Directed activities	0.340**	(0.048)	0.371**	(0.048)
Undirected activities	-0.016	(0.033)	-0.080*	(0.040)
Wave 2	-0.063	(0.246)	-0.044	(0.234)
Wave 4	-0.094	(0.277)	-0.110	(0.264)
Interactions				
Education: KS4, wave 4	0.341*	(0.150)	-	-
Education: tech/prof, wave 4	-	-	-0.575**	(0.188)
Class: I, wave 4	-0.688*	(0.291)	-0.632*	(0.286)
Class: II, wave 4	-0.562*	(0.259)	-	-
Class: LT unemployed, wave 2	-1.087**	(0.311)	-	-
Class: LT unemployed, wave 4	-0.998**	(0.313)	-	-
Activities: directed, wave 4	-0.140*	(0.065)	-	
Activities: undirected, wave 4	0.105*	(0.042)		-
Intercept	-0.762**	(0.199)	1.051**	(0.055)
N	16204		15850	
ρ	0.474		0.465	
Log-likelihood	-10340.829		-9731.153	
$\chi^2_{(47)}$	455.101		356.333	

[a]Coefficients in this table are based on the equation $logit(read > 1pw_{ij}) = \mu + \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}x_{(SES)ij} + \beta_{2j}x_{(leisure)ij} + U_i + W_{ij}$

[b]Reference category: no qualifications

[c]Reference category: VII

Table 3.7: Random effects logistic regression: Reading more than once a week (LSYPE waves 1–2)

	Boys		Girls	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Single parent household	-0.100	(0.115)	-0.132	(0.112)
Parents' education[b]				
Degree or greater	0.861**	(0.179)	0.609**	(0.181)
Tech/prof	0.416*	(0.167)	0.135	(0.166)
A-levels or other KS5	0.365*	(0.154)	-0.051	(0.152)
GCSEs or other KS4	0.105	(0.134)	0.070	(0.133)
Parents' class[c]				
I	0.968**	(0.229)	0.532*	(0.223)
II	0.681**	(0.202)	0.377†	(0.193)
III	0.496*	(0.219)	0.181	(0.210)
IV	0.548*	(0.218)	0.249	(0.215)
V	0.132	(0.219)	0.111	(0.211)
VI	0.484*	(0.204)	0.035	(0.196)
Never worked/LT unemployed	0.867**	(0.278)	0.374	(0.268)
White	-0.221	(0.142)	-0.293*	(0.142)
Directed activities	0.387**	(0.044)	0.394**	(0.043)
Undirected activities	-0.047†	(0.029)	-0.168**	(0.032)
Hours with TV (per day)	-0.023	(0.029)	0.009	(0.029)
Hours with video games (per week)	0.009	(0.006)	0.011	(0.010)
Wave 2	-0.067	(0.286)	-0.094	(0.269)
Interactions				
Education: tech/prof, wave 2	-	-	-0.584**	(0.195)
Class: LT unemployed, wave 2	-1.298**	(0.335)	-	-
Activities: directed, wave 2	-0.119*	(0.058)	-	-
Activities: TV, wave 2	0.102**	(0.039)	-	-
Activities: games, wave 2	-0.019*	(0.008)	-	-
Intercept	-0.985**	(0.238)	0.505*	(0.225)
N	10681		10479	
ρ	0.541		0.513	
Log-likelihood	-6901.912		-6505.203	
$\chi^2_{(35)}$	366.659		345.456	

[a]Coefficients in this table are based on the equation $logit(read > 1pw_{ij}) = \mu + \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}x_{(SES)ij} + \beta_{2j}x_{(leisure)ij} + U_i + W_{ij}$

[b]Reference category: no qualifications

[c]Reference category: VII

some additional class differences for boys in table 3.7. There is also a slight negative association between being white and reading more than once a week for girls, although not for boys; however, there are no differences between respondents from single parent households and those from two parent households. While only the result surrounding ethnicity for girls contradicts the results in table 2.6, the differences shown here are less pronounced than in that table.

On both scales of directed and undirected activities (that is, the larger sets of activities available at the first two waves, and the smaller sets at all three) there are strong positive associations between directed activities and reading more than a week for both boys and girls, while there are negative associations between undirected activities and reading for girls only. By contrast, there are no clear associations between media use (time spent with television and video games) and reading for either boys and girls; this result is confined to the first two waves of data due to those questions' absence at the fourth. The relationship between media use and reading behaviour is inconsistent with a cross-sectional displacement account of the sort found in Bickham et al. [2003].

However, in order to extend the analysis beyond reinforcing the results from chapter 2 with a different dataset, the key element of these models is to investigate whether these associations vary over time. First, the baseline of reading more than once a week does not vary across waves: in table 3.6, the dummies for each of wave 2 and wave 4 (relative to wave 1) are not significant, and in table 3.7 the dummy for wave 2 is also not significant.This is consistent with the findings from chapter 2 that any differences in young people's reading behaviour *over 13* are marginal if anything.

In terms of interactions, however, I expected that the differences in associations

between people with different levels of SES and reading behaviour would increase over time. This is not the case: instead, where there are changes in the relationships between waves this reflects differences in SES largely getting *smaller* over the period. In particular, the large differences between members of classes I and VII between at wave 1 in table 3.6 diminishes significantly by wave 4; this is also true for the difference between classes II and VII for boys.

Where there are other differences, these primarily seem to be to do with where estimates at wave 1 had been unusually high, such as the unusually large coefficient behind having a long-term unemployed parent for boys in table 3.6.

In addition, while the strengths of associations between some activities at wave 1 and reading vary over time, this only holds for boys: for girls, the strengths of associations don't vary significantly between waves. For girls, the strengths of associations vary for all four types of activities in the models. In table 3.7, the interaction for directed activities at wave 2 is negative, suggesting that the overall differences in reading between participants and nonparticipants in directed activities diminishes; there is a similar situation in table 3.6 at wave 4. In addition, the coefficient behind undirected activities at wave 4 in table 3.6 is positive – while there are no significant associations at waves 1 and 2, there is a positive relationship at wave 4. In addition to this, in table 3.6 there is a positive coefficient behind time spent with television at wave 4, and a negative coefficient behind time spent with games at wave 4, with coefficients in different directions from their (nonsignificantly different from zero) bases at wave 1.

These results can be shown more clearly in tables 3.8–3.9. In these tables, I compare the predicted probabilities of reading more than once a week by gender and wave, with the random part of the model held at zero. In table 3.8, I compare

Table 3.8: Predicted probability based on table 3.6 of reading more than once a week by SES, activities, and study wave: other values held at median, random part held at zero (LSYPE)

	Boys		Girls	
Profile at 16	Year 9	Year 12	Year 9	Year 12
High SES, 3 directed	0.800	0.723	0.911	0.830
High SES, no activities	0.574	0.544	0.771	0.652
Low SES, no activities	0.486	0.460	0.559	0.602
Low SES, 3 undirected	0.401	0.408	0.480	0.525

four different profiles: someone from class I with a university-educated parent who participates in three directed activities; someone from class I with a university-educated parent who didn't participate in any activities; someone from class VII with a parent with no qualifications who didn't participate in any activities; and someone from class VII with a parent with no qualifications who participated in three undirected activities. In table 3.9 I present three more profiles: of someone from class I with a university-educated parent, who doesn't participate in any other activities: I vary their time with media, so the first profile is someone who spends no time with either television or games; the second is someone who spends 5.5 hours per week playing games but no time watching television, and the third is someone who spends five hours a day watching television but no time playing games. All other values are held at zero, so the profiles are of white respondents from two-parent homes who didn't watch television or play games when they were 13/14.

These results show clearly the relationship between reading behaviour and SES and activities. Table 3.8 shows that higher-SES boys participating in three directed activities are twice as likely to read more than once a week than lower-SES boys participating in three undirected activities. The difference for girls is also substantial, at 0.431. The relevance of directed activities is also clear, with a difference

Table 3.9: Predicted probability based on table 3.7 of reading more than once a week by media use: other values held as specified above (LSYPE)

	Boys		Girls	
Profile at 16	Year 9	Year 12	Year 9	Year 12
No TV or games	0.731	0.715	0.852	0.771
Games, no TV	0.741	0.729	0.860	0.767
TV, no games	0.701	0.702	0.854	0.802

in predicted probability of reading of 0.226 between boys participating in three directed activities and none, and a corresponding difference of 0.140 for girls.

These results show the strengths of the interactions between SES and waves for boys in particular. While the difference in reading between high- and low-SES boys who don't participate in any activities decreases slightly, the difference between predicted reading between boys who participate in three directed activities and those who participate in none decreases to a larger extent (with the absolute difference smaller by 5%), and a similar corresponding difference for undirected activities (of 3%). For girls, by contrast, the differences in the probabilities between the two waves are fairly consistent; while there is a slight overall dropoff between the waves, and the difference between the high- and low-SES respondents decreases, the differences between those respondents who do and don't participate in activities remain constant at the two waves.

Table 3.9 reinforce the lack of relationship between reading more than once a week and media use for girls, and a lack of any significant interactions; for boys, while the predicted probabilities of reading decrease slightly for the first two profiles, this does not hold for the third profile, reflecting the positive coefficient behind time spent with television at wave 2. However, with decreases of 2% at most in the first two profiles not reflected in the third profile, this coefficient is

clearly not huge.

3.4.3 Predicting changes in reading from variables at wave 1

Tables 3.10 and 3.11 show the results of multinomial logistic regressions predicting changes in individual reading behaviour between waves 1 and 4 of the study, when participants are 13/14 and 16/17 respectively: they show whether different variables predict whether individuals' reading behaviour will increase, decrease, or stay the same across this period. Table 3.10 shows the results for boys, and table 3.11 shows the results for girls. The three possible outcomes are increasing reading, decreasing, and staying the same, with the definitions of these terms explained in section 3.3; as shown in table 3.4, 12% of respondents increase their reading, 72% don't change, and 16% decrease their reading. The regressions are based on the equation in the caption of the table, where the βs correspond to vectors of coefficients, xs correspond to vectors of variables, αs correspond to intercepts, and ϵs correspond to error terms.

These results add to an understanding of changes in reading behaviour. In section 3.4.2, I showed that while SES was a strong predictor of reading more than once a week at waves 1, 2, and 4 of LSYPE, the strengths of these associations either stayed constant or diminished: contrary to hypothesis 1, the strength of the associations between reading parents' education, household type, parents' class, and ethnicity did not increase across waves. However, these results show us that there are significant SES differences in the probabilities of individuals changing their reading behaviour, with some gender differences as well. While household

Table 3.10: Multinomial logistic regression: Change in reading behaviour (base outcome: no change) (LSYPE boys)

	Decrease vs no change		**Increase vs no change**	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Single parent household	-0.112	(0.100)	-0.146	(0.107)
Parents' education[b]				
Degree or greater	-0.461**	(0.147)	-0.408*	(0.163)
Tech/prof	-0.424**	(0.140)	-0.347*	(0.150)
A-levels or other KS5	-0.212†	(0.127)	-0.222	(0.136)
GCSEs or other KS4	-0.235*	(0.115)	-0.201†	(0.121)
Parents' class[c]				
I	-0.154	(0.168)	-0.308†	(0.184)
II	0.016	(0.143)	-0.181	(0.153)
III	0.227	(0.172)	0.013	(0.190)
IV	-0.084	(0.156)	0.016	(0.161)
V	0.217	(0.153)	0.044	(0.164)
VI	-0.349*	(0.160)	-0.049	(0.157)
Never worked/LT unemployed	0.441*	(0.216)	-0.098	(0.260)
White	0.035	(0.124)	0.056	(0.138)
Hours with games (per week)	0.023	(0.023)	-0.019	(0.025)
Hours with TV (per day)	0.036	(0.025)	0.053†	(0.027)
Directed activities	-0.100**	(0.038)	-0.306**	(0.044)
Undirected activities	-0.013	(0.025)	0.089**	(0.027)
Intercept	-0.921**	(0.191)	-0.928**	(0.204)

N	4946
Log-likelihood	-4283.361
$\chi^2_{(34)}$	157.645

[a] Coefficients in this table are based on the equation

$$ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Increased-reading)}{\Pr(Y_i=Stayed-same)} = \beta_1 x_{(SES)i} + \beta_2 x_{(leisure)i} + \alpha_1 + \epsilon_1$$

$$ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Decreased-reading)}{\Pr(Y_i=Stayed-same)} = \beta_3 x_{(SES)i} + \beta_4 x_{(leisure)i} + \alpha_2 + \epsilon_2$$

[b] Reference category: no qualifications

[c] Reference category: VII

Table 3.11: Multinomial logistic regression: Change in reading behaviour (base outcome: no change) (LSYPE girls)

	Decrease vs no change		**Increase vs no change**	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Single parent household	-0.046	(0.101)	-0.015	(0.109)
Parents' education[b]				
Degree or greater	-0.309*	(0.158)	-0.312†	(0.176)
Tech/prof	-0.100	(0.144)	-0.306†	(0.160)
A-levels or other KS5	-0.271†	(0.139)	0.025	(0.156)
GCSEs or other KS4	-0.008	(0.120)	-0.090	(0.141)
Parents' class[c]				
I	-0.164	(0.175)	-0.613**	(0.189)
II	0.018	(0.149)	-0.463**	(0.154)
III	-0.052	(0.193)	-0.186	(0.194)
IV	-0.097	(0.168)	-0.357*	(0.169)
V	-0.039	(0.164)	-0.520**	(0.171)
VI	0.091	(0.161)	-0.172	(0.160)
Never worked/LT unemployed	0.215	(0.235)	-0.007	(0.233)
White	0.060	(0.131)	0.265†	(0.149)
Hours with games (per week)	0.037	(0.028)	-0.058†	(0.032)
Hours with TV (per day)	0.049	(0.027)	-0.057†	(0.030)
Directed activities	-0.045	(0.038)	-0.369**	(0.045)
Undirected activities	-0.032	(0.030)	0.028	(0.033)
Intercept	-1.352**	(0.195)	-0.683**	(0.201)

N	4861
Log-likelihood	-3902.983
$\chi^2_{(34)}$	174.923

[a] The coefficients in this table are based on the equation

$$ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Increased-reading)}{\Pr(Y_i=Stayed-same)} = \beta_1 x_{(SES)i} + \beta_2 x_{(leisure)i} + \alpha_1 + \epsilon_1$$

$$ln\frac{\Pr(Y_i=Decreased-reading)}{\Pr(Y_i=Stayed-same)} = \beta_3 x_{(SES)i} + \beta_4 x_{(leisure)i} + \alpha_2 + \epsilon_2$$

[b] Reference category: no qualifications

[c] Reference category: VII

type is not significantly associated with changes in reading behaviour for either boys or girls, both boys and girls with degree-educated parents are significantly less likely to either decrease or increase their reading behaviour than those people with parents with no qualifications, although these differences are more pronounced for boys. This also holds for boys with parents with technical or professional qualifications.

These results are not symmetric, in the sense that one might expect that groups less likely to increase reading might be more likely to decrease reading. Instead, it seems that reading behaviour is more *volatile* among those people with parents with no qualifications, whereas reading behaviour is more fixed among those with parents with higher qualifications, particularly girls. This is consistent with the results from tables 3.6–3.7: while there may not be differences in the fractions of lower-SES groups reading over time, these groups' reading is less stable than that of the groups of higher-SES readers.

Changes in girls' reading behaviour are not only significantly associated with parents' education, but also with parents' class. Those girls with parents in classes I, II, IV and V are significantly less likely to increase their reading than those with parents in class VII; for boys, these differences do not hold. There are no differences between white and non-white young people in either increases or decreases in reading.

Once again, these results are not symmetric, although the differences are not as striking as for parents' education. The results reinforce the position, however, that those from higher-SES backgrounds have less volatile reading behaviour than those from lower-SES backgrounds: their reading behaviour is less likely to change. This information can be combined with the results from section 3.4.2, which showed that

those from higher-SES backgrounds were more likely to read at all three waves; these results show that those from higher-SES backgrounds are also less likely to change their reading behaviour. To put it another way, girls with parents in the service class are less likely to increase their reading behaviour, as they are more likely to be in the highest category of reading to begin with.

In general, media use is not significantly associated with changes in reading behaviour. While there is a weak (at the 10% level) positive association between time spent watching television at the first wave and increasing reading for boys, and weak negative relationships between increasing reading and time spent playing games and with television for girls, the weakness of these relationships combined with the absence of relationships in tables 3.6–3.7 shows a lack of any strong systematic relationship, suggesting that any relationship is likely to be down to chance.

However, there are significant associations between participating in activities outside the home and reading behaviour. For both boys and girls, participation in directed activities is significantly negatively associated with increasing reading. For boys, participation in directed activities is also significantly negatively associated with decreasing reading, while this relationship isn't significant for girls. In addition, for boys, participation in undirected activities is significantly positively associated with increasing reading. These results may be partly down to initial conditions: as shown in section 3.4.2, participating in a large number of directed activities is significantly positively associated with reading more than once a week, and those people who are already reading more than once a week cannot be classified as increasing their reading behaviour, only decreasing it. While the inverse of this might be expected to an extent for undirected activities as well, with partici-

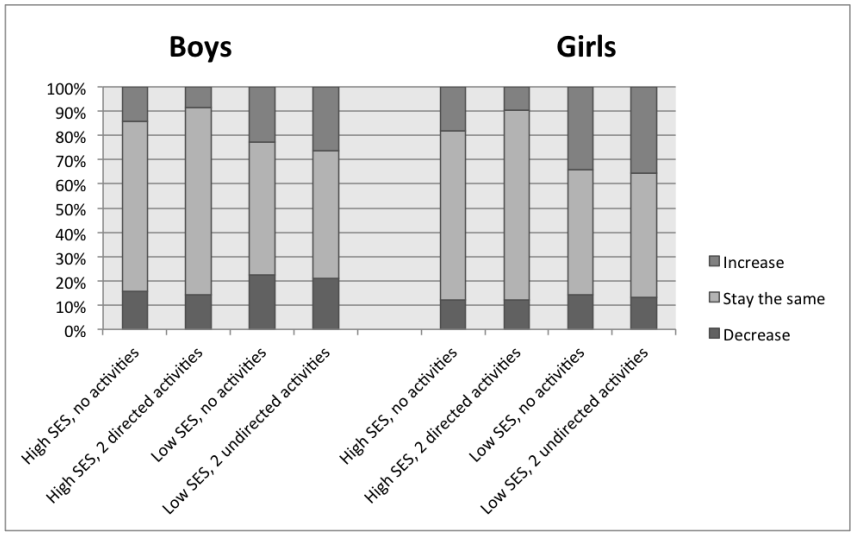

Figure 3.1: Predicted probabilities of different reading changes between wave 1 and wave 4:(LSYPE, based on the results in tables 3.10–3.11)

pating in undirected activities being associated with less reading in the first place, this would entail negative associations between undirected activities and decreases in reading, which do not emerge. Instead, those participating in relatively low numbers of undirected activities are more likely to increase their reading than both those who participate in no undirected activities, and those who participate in several.

These changes can be seen more clearly in figure 3.1. This figure shows the predicted probabilities of the three different outcomes of the models for both men and women, with other variables held at the same values as in tables 3.8 and 3.9. The results show that respondents from higher-SES backgrounds have more stable reading behaviour (with "no change" represented by the intermediate section of each bar), with very large majorities of both boys and girls having their reading stay the same: high-SES boys with no activities had a probability of 0.70 of staying the same, with those with 2 directed activities having a probability of 0.77; for

girls, the corresponding probabilities are 0.70 and 0.78 respectively. Increases in reading are particularly small for those participating in 2 directed activities, at 0.09 for both boys and girls. By contrast, the least stable set of conditions for both boys and girls is being from a low-SES background, and participating in 2 undirected activities, with probabilities of reading behaviour staying the same at 0.53 for boys and 0.51 for girls, although for boys this is driven by higher predicted probabilities of *increasing* reading.

What is particularly noteworthy about these results is that there are no variables which are negatively associated with increases in reading, and positively associated with decreases in reading, or vice versa. This suggests that there are no variables which predict consistent changes in reading behaviour: only variables which predict stability in reading as opposed to volatility. This goes some way to explain the results from tables 3.6–3.7, and can reconcile those results with the finding in van Schooten et al. [2004] that lower-SES young people are more likely to decrease their reading: lower-SES young people are also more likely to *increase* their reading, with overall SES differences in reading remaining consistent.

3.4.4 Predicting changes in reading from changes in other variables

Table 3.12 shows the results of fixed effects logistic regressions predicting changes in reading behaviour between years 9 and 10, across the first two waves of LSYPE. The models are based on the equations shown in the caption in table 3.12. As before, βs correspond to vectors of coefficients, and xs refer to vectors of variables. These results report the associations between changes in other variables over time

and changes in reading: in particular, following the results in tables 3.7 and 3.6, the transition between reading more than once a week to less often than that, and vice versa. As shown in table 3.5, over the period 12% of respondents increases their reading over this threshold, and 17% of respondents decrease their reading under this threshold. Because data on time spent watching television and playing computer games, and on all directed and undirected activities, is limited to the first two waves of data, the analysis is limited to this period: because of this, positive values for the dependent variable correspond to the point at which the participant was reading more than once a week, and negative values correspond to the point at which the participant was reading less often than that. Thus, when independent variables have positive coefficients, that means that increases in those variables are associated with increases in reading, and decreases in those variables are associated with decreases in reading. The converse is true for negative coefficients. This means that, for the variables on media use and leisure activities, positive coefficients can be interpreted as support for supplementation effects, and negative coefficients can be interpreted as support for displacement effects. Positive coefficients behind single parent households could be interpreted as parents separating increasing reading.

These results show there are some associations between changes in leisure activities and changes in reading behaviour, but no associations between changes in household type and changes in reading behaviour. For both boys and girls, there is no association between changing from a two-parent household to a one-parent household, or from a one-parent household to a two-parent household, and changing reading behaviour: young people whose parents divorce are not significantly more likely to change from reading more than once a week to less often than that.

Table 3.12: Fixed effects logistic regression: Change in reading behaviour between years 9 and 10 (LSYPE)

	Boys		**Girls**	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Directed activities	0.102*	(0.040)	0.116**	(0.041)
Undirected activities	0.013	(0.027)	-0.077**	(0.030)
Hours watching television (daily)	0.052*	(0.026)	0.040	(0.026)
Hours playing games (weekly)	0.008	(0.005)	0.013	(0.009)
Single parent household	0.140	(0.584)	0.275	(0.478)
N	3856		3696	
Log-likelihood	-1337.41		-1277.515	
$\chi^2_{(9)}$	14.631		18.705	

[a]Coefficients in this table are based on the equation
$logit(reading_{it}) = \alpha + \beta_1 x_{(leisure)it} + \beta_2 x_{(SES)it} + u_i + \epsilon_{it}$
$(reading_{it} - \bar{reading}_i) = \beta_3(x_{(leisure)it} - \bar{x}_{(leisure)it}) + \beta_4(x_{(SES)it} - \bar{x}_{(SES)it}) + (\epsilon_{it} - \bar{\epsilon}_i)$

There are is one association between changes in media use and changes in reading behaviour: there is a positive association for boys between changes in hours spent watching television per day and changing reading behaviour. This suggests a supplementation effect: boys who increase the time watching television are more likely to also increase their reading than those boys who don't. However, there are no associations between changes in media use and changes in reading for girls: there is therefore no support for either a supplementation or a displacement effect account.

The clearest associations with changing reading behaviour are with other activities outside of the home. There are significant positive associations between changes in directed activities and changes in reading behaviour for both boys and girls, suggesting a supplementation effect: increases in directed activities tend to accompany increase in reading. The opposite is true for undirected activities, but only for girls: those girls who increase their undirected activities are more likely

than those who don't to go from reading more than once a week to less often than that, while there are no significant differences in changes in reading behaviour between boys who increase their undirected activities and those who don't.

These results therefore show that changes in reading behaviour cannot be explained by changes in SES, nor can they be explained by displacement effects. In terms of other activities, there is some support for a supplementation effect account, particularly for boys: increases in directed activities and time spent watching television accompany increases in reading. For girls, the situation is more mixed, with evidence of a supplementation effect for directed activities, and a displacement effect for undirected activities. To put it another way, young people who read less between year 9 and year 10 do not do so because they have increased the amount of time they spend watching television or playing games. A displacement effect account, in which different leisure activities replace reading, does not hold.

3.5 Discussion

Many of these results contradict the hypotheses in section 3.2; in addition, those hypotheses that do seem to hold must be qualified. This raises questions about existing understandings of changes in reading behaviour: in particular, it seems that changes in reading behaviour in young people in England may not resemble changes in reading behaviour elsewhere.

This can be addressed by going through the initial hypotheses, based on expectations from the literature, establishing which hold and which fail. The first two hypotheses are addressed by the results in tables 3.6–3.7: Hypothesis 1 states that the associations between reading for pleasure and SES should vary over time, ex-

pecting that the differences in reading between higher- and lower-SES individuals should increase. This does not hold: where there are variations in the associations between any SES variables and reading over time, these reflects differences getting smaller. However this is only the case for parents' class, not for parents' education, household type, and ethnicity, for both boys and girls, in contrast with the findings from van Schooten et al. [2004]. Hypothesis 2 held that the associations between other activities at t_1 and reading at different waves should remain consistent. This held only partially for girls, but not at all for boys: there is a positive association between reading more than once a week and time spent watching television at wave 2 that is not present at wave 1. In addition to this, for boys, the associations between participation in directed activities and reading weaken over time, and the relationship between reading and participation in undirected activities changes direction.

Hypotheses 3 and 4 are addressed by the results in tables 3.10 and 3.11. Hypothesis 3 stated that lower-SES individuals would be more likely to decrease their reading over time than higher-SES individuals: on the face of it, this holds. Relative to those with parents with no qualifications, those with parents with degrees are less likely to decrease their reading . In addition, relative to girls with parents in class VII, girls with parents in classes I, II, IV and V are less likely to decrease their reading. Hypothesis 4, which states behaviour at t_1 will not be associated with changes in reading, does not hold for activities outside of the home: participating in directed activities is negatively associated with increasing reading, and participating in undirected activities is positively associated with increasing reading. However, it does hold for media use, with time spent playing games or watching television not being significantly associated with changes in reading.

It is important to contextualise these results, however: while lower-SES respondents are more likely to decrease their reading, they are also more likely to increase their reading. Changes in individuals' reading behaviour do not indicate that groups are particularly likely to decrease their reading so much as some groups' reading behaviour is more volatile than others': figure 3.1 demonstrates that higher-SES groups' reading behaviour is more stable than lower-SES groups, and people participating in directed activities' reading behaviour is more stable than that of people participating in no activities outside the home, and of people participating in undirected activities.

Hypotheses 5, 6, and 7 are addressed by the results in table 3.12. Hypothesis 5, which predicted that increases in media use would accompany decreases in reading, and vice versa, fails: not only are there no significant associations between changes in time spent playing games and changes in reading, nor significant associations between changes in time spent watching television and changes in reading for girls, but there is a significant positive association between changes in time spent watching television and changes in reading for boys. This shows that the expected displacement effect between media use and reading behaviour fails to emerge.

Hypothesis 6 receives more support, although only for girls: increasing participation in undirected activities is associated with decreases in reading, and vice versa. Hypothesis 7 also receives support, for both boys and girls: increases in participation in directed activities are associated with increases in reading. Thus, the only displacement effect that is visible is for undirected activities, for girls; there is also a fairly clear supplementation effect with directed activities.

These results suggest that SES plays a relatively small role in changes in reading behaviour. Consistent with Lee and Leung [2008], these results show that

while changes in reading behaviour may be predictable based on SES for younger children, changes in teenagers' reading behaviour cannot be reliably predicted by SES: if anything, differences between SES groups' reading decrease over time, and changes in family structure (as shown in table 3.12) do not accompany decreases in reading behaviour. While tables 3.10 and 3.11 demonstrate that SES is associated with changes in reading behaviour to an extent, this is more a reflection of volatility than of unidimensional change.

These results also indicate that participation in other activities is often associated with changes in reading behaviour, and that these associations are much stronger for activities outside of the home than media use inside the home. For girls, time spent playing games or watching television is neither associated with reading at any point, nor changes in reading; however, there is a positive association between increasing reading and increasing television consumption for boys. Among boys, there are also some positive associations between playing games and watching television and reading; the amount of time spent watching television or playing games doesn't predict increases or decreases in reading behaviour, nor do changes in media use predict changes in reading.

By contrast, the numbers of directed and undirected activities outside the home respondents participate in is much more strongly associated with changes in reading behaviour. Participation in larger numbers of directed activities is associated with greater stability in reading behaviour, while participation in larger numbers of undirected activities is associated with greater volatility in reading behaviour, as shown in tables 3.10 and 3.11. In addition, increases in directed activities are associated with increases in reading for both boys and girls, while increases in undirected activities are associated with decreases in reading for boys.

In general, these results indicate that the framework from van Schooten et al. [2004], under which we expect differences in reading behaviour to increase over time between higher- and lower-SES young people, or heavier or lighter users of media, does not apply here. This is likely to be due to the fact that I have investigated a specific age group here: indeed, the results from Lee et al. [2009] show that reading behaviour becomes more stable over time after the age of 12. Combining tables 3.6–3.7 and tables 3.10–3.11 demonstrates that none of these variables consistently predicts increases or decreases in changing reading over time, while there are variables which predict stability of reading over time, as opposed to volatility.

We should be cautious about making generalizations about displacement effects based on the results from table 3.12: I do not have information about the amount of time respondents spend on each of their directed and undirected activities, only the number in which they participate, and the measure of time spent watching television particularly is not precise. In addition, I am focusing particularly the threshold of reading more than once a week. However, it is striking that the only associations between changes in media use and changes in reading are positive, providing support for a supplementation effect rather than a displacement effect. In addition, while decreases in the number of directed activities in which respondents participate could reflect more time on directed activities overall (such as vastly increasing time spent practising the violin accompanying a loss of interest in playing football), the clear trend is that increases in directed activities accompany increases in reading for both boys and girls, while increases in undirected activities accompany decreases in reading for girls only.

There is also a more general point about the interpretation of the results in this

chapter. Many of the results may appear to present a account whereby changes in reading have been shown to have been primarily determined by participation in activities outside the home – both volume of participation and changes in that participation. In this context, the relevance of the findings here is not so much the strength of the relationship between participation in other activities and changes in reading for pleasure in the first place, but that this relationship is not entirely mediated by parents' class and parents' education: tables 3.10 and 3.11 show that participation in activities outside the home predicts change in reading between the ages of 13/14 and 16/17 net of these other variables, and table 3.12 shows that changes in participation in other activities predicts changes in reading when other person-level characteristics are kept constant. Nonetheless, these relationships should not be overstated: the claim here is not that socioeconomic variables are not relevant to understanding changes in reading (indeed, the volatility shown in figure 3.1 demonstrates that socioeconomic variables are extremely important in predicting volatility in young people's reading), nor that a combination of displacement and supplementation effects is sufficient to entirely explain the relationship between activities outside the home and reading for pleasure: instead, while it is likely that other latent dimensions are driving this relationship, these latent dimensions are not limited to parents' education and class, as might have been predicted by the authors discussed in section 3.1.1.

There are therefore two key findings in the context of the broader literature. The first is that the apparent tension between positions such as van Schooten et al. [2004], which find higher rates of stopping reading among lower-SES than higher-SES young people, and Lee et al. [2009], who find no differences in changes, can be explained by the fact that lower-SES young people are also more likely

to *start* reading. The second is that changes in reading among young people in England cannot be explained by displacement effects. This provides a useful context with which to develop the thesis: having established both the predictors of young people's reading behaviour, and the predictors of changes in young people's reading behaviour, I can investigate what young people's reading behaviour itself can predict.

Chapter 4

Reading for pleasure: cultural capital or cognitive effect?

4.1 Introduction

Having demonstrated in chapter 2 what the sociodemographic predictors are of reading for pleasure, and having established in chapter 3 how these relationships change among young people, in this chapter the focus shifts towards what reading for pleasure among young people itself predicts, if anything. Specifically, this chapter asks whether and how reading for pleasure as a teenager is significantly associated with educational and occupational attainment. On the one hand, it considers the argument that, if certain forms of reading for pleasure is associated with particular life course outcomes, this represents a cultural capital account, as predicted by Bourdieu [1973], and as tested by Sullivan [2001] in the United Kingdom, DiMaggio [1982], DiMaggio and Mohr [1985], Kaufman and Gabler [2004] in the United States, De Graaf [1986], De Graaf et al. [2000] in the Netherlands,

by Katsillis and Rubinson [1990] in Greece, and by Georg [2004] in Germany, and with its theoretical content more generally assessed by Lareau and Weininger [2003] and by Goldthorpe [2007], amongst others. It contrasts this with the argument that any associations between reading for pleasure and life course outcomes more straightforwardly represent some kind of cognitive effect, as proposed and tested by Taylor et al. [1990], Stanovich [1993], Cunningham and Stanovich [2001] and Clark and Rumbold [2006], among many others. In doing so, it assesses whether reading for pleasure is associated with employment outcomes (measured by destination class and by income) net of of education, and it assesses both how and whether any associations with reading behaviour vary between different measures of occupational attainment. This situates reading for pleasure as a specific dimension on the literature on the relationship between cultural capital and attainment: while reading for pleasure has often been identified as the most salient dimension of the relationship between cultural capital and educational and occupational attainment I aim to address some ambiguities in this relationship.

In addition, in asking these questions I aim to address some of the issues in Bauerlein [2007] and the other literature in chapter 1. If, as Bauerlein claims, participation in literary reading leads to a large number of positive outcomes, this should be reflected in the data.

4.1.1 Cultural capital

The term "cultural capital" is contested. The strength of the term varies, particularly if starting with its usage in Bourdieu [1973], whose framework is explicitly used by Robson [2009] and DiMaggio [1982], amongst others.

Cultural capital can be usefully understood by both distinguishing it from other forms of capital – economic and social – and as existing in three different forms – embodied, objectified, and institutionalised – as set out in Bourdieu [1986]. I focus here particularly on embodied and institutionalised cultural capital, as with the majority of the literature in this area (with some notable exceptions, such as Kraaykamp and Van Eijck [2010]).

Embodied cultural capital refers to an individual's disposition, generated through a long-term process of accumulation and incorporation of styles. This can be distinguished most obviously from economic capital in possibility of transmission: an individual's cultural capital cannot be immediately given to someone else. Embodied cultural capital, in that sense, represents the result of the socialization process, and is described by Kraaykamp and Van Eijck [2010] as "the best hidden form of intergenerational capital transmission" [210].

Embodied cultural capital is eventually transcended by institutionalized cultural capital. Institutionalized cultural capital refers to the institutional recognition of individuals' embodied cultural capital, most commonly in the form of educational qualifications. The argument follows that institutionalized cultural capital represents the formal recognition of embodied cultural capital, leading to the legitimization of stratification based on family background: credentials, which nominally represent ability, are awarded based on institutionalized cultural capital, the manifestation of social class.

Objectified cultural capital represents cultural goods: paintings, instruments, books, etc. While this form of cultural capital can be transmitted in a way that the other two can't – I can buy a piano – the way that the cultural objects themselves are appreciated can't; this appreciation requires embodied cultural capital, with

the manner of appreciation having been established through one's socialization.

In order to get to a more general definition of cultural capital which encompasses all three of these forms, it is best to start with Lamont and Lareau [1988]'s definition, as explicitly adopted in Robson [2009]:

> "institutionalized, i.e. widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion, the former referring to exclusion from jobs and resources, and the latter, to exclusion from high status groups" Lamont and Lareau [1988, 156].

The constituent elements of cultural capital are therefore signals, with the different types of signals representing the three different forms of cultural capital: attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, and behaviour representing embodied cultural capital, goods representing objectified cultural capital, and credentials representing institutionalized cultural capital. However, the specificity with which this term is applied varies: Lareau and Weininger [2003], considering 15 major studies in cultural capital, observe a general trend towards a high, or elite, status interpretation of the phrase, with definitions including "interest and experience with prestigious cultural resources", and "broad knowledge of culture that belongs to members of the upper class". They argue that this understanding of cultural capital, the predominant understanding in the Anglo-American world, is not in fact the only legitimate interpretation of Bourdieu; while it seems to follow from *Distinction* (1984), it is not the necessary consequence of *Cultural reproduction and social reproduction* (1973) nor *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (1977), which, they argue, are more relevant to the discussion of cultural capital

and educational attainment, the debate relevant to the articles they discuss. As such, they set out an definition of cultural capital, following these articles, of

> "...the direct or indirect "imposition" of evaluative norms favoring the children or families of a particular social milieu." [598]

This understanding, they argue, removes both the need to frame cultural capital in the context of specific cultural activities, such as participation in *beaux arts*, and the need to distinguish cultural capital from human capital. The former of these owes to an absence of content in Bourdieu *requiring* knowledge of high culture in particular for embodied cultural capital, rather than having it merely *contribute* (although this ambiguity will be addressed in chapter 5); the latter owes to the fact that, while Bourdieu rejects the "technocratic" account of human capital in which credentials perfectly and precisely demonstrate ability, he further rejects the "radical nominalism" account, under which credentials demonstrate only social elevation. Regardless of the approach, however, they argue that this indicates that cultural capital is something that pays off through education, which subsequently works as a *ticket into employment*. Embodied cultural capital is cashed in for institutionalized cultural capital, and institutionalized cultural capital (in the form of educational qualifications) entails higher-status jobs. While the definitions of each of these terms is contested, the associations with particular outcomes are less so. It therefore seems straightforward to argue that anything *arbitrary*, which can be exchanged for legitimate qualifications, represents cultural capital.

By contrast, Goldthorpe [2007] provides a much more radical criticism of the general concept of cultural capital itself, claiming that while Bourdieu's understanding of linguistic codes as part of embodied cultural capital is consistent with

a mainstream framework, with his studies on the subject being part of a broader school investigating the same phenomena [Strodtbeck, 1958, Bernstein, 1961, 1965, Jackson and Marsden, 1968], his incorporation of this as a means of assessing class inequalities in educational attainment fails, with his understanding of "cultural capital" ending up either unambitious or fully deterministic. He distinguishes two understandings – of "Bourdieu domesticated" and "Bourdieu wild" – with "Bourdieu domesticated" implying that cultural capital works in a relative sense, with people with greater levels of cultural capital being *more likely* to find themselves in advantaged social situations; and "Bourdieu wild" implying that people with greater levels of cultural capital exclusively come from advantaged social situations, with the cultural capital model reproducing these social situations perfectly. Further to this (as do Lareau and Weininger [2003]) he indicates that DiMaggio consistently misuses Bourdieu's application of cultural capital as Bourdieu's extension of "the cultural arbitrary to all forms of recognised knowledge, skill and competency, in that considerations of status dominance, and its preservation, necessarily enter into their social construction and legitimation." [Goldthorpe, 2007, 12]

While this chapter does not aim to engage with debates about the originality of Bourdieu's terms, it is important to be precise about meaning when using the term "cultural capital": I use it as in Lamont and Lareau [1988, quoted above], focusing particularly on the distinction between embodied and institutionalized cultural capital. However, while this gets closer to a *working* definition, there are still ambiguities. While most previous studies had treated reading for pleasure as one of many instances of "legitimate culture", clearly derived from Bourdieu's use of the term [Bourdieu, 1973, 1993], Sullivan [2007] problematizes the (lack of) distinc-

tion often drawn between *beaux arts* and reading. She develops more clearly some criteria to distinguish between the forms of academic ability which may be associated with cultural participation – language, information processing, knowledge, and problem solving and logical reasoning – and the more obviously culturally *transmitted* dispositions associated with cultural participation, including both the active and the passive transmission of skills and knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours, and social styles, and I aim to explore this distinction here. While adopting the definition from Lamont and Lareau [1988] and the instances from Sullivan [2007] may prevent my usage of "cultural capital" from being identical to Bourdieu's, this definition should make its investigation clearer.

However, it is important to be clear on why there *might* be an association between reading for pleasure and educational and occupational attainment, and why such an association might represent cultural capital.

The majority of the existing literature which investigates the relationship between leisure participation and subsequent attainment is situated in the context of cultural capital. These studies tend to investigate the relationships between different leisure activities and educational attainment. In some cases, reading for pleasure is defined a priori as an activity that represents cultural capital. For example, DiMaggio [1982] develops a scale which he calls "cultural capital", and this includes reading for pleasure as one element: "Following Bourdieu, I measure high school students' cultural capital using self-reports of involvement in art, music, and literature" [191]; Georg [2004] does something similar, stating "Indicators of the child's cultural capital were the frequency... of reading books" [339]. When reading for pleasure is not part of a scale – for example, De Graaf et al. [2000] disaggregate "cultural capital" into reading behaviour and *beaux arts* – it is of-

ten still treated as cultural capital. Indeed, Georg [2004] describes de Graaf et al's (2000) results by saying "a crucial measure of cultural capital proved to be reading behaviour". In addition, Robson [2009] finds that the association between reading behaviour and educational attainment is stronger than is the association between any *beaux arts* participation and educational attainment. Crook [1997] and De Graaf et al. [2000] both claim this shows that the effect of cultural capital on educational attainment is due to the "educative resources" developed by reading, such as improved cognitive ability, rather than to the demonstration of high cultural signals. Taking the definition of cultural capital from Lareau and Weininger [2003], in this instance the *cultural capital* of reading for pleasure is not that which leads to educational attainment. However, returning to the distinction drawn earlier, Sullivan [2001] argues that this inference may be questioned, since not only is the distinction between the cognitive effects from *beaux arts* participation and reading behaviour poorly-defined, particularly if the concept of "educative resources" is expanded beyond a simple cognitive approach, but pupils' reading behaviour is also likely to lead pupils to demonstrate high cultural signals, as with *beaux arts* participation. Sullivan's results demonstrate that any apparent effects of reading behaviour itself on educational attainment are entirely mediated by vocabulary and cultural knowledge: the association is not driven by reading for pleasure itself. This chapter aims to extend that argument, attempting to distinguish between different kinds of reading according to whether or not they entail high cultural signals, and identifying whether those differences are associated with differences in levels of both educational and occupational attainment.

The question here, then, is to aim to disaggregate the two: if reading is associated with subsequent attainment, is this due to cultural capital, or due to

something else? While some researchers a priori define reading for pleasure as cultural capital, and aim to investigate whether cultural capital is associated with educational attainment, I aim here to look at this relationship in a different way: if reading for pleasure is associated with different attainment, does this represent cultural capital? This is relevant as the term cultural *capital* implies a *return*, as convincingly argued by Sullivan [2001, 897]: the term "cultural capital" is clearly reminiscent of economic capital, and if participation in reading for pleasure represents cultural capital, then it must not only be the *cultural* dimensions that generate a return, but a return must be generated in the first place.

4.1.2 Cognitive advantages

Following Crook [1997] and De Graaf et al. [2000], the alternative account of the established relationship between reading behaviour and educational attainment is that it is entirely driven by cognitive effects of reading for pleasure, over and above existing measures of intelligence [Cipielewski and Stanovich, 1992, Cunningham and Stanovich, 1997, Scarborough, 2001]. As mentioned in the introduction, there is a large amount of literature reporting a relationship between leisure reading and cognitive outcomes, of which this chapter will only report a small part. For example, it is clear that greater levels of reading lead to an improvement in reading ability, with consistently large associations across different studies. This can generate a cyclical relationship: greater levels of reading lead to improved reading ability, and this then leads to greater levels of reading. The converse, however, is also true, with weaker readers being discouraged from reading on account of enjoying it less, owing to its difficulty, leading to Matthew effects in which

the (talent-)rich get richer, and the poor get poorer [Allington, 1977, Biemiller, 1977, Walberg and Tsai, 1983, Stanovich, 1986, Pfost et al., 2012]. However, this is not a deterministic model: since reading *for pleasure* entails making a *choice* to read, weaker readers are not prevented from reading; nor are stronger readers compelled to read. Sheldrick-Ross et al. [2005] demonstrates that greater levels of reading behaviour are associated with improvements in reading ability for all levels of initial reading ability, and for all age groups: it is not only initial strong readers whose reading improves with more reading.

Further to this, there is reason to assume that there is something special about reading behaviour, as opposed to other forms of leisure activity, at least in terms of language acquisition. Hayes and Ahrens [1988] demonstrate that the number, and frequency, of rare words is much higher in printed matter than in television dialogue, or in adult speech; using data from Carroll [1971], which ranks words according to frequency in written English (so "the" is ranked at number 1; "know" at number 100; "amplifier" at 16 000, and so on), defining rare words as words with ranks lower than 10 000, they show that the rank of the median word in newspapers is 1690, with 68.3 rare words per 1000; the rank of the median word in adult books is 1058, with 52.7 rare words per 1000; and the rank of the median word in preschool books is 578, with 16.3 rare words per 1000. By contrast, the rank of the median word in popular prime-time adult shows is 490, with 22.7 rare words per 1000, and the rank of the median word in adult speech between college graduates is 496, with 17.3 rare words per 1000. This all indicates that the acquisition of rare words is far more likely to come from reading printed matter rather than conversation or other media, regardless of the genre of the printed matter. This trend stands for overall general knowledge as well as for vocabulary;

Cunningham and Stanovich [2001] finds that, in a sample of 268 college students, participants are most likely to score highly in their "Practical Knowledge Test"[1] if they read more frequently and watch TV less frequently, with the highest scorers those who read most and watch least TV, and vice versa.

The significance of this is that it introduces an ambiguity into many studies investigating the association between leisure activities and life course outcomes. When cultural capital is claimed as a mechanism through which this relationship works, a cognitive effect is also plausible. In some studies, this is explicitly addressed. De Graaf et al. [2000] put forward two explanations for the relationship between *parental* cultural behaviour and individual educational attainment: cognitive skills, and familiarity with linguistic codes and practices, acknowledging that their results do not distinguish between the two. Indeed, it is plausible in many cases in which reading for pleasure is treated as a high-status activity entailing cultural capital, which itself entails educational attainment, a simpler account is that more frequent readers get better at reading than less frequent readers, and this pays off in their educational outcomes.

4.1.3 Drawing the distinction

Having established why reading for pleasure might be consistent with either a cultural capital account or a cognitive effect account, the next stage is to establish how the distinction can be drawn: whether reading for pleasure is consistent with either, both, or neither. We can look at both what reading's done, and different

[1] This contains questions such as "What does the carburetor in an automobile do?", "What vitamin is highly concentrated in citrus fruits?", "After the Federal Reserve Board raises the prime lending rate, the interest that you will be asked to pay on a car loan will generally increase/decrease/stay the same?", and so on.

associations with reading. For what reading's done, there are two useful starting points: genre of reading, and frequency of reading.

There is a large amount of research indicating that the legitimacy afforded to different kinds of reading varies substantially, dating back at least to Hoggart [1957], but particularly in this context Bourdieu [1983] and Bourdieu [1984]. Bourdieu draws a clear distinction between what he terms "the literary" – novels and nonfiction – and genre fiction, noting that in his study of 1960s France that preference for "the literary" is much more concentrated amongst members of the dominant classes: in particular, the professions. (This distinction between "the literary" and genre fiction is demonstrated in table 8 of *Distinction*, where Bourdieu's categories of literature are detective stories, adventure stories, historical, illustrated art books, novels, philosophy, politics, economics, and science, with the first two clearly demarcated in their consumption by the dominant classes from the subsequent seven.) Wright [2006] finds similar results in Britain, revealing strong dislikes among middle-class respondents for most different genres of literature, with the exception of biography, and thinly-veiled snobbery for consumption of genre fiction from middle-class interviewees. He also found strong gender effects: preference for romantic literature was almost entirely female, but a majority of female respondents nonetheless had strong negative attitudes towards it (as did almost all male respondents).

The significance of this is that, on this account, consumption of "the literary" should entail greater levels of embodied cultural capital than would consumption of genre fiction: knowledge of genre fiction, given its rejection by the dominant classes, is less likely to be rewarded by gatekeepers, and therefore less likely to translate into institutionalized cultural capital. By comparison, the differences

between genres in terms of what we'd expect about language acquisition, and associated cognitive effects, are smaller, although non-zero. Kraaykamp and Dijkstra [1999] assess whether the dominant classes' preferences for specific genres is driven by prestige or by the difficulty of the material (consistent with the information processing hypothesis), finding that both pathways explain part of the preferences. This suggests that if the cultural capital account is correct, differences should emerge in the educational (and occupational) attainment between readers of novels and nonfiction, and readers of genre fiction. While some differences are consistent with an information processing hypothesis, following Hayes and Ahrens [1988] – that is, we shouldn't necessarily expect the educational attainment of readers of "the literary" and genre fiction to be identical – under such a hypothesis, the differences in educational attainment between readers of genre fiction and nonreaders should be far greater. In addition to this, if the cultural capital account is accurate, differences should also emerge between people who read just "the literary" and people who read genre fiction as well: the negative stigma of reading genre fiction would partly undermine the positive associations from reading "the literary".

If the first approach between cultural capital and cognitive accounts of the relationship between reading and subsequent attainment is through genre, the second approach is to look at the *frequency* of reading. On a straightforward cognitive effect account, it's clear that reading more frequently will be more beneficial to educational attainment than will reading less frequently: Allington [1977], Biemiller [1977], Walberg and Tsai [1983], Stanovich [1986], Hayes and Ahrens [1988], and Cunningham and Stanovich [2001] all indicate that *volume* of reading matters. The same isn't true for a cultural capital account: van de Werfhorst [2010] focuses

particularly on the idea of *credentialism*, with the thresholds for knowledge of particular items to constitute cultural capital often being relatively low. Similarly, Erickson [1996] investigates the mechanisms through which knowledge of different forms of culture (not exclusively high culture) yield benefits, discovering that *range* of types of knowledge is particularly useful, rather than vast levels of depth in any particular field. To put it more explicitly: the difference in cultural capital between non-readers and occasional readers might be expected to be large, while the difference between that between occasional and frequent readers less so. This is particularly plausible in our context of looking at teenage reading for pleasure: given the low expectations of teenagers that Bauerlein [2007] and others exhibit, in spite of the high fraction of British teenagers reading as shown in chapter 2, the threshold for becoming 'a reader' (as opposed to a member of the reading class), in order to qualify the cultural capital that that entails, may be relatively low. Therefore, if the differences in life course outcomes between participants reading with different frequencies (as opposed to never reading) are negligible, this would represent a problem for the cognitive effect account, without representing a problem for the cultural capital account.

In addition to drawing the distinction between cultural capital and cognitive based on what kind of reading's done, we can also identify different life course outcomes which might distinguish whether any effects of reading for pleasure represent cultural capital. Most of the papers discussed thus far focus exclusively on the relationship between cultural capital and educational attainment; however, this can be extended by looking at occupational attainment. In a simple account, as in Lareau and Weininger [2003], cultural capital is something which pays off in education, subsequently working as a ticket into employment: embodied cultural

capital is exchanged for institutionalized cultural capital, which is exchanged for a job in the professions. If this is true, when modelling occupational attainment in later life, any model which includes education should find the coefficient behind reading for pleasure to be trivial, with reading for pleasure manifesting itself entirely through education. By contrast, if reading for pleasure is understood as a cognitive process which manifests itself in ways other than simple educational attainment, models including education should nonetheless find an effect of reading for pleasure on occupational attainment, with these greater cognitive abilities being rewarded in employment.

However, this argument can be developed further. The cashing-in of embodied cultural capital into institutionalized cultural capital doesn't undermine the existing embodied cultural capital – not all holders of identical institutionalized cultural capital had identical embodied cultural capital previously. This follows evidence from Bowles et al. [2001], which frames the relationship not through cultural capital but through signalling. In developing this, it is helpful to think about cultural capital in the context of *gatekeepers*: on Bourdieu's account, cultural capital is relevant in schools because of *assessors*, in the form of teachers and examiners, who permit individuals to proceed to the next level on account of the demonstration of both relevant and arbitrary skills[2]. In employment, a similar process takes place: assessors, in the form of employers and interviewers, allow individuals to enter roles on account of the demonstration of both relevant and arbitrary skills.

[2]This is not the only possible pathway through which such outcomes may emerge, however; if this pathway is conceptualized as one of teacher-selection effects, it is also plausible that self-selection effects are important. This will be addressed at more length in section 5.1.3. Nonetheless, both teacher-selection effects and self-selection effects can be thought of as cultural capital, as under a teacher-selection effects account people's embodied cultural capital is clear to gatekeepers, and rewarded; under a self-selection effect account, people's embodied cultural capital is what propels them to apply to gatekeepers in the first place.

In both cases, arbitrary skills, in the form of embodied cultural capital, contribute to people's chances of success, contributing both to their chances of succeeding in interviews, and in having applied for positions in the first place: those who lack the arbitrary skills apparently expected by assessors are less likely to apply for jobs, or for university. To put it another way, higher levels of cultural capital are inculcated in young people who participate in higher-status cultures, and these higher levels of cultural capital *continue* to be employed into their own ascension into higher-status occupations professionally. We can therefore see how a narrative emerges under which embodied cultural capital remains important net of institutionalised cultural capital.

This is developed by Hansen [2001], whose case study of the legal profession in Norway demonstrates that origin class has a strong effect on occupational attainment net of education, in contrast with evidence from Blau and Duncan [1967], Featherman and Hauser [1978], and Ringdal [1990], amongst others: specifically, she finds that differences in occupational attainment between lawyers of different social backgrounds actually *increase* over the course of their careers. The relevance here is that she argues that this may be due to a cultural capital effect: not only are the children of lawyers disproportionately endowed with arbitrary skills which allow them to achieve highly in law degrees, but also "...people who hire and promote others tend to prefer people who are similar to them. These applicants will demonstrate cultural traits linked to higher-class cultures."[493].

Consequently, reading for pleasure being significantly associated with membership of the salariat would be consistent with a cultural capital account; having read for pleasure can represent a signal that the candidate is similar to the interviewer. Under a cultural capital approach, this association should be greater

than the association between having read for pleasure and income; while it is plausible that having read will impress the person assessing promotion, the assessor has more information about overall job performance than the original recruiter. The distinction is therefore drawn between membership of the salariat and income: arbitrary skill (acquired through reading) might be rewarded via entrance to professions through the application process as Hansen describes, while this same arbitrary skill would not be rewarded via greater income. This is not a perfect distinction, as jobs within elite status groups pay higher, on (any) average, than do jobs outside them; however any clear distinction between the two will lend support to a cultural capital account, and a lack of a clear distinction between the two will lend support to a cognitive effect account.

The distinction being drawn should therefore be clear: if reading for pleasure "pays off", then either reading for pleasure "pays off" because it improves one's genuine cognitive ability, as in the cognitive account; or it "pays off" because it demonstrates high status cultural signals used for social and cultural exclusion, as in the (qualified) cultural capital account.

The first question is to ask the association between reading for pleasure and educational attainment. This has been estimated in many other studies, including DiMaggio [1982], DiMaggio and Mohr [1985], De Graaf [1986], De Graaf et al. [2000] and Sullivan [2001], with the difference in this instance being the focus specifically on reading for pleasure, as opposed to participation in other *beaux-arts* activities, with the empirical distinction between these having been established by De Graaf et al. [2000], Sullivan [2001] and Robson [2009], amongst others.

In particular, in order to attempt to distinguish between cultural capital and cognitive effect accounts, I look at the association between reading for pleasure and

educational attainment by distinguishing between *genres* of reading and *frequency* of reading. If any relationship is driven entirely by cognitive effects of reading, then I expect fairly small differences between the relationships between reading and educational and occupational attainment by genre, but larger differences between the associations between reading and educational attainment by frequency of reading. If cultural capital is playing an additional role, I expect the opposite.

I will then look into associations between leisure reading and occupational attainment, net of education. Once again, I can investigate the differences in frequencies of reading and genres of reading, and I can compare the strengths of associations with the different outcomes. In addition, if associations between reading for pleasure and occupational attainment persist net of education, the focus is particularly on whether there is a difference between associations between reading behaviour and income, and reading behaviour and membership of the salariat: if salariat membership is more strongly associated with reading than is income, and the patterns of these associations resemble those of cultural capital for educational attainment (that is, stronger associations between higher-brow reading and salariat membership, and no difference between reading frequencies and salariat membership), this is likely to provide further support for a cultural capital account.

4.2 Expectations and hypotheses

I will therefore be assessing the results of six separate models. Three models will establish the associations between *frequency* of reading for pleasure as a teenager and educational attainment, hourly wage, and membership of the salariat; a fur-

ther three will establish the association between *genre* of reading as a teenager and those same outcomes. Given the aim is to establish whether any relationship between reading for pleasure and subsequent attainment can be explained by cultural capital, I set up the following hypotheses as those consistent with a cultural capital account, in order to explore their accuracy.

- Hypothesis 1: Reading for pleasure will be significantly positively associated with educational attainment, but differences in associations will be minimal between volumes of reading.
- Hypothesis 2: Associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment will vary by genre of reading, with reading genre fiction less strongly associated with educational attainment than reading novels and nonfiction.
- Hypothesis 3: Reading for pleasure – both any frequency compared with none, and any genre compared with none – will be significantly positively associated with membership of the salariat, net of education, but will have no significant associations with income.

Hypothesis 3 also interacts with hypotheses 1 and 2. If the results are consistent with a cultural capital account, then the associations between genre and frequency of reading hypotheses 1 and 2 suggest should reproduce themselves in occupational attainment: that is, the differences in probability of membership of the salariat between frequencies of teenage reading (as opposed to between reading and not reading) should be negligible, and differences in probability of membership of the salariat between genres should exist.

4.3 Data and methods

In order to answer these questions, I shall use data from the British Cohort Study (BCS70). In this study, everyone born in the United Kingdom between the 5th and 11th of April 1970, given parental consent, became a subject for the study giving an initial N of 17 198, although Northern Irish cases were dropped in subsequent waves. These participants were supplemented by migrants born in the same week, with data on migrants coming from schools. Data has been collected at the ages of 5, 10, 16, 26, 30, 34, and 38, with data being collected at age 42 currently. I focus here particularly on the data taken at birth [Chamberlain and Chamberlain, 2008], at the ten-year followup [Butler and Bynner, 2008a], at the sixteen-year followup [Butler and Bynner, 2008b], and the thirty-four year followup [Centre for Longitudinal Studies, 2008].

As the BCS70 technically represents a population sample, the notion of applying inferential statistics is problematic (since I am not generalizing from a random sample to a population). I will therefore treat any generalizations beyond the population with caution, but nonetheless use significance levels as a guide to the magnitude of differences between groups (with significance levels in models using the BCS70 also having been used in, among many others, Robson [2009], Moore et al. [2009], and Bukodi and Goldthorpe [2011]).

Data on childhood reading behaviour is contained in waves at ages 10 and 16, and I focus particularly on the data collected at age 16. At both waves, participants are presented with a series of spare time activities, and asked how frequently they carry them out. I focus on the variable at age 16 as it is more specific: the options for frequency are “Rarely or never”, “Less than once a week”, “Once a week”,

and "More than once a week". This question is part of a wider question bank: "Student Score Form", used to derive a number of different scales: this particular question is part of a bank "At Leisure", about leisure activities.

At age 16, participants are also asked, in a separate batch of questions ("Life and Leisure"), "Have you read a book(s) for pleasure in the past 4 weeks?" Those who responded "Yes" were then asked "What books?", and asked to tick all options which applied: the options were "Novels", "Modern Sci Fi", "Books about hobbies/interests/pets", "Biographies", "Historical books", and "Other type of book". Those who ticked "Other type of book" were asked to specify: "(What?)". These responses have been coded into three categories: "Novels" (which most closely resembles the fiction section of the "literary" category), "Non-fiction" (also representing part of "the literary"), and "Genre fiction", which consists of "Modern sci-fi", and many of the responses to "Other type of book", with the most common responses being variations on "Romance", "Horror", and "Fantasy". Given the three categories, there are therefore 2^3 possible patterns of responses. This variable is not an entirely reliable measure for drawing the distinction between literary fiction and genre fiction, as respondents who exclusively read genre fiction might nonetheless classify themselves as reading novels. However, it is less likely that respondents reading literary fiction classify themselves as reading genre fiction without specifying that they read novels. Because of this question, I will also use the question of reading frequency at age 16; not only is it more precise, but it is also taken at the same wave of data as the genre question (and, indeed, the measures of reading from Taking Part and LSYPE include 16 year olds, and not 10 year olds).

The outcome variables are also clearly-defined. Participants' educational at-

tainment by age 34 is a derived variable for individuals' highest level of education, recoded down to four possible options: no qualifications, O-levels or other equivalent to Key Stage 4 qualification, A-levels or other equivalent Key Stage 5 qualification, and any higher education. I have operationalised educational attainment in this way in order to distinguish firstly between those people who gain *any* qualifications and those who don't; secondly between those who stay on in post compulsory education and those who don't; and thirdly between those who opt into higher education and those who don't. This approach is similar to the one taken by Dearden et al. [2004] using the same data, and by van de Werfhorst and Hofstede [2007] in the Netherlands. The variable for income involves a number of survey items: how much people get paid, over what period they get paid, and the number of hours they work per week. I will create a separate variable for the amount of money they would earn per year. This involves multiplying weekly income by 52, monthly income by 12, and so on, so that incomes are comparable. Hourly incomes are then generated by dividing weekly figures (annual figures over 52) by the number of hours worked per week: itself derived from a number of questions asked about hours worked per week (including overtime). Following Blundell et al. [2004], I take the log of these new variable so that it more closely resembles a normal distribution. Finally, the variable for membership of the salariat is also taken from a derived variable: from an 8-point version of the NS-SEC classification system (including "long-term unemployed/never worked"), I code classes I and II as members of the salariat, as in Bukodi and Goldthorpe [2011].

I focus on age 34 because it should provide a reasonable measure of educational attainment by that stage – some participants would not have completed their education by earlier waves – and participants are likely to have reached "oc-

cupational maturity" by this point [Goldthorpe, 1980, Breen, 1994], after which "further changes in their class positions become relatively unlikely" [Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992, 72]. I therefore expect that the measures of educational attainment, income, and salariat should be representative and illuminating.

In order to identify the salience of reading for pleasure on the outcome variables, I will broadly follow Blundell et al. [2004] in terms of relevant household control data: mother's education and father's social class (both at 10), and school type attended at 16. This is in addition to modelling men and women separately. For assessing mother's education, I follow Conti et al. [2010] in distinguishing between mothers who stayed in education beyond the compulsory school-leaving age and those who didn't, and extend it by generating a separate category for mothers who left education at 19 or later. For father's social class, I use a standard 7-point NS-SEC classification scheme, as per Goldthorpe and Jackson [2007]. For school type, I distinguish between grant-maintained schools and others (voluntary-aided, voluntary-controlled, and independent). I will also follow Harmon and Walker [1999, 2000] and Dearden [1999] in establishing reading *ability* in addition to *behaviour*, by taking the result of a vocabulary test administered by BCS70 staff at 10, in order to represent language acquired from parents more strongly than language acquired at school. The goal of introducing this variable is so that reading behaviour does not reflect reading ability too strongly, given the demonstrated association between the two. When estimating destination class and income, I will introduce education into the model, in order to establish the associations between these variables *net of education*.

The models used to answer these questions can be expressed graphically as in figures 4.2–4.4, with figure 4.1 expressing all expected associations.

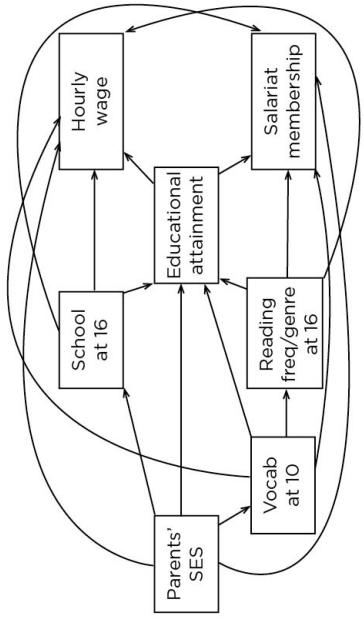

Figure 4.1: Expected associations for H_{1-6}

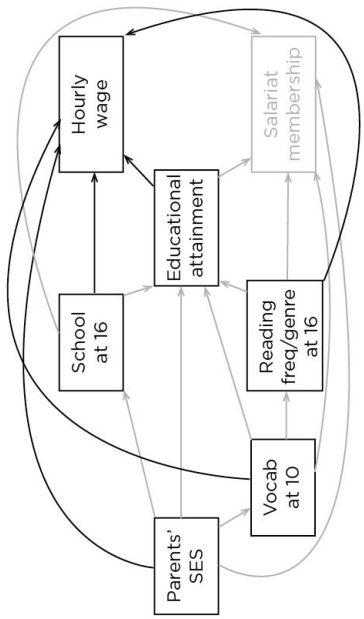

Figure 4.3: Model for H_{3-4}

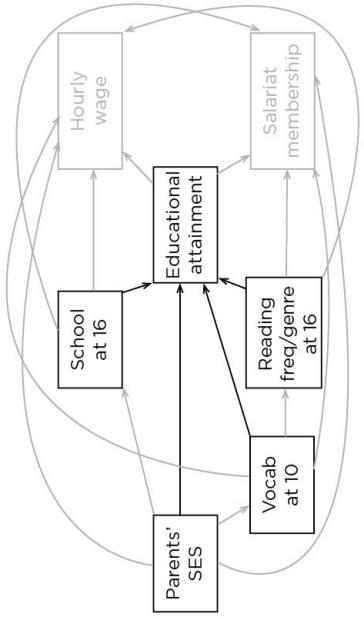

Figure 4.2: Model for H_{1-2}

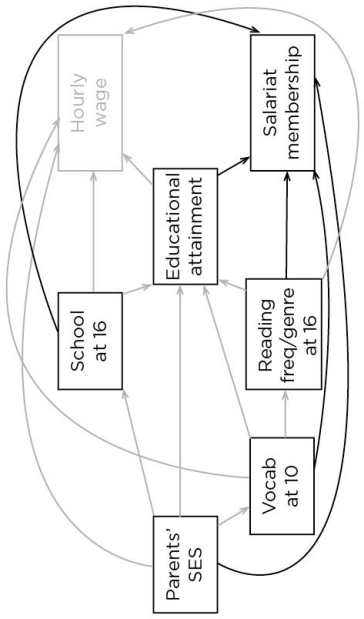

Figure 4.4: Model for H_{5-6}

Although the initial N of the BCS70 is 17 198, the total Ns in the models will be considerably smaller, mainly due to attrition from the overall sample in the study. I use data from four different sweeps of the survey, at birth, age 10, age 16, and age 34. The N of the sample broadly decreases over time, as some participants are no longer followed up (such as those in Northern Ireland), others become ineligible for the study (such as those who permanently emigrate), and others do not participate for other reasons (such as choosing to opt out, or not being found), although the size of the sample does not decrease monotonically. The Ns at each of the subsequent waves used here are 14 874, 11 621[3], and 9 656, respectively [Elliott and Shepherd, 2006].

In addition to this, while there was a total of 11 621 responses to the sweep at age 16, it is not the case that all 11 621 respondents answered all questions in the survey. This wave had a total of 15 survey documents distributed, to parents, schools, and cohort members themselves, with the greatest response rate to any individual document being 9 584 (82%); the response rate to Questionnaire B, "Student Score Form", which contains the item about reading frequency ("At Leisure"), was 6 003 (52%); and the response rate to Questionnaire J, "Life and Leisure", containing the question about reading genre, was 6 417 [Goodman and Butler, 1986]. The Ns for the models I use, which are lower than the overall N of the study due to a combination of overall attrition, and item and document nonresponse, are shown in section 4.4.1.

Given these variables, the models used will be relatively straightforward, as expressed in figure 4.1. The models for education will predict the educational at-

[3]The wave at age 16, in 1986, was negatively affected by a teachers' strike, with implications for recruitment.

tainment variable described above using an ordered logistic regression, as long as the proportional odds assumption holds: otherwise, they will predict the variable using multinomial logistic regression if the irrelevance of independent alternatives assumption holds. The models for income will be OLS regressions, as the hourly wage variable will have been transformed so that it more closely resembles normal distributions. The models for membership of the salariat will be logistic regressions.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Descriptive statistics

Table 4.1 shows the descriptive statistics of the variables used in the analysis, both of the total sample responding to any of these questions, and of those cases who have no missing values for the first model predicting educational attainment: in this way, I attempt to demonstrate how the population differs from the sample used given nonresponse. For the population, the dataset is evenly split between men and women, although the usable sample is skewed towards women (60%). The usable sample has slightly higher SES than does the population: 33% of the population has mothers with some noncompulsory education, while 42% of the usable sample does, and 31% of the population has fathers from classes I and II, compared with 39% of the usable sample. The results of the vocabulary score were normally distributed (P=0.27, Shapiro-Francia test), with a slightly higher mean score for the usable sample than for the population. 71% of the population was at a maintained school, while 68% of the usable sample was.

Table 4.1: Descriptive statistics: overall (BCS70)

Variable	Overall mean	Mean for used cases	Total N
Sex at birth (1 = male)	0.52	0.40	17 185
Mother's school-leaving age			
15 or younger	0.66	0.58	17 196
16–18	0.27	0.34	17 196
19 or older	0.06	0.08	17 196
Father's class at 10			
I	0.13	0.17	11 955
II	0.18	0.22	11 955
III	0.05	0.06	11 955
IV	0.10	0.10	11 955
V	0.10	0.09	11 955
VI	0.26	0.23	11 955
VII	0.15	0.12	11 955
Vocabulary score at 10	40.72	42.25	12 757
Standardized vocabulary score at 10	0	0.19	12 757
Maintained school at 16	0.71	0.68	12 755
Reading frequency at 16			
Rarely or never	0.34	0.35	5 614
Less than once a week	0.21	0.22	5 614
Once a week	0.14	0.13	5 614
More than once a week	0.29	0.30	5 614
Reading genre at 16			
None	0.41	0.42	6 243
Novels only	0.20	0.22	6 243
Genre fiction only	0.03	0.03	6 243
Factual only	0.07	0.07	6 243
Novels and genre fiction	0.02	0.02	6 243
Novels and factual	0.11	0.12	6 243
Genre fiction and factual	0.05	0.05	6 243
Novels, genre fiction, and factual	0.07	0.09	6 243
Educational attainment by 34			
No qualifications	0.10	0.05	9 665
O-levels or equivalent	0.48	0.43	9 665
A-levels or equivalent	0.09	0.11	9 665
University or greater	0.33	0.41	9 665
Log hourly wage at 34	2.32	2.36	6 313
Salariat membership at 34	0.48	0.55	7 989

In terms of educational attainment, the largest category is people who'd attained the equivalent of Key Stage 4 qualifications (including GCSEs and CSEs) at 48% for the whole population, and 43% of the usable sample; the next largest category was those people who'd attended higher education, at 33% for the population and 41% for the usable sample, leaving 9% and 10% with A-levels and no qualifications respectively from the population. The mean log hourly wage at 34, of 2.32 with a standard deviation of 0.66, means that the 10th and 90th percentile of the population would have been earning £5:31ph and £18:54ph respectively; the mean is slightly higher for the usable sample. Finally, 48% of the population and 55% of the usable sample were members of the salariat. For the population, this consists of 17% being members of class I, and 31% being members of class II; for the usable sample, this consists of 20% being members of class I, and 35% being members of class II.

The changes between the population and the sample, shown in the first two columns of table 4.1, such as a slight bias towards the children of more-educated mothers and fathers from classes I and II, are consistent with Plewis et al. [2004]. There are no major deviations, however, between the reading behaviour of the population and the usable sample: the proportions of respondents reading at each frequency and reading different genres who answer all relevant items are similar to the proportions of respondents reading in different ways who cannot be used in the analyses due to missing items.

In terms of data on reading behaviour, those who answered questions about genre were more likely to report never reading than those who answered questions about frequency; this can be explained by the fact that the first question asks for general behaviour, whereas the second asks for behaviour specifically in the last

four weeks. Within the frequency question, 34% of the population claimed to read rarely or never, whereas 29% claimed to read more than once a week. Within the genre questions, 41% of the population claimed not to have read any book for pleasure in the last 4 weeks; beyond this, the two largest groups are those carrying out what might be classified as literary reading: novels only (20%), and novels and factual books (11%). The proportions of respondents reporting having read genre fiction are small, at a total of 17%, of which 10% refers to respondents who had read both novels and factual books as well. None of the data on reading behaviour varies substantially between the population and the usable sample. The changes in population due to attrition shown in table 4.4.1, such as a slight bias towards the children of more-educated mothers and fathers from classes I and II, are consistent with Plewis et al. [2004].

As shown in section 4.3, the number of participants responding to the survey not only decreases over time, but many participants do not respond to all items in each wave of the survey. The key limitations here are the number of participants providing information about their employment situation at age 34 (N=6 313 for income, and 7 989 for salariat membership), and who had responded to questions about reading behaviour (N = 5 614 for frequency, and 6 243 for genre), although table 4.1 shows that there are missing values on all variables, and this is particularly stark for men. While there are more wage-earning women than men in the sample, this reflects the different levels of missing data between the genders, with the difference in the occupational models being less stark than the education models. The eventual Ns for each of the models are as follows:

- Educational attainment (frequency): 1082 (M) / 1592 (F)

- Educational attainment (genre): 1215 (M) / 1812 (F)
- Income (frequency): 833 (M) / 1022 (F)
- Income (genre): 917 (M) / 1166 (F)
- Salariat membership (frequency): 1030 (M) / 1244 (F)
- Salariat membership (genre): 1146 (M) / 1410 (F)

4.4.2 Educational attainment

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 both report the results of ordered logistic regressions. The results of table 4.2 can be expressed as the equation in the caption, where x corresponds to a vector of control variables, and β_4 corresponds to a vector of coefficients. Table 4.3 can be expressed in a similar way, where the variables for reading frequency are replaced by variables for reading genre.

Frequency

Table 4.2: Ordered logistic regression: educational attainment by 34, by reading frequency (BCS70)

	Male		Female	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Reading frequency[b]				
Less than once a week	0.511**	(0.158)	0.515**	(0.144)
Once a week	0.639**	(0.200)	0.971**	(0.170)
More than once a week	0.595**	(0.171)	1.043**	(0.131)
Mother's terminal education age[c]				
16–18	0.538**	(0.139)	0.428**	(0.112)
19 or older	1.455**	(0.276)	1.229**	(0.241)
Father's class at 10[d]				
I	1.120**	(0.209)	1.246**	(0.178)
II	0.700**	(0.187)	0.811**	(0.155)
III	0.550*	(0.257)	0.507*	(0.230)
IV	0.102	(0.240)	0.531**	(0.186)
V	0.139	(0.236)	0.134	(0.189)
VII	-0.161	(0.214)	0.049	(0.178)
Normalized vocab score at 10	0.464**	(0.069)	0.403**	(0.056)
Maintained school (dummy)	-0.170	(0.132)	-0.141	(0.110)
μ_1	-2.394**	(0.208)	-2.281**	(0.185)
μ_2	0.870**	(0.171)	1.121**	(0.158)
μ_3	1.450**	(0.175)	1.641**	(0.162)

N	1082	1592
Log-likelihood	-1075.187	-1553.512
$\chi^2_{(13)}$	273.957	372.777
P-value (Brant)	0.882	0.149

[a]The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $Education_i = \beta_1 Reading - Less - than - once - a - week + \beta_2 Reading - once - a - week + \beta_3 Reading - more - than - once - a - week + \beta_4 x + \epsilon \quad (i = 0, 1, 2, 3)$

[b]Reference category: rarely or never

[c]Reference category: 15 or younger

[d]Reference category: VI

These results show that there are significant positive associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment for both men and women. As expected, mother's education also predicts educational attainment strongly, particularly if respondents' mothers stayed in education beyond the age of 18. Father's class effects are also pronounced when comparing extremes, although short-range differences are small. Normalized vocabulary score at 10 is also a significant predictor of educational attainment; for men, a vocabulary score 1.5 standard deviations above the mean compared with being at the mean is as strong a predictor as is father's membership of class II compared with class VI. Net of these associations, having attended a maintained school isn't a significant predictor of educational attainment.

These results are illuminating in terms of distinguishing between the competing accounts, with the most striking thing being the demonstration of differences between men and women in the associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment. This can shown more clearly in figures 4.5 and 4.6, which report the predicted probabilities of each category of educational attainment by gender and class, as reading frequency changes. Other variables are held at their modal value, so these figures are the predicted probabilities for people with mothers who left school at 15 or younger, with a normalized vocabulary score of 0, and who attended maintained schools. While men's probability of having attended university is almost identical for those people who read at all at 16, regardless of frequency, there is a significant difference for women between reading less than once a week, and once a week or more, in their associations with educational attainment. This reinforces Dumais' idea of gendered cultural capital: the straightforward credentialism account may hold for men, but not for women. More generally, this

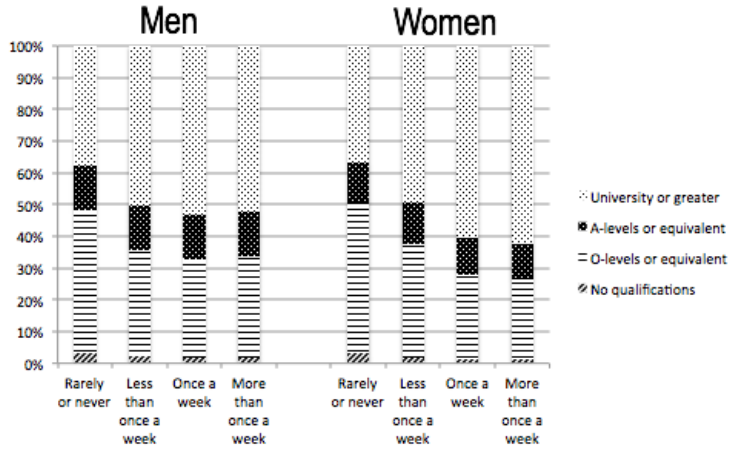

Figure 4.5: Predicted educational attainment by reading frequency and gender: class I origin, based on the results in table 4.2

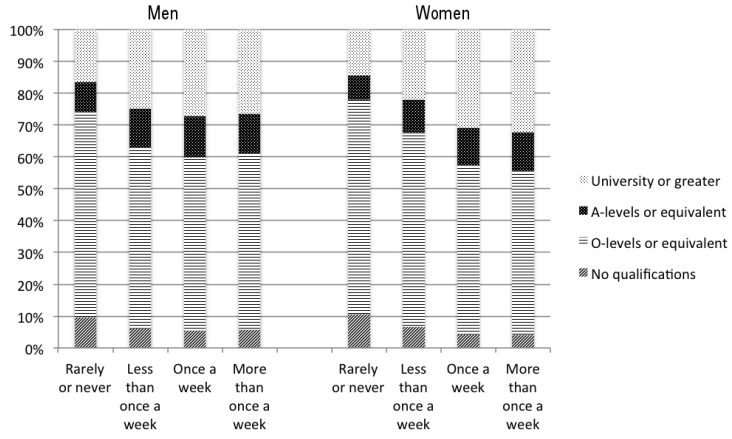

Figure 4.6: Predicted educational attainment by reading frequency and gender: class VI origin, based on the results in table 4.2

table broadly provides support for a cultural capital account, although the gender difference indicates that any cultural capital account may not be straightforward.

However, it is important not to overstate the relationship between reading for pleasure and educational attainment. While figures 4.5 and 4.6 demonstrate that there are significant differences in predicted educational attainment based on reading frequency, they also demonstrate that a boy from class VI who reads more than once a week has lower predicted educational attainment than a boy from class I who never reads. This also holds for girls, although the effect of reading more than once a week is stronger. Similarly, the positive association between reading for pleasure and educational attainment for boys is of a similar magnitude to the association between having a mother with some non compulsory education; however, this association is much smaller than that for having a mother who stayed in education beyond the age of 18.

Genre

As expected, the associations between educational attainment and the control variables in table 4.3 do not significantly differ from to the associations in table 4.2 at the 95% level. Mother's education and father's class are again the strongest predictors of educational attainment, and the association between educational attainment and having a mother who remained in education beyond 18 is similar to the association between educational attainment and having a father in class I.

As in table 4.3, these results demonstrate gender differences. As with figures 4.5 and 4.6, figures 4.7 and 4.8 demonstrates the probability of each category of educational attainment, by gender, class and reading genre, with other variables held at their modal values. These demonstrate that positive associations of reading novels

Table 4.3: Ordered logistic regression: educational attainment by 34, by reading genre (BCS70)

	Male		Female	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Reading genre[b]				
Novels only	0.661**	(0.219)	0.554**	(0.118)
Genre fiction only	0.313	(0.411)	-0.479†	(0.257)
Factual only	0.315†	(0.189)	0.256	(0.221)
Novels and genre fiction	-0.094	(0.578)	0.469	(0.288)
Novels and factual	0.910**	(0.236)	1.061**	(0.154)
Genre fiction and factual	0.635**	(0.217)	0.396	(0.306)
Novels, genre fiction and factual	0.807**	(0.235)	0.478*	(0.208)
Mother's terminal education age[c]				
16–18	0.417**	(0.129)	0.423**	(0.106)
19 or older	1.188**	(0.247)	1.196**	(0.231)
Father's class at 10[d]				
I	1.059**	(0.197)	1.225**	(0.170)
II	0.614**	(0.175)	0.706**	(0.146)
III	0.780**	(0.245)	0.470*	(0.217)
IV	0.184	(0.227)	0.343*	(0.174)
V	0.149	(0.217)	-0.026	(0.172)
VII	-0.247	(0.202)	0.057	(0.164)
Normalized vocab score at 10	0.411**	(0.063)	0.403**	(0.054)
Maintained school (dummy)	-0.163	(0.122)	-0.072	(0.104)
μ_1	-2.321**	(0.186)	-2.543**	(0.173)
μ_2	0.761**	(0.156)	0.895**	(0.143)
μ_3	1.362**	(0.159)	1.405**	(0.146)

N	1215	1812
Log-likelihood	-1246.831	-1777.013
$\chi^2_{(17)}$	285.423	402.505
P-value (Brant)	0.476	0..224

[a]The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $Education_i = \beta_1 Reading - genre + \beta_2 x + \epsilon \quad (i = 0, 1, 2, 3)$

[b]Reference category: none

[c]Reference category: 15 or younger

[d]Reference category: VI

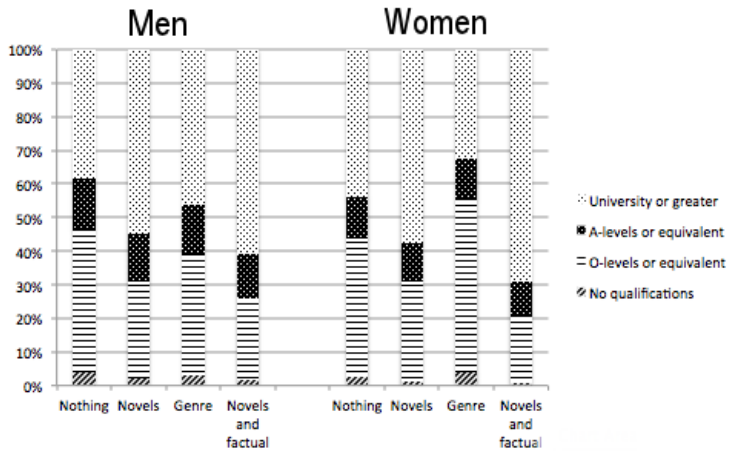

Figure 4.7: Predicted educational attainment by reading genre and gender: class I origin, based on the results in table 4.3

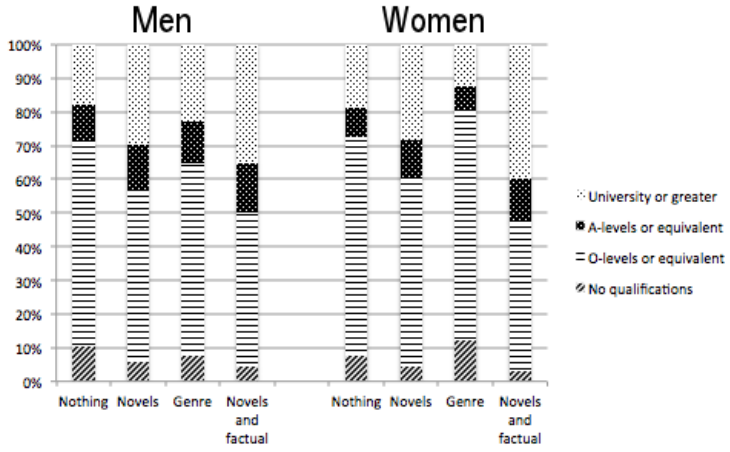

Figure 4.8: Predicted educational attainment by reading genre and gender: class VI origin, based on the results in table 4.3

only, and novels and factual books, are similar for both men and women; however, the associations surrounding genre fiction are different for men and women. There aren't significant associations between having read genre fiction and educational attainment for men, while for women there's a weak negative association between having read genre fiction and educational attainment. In addition, the associations for women between reading all three kinds of books and educational attainment and educational attainment are weaker than are the associations between reading novels and factual books, but not genre fiction. This provides some support to the argument that the cultural capital associations of reading "the literary" are undermined by reading genre fiction as well. While these results don't seem as significant for the other interactions with genre fiction for women, reading all three is the most common combination of reading types of books that involves genre fiction. By contrast, the associations between reading and educational attainment are similar for men reading just novels, novels and factual books, genre fiction and factual books, and all three. However, the associations between reading just genre fiction, just factual books, and novels and genre fiction aren't significant at the 95% level for men, although once again this may be due to the smaller numbers of people in those categories.

Once again, there is a risk in overstating these associations; the difference in association between reading both novels and factual books (compared with reading nothing) and educational attainment is similar to the difference between children of classes I and VI. As with table 4.2, this difference is similar in magnitude to the difference between having a mother who left education by 15 and between 16 and 18: much smaller than the difference between having a mother who left education by 15 and after 18.

Both of these sets of results are suggestive of a cultural capital account of the relationship between reading for pleasure and educational attainment: for boys, this applies for clearly for frequency and broadly for genre; for girls, the cultural capital account is less clear for frequency but is far clearer for genre. This suggests that an account on which the relationship between reading for pleasure and educational attainment is entirely driven by cognitive outcomes of reading for pleasure is insufficient.

4.4.3 Income

As in section 4.4.2, the elements of the equations in the captions of tables 4.4 and A.1 are as follows: "Reading" in this context refers to a vector of dummy variables (as made explicit in section 4.4.2), and, as before, x refers to a vector of control variables. This vector of control variables now includes dummy variables for different categories of educational attainment, as estimated in section 4.4.2.

Table 4.4 has hourly wage as its dependent variable, with reading frequencies used as independent variables. Table A.1, which is appended, has hourly wage as its dependent variable, with reading genres as independent variables. Table A.1 is appended because of similarity: there are no significant associations between any frequencies of reading for pleasure and hourly wage, nor are there any significant associations between hourly wage and reading either "the literary" or genre fiction, or any combination of the two; meanwhile, the associations between the other independent variables and the dependent variable are similar across the models. This is true for both men and women – while a weak negative association (at the 90%, rather than 95% level) emerges for men having read all three types of books,

Table 4.4: OLS regression: log of hourly wage at 34, by reading frequency (BCS70)

	Male		Female	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Reading frequency[b]				
Less than once a week	0.051	(0.053)	0.091	(0.060)
Once a week	0.021	(0.064)	0.050	(0.068)
More than once a week	-0.055	(0.056)	0.086	(0.054)
Educational qualifications by 34 [c]				
O-levels or equivalent	0.179†	(0.108)	0.086	(0.119)
A-levels or equivalent	0.336**	(0.119)	0.298*	(0.130)
Degree or greater	0.471**	(0.111)	0.472**	(0.120)
Mother's terminal education age[d]				
16–18	0.043	(0.046)	0.014	(0.046)
19 or older	0.085	(0.081)	0.114	(0.087)
Father's class at 10[e]				
I	0.189**	(0.067)	0.145*	(0.070)
II	0.182**	(0.064)	0.035	(0.064)
III	0.128	(0.083)	0.012	(0.095)
IV	0.112	(0.085)	-0.029	(0.075)
V	-0.011	(0.081)	0.050	(0.078)
VII	-0.034	(0.070)	-0.105	(0.074)
Normalized vocab score at 10	0.010	(0.023)	0.032	(0.022)
Maintained school (dummy)	0.065	(0.043)	-0.026	(0.045)
Intercept	2.037**	(0.114)	1.886**	(0.125)
N	833		1022	
R^2	0.123		0.127	

[a]The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $ln(hourlywage) = \beta_1 Reading + \beta_2 x + \alpha + \epsilon$

[b]Reference category: rarely or never

[c]Reference category: none

[d]Reference category: 15 or younger

[e]Reference category: VI

Table 4.5: Predicted income at 34 by gender, origin class and education: other variables held at modal values (BCS70, based on the results in table 4.4)

	Male		Female	
Educational attainment	Class I origin	Class VI origin	Class I origin	Class VI origin
No qualifications	£9:88	£8:22	£7:42	£6:42
O-levels or equivalent	£11:82	£9:78	£8:09	£7:00
A-levels or equivalent	£13:82	£11:44	£9:99	£8:65
Degree or greater	£15:83	£13:10	£11:90	£10:29

and for women having read factual books only, given the number of combinations available this is unremarkable; there is no clear theoretical reason why these two patterns of consumption should be the ones with negative associations. This lack of any clear associations between reading frequency and income is consistent with an account in which any association between reading for pleasure and income (as in Robson [2009]) is mediated entirely by educational attainment.

By contrast, not only are gender and education both strong predictors of hourly wage, but some associations persist between origin class and income net of education, shown in table 4.5, which is consistent with Hansen [2001]. While educational attainment is by far the strongest predictor of income, with differences in hourly wage between having no qualifications and having tertiary education being £4:88 for male members of class VI, class differences are still significant, with degree-educated men from class I earning £2:73 more than degree-educated men from class VI. Gender differences are also substantial, with degree-educated men from class I earning £3:93 more than their female counterparts. While the association between father's class and income remains significant net of education, however, the association between mother's education and income is no longer significant; similarly, the associations between vocabulary score at 10 and income are not significant. It seems likely that both of these are "cashed in" through education.

4.4.4 Salariat membership

As in section 4.4.3, in the equations in the captions of tables 4.6 and 4.8, "Reading" corresponds to vectors of different dummy variables: in table 4.6, dummies for reading frequencies, and in table 4.8, dummies for reading genres.

Frequency

The results in table 4.6 demonstrate that there is an association between having read for pleasure at 16 and salariat membership at 34, but that this association is not straightforward. We can see that educational attainment is by far the strongest predictor of salariat membership, particularly higher education: for men, having Key Stage 5 equivalent qualifications compared with no qualifications is also a strong predictor of salariat membership; the strength of the association is much weaker for women. Other family background effects only hold for men: compared with origin class VI, coming from origin class I or III is significantly positively associated with salariat membership at 34; and having a mother with some non-compulsory education, compared with none, is significantly positively associated with salariat membership (although this only holds for people with mothers who left education between 16 and 18, not 19 or older). However, performance in the vocab score at age 10 is significantly positively associated with salariat membership for women, and not for men.

The associations between frequencies of reading for pleasure and salariat membership problematize the simple cultural capital account further. As is shown more clearly in table 4.7, there are differences between readers and non-readers, but for both men and women the association between having read *less* than once

Table 4.6: Logistic regression: salariat membership at 34, by reading frequency (BCS70)

	Male		Female	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Reading frequency[b]				
Less than once a week	0.536**	(0.192)	0.880**	(0.191)
Once a week	0.183	(0.239)	0.363†	(0.219)
More than once a week	0.318	(0.208)	0.570**	(0.172)
Educational qualifications by 34 [c]				
O-levels or equivalent	0.502	(0.382)	0.413	(0.422)
A-levels or equivalent	1.727**	(0.423)	0.755†	(0.450)
Degree or greater	2.366**	(0.396)	2.396**	(0.427)
Mother's terminal education age[d]				
16–18	0.447**	(0.170)	0.047	(0.149)
19 or older	-0.169	(0.287)	0.419	(0.317)
Father's class at 10[e]				
I	0.782**	(0.256)	0.336	(0.232)
II	0.157	(0.223)	-0.021	(0.206)
III	0.935**	(0.325)	0.210	(0.310)
IV	0.120	(0.285)	-0.276	(0.241)
V	0.167	(0.282)	0.221	(0.245)
VII	-0.033	(0.251)	-0.182	(0.235)
Normalized vocab score at 10	0.128	(0.083)	0.212**	(0.072)
Maintained school (dummy)	-0.058	(0.157)	0.094	(0.145)
Intercept	-1.593**	(0.409)	-1.757**	(0.449)
N	1030		1244	
Log-likelihood	-558.584		-683.462	
$\chi^2_{(16)}$	284.491		352.216	

[a]The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $ln\frac{Pr(x)}{1-\Pr(x)} = \beta_1 Reading + \beta_2 x + \alpha + \epsilon$

[b]Reference category: rarely or never

[c]Reference category: none

[d]Reference category: 15 or younger

[e]Reference category: VI

Table 4.7: Predicted probability of salariat membership at 34 by reading frequency at 16, educational attainment, and gender: other values held at mode (BCS70, based on the results of table 4.6)

	Male		Female	
Reading frequency	No quals	Tertiary education	No quals	Tertiary education
Rarely/never	0.296	0.671	0.210	0.675
Less than once a week	0.418	0.777	0.390	0.833
Once a week	0.335	0.711	0.276	0.749
More than once a week	0.366	0.737	0.319	0.786

a week and educational attainment is the strongest; for men, the associations between reading more frequently aren't significant at the 95% level, and for women the associations between reading more frequently are weaker. This shows that the associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment, and the gender differences between them (as shown in table 4.2) are not replicated in the associations between reading for pleasure and occupational attainment.

These differences can be shown in table 4.7, which report the predicted probabilities of salariat membership by reading frequency at 16, educational attainment, and gender, with all other variables held at their modal values. This table shows that the probability of salariat membership for a man with no educational qualifications increases from 30% to 42% going from no reading at 16 to reading occasionally at 16. The increase is greater for women, moving from 21% to 39%. These differences are slightly larger than the differences between men and women with no qualifications who read rarely or never (8%); the differences are minimal between men and women with tertiary education who read rarely or never (0.4%). However, the differences in predicted salariat membership between people with no qualifications and people with tertiary education are much larger: for men who read rarely or never, the probability increases by 37%, and for women, the

probability increases by 46%.

Genre

As expected, there are similarities between tables 4.8 and 4.6. Once again, higher education is by far the strongest predictor of salariat membership, with possession of Key Stage 5 or equivalent qualifications compared with qualifications a slightly weaker predictor for boys only. Family background variables are only significant for boys, not girls: having had a father in class I or III, and having a mother with some noncompulsory education. In this case, having performed to an above-average standard on the vocabulary test at 10 is significantly positively associated with salariat membership for both men and women: while this result differs from the results in table 4.6, the differences in the coefficient for men are relatively small.

There are positive associations between different patterns of reading behaviour and occupational attainment. For both men and women, having read only novels is significantly positively associated with probability of membership of the salariat, although the association is stronger for men than it is for women. For women, having read novels combined with genre fiction, factual books, or both, is also significantly positively associated with membership of the salariat, as is having read both genre fiction and factual books. For men, the only other pattern of reading at 16 significantly positively associated with membership of the salariat is reading genre fiction on its own. While there is a strong association between reading novels and genre fiction and salariat membership, it's accompanied by a large standard error, reflecting the small number of respondents in that category.

These results can be seen more clearly with table 4.9, which report the as-

Table 4.8: Logistic regression: salariat membership at 34, by reading genre (BCS70)

	Male		Female	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Reading genre[b]				
Novels only	0.782**	(0.293)	0.496**	(0.156)
Genre fiction only	1.119*	(0.563)	0.290	(0.345)
Factual only	-0.062	(0.234)	0.268	(0.289)
Novels and genre fiction	1.540†	(0.845)	0.803*	(0.364)
Novels and factual	0.235	(0.292)	0.520**	(0.196)
Genre fiction and factual	0.493†	(0.272)	0.784*	(0.397)
Novels, genre fiction and factual	-0.081	(0.282)	0.607*	(0.273)
Educational qualifications by 34 [c]				
O-levels or equivalent	0.282	(0.325)	-0.031	(0.394)
A-levels or equivalent	1.497**	(0.366)	0.375	(0.420)
Degree or greater	2.151**	(0.339)	1.977**	(0.397)
Mother's terminal education age[d]				
16–18	0.323*	(0.161)	0.011	(0.141)
19 or older	-0.260	(0.277)	0.281	(0.293)
Father's class at 10[e]				
I	1.011**	(0.248)	0.280	(0.219)
II	0.270	(0.213)	-0.129	(0.193)
III	0.929**	(0.318)	0.225	(0.290)
IV	-0.002	(0.270)	-0.152	(0.226)
V	0.023	(0.264)	0.173	(0.223)
VII	-0.050	(0.241)	-0.292	(0.219)
Normalized vocab score at 10	0.154*	(0.078)	0.222**	(0.070)
Maintained school (dummy)	-0.178	(0.150)	0.008	(0.136)
Intercept	-1.178**	(0.342)	-1.178**	(0.414)

N	1146	1410
Log-likelihood	-615.934	-783.714
$\chi^2_{(20)}$	319.594	385.995

[a] The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $ln\frac{Pr(x)}{1-\Pr(x)} = \beta_1 Reading + \beta_2 x + \alpha + \epsilon$

[b] Reference category: none

[c] Reference category: none

[d] Reference category: 15 or younger

[e] Reference category: VI

Table 4.9: Predicted probability of salariat membership at 34 by reading frequency at 16, father's class at 16, and gender: other values held at mode (BCS70, based on the results in table 4.8)

	Male		Female	
Reading genre	No quals	Tertiary education	No quals	Tertiary education
None listed	0.204	0.689	0.237	0.692
Novels	0.360	0.829	0.338	0.786
Genre fiction	0.441	0.871	0.293	0.750
Novels and factual	0.246	0.737	0.343	0.790

sociations between different patterns of reading at 16, gender, and educational attainment, with membership of the salariat. The positive associations of having read genre fiction only are significant relative to not having read anything for men; the same isn't true for women. However, once again, the positive associations between having attended university and being a member of the salariat are far larger: for those who didn't report any reading, the difference in probabilities of being members of the salariat between those with no qualifications and territory education is 48% for men and 46% for women.

While it is less clear that cultural capital can explain the relationship between reading for pleasure at 16 and salariat membership, compared with the relationship between reading for pleasure and educational attainment, the persisting relationship between reading for pleasure and salariat membership, especially given the particularly strong relationship between infrequent reading at 16 and salariat membership, further reinforce the suggestion that any relationship with reading for pleasure cannot be accounted for by a cognitive account alone.

4.5 Discussion

These results shed significant light on the relationship between teenage reading for pleasure and educational attainment, and the relationship between teenage reading for pleasure and subsequent occupational attainment. They show positive associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment, and between reading for pleasure and membership of the salariat, but no associations between reading for pleasure and income. The particular associations between genre and frequency of reading for pleasure and subsequent attainment indicate that the associations cannot be entirely explained through a cognitive account; however, the associations cannot be entirely explained through a straightforward cultural capital account either, requiring a more nuanced explanation.

Immediately, it becomes clear that an account in which reading behaviour is cashed in entirely through educational attainment fails; there are associations between reading for pleasure and occupational attainment that persist net of education. This can be seen in probability of membership of the salariat, although not in income.

This can be extended by addressing the initial hypotheses, which receive some support from the results. Hypotheses 1 and 2, both of which focus on educational attainment, are broadly supported. The amount that people had read isn't strongly associated with educational attainment: the main differences are between readers and non-readers. However, this is more strongly pronounced for men than it is for women: there are no significant differences between any volumes of reading for men, whereas for women reading less than once a week is less strongly associated with educational attainment than is reading more frequently. There are also

differences in the associations between genre of reading and educational attainment: genre fiction is less strongly associated with educational attainment than is the literary, although this difference is more strongly pronounced for women (where there's a weak negative association) than it is for men (where there's no association). This also forces us to reassess what we mean by "the literary" – the positive associations between reading factual books and educational attainment are weak for men and minimal for women, but reading both factual books and novels is more strongly positively associated with educational attainment than reading novels alone. Hypothesis 3 focuses on occupational attainment, and is also broadly supported: there are (some) positive associations between having read and membership of the salariat, and no associations between having read and income.

These results consistently display gender differences in the associations between reading for pleasure and attainment, with the exception of the results for income, where there are no significant associations with reading for pleasure at all. This reinforces the position from Dumais [2002] that the employment of cultural capital is itself gendered, with the associations with activities varying by gender in major ways. This can be seen most strikingly in the association between educational attainment and having read genre fiction. For men, there was no significant association between having read genre fiction alone and educational attainment, whereas for women there was a weak negative association. However, for women, the positive associations between having read novels, genre fiction, and factual books were weaker than having read just novels and factual books, whereas for men there was no difference. There is also no significant relationship between having read genre fiction and occupational attainment for women, while for men the association is significant and positive; however, for women, having read genre

fiction combined with any other type of book is significantly positively associated with salariat membership. This is not the case for men, although in two cases there is a weak positive relationship. This is partly consistent with Wright [2006], which can account for the relationship between genre reading and educational attainment; the stigma associated with particular types of *women's* genre reading is substantial, the stigma coming from both women and men, whereas the stigma associated with men's genre reading was much less pronounced. However, this fails to account for the relationship between having read genre fiction and occupational attainment; it may be that, for women, having read the literary, regardless of what it is combined with, provides useful signals for entering the salariat, while the signals from having read genre fiction become less pronounced.

However, the associations between frequency of reading and attainment also vary by gender. This is clearest in educational attainment. For men, the associations between reading and educational attainment are similar regardless of the amount of reading done: the difference is between readers and non-readers. For women, this is not the case: reading less than once a week is less strongly associated with greater educational attainment than is reading once a week or more, although there are no significant differences between reading once a week and reading more often than that. This indicates that a straightforward cognitive account is insufficient to explain the results – under that, there should be increases in the strengths of associations for both women and men as reading frequency increases – but the cultural capital account is also insufficient until the gender dimension is more fully explored. It may be that the expectations from gatekeepers (in this case, broadly teachers) are different for male and female students: it is impressive for a boy to only read occasionally, and this gets them over a threshold, whereas

while a girl who only reads occasionally is more impressive than a girl who never reads at all, there is an additional threshold for girls who read more frequently.

This is problematized to an extent by the relationship between frequency of reading and occupational attainment. The lack of a significant relationship between reading and income is consistent with Hypothesis 3. However, reading less than once a week predicts salariat membership more strongly than reading more often than that (and for men, this is the only significant relationship). This may suggest (consistent with Erickson [1996]) that what's valuable is having a basic level of knowledge that may be developed through occasionally reading, combined with many other types of knowledge, with the time investment of frequent reading crowding out the possibilities of these other types of knowledge.

More generally, these results show that the relationship between reading for pleasure and attainment cannot be entirely explained by a cognitive account, but that a cultural capital account is also insufficient to explain the relationship. This is partly due to an ambiguity in the relationship between embodied and institutionalized cultural capital, discussed in section 4.1.1. These results indicate that an account under which embodied cultural capital is exchanged for the institutionalized cultural capital of educational attainment fails. However, an account of cultural capital under which embodied cultural capital can play a role net of institutionalized cultural capital – or, in this context, that reading can play a role net of education – is also complicated by these results, with the expected outcomes not emerging. The clearest instances of this are the relationships between different types of reading and occupational attainment, which seem to be in tension with Wright [2006], and particularly Kraaykamp and Dijkstra [1999]: while the previous two paragraphs indicate that a cultural capital account is not irreconcilable with

these results, we need to develop our understanding more clearly with a broader set of comparisons. Because of this, it is unreasonable to develop any kind of account of these results demonstrating any clear causal pathways between reading and attainment – not only do the models inherently present ambiguities about the roles of each of the accounts, these results present ambiguities even beyond that.

This should motivate us to focus more thoroughly on the role that the social acceptance of particular activities; do we expect associations between activities and occupational attainment because those particular activities are approved of, or because activity, as opposed to inactivity, is the thing approved of? These arguments, which might be considered consistent with a highbrow/middlebrow distinction, can be most usefully developed by investigating the associations between further activities, contrasted with reading: does reading more closely represent a highbrow or a middlebrow activity in its associations, does it represent neither, and do the associations of those activities differ less than might be expected? This can be investigated by extending the argument from Kaufman and Gabler [2004] in a British context.

Chapter 5

Leisure practices and life course outcomes: assessing claims from Bourdieu and Kaufman & Gabler

5.1 Introduction

The evidence in the previous chapter suggests that a straightforward Bourdieusian account of reading for pleasure cannot explain the associations between reading for pleasure and both educational and occupational attainment on its own: while some of the associations are consistent with a Bourdieusian account, this varies both across different measures, and by gender. This chapter extends this analysis, investigating the associations between reading for pleasure and educational and occupational attainment in the context of other leisure activities.

The goal of this chapter is to extend the framework of the extent to which reading for pleasure represents cultural capital. Having established in the previ-

ous chapter that higher-brow reading is more strongly associated with educational and occupational attainment than lower-brow reading, with this relationship holding particularly strongly for women, I ask here whether these relationships hold for higher-brow leisure activities more generally; in doing so, I also aim to consider whether the associations between reading and educational attainment diminish when higher-brow leisure activities are taken into account as well. This question is related to the issue of whether reading's associations with subsequent attainment might be unlike those of other activities, with its associations with educational and occupational attainment being stronger than those of other activities. We might expect associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment to be stronger than associations between other activities and educational attainment given the evidence in De Graaf et al. [2000] and Sullivan [2001], amongst others, and we might expect associations between reading for pleasure and occupational attainment to be stronger than associations between other activities and occupational attainment given the evidence in Robson [2009] and Liping and Rikui [2012]. Is participation in highbrow cultural activities more strongly associated with either educational or occupational attainment than participation in other activities? Alternatively, it might be that whether those cultural activities are highbrow isn't important: is activity as opposed to inactivity that which is associated with educational and occupational attainment?

The previous chapter demonstrates that reading for pleasure is not entirely "cashed in" through educational attainment; there are significant positive associations between reading for pleasure and salariat membership net of education, although there is no association between reading for pleasure and income. This chapter therefore also aims to establish whether this is a unique relationship, or

whether participation in other leisure activities is associated with occupational attainment net of educational attainment. In order to establish the forms that any associations between leisure activities and occupational attainment net of education take, I investigate both income and salariat membership.

In order to answer this question, I will set out the arguments from Bourdieu and from Kaufman & Gabler, and illustrate why there is a tension between the positions. I will then assess the two positions again using data from the British Cohort Study (BCS70).

5.1.1 Outlining competing positions

Bourdieu

As set out in section 4.1.1, Bourdieu has become the dominant paradigm through which to study the association between participation in leisure activities and life course outcomes, particularly educational attainment. In particular, he sets out in *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction* [1973] to investigates the relationship between educational attainment and cultural capital, focusing on highbrow activities (book purchases, book readership, museum, theatre, concert, and cinema attendance). The results demonstrate that participation in high cultural activities, even if cost-free, is disproportionately popular among highly-educated people. This chapter is subsequently frequently cited in papers investigating the relationship between cultural capital and educational attainment, with the focus on highbrow activities largely replicated.

In general, such papers tend to investigate the relationship specifically between high cultural activities and some measure of educational attainment using longitu-

dinal data. This most obviously emerges from DiMaggio [1982], who investigates the relationship between leisure activities and educational attainment, framed in the context of cultural capital. He argues that "participation in prestigious status cultures represents a kind of cultural capital" [190], and uses participation in art, music, and literature as the measures of this participation. The justification for using these particular measures is twofold. First, they are "the most popular of the prestigious art forms" [191], representing "a common cultural currency across American elites" (as opposed to other highbrow, and more middlebrow, activities, which might represent cultural capital only among smaller, more localised status groups). Second, while teachers reward knowledge and ability in these areas, the instruction received in schools is relatively superficial, so any rewards should not be reflective of effort already expended by teachers. In the analysis, variables for middlebrow activity are also incorporated, although with some skepticism about the possible relationship with educational attainment given the Bourdieusian paradigm. The results indicate that participation in high-status activities is strongly associated with educational attainment, while participation in middlebrow activities isn't. This is put in causal terms: "cultural capital has an impact on high school grades that is highly significant." [199]

The dominant understanding, which has emerged from this 1982 paper, is that of a causal narrative in which participation in highbrow activities entails cultural capital, which subsequently entails educational attainment, and this process takes place via knowledge of the "elite status culture", which can be distinguished from non-elite status cultures. This approach to the relationship between leisure activities and educational attainment can be seen in several articles, many of which are set out in Lareau and Weininger [2003]. For example, Katsillis and Rubinson [1990]

define cultural capital as "competence in a society's high status culture" [270], and use children's frequency of visits to lectures, the theatre, museums, and galleries as their leisure variables to predict educational attainment. Similar approaches are taken in Mohr and DiMaggio [1995], Kalmijn and Kraaykamp [1996], Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell [1999], and Dumais [2002], amongst many others. On this understanding, the classification of particular types of knowledge into "elite status culture" is claimed to be arbitrary, as opposed to legitimate; in addition, said knowledge is meaningfully different from ability. This difference is generally established by introducing measures of scholastic ability into any models: DiMaggio [1982] distinguishes between the associations between ability and grades, and the associations between cultural capital and grades, observing that in nontechnical subjects the associations between his measure of cultural capital and grades are almost as strong as between ability and grades. However, this position is sometimes characterised by some Bourdieusian defenders as partial, most clearly in Lareau and Weininger [2003]. In particular, it is not made explicit that the understanding of the dominant codes in society can only be entailed by high cultural practices; while all the examples in *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction* may be highbrow, it may also be possible to understand society's dominant codes through participation in non-highbrow activities. Nonetheless, expecting participation in highbrow activities to be strongly associated with educational attainment clearly represents *a* tradition in itself, and it is this tradition that I aim to assess here: while it is referred to here as the Bourdieusian position, it might otherwise be described as the DiMaggio position[1].

[1]The idea that this position might more accurately be described as the DiMaggio position is reinforced by an argument from Kingston [2001], in which he argues that under Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital, cultural practices can *only* be understood and transformed into

Kaufman & Gabler

Addressing exactly what the Bourdieusian position consists of is relevant in the context of explaining what it's distinct from. If the Bourdieusian argument is that it is *highbrow* activities, which demonstrate symbolic mastery [Bourdieu et al., 1990][see also Atkinson, 2007], that entail more privileged outcomes, the alternative argument, represented here by Kaufman & Gabler, is that it's not that participating in highbrow activities *per se* that's important; what's important is participating in directed activities, as opposed to participating in undirected activities, such as hanging out on the street, or not participating in any activities at all. Such participation in directed leisure activities could therefore provide an understanding of society's dominant codes, with this knowledge representing embodied institutional capital, which can be cashed in for institutionalized cultural capital. Kaufman and Gabler [2004] use data from the National Educational Longitudinal Survey (NELS) in the United States to investigate the associations between participating in different extra-curricular activities and entrance to college, both any 4-year college and elite institutions. They find a strong association between participating in many different types of extra-curricular activities and entrance to any college, with highbrow activities not occupying a particularly privileged position: the strongest predictor for boys is participation in team sports, and the strongest predictor for girls is participation in musical groups. In addition, they find no significant association between being passively exposed to different art forms and college attendance, while there was a significant association between experiencing

capital by the children of the dominant classes. Because of this, he argues that DiMaggio's results, which show that participation in high cultural activities are associated with educational attainment for the children of members of all classes, actually contradict the Bourdieusian theory.

hands-on training with art forms and college attendance. This raises questions about the Bourdieusian account, under which passive exposure to different art forms (such as attending museums) should be associated with educational attainment. For boys, the strongest predictors of entering an elite college are participation in yearbooks and school newspapers; for girls, the strongest is participation in student government. The authors suggest that it might be that doing something unusual is the best way to get into an elite college, as opposed to doing something standard and expected, in order to make oneself stand out – this is referred to as "modified cultural capital" [163]. The results also demonstrate clear gender differences between the associations between activities and educational attainment, similar to the results in the previous chapter.

The evidence from this paper also suggests these differences cannot be explained purely by whether or not activities are visible – an account under which teachers are impressed by seeing their students in non-academic settings. If this were the case, then differences should emerge between reportable and non-reportable activities: playing in an orchestra (where key gatekeepers might be able to observe performances) as opposed to attending museums, for example. Such differences do not emerge, with more support for a socialization theory: some of the activities associated with educational attainment are those activities reinforcing social values consistent with the school, such as cheerleading and student government. The argument that visibility of activities is important is undermined more generally by Sullivan [2007], who argues that the distinction between public and private activities is not useful and possibly dated. Not only can private activities nonetheless be displayed (by people talking about books they've read, for example), it's not clear that when people perform, they're likely to be seen by any relevant gatekeepers.

Instead, it's more important that activities "can be made public, and therefore used to communicate status" [2.8] – again, such as talking about the books one's recently read.

This idea is developed by Broh [2002], who also uses the NELS, finding that participation in interscholastic sports is more strongly associated with educational attainment than are his other variables: intramural sports, cheerleading, music groups, drama, student council, yearbook, and vocational clubs. He argues that the key difference between these activities is the social skills and development offered by interscholastic sports, as participation develops social ties with both teammates but also with parents, teachers, and other schools. This reinforces the position in Kaufman & Gabler, that while cultural capital can help to explain the relationship between extracurricular activity and educational attainment, any advantages of participating in extracurricular activities derive from improved social competencies rather than from participating in higher-status cultures, with highbrow activities holding no privileged position.

This introduces tensions with the Bourdieusian argument. On the Kaufman & Gabler account, there is nothing special about highbrow activities *per se*: while we expect positive associations between highbrow activities and educational attainment we don't expect them to be larger than the associations between middlebrow activities and educational attainment. This is in tension with the suggestion from DiMaggio [1982] that not are the activities considered high status the same across different communities, at least in the United States, but also that participation in those high status activities is what's particularly rewarded.

One explanation for these findings is that the assumption that teachers and other gatekeepers primarily reward activities representing high status cultures

may be dated, or at least peculiar to specific locations. The distinction between school-sanctioned and non-school-sanctioned activities, as opposed to the distinction between highbrow and middlebrow activities, is helpful towards understanding this further. Dumais [2008] distinguishes between five major types of activities in her analysis: school-sponsored activities (such as school sports, school plays, and other clubs); undirected social activities (hanging out with friends, driving around, talking to friends on the phone); high cultural classes outside of school; leisure reading; and TV and video game consumption. She finds that participation in school-sponsored activities and reading for pleasure are the two types of activities that are strongly positively associated with educational attainment (in this case, GPA and math test scores), while high cultural classes aren't significantly associated in either direction. Spending time on undirected social activities is negatively associated with educational attainment, as is consumption of TV and video games.

These results are consistent with an account under which key gatekeepers reward participation in particular types of status cultures: ones where those status cultures are not limited to high cultural participation, but more generally participation in activities sanctioned or sponsored by the school. The data does not provide us with information about exactly which activities are rewarded (school-sanctioned activities are collapsed into a single category), so it may be that the effect is overstated. For example, "school academic clubs" are listed as a possible activity within school-sanctioned activities, and it is unsurprising that students who spend more time in school academic clubs might do better in subjects corresponding to those academic clubs. However, these results more generally suggest that the status culture which is rewarded in education is not limited to high sta-

tus cultures, suggesting that the Bourdieusian account is incorrect – it is not just that school-sanctioned activities generally seem to have positive associations with educational attainment, but high cultural classes outside school do not.

It is therefore important to distinguish the activities associated with attainment on each account. On the Bourdieusian account, educational attainment is associated with highbrow activities, which are contrasted with middlebrow activities, undirected activities, and a lack of activities. On the Kaufman & Gabler account, educational attainment is associated with school-sanctioned, directed activities (including both highbrow and middlebrow activities), which are contrasted with undirected activities and a lack of activities. These associations can be thought of in terms of gatekeepers: on the Bourdieusian account, gatekeepers are only impressed by highbrow activities, while on the Kaufman & Gabler account, gatekeepers are impressed by any school-sanctioned activities. In both cases, any other activities have similar associations to participating in no activities at all.

5.1.2 Reading for pleasure

As stated in the introduction, I am assessing whether any relationship between leisure participation and educational attainment is driven by highbrow activities (as opposed to middlebrow activities), or by school-sanctioned activities (as opposed to undirected activities, or no activities at all). The definition of highbrow activities is reasonably clear, as it is fairly consistent across the literature: almost all studies using NELS data [Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999, Dumais, 2002, Broh, 2002, Feldman and Matjasko, 2005, Dumais and Ward, 2010, Wildhagen, 2010] use the same measures, of attending cultural venues (museums, galleries,

etc) and participating in cultural classes (music, drama, etc), and these are similar to the measures used in European studies [Katsillis and Rubinson, 1990, De Graaf et al., 2000, Georg, 2004]. Our definition of undirected social activities is also relatively clear, following Dumais [2008]: she uses activities outside of school without any obvious goal, such as "driving around", and "visiting with friends as a hang-out". Middlebrow activities are slightly more ambiguous, with less of a consistent definition, but can be thought of as any non-highbrow but nonetheless directed activity with a goal.

However, reading for pleasure will be treated as separate from these different types of activities. This is firstly to identify whether it more closely resembles a highbrow or a middlebrow activity, as it fits ambiguously into each category; indeed, one of the goals of chapter 4 was to establish the extent to which reading for pleasure represents cultural capital. Secondly, however, this is consistent with the literature, which tends to treat reading for pleasure separately from other highbrow activities, or cultural capital activities. Many of the NELS articles do so, such as Wildhagen [2010]; indeed, Jaeger [2011] explicitly distinguishes reading from both cultural participation and extracurricular activities. In doing so, these studies tend to find stronger relationships between reading for pleasure and subsequent attainment than between any other leisure activities and educational attainment: indeed, in many cases, once reading for pleasure is incorporated into any models the associations between other leisure activities and educational attainment are insignificant. The findings of these studies have largely been addressed in chapter 4, so will not be repeated here at length; for example, De Graaf et al. [2000] investigate the relationship between *parents'* cultural participation and children's educational attainment, finding relationships between reading and attainment but

not between *beaux arts* participation and attainment, while Sullivan [2001] finds that participation in "formal" culture (such as attending museums and concerts) is not significantly associated with school success, while reading for pleasure is.

Both of these papers, having separated reading for pleasure from other cultural capital activities show that reading for pleasure is by far the strongest predictor of educational attainment. However, Jaeger [2011], using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth Child and Young Adult Sample (NLSY-CYA), a large panel of teenagers in the United States, finds that while children's reading for pleasure behaviour is the strongest predictor of educational attainment amongst cultural and leisure variables, there is still a significant (albeit very weak, and unsystematic) association between cultural participation (attending museums, etc) and educational attainment, and also extracurricular activities (dance lessons, etc) and educational attainment. This suggests that not only is it worthwhile disaggregating between these different types of activities, but also that we should not necessarily expect reading for pleasure to be the only activity associated with educational attainment.

5.1.3 Mechanisms

While these articles broadly provide support for an account under which cultural capital and educational attainment are linked, it is not always clear what is driving the relationship. At face value, it seems that gatekeepers are doing all the work. Most of the papers discussed thus far indicate that the association between leisure activities and educational attainment is driven by gatekeepers: individuals participate in specific activities, the participation in specific activities entails a kind of embodied cultural capital which impresses the relevant gatekeepers (be they

teachers or employers), and those gatekeepers reward the individuals for having this embodied cultural capital by awarding them institutionalized cultural capital. This is the mechanism put forward in both DiMaggio [1982] and Kaufman and Gabler [2004], and the logic can also be seen in papers relating to cultural capital and occupational attainment such as Purhonen et al. [2010] and Rivera [2012]. However, De Graaf et al. [2000] suggest that self-selection may also be playing a role. While teachers can explicitly reward students for their cultural capital by awarding them higher grades, students without cultural capital are not only deterred from education due to their relatively poorer grades awarded, but are also more likely to experience school as a "hostile environment" [93] and consequently choose not to pursue education further: their worse educational attainment is not entirely driven by poorer grades, but also by a choice to discontinue education.

This is assessed at more length by Wildhagen [2009], who explicitly contrasts two possible explanations for the association between cultural capital and educational attainment: teacher-selection effects and self-selection effects. She argues that while the logic of teacher-selection effects is relatively clear – students with more cultural capital impress teachers, who reward them disproportionately – the evidence is more ambiguous. While it's clear that students who have good relationships with teachers tend to perform better [Jussim, 1989, Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999, Oates, 2003, Crosnoe et al., 2004], it is less clear that this is driven by cultural capital, which can be a relatively poor predictor of teachers' assessments of students [Dumais, 2006].

The alternative account, of self-selection effects, is also fairly straightforward. Those people with cultural capital are more likely to choose to pursue education not only because they are less likely to perceive it as a hostile environment (as

per De Graaf et al. [2000]), but also because they feel that participating in particular activities are "advantageous to their educational careers" [178], a result of the activities in which they participate becoming part of the dominant culture. While Wildhagen frames this in the context of high-status cultural activities, as in DiMaggio [1982], this isn't the only possible interpretation of the argument – when there is an assumption that participating in particular activities is associated with educational attainment, participants in those activities are more likely to expect their own educational attainment to be greater, leading them to be more likely to choose to remain in education. This holds whether the activities in question are highbrow or not.

As with most studies using the NELS, Wildhagen [2010] uses a relatively small number of leisure activities in order to assess the relationship between cultural capital and educational attainment: taking cultural classes outside of school, attending museums outside of school, and reading for pleasure. She finds support for both the teacher-selection effect and the self-selection effect, and finds that while teacher-selection effects are strongly associated with educational attainment, this isn't driven by cultural capital, whereas self-selection effects are partly driven by cultural capital. To put it another way, her findings suggest that the association between cultural capital and educational attainment is driven by self-selection effects, not teacher selection effects – cultural capital is associated with educational attainment, but not exclusively via gatekeepers.

Self-selection effects can be usefully understood as an extension of the argument from Willis [1977]: some students who are alienated by aspects of schooling reject the schooling process more generally, by refusing to do schoolwork, rejecting schools' discipline, and so on. While these students are less likely to participate in

school-sanctioned activities in the first place, as they're associated with the mode of school instruction more generally, the logic extends further: not only do they become less likely to engage with school, with their aspirations lowering, but those people who *do* participate in school-sanctioned activities have their aspirations increasing, and they more confident that they are likely to succeed in education, as the activities they participate in are associated with that success. This is particularly likely where activities take place in structured groups, with other participants visibly demonstrating such success.

The difference between teacher-selection effects and self-selection effects can be understood in the context of primary and secondary effects in educational attainment, established by Boudon [1974] and tested more recently in a British context by Jackson et al. [2007]. In the context of class differences in educational attainment, primary effects are expressed via the association between class backgrounds and educational performance, while secondary effects are expressed via different educational choices, based on the options available to them. Self-selection effects directly correspond to secondary effects, with individuals choosing whether to continue their education based on expectations about their success. Teacher-selection effects are more ambiguous, as such effects might correspond to grading more directly or to encouragement to continue in education.

Both Bourdieu (and DiMaggio) and Kaufman & Gabler make explicit causal claims about the relationship between leisure activities and educational attainment based on the teacher-selection effect. Because of the ambiguity surrounding the relationship between self-selection effects and teacher-selection effects, it is inappropriate to do so here. Self-evidently from the models, participation in different extra-curricular activities are different treatments, with effects of different

magnitudes on educational attainment. However, in addressing similar models it is possible to identify whether associations are consistent with these competing accounts. If there are no differences between the outcomes of those people who participate in highbrow activities and those who don't, I must reject the Bourdieusian account. If there are no differences between those people who participate in *any* directed leisure activities and those who don't, I must reject Kaufman & Gabler's account as well.

5.1.4 Life course outcomes

Thus far, the articles referenced address the relationship between reading for pleasure (and other leisure activities) and educational attainment. However, this chapter aims to not only assess the relationship between leisure activities and educational attainment, but also leisure activities and occupational attainment. While there is some existing work in this area [Robson, 2009, Liping and Rikui, 2012], there is far less than on the relationship between cultural capital and educational attainment; Rivera [2012], while a clear indication of the possibility of this causal pathway, is confined to a small number of interviews within a narrow section of the job market. However, using longitudinal data allows us to assess the relationship between leisure activities and occupational attainment as well, and there are good theoretical reasons for wanting to do so. As in chapter 4, I am investigating the role of cultural capital and its role in social stratification, and in assessing the Bourdieusian account in particular, I am assessing the extent to which participating in particular activities is associated with membership of higher-status groups as described: whether demonstrating knowledge of higher-status cultures is asso-

ciated with subsequent joining of higher-status cultures in a professional capacity. While this process initially takes place by knowledge of higher-status cultures being rewarded through educational attainment, this is not in itself sufficient for membership of higher-status cultures: the relationship between educational and occupational attainment is not entirely deterministic. If the Bourdieusian account of cultural capital holds, then a relationship between knowledge of higher-status cultures as a teenager and subsequent membership of those higher-status cultures should emerge. The relevance of the distinction between income and salariat membership is discussed at some length in section 4.1.3, so will not be replicated here, but in brief I expect that if there is any relationship between leisure activities and cultural capital, this should be stronger between leisure activities and salariat membership, and weaker between leisure activities and income, as salariat membership represents the higher-status culture discussed before. I do not aim to present models predicting income and salariat membership similar to those in Blundell et al. [2004], rather I am to establish whether any associations between leisure activities at age 16 and subsequent employment (such as those shown in Robson [2009]) are entirely mediated by educational attainment, with any apparent cultural capital effect taking place entirely via education, or whether any associations persist in occupational attainment net of educational attainment.

5.2 Expectations and hypotheses

The distinction, then, is relatively clear. Is there an association between leisure activities and educational and occupational attainment, and if so, is the association driven entirely by highbrow activities, or by both highbrow and middlebrow activ-

ities? If the association is driven entirely by highbrow activities, then it seems that the Bourdieusian account is successful; if driven by both highbrow and middlebrow activities, then the Kaufman & Gabler account is successful.

In order to address this question, I must first establish measures for highbrow activities, middlebrow activities, and undirected activities. I distinguish between highbrow and middlebrow activities in order to test the Bourdieusian account, and I distinguish between highbrow, middlebrow, and undirected activities to test the Kaufman & Gabler account. However, where possible also distinguish between directed activities (highbrow and middlebrow) in the home, and outside the home, in order to assess whether possible peer effects that appear important under a self-selection account might play a role. I will then briefly assess the ways in which these activities correspond to each other – do those young people who participate in highbrow activities really represent an elite, not participating in middlebrow or undirected activities? Having done so, I ask the association between different leisure activities and educational attainment: this has been asked in a number of studies referenced here, with the specific innovation being to explicitly distinguish between highbrow, middlebrow, and undirected activities as patterns of activities, comparing them with reading for pleasure. I then investigate the association between leisure activities and both income and salariat membership, distinguishing once again between highbrow, middlebrow, and undirected activities. Distinguishing between income and salariat will help to illuminate the extent to which membership of higher-status culture plays a role in the relationship between leisure activities and subsequent occupational attainment: if there is a particularly strong relationship between activities and salariat membership, then it can be argued that participating in an higher-status culture is particularly relevant (whether that be

represented by highbrow participation, patterns of behaviour entailed through participating in school-sanctioned activities, or something else).

I will therefore be carrying out three models, after having carried out a data reduction exercise to establish individuals' participation in highbrow, middlebrow, and undirected activities.Other papers investigating the association between leisure activities and educational attainment tend to either use unidimensional scales of specific activities, or summative scales of activities in total – to put it another way, either the amount of time spent on activities, or the number of activities themselves. For example, the measure of extracurricular participation in Dumais [2008] is the total amount of time spent on extracurricular activities, with the specific activities in question left ambiguous, and the measure of high cultural activities in Wildhagen [2009] is a 0–7 scale based on the total number of high cultural activities reported. I will follow the strategy adopted by Wildhagen, extending it by noting the number of each of highbrow, middlebrow, and undirected activities[2].

The models predict educational and occupational attainment based on leisure participation and a series of control variables. The previous chapter showed a relationship between reading for pleasure and educational attainment, and salariat membership, but not between reading for pleasure and income. I assume that these results will be replicated, with salariat membership reflecting having joined an higher-status culture, and set up the base expectations as consistent with the Bourdieusian account. My subsequent hypotheses are therefore:

[2]In addition to this approach, I also conducted a number of different latent class analyses on the data. The results of the analyses had extremely low P-values (with one exception, $P<0.0001$), indicating that the latent classes established did not closely resemble the actual patterns of data observed. In addition to this, the results of subsequent models based on the results of the latent class analysis did not differ substantially from the results which follow in this chapter, suggesting that using the latent classes derived does not add value to unidimensional scales. The results of the latent class analyses are included in appendix A.2.

- Hypothesis 1: There will be significant associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment, and between highbrow leisure participation and educational attainment, with no significant relationships between any other forms of leisure participation and educational attainment.

- Hypothesis 2: There will be no significant association between any leisure activities and income.

- Hypothesis 3: There will be significant associations between reading for pleasure and salariat membership, and between highbrow leisure participation and salariat membership, with no significant relationships between any other leisure participation and salariat membership.

Thus, if the hypotheses all hold, this will provide support for the Bourdieusian account. If middlebrow activities are also associated with attainment, that will provide support for the Kaufman & Gabler account. If it is only reading for pleasure which is associated with attainment, then neither account will receive support.

5.3 Data and methods

As with the previous chapter, I use data from the British Cohort Study (BCS70). I focus on the wave of data taken at age 16 as participants are asked about a very wide range of leisure activities. In the question bank "Student Score Form", used to derive a number of different scales, participants are presented with a list of activities ("At Leisure"), and asked how frequently they participate in each of them, with the options being "Never or hardly ever", "Less than once a week",

"Once a week", and "More than once a week". I have taken those variables which fit reasonably clearly into each category: highbrow, middlebrow, and undirected. I have also been able to distinguish "middlebrow" into both home and non home, due to the larger number of middlebrow activities than highbrow or undirected activities available in the question bank; the other categories have not been split as all the undirected activities and all but one highbrow activity take place outside of the home. The activities contained in each of the groups are shown in Table 5.1. The item "read a book for pleasure", which is also in this bank of questions is held as a final category, as explained previously.

Table 5.1: Classification of leisure activities at 16 (BCS70)

Highbrow	Middlebrow home	Middlebrow non home	Undirected
Play a musical instrument	Sew partly for fun	Attend after school activities	Ride a bike around
Go to museums or galleries	Knit partly for fun	Go to a youth club/organisation	Hang about the street
Go to the theatre	Play card/board games	Go to a cinema	Go to a cafe/chippy/hamburger bar
Go to the library	Play electronic games	Go to a concert/gig	Go to an amusement arcade
	Make models or other craftwork	Go to dancing classes	Go to the pub
	Draw, paint, or write for fun	Do volunteer/community work	Ride around on a motorbike/scooter
		Go to a meeting/political club	
		Play sports (at club/centre)	
		Play sports (street/park)	
		Go watch a match (football, etc)	

The outcome variables and control variables are similar to those in the previous chapter: participants' educational attainment by the wave at age 34 is a derived variable for individuals' highest level of education, recoded down to four possible options: no qualifications, O-levels or equivalent, A-levels or equivalent, and degree or greater, roughly following Breen [1994]. I use a measure of hourly wage in order to assess income, and I code classes I and II as representing membership of the salariat.

The control variables are also similar to those in the previous chapter: I control for mother's education, school type at 16, father's class, and vocabulary at age 10, with the same measures[3].

The fractions of respondents who responded to all relevant items for each model are similar to those in section 4.3: the "student score form" is from the same question bank as the question about frequency of reading, so models will have similar Ns to tables 4.2, 4.4, and 4.6.

In order to carry out the data reduction exercise, to establish patterns of participation in each type of leisure activity, I firstly dichotomize the leisure activity variables, going from 4-point scales to 2-point scales, distinguishing between whether respondents participate in each activity hardly ever or never, or more frequently than that. This is a similar strategy to those adopted in Eitle and Eitle [2002], Dumais [2002], and Wildhagen [2009]. It also follows the results in the previous chapter, in which I found that the relationship between the frequency of

[3]For assessing mother's education, I follow Conti et al. [2010] in distinguishing between mothers who stayed in education beyond the compulsory school-leaving age and those who didn't, and extend it by generating a separate category for mothers who left education at 19 or later. For father's social class, I use a standard 7-point version of the NS-SEC schema, as per Goldthorpe and Jackson [2007]. For school type, I distinguish between grant-maintained schools and others (voluntary-aided, voluntary-controlled, and independent).

reading for pleasure and educational attainment did not vary substantially across frequencies, particularly for men: the major differences in associations were between participation and nonparticipation. I then generate scales for the number of activities that each respondent participates in, within each of highbrow, middlebrow home, middlebrow non home, and undirected activities. Subsequently, I will briefly demonstrate the associations between participating in highbrow activities and the other scales: whether participation in the highbrow tends to exclude participation in other activities.

Having generated the scales of activities within highbrow, middlebrow (home and non home), and undirected activities, I will predict educational attainment, hourly wage, and salariat membership using regressions, with scales of each type of activities used as independent variables, along with a dummy variable for leisure reading, and the control variables listed above. As in chapter 4, educational attainment will be predicted using ordered logistic regression, hourly wage will be predicted using OLS regression (with the dependent variable having been log transformed so that it resembles a normal distribution, as specified), and membership of the salariat will be predicted using logistic regression.

The models are expressed graphically in figures 5.1–5.4. In all cases, "Parents' SES" corresponds to both father's class and mother's education, and "Leisure at 16" corresponds to all the scales of leisure activities, as well as reading for pleasure. Figure 5.1 shows the full set of potential expected associations between the variables, while figures 5.2–5.4 show the relationships relevant to the regression models that I will be using. This draws attention to the similarity of the analytical approach in chapter 4, given the similarity to figures 4.1–4.4. The key difference is that this chapter will reveal the extent to which reading for pleasure is associated

with educational and occupational attainment when the associations with other leisure activities are taken into account.

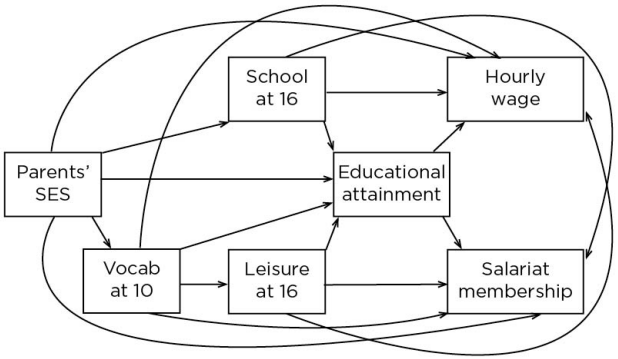

Figure 5.1: All expected associations for H_{1-3}

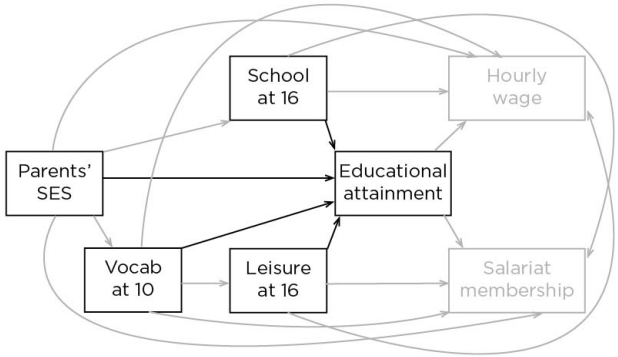

Figure 5.2: Model for H_1

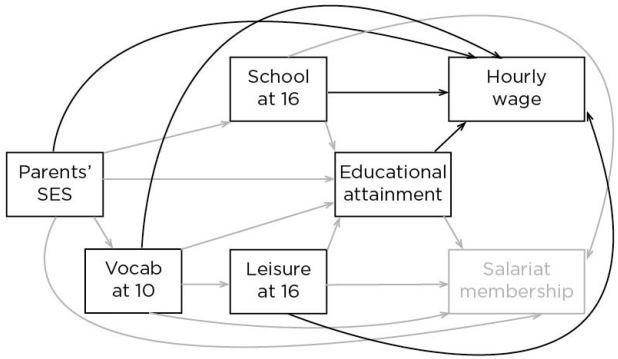

Figure 5.3: Model for H_2

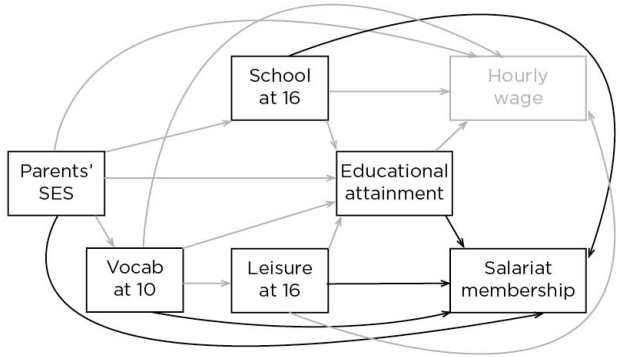

Figure 5.4: Model for H_3

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Descriptive statistics

Table 5.2 shows the descriptive statistics of the leisure activities in the dataset, and table 5.3 shows the descriptive statistics of the control and outcome variables. They report both the information for each variable for all respondents to those variables in question, and also the information for those participants who have responded to all relevant items. I will limit the subsequent analysis to participants responding to all items, as opposed to developing an imputation model.

The content of table 5.2 shows that, in general, fewer respondents participated in highbrow activities than in middlebrow or undirected activities; in addition, middlebrow home activities were much rarer than middlebrow non home activities. 41% of respondents participated in the most common highbrow activity (going to the library) while 57% went to the cinema (the most common middlebrow activity) and 59% went to the pub (the most common undirected activity). However, this is not a uniform trend, with some highbrow activities being more popular than other middlebrow activities. 24% of respondents had played a musical instrument, which is close to the number of respondents who had gone to a concert/gig (26%) and who had gone to an amusement arcade (25%). In addition, 13% and 15% of respondents had attended museums/galleries or the theatre (respectively). Overall, the mean number of highbrow activities each respondent participates in is 0.93.

Moderate numbers of respondents had participated in some middlebrow activities, particularly the non home activities. Going to the cinema was the most popular, but other supervised activities were also moderately popular: after school activities, youth clubs, and club sports being attended by 31%, 36%, and 38% of

Table 5.2: Descriptive statistics: leisure activities at 16 (BCS70)

Variable	Overall mean	Mean for used cases	Total N
Reading for pleasure	0.64	0.64	5 614
Highbrow activities			
Play a musical instrument	0.24	0.24	5 613
Go to museums or galleries	0.13	0.11	5 613
Go to the theatre	0.15	0.14	5 615
Go to the library	0.41	0.41	5 615
Highbrow total	0.93	0.91	5 604
Middlebrow home activities			
Sew partly for fun	0.03	0.03	5 607
Knit partly for fun	0.03	0.02	5 613
Play card/board games	0.06	0.06	5 617
Play electronic games	0.04	0.03	5 607
Make models or other craftwork	0.03	0.03	5 613
Draw, paint, or write for fun	0.12	0.12	5 612
Middlebrow home total	0.31	0.30	5 602
Middlebrow non home activities			
Attend afterschool activities	0.31	0.31	5 616
Go to a youth club	0.36	0.36	5 611
Go to a cinema	0.57	0.58	5 612
Go to a concert/gig	0.26	0.26	5 615
Go to dancing classes	0.07	0.06	5 614
Do volunteer/community work	0.19	0.19	5 615
Go to a meeting/political club	0.08	0.07	5 621
Play sports (club/centre)	0.17	0.17	5 620
Play sports (street/park)	0.38	0.36	5 620
Go watch a match (football etc)	0.25	0.25	5 621
Middlebrow non home total	2.63	2.61	5 603
Undirected activities			
Ride a bike around	0.44	0.44	5 613
Hang about the street	0.32	0.32	5 617
Go to a cafe/chippy/hamburger bar	0.58	0.56	5 619
Go to an amusement arcade	0.25	0.24	5 618
Go to the pub	0.57	0.58	5 622
Ride around on a motorbike/scooter	0.15	0.14	5 618
Undirected total	2.31	2.28	5 602

Table 5.3: Descriptive statistics: control and outcome variables (BCS70)

Variable	**Overall mean**	**Mean for used cases**	**Total N**
Sex at birth (1 = male)	0.51	0.40	17 185
Mother's school-leaving age			
15 or younger	0.66	0.58	17 196
16–18	0.27	0.34	17 196
19 or older	0.06	0.08	17 196
Father's class at 10			
I	0.13	0.17	11 955
II	0.18	0.22	11 955
III	0.05	0.06	11 955
IV	0.10	0.10	11 955
V	0.10	0.09	11 955
VI	0.26	0.23	11 955
VII	0.15	0.12	11 955
Vocabulary score at 10	40.72	42.26	12 757
Standardized vocabulary score at 10	0	0.20	12 757
Maintained school at 16	0.71	0.68	12 755
Educational attainment by 34			
No qualifications	0.10	0.04	9 665
O-levels or equivalent	0.48	0.42	9 665
A-levels or equivalent	0.09	0.11	9 665
University or greater	0.33	0.42	9 665
Log hourly wage at 34	2.32	2.37	6 313
Salariat membership at 34	0.48	0.56	7 989

respondents respectively. However, the number of respondents participating in traditional middlebrow activities at home are far lower: the most popular home activity is having drawn, painted, or written for fun, with 12% of respondents; by contrast, only 3% of respondents had participated in sewing, knitting, and model-making and other craftwork. The mean number of middlebrow activities respondents participate in is 2.94, although this is largely driven by non home activities: the means are 2.63 for non home and 0.31 for home.

A slight majority of respondents had participated in the two most popular undirected activities – going to a cafe or similar, and going to the pub (58% and 59%, respectively). While the other activities are less popular, the least popular (riding around on a motorbike/scooter) still has 15% of respondents participating, with a mean of 2.31 undirected activities across the population.

Given that the contents of table 5.3 are similar to that in the descriptive statistics in the previous chapter, I will not revisit them here.

As in section 4.4.1, item and wave nonresponse lead to Ns substantially lower than that at the first wave of the study. The eventual Ns for these models are as follows:

- Educational attainment: 1089 (M) / 1613 (F)
- Income: 841 (M) / 1034 (F)
- Salariat membership: 1038 (M) / 1258 (F)

There are no major deviations between the two sections of table 5.2, with the proportions of respondents participating in each activity who answer all relevant items similar to the proportions of respondents participating in each activity across the whole population.

Relationships between activity scales

Figures 5.5–5.7 show how the numbers of each of middlebrow non home, middlebrow home, and undirected activities vary by total highbrow activities.

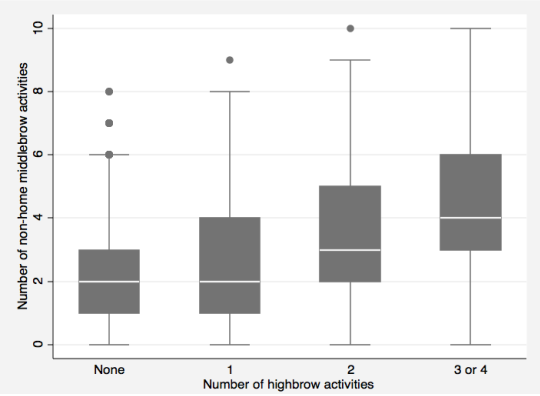

Figure 5.5: Distribution of middlebrow nonhome activities by highbrow activities at 16

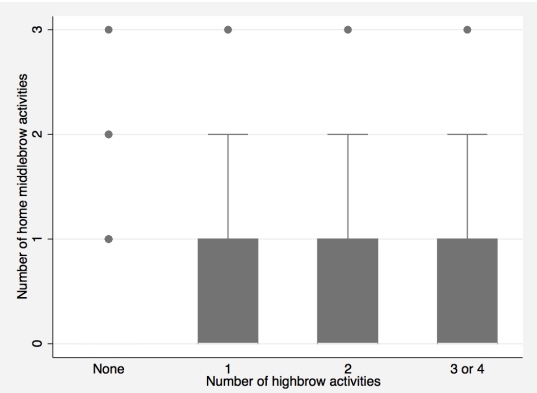

Figure 5.6: Distribution of middlebrow home activities by highbrow activities at 16

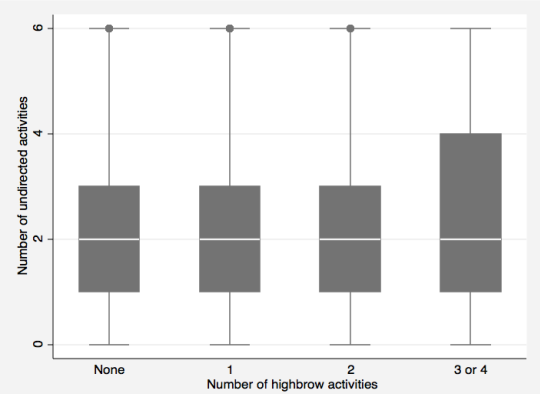

Figure 5.7: Distribution of undirected activities by highbrow activities at 16

These figures demonstrate that respondents who participate in larger numbers of highbrow activities also tend to participate in more middlebrow non home activities, with a median of 2 non home middlebrow activities for those who participate in no highbrow activities rising to a median of 4 for those who participate in 3 or 4 highbrow activities, and the 75th percentile rising from 3 middlebrow non home activities for those who participate in no highbrow activities rising to 6 for those who participate in 3 or 4 highbrow activities. This indicates that directedness might not be limited to certain domains, or "brows": those people who are active in more of one type of directed activity are broadly more active in another.

This does not hold for middlebrow activities at home: while those people who participate in no highbrow activities are particularly unlikely to participate in any home middlebrow activities, with more than 75% participating in none at all, the numbers are not substantially higher for those people who participate in more highbrow activities. In much the same way, there are no clear significant associations between undirected activities and highbrow activities: while we may have expected that people who participated in more highbrow activities would participate in *fewer* undirected activities, this is not the case.

5.4.2 Educational attainment

Table 5.4 shows the results of ordered logistic regression equations where educational attainment, on a four-point scale, is the dependent variable, and the independent variables are a dummy variable for reading, scales of participation in each of highbrow, middlebrow home, middlebrow non home, and undirected activities (established in the previous section), and a set of control variables. They can be

expressed as in the equation in the table's caption, where $\beta_6 x$ represents a matrix of control variables and associated coefficients. As shown by the Brant p-values, the proportional odds assumption holds for both men's and women's educational attainment, so it is reasonable to use an ordered logistic regression as opposed to a multinomial logistic regression.

The results in table 5.4 are helpful in demonstrating the associations between different patterns of leisure participation and educational attainment. There are significant associations between educational attainment and different types of leisure participation, and these associations extend beyond having read for pleasure.

Unsurprisingly, there are strong associations between our control variables and educational attainment, none of which differ significantly from the corresponding associations in tables 4.2 and 4.3: the introduction of additional activities has not significantly affected any of the other coefficients. Mother's education and father's class are both significant predictors of educational attainment, with similar associations for men and women. Having a mother who left education at 16 or later is significantly positively associated with educational attainment (particularly if the mother left education at 19 or older) relative to having a mother who left school at 15 or younger; similarly, compared with a father in class VI, having a father in class I or II is significantly positively associated with educational attainment. For women, this also holds for having a father from class IV. Standardized vocabulary scores are also associated with educational attainment, with a score one standard deviation above the mean (relative to being at the mean) having a similar association to having a mother who left school between 16 and 18 (relative to 15 or younger). Net of these other predictors, having attended a maintained school is

Table 5.4: Ordered logistic regression: educational attainment by 34 (BCS70)

	Men		**Women**	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Reading at 16 (dummy)	0.391**	(0.131)	0.531**	(0.117)
Highbrow activities (16)	0.353**	(0.075)	0.471**	(0.062)
Middlebrow home activities (16)	-0.109	(0.107)	-0.107	(0.088)
Middlebrow nonhome activities (16)	0.102**	(0.044)	0.100**	(0.035)
Undirected activities (16)	-0.245**	(0.044)	-0.292**	(0.041)
Mother's terminal education age[b]				
16–18	0.448**	(0.141)	0.296**	(0.115)
19 or older	1.269**	(0.273)	0.989**	(0.247)
Father's class at 10[c]				
I	0.933**	(0.212)	1.260**	(0.182)
II	0.573**	(0.190)	0.774**	(0.157)
III	0.362	(0.262)	0.433†	(0.232)
IV	0.029	(0.243)	0.401*	(0.188)
V	0.120	(0.239)	0.148	(0.192)
VII	-0.258	(0.217)	-0.038	(0.177)
Standardized vocab score at 10	0.461**	(0.069)	0.396**	(0.057)
Maintained school at 16 (dummy)	-0.227†	(0.133)	-0.171	(0.112)
μ_1	-2.934**	(0.250)	-2.701**	(0.210)
μ_2	0.485*	(0.212)	0.773**	(0.183)
μ_3	1.105**	(0.214)	1.329**	(0.185)
N	1089		1613	
Log-likelihood	-1052.592		-1522.633	
$\chi^2_{(21)}$	330.328		492.508	
P-value (Brant)	0.527		0.059	

[a]Coefficients in this table are based on the equation $Education_i = \beta_1 Reading + \beta_2 Highbrow + \beta_3 Middlebrowhome + \beta_4 Middlebrownonhome + \beta_5 Undirected + \beta_6 x + \epsilon \quad (i = 0, 1, 2, 3)$

[b]Reference category: 15 or younger

[c]Reference category: VI

not significantly associated with educational attainment.

Having established in the previous chapter that reading for pleasure is significantly associated with educational attainment, these results show the association between reading for pleasure and educational attainment is comparable with the association between participating in one highbrow activity and educational attainment for both boys and girls. There is also a significant positive association between participating in middlebrow activities outside of the home and educational attainment; while the size of the coefficient is smaller, there is a larger number of possible middlebrow activities than highbrow activities that respondents can participate in. By contrast, there is no significant association between participation in middlebrow activities at home and educational attainment; while the coefficient is negative, it is not significant. In addition to this, there is a significant negative association between participation in undirected activities and educational attainment.

It is difficult to compare the magnitudes of these coefficients with each other, and with other coefficients, because of the scales used: for example, participating in one highbrow activity would put a respondent slightly above the median number of highbrow activities, while participating in one middlebrow non home activity would put a respondent substantially below the median number of middlebrow non home activities. I therefore present figures 5.8 and 5.9, which show the predicted probabilities of attaining each level of educational attainment, by participation in leisure activities at age 16. The first bar in each case, "Nothing", refers to respondents who had participated in no leisure activities; "Reading" refers to respondents who had read, but not participated in any other activities; "2 highbrow" refers to respondents who had participated in two highbrow activities, and nothing

else; and so on. In each case, the number of activities chosen corresponds to approximately the 80th percentile of respondents: two highbrow activities covers the 76th–91st percentiles, 4 middlebrow non home covers the 71st–84th percentiles; and 4 undirected activities covers the 79th–91st percentiles. Figure 5.8 shows the predicted probabilities for the children of members of class I, and figure 5.9 shows the predicted probabilities for the children of members of class VI. The other variables are held at their modal values: mother's education held at having left school at 15 or younger, standardised vocabulary score held at 0, and school type held as maintained.

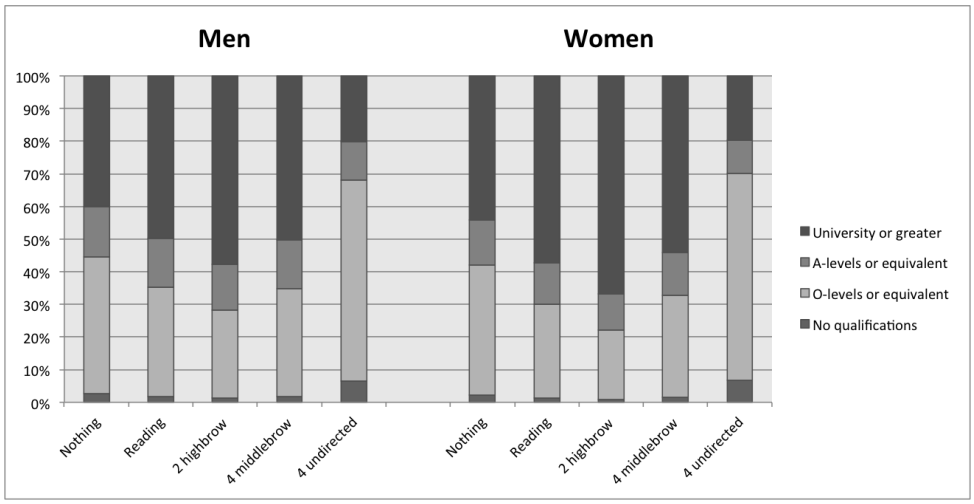

Figure 5.8: Predicted educational attainment by activities at 16 and gender: class I origin, based on the results in table 5.4

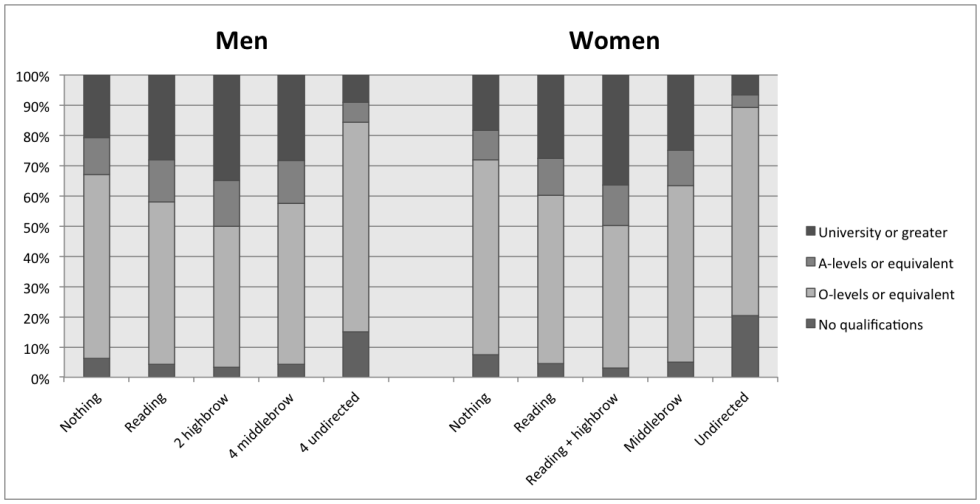

Figure 5.9: Predicted educational attainment by activities at 16 and gender: class VI origin, based on the results in table 5.4

These results provide support for the Kaufman & Gabler account, and not for the Bourdieusian account. While the marginal association between highbrow activities and educational attainment is stronger than the marginal association between middlebrow activities outside of the home and educational attainment, the association between middlebrow activities and educational attainment is still significant; participating in four such activities has a similar association with educational attainment to the association between reading for pleasure and educational attainment, established as significant in the previous chapter and reinforced here. It is worth noting, however, that the significant associations between participating in middlebrow activities and educational attainment only hold for middlebrow activities outside of the home. This suggests that whether activities are school-sanctioned is particularly important: the middlebrow activities with positive associations with educational attainment are those like sports and after-school activities which might reinforce feeling of belonging in education due to peer effects, as opposed to home activities such as craft.

These results also show that high levels of participation in undirected activities are strongly negatively associated with educational attainment, for both women and men. This can be seen as particularly consistent with the self-selection effects argument; students who are already alienated from the schooling process are more likely to participate in activities which reject the ethos of the school, and in doing so become even less likely to make transitions in education.

In general, then, these results do not provide support for Hypothesis 1, which assumed support for the Bourdieusian account. While it is clear that highbrow activities are strongly associated with educational attainment, with the association between participation in one highbrow activity and educational attainment similar

to the association between reading for pleasure and educational attainment, I also find a significant relationship between middlebrow non home directed activities and educational attainment. In addition to this, I find a significant negative association between undirected activities and educational attainment; in this way, I can see that the associations between participating in undirected activities and educational attainment are *worse* than those between participating in no activities at all and educational attainment.

5.4.3 Income

Table 5.5 reports the results for the OLS regression equation in its caption. As before, b_6x refers to a matrix of control variables and associated coefficients; for this model, educational attainment has been introduced as an additional control, as three dummy variables (and one reference category).

The result in table 5.5 reinforce the findings from the previous chapter to an extent, with reading for pleasure not significantly associated with hourly wage. In addition, these results also show that there is no significant relationship between participation in highbrow activities at 16 and income. These results are consistent with an account in which any relationships between both reading for pleasure at 16 and hourly wage, and participation in highbrow activities at 16 and hourly wage, are mediated entirely by educational attainment; while leisure participation is a relatively strong predictor of educational attainment, and educational attainment is a strong predictor of hourly wage, there is no association with income net of education.

In addition to this, as in the previous chapter, there is no significant association

Table 5.5: OLS regression: log of hourly wage at 34 (BCS70)

	Men		Women	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Reading at 16 (dummy)	-0.024	(0.045)	0.057	(0.048)
Highbrow activities (16)	0.006	(0.024)	0.028	(0.023)
Middlebrow home activities (16)	0.042	(0.037)	-0.113**	(0.034)
Middlebrow nonhome activities (16)	0.026**	(0.012)	0.041**	(0.014)
Undirected activities (16)	-0.007	(0.015)	-0.038*	(0.017)
Educational qualifications [b]				
O-levels or equivalent	0.137	(0.115)	0.091	(0.116)
A-levels or equivalent	0.310*	(0.126)	0.265*	(0.128)
Degree or greater	0.443**	(0.118)	0.433**	(0.119)
Mother's terminal education age[c]				
16–18	0.018	(0.048)	0.002	(0.045)
19 or older	0.059	(0.083)	0.105	(0.087)
Father's class at 10[d]				
I	0.214**	(0.069)	0.122†	(0.070)
II	0.187**	(0.066)	0.028	(0.063)
III	0.119	(0.086)	0.016	(0.092)
IV	0.121	(0.088)	-0.016	(0.074)
V	0.001	(0.083)	0.076	(0.078)
VII	-0.052	(0.072)	-0.107	(0.073)
Standardized vocab score at 10	0.003	(0.023)	0.037†	(0.022)
Maintained school at 16 (dummy)	0.065	(0.045)	-0.013	(0.044)
Intercept	2.020**	(0.128)	1.911**	(0.128)
N	841		1034	
R^2	0.126		0.146	

[a]Coefficients in this table are based on the equation $ln(income34) = \beta_1 Reading + \beta_2 Highbrow + \beta_3 Middlebrowhome + \beta_4 Middlebrownonhome + \beta_5 Undirected + \beta_6 x + \epsilon$

[b]Reference category: none

[c]Reference category: 15 or younger

[d]Reference category: VI

between either vocabulary score at 10 or mother's education and hourly wage: I expect these associations to be mediated by educational attainment. While the associations between father's class and income have decreased slightly for women, with the difference in income between the children of men from classes I and VI now only significant at the 10% level, the associations between father's class and income for men are similar to those in the previous chapter.

However, there are significant positive associations between middlebrow activities outside of the home and income for both men and women, and a significant negative association between middlebrow activities at home and income for women only. The association between middlebrow activities outside of the home and income is noteworthy as the association between those activities and educational attainment is positive, persisting net of educational attainment, unlike both reading for pleasure and highbrow activities. By contrast, the association between middlebrow home activities and income is significantly negative for women, while there was no significant association between middlebrow home activities and educational attainment. In addition to this, there is a significant negative association between undirected activities at 16 and income for women only.

Some of the magnitude of these differences can be seen in table 5.6, which shows the income predicted for individuals according to their activities at 16, for men and women with both no qualifications and tertiary qualifications. I draw these distinctions in order not to overstate the associations between different types of middlebrow participation and income; while these differences are significant, they are much smaller than the differences in income between different levels of educational attainment. Once again, all other variables are kept at their modal values, and the leisure variables at approximately the 80th percentile (4 middlebrow non

Table 5.6: Predicted income at 34 by gender, education, and leisure activities at 16: other variables held at modal values (BCS70, based on the results in table 5.5)

	Male		Female	
Activities at 16	No quals	Tertiary quals	No quals	Tertiary quals
No activities	£8:05	£12:54	£6:67	£10:41
One middlebrow home	£8:40	£13:08	£5:96	£9:18
Four middlebrow non home	£8:92	£13:89	£7:86	£12:11

home activities covering the 71st–84th percentiles, and 1 middlebrow home activity covering the 75th–95th percentiles).

These results demonstrate clear differences between the incomes of respondents by middlebrow participation: men who had participated in four middlebrow non home activities are predicted to earn 10% more per hour than men who had participated in none, while for women the difference is closer to 17%. In addition, women who had participated in one middlebrow home activity are predicted to earn 11% less per hour than women who had not participated in any activities. To put this into context, men who had participated in no activities are predicted to earn 20% more per hour than women who had participated in no activities, and those who had tertiary qualifications are predicted to earn 55% more per hour than those with no qualifications.

These results are inconsistent with Hypothesis 2, which suggested that any relationships between leisure activities at 16 and income would be mediated by educational attainment; while this is true for reading for pleasure and highbrow activities, it does not hold for middlebrow activities outside of the home (for both men and women) nor for middlebrow activities at home and undirected activities for women. These results not only indicate that Hypothesis 2 is incorrect, but also that there are clear gender differences in the associations between leisure activities

at 16 and income, with differences between women's income by leisure activities at 16 being larger than men's, while men's income is more strongly associated with father's class. This can be contrasted with the results for educational attainment, where the gender differences are far less pronounced; not only are the differences in the associations between leisure activities and educational attainment not significant, but the differences in associations between each of mother's education, father's class, vocabulary score at 10, and school type at 16, and educational attainment are also not significant.

5.4.4 Salariat membership

Table 5.7 reports the results for the logistic regression equation in its caption. The variables in the β_x matrices are the same as in the the previous model: the difference here is that it's salariat membership, rather than hourly wage, which is being modelled.

The results in table 5.7 demonstrate that having read for pleasure at 16 is significantly positively associated with salariat membership at age 34 for both men and women, and that non home middlebrow activities at 16 are significantly positively associated with salariat membership for women. There are no significant relationships between either highbrow, home middlebrow, and undirected activities at 16 and salariat membership for men or women. In addition, the relationship between reading for pleasure at 16 and salariat membership for women is stronger than the relationship between non home middlebrow participation at 16 and salariat membership; this can be contrasted with the results in table 5.4 and figures 5.8 and 5.9, where differences in associations between different leisure participation at

Table 5.7: Logistic regression: membership of the salariat at 34 (BCS70)

	Men		Women	
Variable[a]	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**	**Coefficient**	**(Std. Err.)**
Reading at 16 (dummy)	0.343*	(0.155)	0.579**	(0.153)
Highbrow activities (16)	0.035	(0.090)	0.033	(0.077)
Middlebrow home activities (16)	-0.126	(0.126)	-0.120	(0.112)
Middlebrow non-home activities (16)	0.072†	(0.044)	0.101*	(0.045)
Undirected activities (16)	-0.062	(0.052)	-0.105†	(0.054)
Educational qualifications [b]				
O-levels or equivalent	0.404	(0.385)	0.438	(0.420)
A-levels or equivalent	1.659**	(0.425)	0.674	(0.451)
Degree or greater	2.227**	(0.399)	2.291**	(0.425)
Mother's terminal education age[c]				
16–18	0.416*	(0.170)	0.021	(0.150)
19 or older	-0.173	(0.289)	0.413	(0.319)
Father's class at 10[d]				
I	0.704**	(0.255)	0.274	(0.233)
II	0.159	(0.224)	-0.047	(0.207)
III	0.868**	(0.326)	0.150	(0.302)
IV	0.088	(0.287)	-0.242	(0.240)
V	0.165	(0.281)	0.248	(0.245)
VII	-0.092	(0.250)	-0.215	(0.235)
Standardized vocab score at 10	0.134	(0.082)	0.213**	(0.072)
Maintained school at 16 (dummy)	-0.065	(0.157)	0.107	(0.145)
Intercept	-1.459**	(0.434)	-1.673**	(0.459)

N	1038	1258
Log-likelihood	-560.252	-689.146
$\chi^2_{(18)}$	291.158	359.505

[a]Coefficients in this table are based on the equation $ln\frac{Pr(salariat-membership)}{1-\Pr(salariat-membership)} = \beta_1 Reading + \beta_2 Highbrow + \beta_3 Middlebrowhome + \beta_4 Middlebrownonhome + \beta_5 Undirected + \beta_6 x + \alpha + \epsilon$

[b]Reference category: none

[c]Reference category: 15 or younger

[d]Reference category: VI

16 educational attainment were much smaller.

Both men and women with degrees are significantly more likely to be members of the salariat than those with no qualifications; this also holds for men with A-levels. There are significant associations between origin class and salariat membership; as with hourly wage these only hold for men, not for women, and these relationships for men only hold for the children of classes I and III (relative to class VI). These associations are weaker than the associations between educational attainment and salariat membership.

Two variables are significant in these models that were not significant in predicting hourly wage are significant here. Mother's education is a significant predictor of salariat membership for men, although only for those whose mothers left education between 16 and 18; however, the association between having a mother who left school at 19 or older and educational attainment is extremely strong, so it is likely that educational attainment mediates the effect for this group. Secondly, for women, having scored higher than the mean on the vocabulary test at 10 is significantly positively associated with salariat membership, although the coefficient associated with one standard deviation above the mean is small at less than one tenth of the coefficient behind having tertiary education. More generally, these associations do not significantly differ from the results in tables 4.6 and 4.8.

The strengths of the relationships between reading for pleasure and salariat membership are also similar to those in tables 4.6 and 4.8. These relationships, along with the relationships between different forms of middlebrow participation and salariat membership can be demonstrated more clearly by examining table 5.8, which demonstrates the predicted probabilities of membership of the salariat at age 34, varying by leisure activities, educational attainment, and gender; once

Table 5.8: Predicted probability of salariat membership at 34 by leisure activities at 16, educational attainment by 34, and gender: other variables held at modal values (BCS70, based on the results in table 5.7)

	Male		Female	
Activities at 16	No quals	Tertiary quals	No quals	Tertiary quals
Nothing	0.189	0.683	0.158	0.650
Reading	0.247	0.753	0.251	0.768
Four middlebrow non home	0.225	0.729	0.239	0.756

again, I investigate leisure participation based on behaviour at the 80th percentile within scales. The difference in predicted probabilities of salariat membership between men who had read at 16 and who had not are 6% and 7% for those with no qualifications and tertiary qualifications, respectively; the corresponding differences for women are 9% and 11%. The differences between probabilities of women's salariat membership according to middlebrow participation at 16, while significant, are slightly more muted: differences between participants in four non home activities and none are 8/9%.

These results demonstrate that, for women, the magnitude of the association between having read for pleasure at 16 and salariat membership at 34 is marginally greater than the relationship between having participated in four middlebrow non home activities at 16 and salariat membership at 34. It is also noteworthy that the differences seem pronounced for men as well, although these differences are not significant at the 95% level due to the larger standard errors. These predicted probabilities, like the predicted hourly wages in table 5.6, show that while these differences may be significant they are far smaller than the differences between the probabilities of salariat membership between those with no qualifications and those with tertiary qualifications, which are closer to absolute differences of 50%.

5.5 Discussion

These results help to distinguish between the Bourdieu and the Kaufman & Gabler accounts of the associations between teenage leisure activities and subsequent educational and occupational attainment. There are positive associations between both highbrow and middlebrow directed activities at 16 and educational attainment, there are negative associations between undirected activities and educational attainment, and the positive associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment established in the previous chapter persist. In addition to this, there are significant positive relationships for both men and women between participation in middlebrow non home activities and income (which also hold for salariat membership for women), and significant negative relationships between middlebrow home activities and income for women only. The associations between having read for pleasure at 16 and salariat membership established in the previous chapter also persist.

In general, these results provide relatively strong support for the position from Kaufman & Gabler. While the ordered logistic regressions for educational attainment provide moderate support for the Bourdieusian position, with the marginal associations between participating in highbrow activities and educational attainment being stronger than the marginal associations between participating in (non home) middlebrow activities and educational attainment, this can be contextualised with the fact that not only are there ten non home middlebrow activities in the scale, as opposed to four highbrow activities, but the non home middlebrow activities themselves are generally more popular: the mean number of non home middlebrow activities is nearly three times the mean number of highbrow

activities. This suggests that an account under which participation in highbrow activities has much stronger associations with educational attainment than participation in middlebrow activities is incorrect.

Beyond the results predicting educational attainment, the results predicting occupational attainment provide even stronger support for the Kaufman & Gabler account over the Bourdieusian account. Participation in highbrow activities at 16 is not significantly associated with either income or salariat membership at age 34; however, participation in middlebrow non home activities at 16 is slightly, but significantly, associated with both. Reading for pleasure remains significantly associated with salariat membership, but not with income; this provides support for an account under which reading is associated with joining of higher-status culture (represented here by the salariat).

In the previous chapter, I found that associations between particular genres of reading and educational attainment differed by gender, but in this chapter I have shown that the associations between different activities at 16 and educational attainment are similar for men and women. While the associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment, and highbrow activities and educational attainment, seem stronger for women than for men these differences are not significant at the 95% level, and the differences between the associations for all other activities are minimal. This may reflect the fact that these scales contain gender-stereotyped activities: the middlebrow non home scale includes variables about sport, which men are more likely to have responded positively to, and about volunteer work, which women are more likely to have responded positively to. These differences may be masked in the results; however, the more general finding is still clear.

Clear gender differences do emerge, however, in the results assessing the relationship between leisure activities and occupational attainment. While both men's and women's income and salariat membership are positively associated with middlebrow non home activities at 16, and their salariat membership (but not income) is positively associated with their reading behaviour at 16, women's income is *negatively* associated with their middlebrow *home* activities at 16, and their income is also negatively associated with their undirected activities at 16. These differences are small but significant.

The association between middlebrow activities and occupational attainment therefore seem to take the argument even further than the results in Kaufman & Gabler. Their results showed that the associations between leisure activity and educational attainment in the US were not limited to highbrow participation, with some middlebrow participation being significantly associated with educational attainment; these results show that not only is that the case in the UK, but that participating in middlebrow activities at 16 is significantly associated with occupational attainment *while participating in highbrow activities is not.* To put it another way, while any relationship between highbrow activities and occupational attainment is mediated by educational attainment, this is not the case for middlebrow activities, which are associated with occupational attainment net of education.

This should be qualified by noting the distinction between middlebrow home and middlebrow non home activities, and their relationships with educational and occupational attainment. There is a tension between the results from table 5.4 and the results that might have expected based on Kaufman & Gabler: in particular, participation in home middlebrow activities is both directed and *unusual*, with few

respondents participating in any of these activities. While participating in these unusual directed activities may have been positively associated with educational attainment, following the idea of "modified cultural capital"; this is not the case. This tension increases for women with the results from tables 5.5 and 5.7, which shows that participating in these unusual activities is *negatively* associated with both joining the higher-status culture of the salariat, and with income.

These negative associations between middlebrow home activities and occupational attainment can be usefully compared with the associations between undirected activities and the outcome variables. There are negative associations between participation in undirected activities at 16 and educational attainment: this is consistent with a self-selection account under which people participating in undirected activities see themselves as less likely to progress in education, while the absence of associations between home middlebrow activities and educational attainment may reflect the absence of peers participating in these activities: if a young person spends time knitting for fun at home, they are unlikely to be doing so with their peers. However, the negative associations between undirected activities and income can be compared with the negative associations between home middlebrow activities and occupational attainment. While the marginal associations are similar between undirected activities and income and between home middlebrow activities and income, the mean number of undirected activities respondents reported participating in is higher.

These tensions provide support for the distinction drawn in Dumais [2008]: the distinction between school-sanctioned and non-school-sanctioned activities becomes particularly important. There are positive associations with educational attainment for the three different kinds of school-sanctioned activities (reading,

highbrow activities, middlebrow non home activities), and not with the two different kinds of non-school-sanctioned activities. Whether the directed activities respondents participate in are highbrow is less important to their educational and (particularly) occupational attainment than whether they are school-sanctioned – this may be because of teacher-selection effects or self-selection effects.

This can be investigated further by probing the gender dimension. While there are stronger associations between leisure at 16 and occupational attainment for women than there are for men, there are also weaker associations between childhood socio-economic status and occupational attainment: there are significant associations between father's class at 10 and both income and salariat membership at 34 for men, but not for women, and there is also a significant association between mother's education and salariat membership for men, not women. This may be at least partly down to the specific items in the scale of middlebrow home activities: it contains both "sew partly for fun" and "knit partly for fun", as well as "draw, paint, or write for fun". These relatively gender-stereotypical items may actually serve as self-selection effects: while people knitting partly for fun may not be surrounded by their peers doing the same, they might already be aware of the stereotype of housewives sewing or knitting rather than developing their careers. This is consistent with the absence of negative associations between middlebrow home activities and educational attainment, with such stereotypes relating to the workplace rather than education. Indeed, a socialization account might best address the associations between different types of middlebrow activity and subsequent attainment: while the non home middlebrow activities are school-sanctioned, they are also group activities, unlike any middlebrow home (or, indeed, highbrow) activities. These respondents might be socialised in carrying

out directed activities in groups, with such activity reproducing itself in a professional context. This can be distinguished from highbrow activities, which do not necessarily occur in group contexts (some, such as playing a musical instrument, might), and undirected activities, which while taking place in groups (such as going to the pub) do not have goals.

Returning to reading for pleasure, however, the positive associations with salariat membership established in the previous chapter persist; indeed, while there areassociations between non home middlebrow participation with both income and salariat membership, the size of the association between reading at 16 and salariat membership is much stronger than the corresponding relationship between middlebrow non home activities at 16. This suggests that, whether the mechanism between leisure activities and educational attainment is a teacher-selection effect, a self-selection effect, or something else, such a relationship only persists in occupational attainment for middlebrow activities and reading for pleasure. For salariat membership, a teacher-selection effect is analogous to an employer-selection effect; on this account, there are no differences in the impressions received by employers of those who had participated in highbrow activities and those who hadn't. On a self-selection effect, one might expect that those who had participated in higher-status cultures would be more likely to put themselves forward (and succeed) to join those higher-status cultures professionally; this account fails for highbrow activities. However, I cannot dismiss either argument for those people who had read for pleasure, nor for those participating in non home leisure activities. The converse is true for women participating in non-school-sanctioned activities at 16 (both middlebrow home, and undirected): on an employer-selection effect account, the impressions received by employers of those who had participated in non-school-

sanctioned activities are *worse* than those who hadn't, and on a self-selection effect account, those who had participated in non-school-sanctioned activities are less likely to put themselves forward for membership of higher status groups in the first place.

As stated, the assessment of the initial hypotheses, which assumed a Bourdieusian account, consistently rejects them in favour of an account from Kaufman & Gabler. This masks two additional findings. The first is that the key theory supported is actually Dumais': that the most important thing is not whether activities are highbrow (rejecting Bourdieu), nor even that they are directed (qualifying my support for Kaufman & Gabler, as the associations between middlebrow non home activities and other life course outcomes are so different from those for middlebrow home activities), but whether activities are school-sanctioned or not. The distinction between school-sanctioned and non-school-sanctioned activities is pronounced for educational attainment, and more marginal for occupational attainment: as before, reading for pleasure is associated with salariat membership, representing joining an higher-status culture, and these results show that the same is true of middlebrow non home activities, although highbrow (also school-sponsored) activities are not.

However, the second additional finding is that middlebrow non home activities are not only associated with educational attainment and salariat membership, once again representing joining an higher-status culture, but they are also associated with income. This is in tension with hypothesis 2, which predicted that there would not be any significant associations between any activities at 16 and subsequent income. This suggests some support for Broh [2002]: the activities identified in that paper as useful are most similar to our middlebrow non home activities,

cultivating social skills, social development, and social ties through their participation in a way that is peculiar to such activities. Thus, not only are people with experience in these activities more likely to join higher-status cultures (through education and joining the salariat), they are more likely to progress *within* those higher-status cultures.

Thus, it seems that criticism of Bourdieu for apparently focusing exclusively on highbrow activities is justified, and criticism of DiMaggio for specifically expecting stronger associations between highbrow activities and attainment than between middlebrow activities and attainment is even more so. Similarly, identifying whether reading for pleasure represents highbrow or middlebrow activities more closely is a mistake, as it clearly represents a third category: in the results, the associations between reading for pleasure and educational attainment were similar to the associations between both highbrow and home middlebrow activities and educational attainment, but the strong associations between reading for pleasure at 16 and subsequent salariat membership resemble neither.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

In the introduction, I stated that I aimed to answer a number of questions surrounding reading for pleasure in Britain, in the context of concern about readership, declines in readership, and the associations between readership (and other apparently similar activities) and other life course outcomes. My specific questions specified in section 1.1 were as follows:

1. How has the popularity of reading for pleasure in Britain changed over time?
2. What is the contemporary profile of a reader in Britain?
3. Are the associations between socioeconomic factors and reading consistent as young people get older?
4. Are the associations between other media use and reading consistent as young people get older?
5. Are changes in young peoples reading better predicted by socioeconomic factors or other media use?

6. How large are the differences between the educational and occupational attainment between young people who read for pleasure with varying frequencies at age 16?

7. How large are the differences between the educational and occupational attainment between young people who read literary fiction, genre fiction, and non-fiction, at age 16?

8. How do the associations between reading for pleasure at 16 and educational and occupational attainment compare with the associations between other leisure activities at 16 and educational and occupational attainment?

During the course of the thesis, I have aimed to answer all eight of these questions, addressing questions 1–2 in chapter 2, questions 3–5 in chapter 3, questions 6–7 in chapter 4, and question 8 in chapter 5. In this chapter, I aim to firstly draw together the answers to these questions by outlining those findings which reinforce findings from existing literature, and those which raise questions about existing literature. I then aim to highlight some issues which are recurrent across chapters, which raise questions more generally about reading for pleasure in Britain. Finally, I aim to address the limitations of the thesis, and possible future research which these discussions and results might have prompted.

6.1 Findings

A large proportion of this thesis has provided support for existing literature, both in terms of reinforcing empirical findings from other studies, and in terms of providing empirical support for theory.

Bradshaw and Nichols [2004] claim to show declines in literary reading in the United States; I have shown that this holds to an extent in Britain. In particular, in section 2.4.2, I have shown that issues of adult fiction and nonfiction from British libraries have fallen dramatically over the period 1986–2009, with the number of issues of fiction books in particular in 2009 being less than half of the number of issues in 1986. However, this clearly only represents a partial picture of the overall state of changes in readership over time in Britain. This is likely to be reflective of a number of different factors, not limited to overall levels of reading in the British population. These include widespread availability of second-hand and otherwise cheap books, and of reading matter available online; while the displacement effects of the internet on literary reading are often exaggerated, it is plausible that there are demographics in Britain whose cost-free reading has shifted in this way.

In section 2.5, I have shown that the overall profile of readership in Britain is largely as expected; readership is more predominantly concentrated among women, white people, older people, more highly educated people, people whose experience of the socialization process involved more reading, and so on – these results reinforce similar findings from Tepper [2000] and Griswold et al. [2005] in the United States, and, to an extent, Bourdieu [1984] in France, and in doing so reinforce the position of reading for pleasure as an activity associated with those people in advantageous positions. I have also incorporated status scores into models, following Chan and Goldthorpe [2007b]: I have found that social status is a significant predictor of readership, as Chan and Goldthorpe do for a range of other cultural activities, and as Bukodi [2007] does for reading for pleasure in Hungary. This shows that reading for pleasure is not entirely dissimilar from other activities in the field of cultural consumption in the way that specific types of advantageous

positions are associated with its consumption.

van Schooten et al. [2004], amongst others, investigates changes in reading patterns as young people get older, finding that differences between higher- and lower-SES young people increase during this process. In section 3.4.3, I have provided some support for this, by showing that higher-SES young people's reading is more *stable* than is lower-SES young people's reading, although this should be qualified by the fact that a distinction between stability and volatility is not identical to increasing discrepancies between SES groups. This difference in stability may reflect the period over which the early waves of LSYPE take place: high-SES young people who don't read may have already stopped reading by the age of 14, while high-SES young people who do read at 14 may be more likely to continue to do so over this particular period. Lower-SES young people's reading may be less established by this period, and may be particularly susceptible to displacement effects from undirected activities, as suggested by Knulst [1991] .

I also found some support for a cultural capital account of the relationship between reading for pleasure and educational attainment. With some authors, such as Georg [2004], using reading for pleasure as an item in a scale labelled "cultural capital", in section 4.4.2 I have tested whether the relationship between reading for pleasure and educational attainment can be distilled to a relationship between cognitive ability and educational attainment, identifying some findings that challenge such a relationship. This lends support to the notion of certain forms of reading for pleasure representing cultural *capital*, with the capital providing a return. This is one of the key findings of the thesis, with the question of *how* the capital from reading for pleasure generates a return in both educational and occupational attainment being fundamental. I have mainly discussed this in

the context of how the knowledge derived from reading for pleasure, and the socialization associated with elements of reading for pleasure, might pay off through gatekeepers (for example, through assessment by teachers and by employers); this is most clearly shown in the example of Rivera [2012],who describes the hiring process in an elite sector of the job market in the United States, in which her respondents not only acknowledge the association between certain types of cultural identity and the probability of success in their institutions, but also suggest that this association is legitimate, with the importance of "fitting in" in a particular institution (and, by extension, a particular section of the job market) being provided as justification for this. However, this is not the only pathway through which reading for pleasure representing cultural capital can be explained. A self-selection (as opposed to teacher-selection) account, as put forward by Wildhagen [2009] might also be relevant here. A perception among young people that places in higher education, and in salariat jobs, are taken by those people who choose to read, is likely to dissuade some non-readers from putting themselves forward for these positions at all, whether that perception is due to a belief that such positions involve large amounts of reading, because they will be judged in certain ways by the gatekeepers to those positions, or something else. Regardless of the pathway, however, one key element of this finding is that the relationship between reading for pleasure and educational attainment persists net of education.

In addition to this, I have found that while participation in highbrow activities is significantly associated with educational attainment (consistent with DiMaggio [1982], among others), it is not associated with income once educational attainment and origin class are taken into account. While Robson [2009] finds significant relationships between cultural participation and income at age 29, she does not

control for origin class. This is also consistent with Georg [2004], who finds no associations between any forms of cultural participation and occupational attainment once origin class and educational attainment are incorporated. This finding is consistent with the narratives put forward above, in which the capital derived from reading for pleasure is something that is cashed in at points of transition – between levels of education, or between job applications – rather than something exploited in the longer term. The implication is that this cultural capital, be it exploited by succeeding at these transitions or initially putting themselves forward, is not of value in the workplace, merely as a signal to get oneself into the salariat.

However, some of the other findings in this thesis are in tension with existing literature, again both in terms of reinforcing empirical findings and in terms of providing empirical support for theory.

Firstly, while I have shown that issues of adult books from British libraries has decrease across the period 1986–2009, there is no clear trend in issues of *children's* books. More notably, in section 2.4.1, while there is a decline in the amount of money (adjusted for inflation) spent on books, I have not found a decline in the volume of sales of books – both adults' and children's – across the period 1997–2010. This is in tension with the type of account put forward by Bradshaw and Nichols [2004] in which reading becomes marginalised. The fact that reading has not become marginalised is consistent with the strong evidence put forward byGriswold et al. [2005] showing that reading for pleasure is generally understood as a positive activity, for both adults and children. That there has not been a decline in adult reading as measured by book sales, and by shorter-term data from Taking Part, is consistent with an account in which people continue to see value in reading for pleasure, and that there has not been a decline in children's

reading even when library circulation is taken into account is an even stronger demonstration of the value that parents see in reading.

Although the predictors of readership in section 2.5 are broadly consistent with expectations, there are three elements to these results which are inconsistent with some literature; in particular, I have found that predictors of reading in the United States are not identical to predictors of reading in Britain. The first is that I have shown that people who live in rural areas are more likely to read than people in urban areas; these findings differ from those of studies in the United States [Bradshaw and Nichols, 2004, Rainie et al., 2012]. The second is that there are no ethnic differences in reading among young people, only among adults; while this is inconsistent with findings from the United States [McKenna et al., 1995], it reinforces other British findings [Clark, 2012a]. The third is that, once status is incorporated into models predicting reading for pleasure, social class remains a significant (if smaller) predictor, while in Chan and Goldthorpe [2007b] social class was not a significant predictor of newspaper readership. It should not come wholly as a surprise that the predictors of reading for pleasure in Britain are not identical to those in the United States; in particular, the implications of "rural" are different in the two countries, and the absence of a "suburban" variable in the Taking Part data makes it difficult to fully investigate the differences in area type that have been investigated elsewhere. However, the finding that class remains a significant predictor of reading for pleasure when different status measures are introduced into models is a significant finding, especially when compared to the results in Chan and Goldthorpe [2007a,b], which show that cultural consumption in other domains is not significantly associated with class when status scores are taken into account. This shows that reading for pleasure represents a special case in cultural

consumption, and may be explained by some ways in which reading for pleasure differs from these other activities. Specifically, the kind of work associated with class groups significantly more likely to read for pleasure (NS-SEC classes I-III) involves exposure to large amounts of printed matter much more than the kind of work associated with the other class categories – this is not the case for other cultural consumption, except for musicians and so on. This can account for the difference between manual and non-manual classes, although the significance of the relationship between reading and status shows that the account put forward by Chan and Goldthorpe does still hold.

I have also found that displacement effects accounts of changes in young people's reading generally fail, as shown in sections 3.4.2–3.4.4. Munasib and Bhattacharya [2010] find displacement effects between reading and other media longitudinally, with many other authors finding negative relationships cross-sectionally, but section 3.4.2 finds no support for any cross-sectional relationships with reading and other media, either positively or negatively, once other variables are taken into account; in addition, section 3.4.4 shows that the only association with other media is that increases in reading accompany increases in television consumption, a finding inconsistent with a displacement effects approach. The only consistent predictor of changes in reading is the number of undirected activities young people are participating in – although this may not be as surprising as it seems at first glance, as a more straightforward narrative might be that as young people start going to the pub, they stop reading. Indeed, the positive relationship between increases in reading and increases in television consumption might be understood in a similar way; that, actually, the change taking place across the period is both activities decreasing when a third activity is taken into account, such as going to

the pub. Instead of screen time being a threat to reading, it seems that undirected activities are a threat to both, with young people's home media use tending to decrease across the board when viable alternative activities are introduced. In addition to this, contrary to the findings in van Schooten et al. [2004], and as mentioned above, it is not the case that SES disparities in reading increase as young people get older, as shown in section 3.4.2; instead, as shown in section 3.4.3, lower-SES young people's reading is more volatile while higher-SES young people's is more stable.

While the findings that highbrow activities are not significantly associated with income are consistent with other literature, it is nonetheless surprising that there are *any* associations between leisure participation and occupational attainment, once origin class and educational attainment have been controlled for, with these findings being demonstrated in sections 4.4.3–4.4.4 and 5.4.3–5.4.4. This is clearly in tension with the findings from Georg [2004], although they are consistent with the account of cultural capital not being entirely cashed in through education that I develop in section 4.1.3, and with narratives of the relevance of cultural capital in labour markets set out in Hansen [2001] and Rivera [2012].

Further to these apparently surprising findings primarily surrounding salariat membership are those in table 5.5 which show that, while there are no significant relationships between reading or highbrow activities and income, nor between highbrow activities and salariat membership, there *are* significant relationships between middlebrow activities and both income and salariat membership. These are particularly surprising in the light of the literature following DiMaggio [1982] and Kaufman and Gabler [2004]: while an account under which participation in middlebrow activities might be associated with educational attainment was not

surprising, an account under which middlebrow activities are associated with occupational attainment *and highbrow activities are not* is. There are many possible explanations for this particular finding. I have already discussed a series of potential causal pathways between reading for pleasure and occupational attainment representing cultural capital, but the pathways between middlebrow activities and occupational attainment are somewhat different. The work by Erickson [1996] and Rivera [2012] presents (by no means exhaustive) possible explanations for this account. I have already discussed Rivera's account in the context of reading for pleasure, but it is particularly relevant in the case of middlebrow activity in occupational attainment. That reading for pleasure might represent a signal in a recruitment process that a candidate might be a good "fit" is plausible, but that this might be the case for participation in sport is even more so. Indeed, participation in highbrow activity might seem overly exclusive and illegitimately perpetuating social reproduction, so that recruiters might be reluctant to recruit on this basis, while having no issue with recruiting on the basis of participation in middlebrow activities. This can be extended through Erickson's account, which argues that a working knowledge of a range of different middlebrow activities, such as being able to discuss recent sports events, is vital to be able to interact with people at different levels of certain workplace hierarchies.

Indeed, as with reading for pleasure, this can be extended by developing the self-selection side of the recruitment process rather than the gatekeeper-selection side. Those with experience of non-home middlebrow activities might be more used to working in collaborative settings, consequently being more willing to put themselves forward for salariat jobs; by contrast, those women in particular who have spent a large amount of time participating in middlebrow activities at home,

including gender-stereotypical activities such as sewing and knitting, might have had a certain type of experience of gender socialisation leading them to be less likely to apply for such jobs at all.

More generally, the findings surrounding cultural capital laid out in section 4.4 show that, while it may be reductive to explain the relationship between reading for pleasure and educational (and occupational) attainment through a cognitive account, a straightforward account of cultural capital is also insufficient. In particular, the findings surrounding frequency of reading and other outcomes are unusual: there are no significant differences between *any* frequencies of reading and educational attainment for boys, while for girls the apparent threshold seems more demanding; however, the *strongest* (and in the case of men, *only*) relationship between salariat membership and reading exists for those people who had read less than once a week when 16. In some ways, this reinforces the Erickson argument. Large amounts of knowledge are not important, but a basic level of understanding that can be exploited is, and those people who spend a small (but non-zero) amount of time with reading for pleasure might be less likely to exclude other activities which can bring a broad base of useful reference points for different settings.

These differences raise the broader issue that in many of the results across the thesis demonstrate gender differences, both in terms of predictors of reading and changing reading, and what different patterns of reading and other leisure activities are associated with. While these differences were not explicitly incorporated into the list of questions I intended to answer set out in section 1.1, many of the results that demonstrate gender differences represent contributions to the literature, and it is because of this that I will set out these findings related to gender separately.

6.1.1 Gender

While I have shown in section 2.3.2 that women and girls read more than do men and boys, I have also shown that relationships that might be ascribed to cultural capital also manifest themselves differently.

In having shown that women and girls read more than do men and boys, I have also shown that gender is one of the things which is most distinctive about the "reading class" – tables 2.3 and 2.6 both report the results of multinomial logistic regressions as the proportional odds assumption did not hold, and the results in these tables show that while most variables mainly predict reading as opposed to not reading, gender is the variable that most strongly predicts reading more than once a week (the other variable that does so is educational attainment). Tepper [2000] demonstrates that the socialisation process is by far the strongest explanation for the comparable finding in the United States, showing that accounts based on free time or cognition do not fit the data well.

This finding may relate to the result in table 4.4.2. In this table, I have shown that while reading for pleasure is significantly associated with educational attainment, for boys the differences are only between readers and nonreaders, for girls there are also differences between those who read at least once a week and those who read less often, although no differences between those who read once a week and those who read more than that. In tables 2.3–2.6, membership of the "reading class" refers to people who read "at least once a week". It may be that, because girls are more likely to read more than once a week (in addition to being more likely to read in the first place), any thresholds that girls must cross to acquire the cultural capital of reading for pleasure may be more demanding. To put it another

way, since girls are more likely to read more than once a week in the first place, girls who read less often than that may be less impressive than boys who do so.

Undirected activities are also stronger predictors of both reading for pleasure and subsequent attainment for girls than they are for boys. In section 3.4.2 I have shown that girls' participation in undirected activities is negatively associated with reading for pleasure, and in section 3.4.4 I have shown that girls' increases in participation in undirected activities is associated with decreases in reading for pleasure – in both cases, there are no significant relationships for boys. In addition to this, I have shown in sections 5.4.3–5.4.4 that while undirected activities are negatively associated with educational attainment for both girls and boys, there are also negative associations between having participated in undirected activities at 16 and income at 34 for women, while there are weaker negative associations with salariat membership as well – neither of these hold for men.

The relationships between middlebrow activities and occupational attainment are also more striking for women than they are for men. Having participated in middlebrow activities at home is negatively associated with women's income at 34, and having participated in middlebrow activities out of the home is significantly associated with both income and salariat membership, while the same is only true for income for men.

The final major gender difference pertains to the different types of books that respondents had read at age 16. In terms of educational attainment, girls having read genre fiction is weakly *negatively* associated with educational attainment while there is no such relationship for men. In addition to this, the positive coefficients behind combinations of reading that include genre fiction are *lower* than the ones without: for example, the positive coefficient behind having read novels, genre

fiction, and factual books is half the positive coefficient behind having read novels and factual books without having read genre fiction.

This set of differences – for both undirected and middlebrow activities, and for reading genre – can be understood through the accounts described earlier. The socialisation associated with participating in certain middlebrow activities is likely to have particular implications for women – such as women who spent more time knitting and seeing as children being less likely to put themselves forward for salariat jobs, or even promotions. By contrast, a boy who reads genre fiction is considered impressive relative to his peers, as gatekeepers see his peers reading nothing at all, a girl who reads genre fiction (even if combined with literary fiction) is considered to be wasting her time compared with her peers; and the converse is also true, with girls participating in undirected activities being likely to be judged more harshly by gatekeepers than their male counterparts, due to perceived distance from their peers.

These discrepancies, more generally, raise questions about the generalizability of any conclusions that have been drawn: if part of the relationship between reading for pleasure and subsequent attainment is due to cultural capital, are any gender differences due to the different patterns of reading of boys and girls in the first place, or due to different values which are ascribed to patterns of reading for the genders? Are the different associations between undirected activities between the genders due to their ubiquity amongst boys? These additional questions which have been raised fit into a larger set of questions raised by the thesis, which will be discussed at more length in section 6.3.

6.2 Limits

Nonetheless, there are limits to the research in this thesis which limit the generalizability of its conclusions. There are three key ways in which aspects of the research are limited: there are inconsistencies between the approaches taken in the different chapters, there are specific aspects of questions that have not been answered, and there are limits to the analysis that has been conducted.

The inconsistencies are clearest in terms of time and space. While the first part of the thesis title is "Reading for pleasure in Britain", the three large individual-level data sources that I have used in this thesis – BCS70, LSYPE, and Taking Part – have different sampling frames, with BCS70 consisting of respondents from England, Scotland, and Wales, and both LSYPE and Taking Part consisting of respondents from England only. Therefore, drawing conclusions across the different datasets (for example, surrounding different levels of reading and their associations, as discussed in the previous section) might be overstated. This applies even more in terms of time. The data from Taking Part is less problematic as it is a (repeated) cross-sectional study with a wide age range, and so potentially incorporating members of cohorts investigated in cohort studies – its findings therefore represent a reasonable picture of predictors of reading in the latter part of the decade 2000–2009. However, in terms of age LSYPE consists entirely of young people whose ages are close to the youth module of Taking Part, given when the study itself launched, while the respondents to BCS70 are 20 years older than the respondents to LSYPE. This is clearly necessary in order to use the occupational measures that BCS70 contains, but there is no clear reason to assume that the relationships surrounding educational and occupational attainment shown in chapters

4–5 should hold for participants in other studies. While LSYPE lacks measures for types of book read, and also lacks detailed measures on other activities, once sufficient waves of data have been collected it should be possible to replicate some of the analysis surrounding educational attainment in chapters 4–5 using LSYPE data.

There are several issue which have not been addressed in this thesis in spite of not having been specifically excluded in section 1.1, which have largely not been addressed due to a lack of appropriate data for answering the questions. The first issue relates to changes in reading over time: it is clear, for the reasons set out in sections 2.3.1–2.3.1, that book sales and library circulation are not a sufficient proxy for estimating how levels of readership have changed over the periods addressed. However, my aim was not to replicate analysis done elsewhere: most obviously, Southerton et al. [2007] have investigated a similar phenomenon using time use data, and the results surrounding library circulation and book sales are consistent with their findings: that, while the fraction of the population reading may have decreased, overall levels of readership have not.

The second issue that has not been addressed relates to genre, or *what* books are read – while in chapter 4 I have investigated the relationships between different patterns of readership and educational attainment, and in chapter 2 I have investigated the numbers of fiction, nonfiction and children's books bought and borrowed, I have not investigated the predictors of readership of different genres of reading. Partly, this is in order to not replicate other research: preferences for different genres of books have been widely established elsewhere, most obviously in Britain by Wright [2006], but surrounding romance and other genre fiction by Christian-Smith [1993] and surrounding science fiction by Jenkins and Tulloch

[1995]. However, that there is no investigation of genre in chapter 3 represents more of an issue, as it may be that some forms of reading are more robust than others, with reading of specific genres of fiction being particularly robust to other activities while others may be more sensitive to displacement effects.

In addition, there are two key omissions relating to social status. The first is that in chapter 2 I have used social status to investigate reading for pleasure, following Chan and Goldthorpe [2007b], but the wave of data available on the UK Data Archive which contains data on significant others' SOC codes [Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010a] which can be used to derive status scores does not contain data on respondents' own status scores, which prevents me from being able to consider the two simultaneously. This may mean that the comparison with Chan and Goldthorpe [2007b], and the relative importance of social class even when social status is incorporated, may be overstated. The second omission is that while I have discussed the notion of "elite status culture" in chapters 4–5 in the context of the relationship between cultural capital and subsequent attainment, the measure of occupational attainment that I have used in this context is salariat membership, for which "elite" is too strong a term given the proportion of BCS70 members employed in these sectors. As I will discuss in section 6.3, this might be addressed in future research.

Beyond this, however, there are other limits of the analysis, particularly in chapter 3. Having aimed to err on the side of caution in terms of any conclusions drawn across the thesis, I have aimed to be particularly cautious in this chapter for a number of reasons. Firstly, its measures of other activities are not ideal: many of the activities shown in table 3.1 are only present at the first two waves of data, and the measures of the amount of time spent on different activities

varies: in particular, the measures of time spent watching television and playing video games differ to make it difficult to use these variables consistently, and these variables are only available at the first waves of data. This limits the analysis, particularly in section 3.4.4, due to the small number of waves of data included in the models. Related to this is the difficulty in drawing out clear narratives in this chapter: as stated above, the negative coefficients behind undirected activities might represent young people stopping reading as they start going to the pub; similarly, the positive coefficients behind directed activities might represent young people stopping both reading and practising the bassoon at around the same time – while I have attempted to disaggregate some endogeneity problems to an extent in section 3.4.2, unobserveds in this chapter continue to represent a problem. The extent of any statements should also be qualified by the use of the thresholds imposed in this chapter, both in terms of membership of the reading class and in terms of what represents increases and decreases.

The finding in chapter 3, that changes in reading differ between young people are characterised by greater volatility among young people with parents with less education, also raises questions about the measures used in chapters 4–5. In these chapters, I have investigated educational and occupational attainment based on reading behaviour at a single time point, and given the findings surrounding volatility it is likely that some of these estimates will be misleading. Because of this, the findings in these chapters should both be qualified in terms of potential biases in this way, and with the time point at which other cultural activities have been measured highlighted.

The models of occupational attainment used in chapters 4–5 are also limited in their scope. My goal in these models was to establish whether any associations

between reading for pleasure (and other leisure activities) and occupational attainment, such as those identified by Robson [2009], persisted net of educational attainment, origin class, and other variables such as school type and childhood vocabulary. In particular, for income, these models are not equivalent to those in Blundell et al. [2004]: for example, I do not include employment history in these models, nor subject choice, and so on. Thus, any conclusions drawn in these sections should also be cautious: in particular, I am not attempting to draw a causal model under which leisure activities at 16 have a tangible effect on individuals' income at 34.

More generally, then, there is a number of ways in which the findings and conclusions identified in this thesis should be qualified.

6.3 Further research

Having identified some limits of the thesis as presented, the findings also raise a number of questions which could be addressed in future work, many of which could be addressed using existing data.

While in chapter 3 I have investigated changes in young people's reading, it is also possible to investigate the persistence of reading over time: whether respondents who read as young people also read as adults, and, more generally, what predicts persistence and changes in reading over a longer period. Both BCS70 and NCDS contain questions surrounding respondents' reading at ages 16 and at age 42, so, while the measures of reading for pleasure at 16 are less precise in NCDS than BCS70, it should still be possible to compare both cohorts in this. Indeed, the most recent wave of data of BCS70 contains a large number of questions sur-

rounding respondents' leisure activities, so the persistence of these activities can also be measured.

In section 5.1.3, I discuss the reference to the distinction between teacher- and student-selection effects in educational attainment that Wildhagen [2009] assess at length in the context of the United States: this distinction between teacher- and student-selection effects can be compared with primary and secondary effects from Boudon [1974]. While there is research that assesses this distinction in a British context, such as Jackson et al. [2007], the research in this thesis could be extended by investigating primary and secondary effects in the context of different patterns of reading for pleasure and other leisure activities, by investigating different elements of educational attainment. In this thesis, I have focused on educational attainment in terms of different levels of qualifications attained, but in order to draw this distinction it would be possible to look both at teacher assessment of students, students' own expectations and aspirations, and choices surrounding education: this could be done using both data from BCS70 and LSYPE. In addition, this could be extended by investigating the work history data from BCS70, through investigating the different jobs that respondents have and their career trajectories. Such relationships could be both investigated both through looking at the different activities in which respondents participate as young people, and the frequencies at which they participate them, and also looking at the genre dimensions addressed in chapter 4: for example, are genre fiction readers choosing to opt out of education?

Investigating different variables surrounding educational and occupational attainment need not be limited to the context of teacher- and self-selection effects, as well. In particular, using income and salariat membership as the measures of occupational attainment clearly limits the scope of the analysis. A more straight-

forward account of some of the findings in the thesis might be that people who read more as teenagers are more likely to find themselves in salariat jobs as salariat jobs are themselves more likely to involve reading in the first place. While the findings in chapter 4 suggest that this is too simplistic an account, due particularly to the findings surrounding frequency, this could be addressed by investigating specific sectors of the labour market. This could be extended by attempting to investigate some measure of elites: as discussed, the salariat is not a good proxy for the "elite status cultures" discussed by Bourdieu and others, but as the data includes SOC2000 codes, from which I have derived status scores in chapter 2, I should be able to investigate whether participation in these supposedly "elite status culture" activities is associated with membership of the top end of the status scale.

6.4 Conclusion

This thesis has addressed a large number of questions surrounding reading for pleasure in Britain. In this conclusion, I have outlined the ways that the questions it has answered both reinforce and challenge existing literature, addressed limits to the research, and identified further research which the framework from the thesis has set out. I have shown that the picture of reading for pleasure in Britain is more complicated than the one that Bauerlein paints of the United States, and while there are limits to the strengths of the conclusions that I can draw, it would be misleading to claim that young people's reading is in terminal decline, that this is due to competition from other media, and that this is likely to have dire consequences: there is more to the relationships between reading for pleasure and subsequent attainment than the generation of rounded citizens that he de-

scribes. I have also shown that there is more to the relationship between reading for pleasure (and other leisure activities) and educational and occupational attainment than a straightforward Bourdieusian account, but also that cultural capital seems to nonetheless play a role, with an account under which differences are due to cognitive differences also failing. I have also shown that conceptualization of activities as highbrow and middlebrow, with highbrow activities leading to superior outcomes, fails, particularly when occupational attainment is incorporated. While these findings are limited in their generalizability, and I have aimed to not draw causal narratives, they contribute towards the overall literature surrounding reading for pleasure in Britain, and the relationship between cultural capital and educational and occupational attainment.

Appendix A

Appendices

A.1 Additional regression results

Table A.1: OLS regression: log of hourly wage at 34 (BCS70)

Variable[a]	Male Coefficient	Male (Std. Err.)	Female Coefficient	Female (Std. Err.)
Reading genre[b]				
Novels only	0.035	(0.075)	-0.007	(0.050)
Genre fiction only	-0.021	(0.128)	-0.111	(0.110)
Factual only	-0.030	(0.067)	-0.166†	(0.092)
Novels and genre fiction	-0.035	(0.182)	0.117	(0.115)
Novels and factual	-0.082	(0.075)	0.063	(0.062)
Genre fiction and factual	-0.006	(0.073)	0.060	(0.120)
Novels, genre fiction and factual	-0.133†	(0.075)	0.083	(0.086)
Educational qualifications by 23 [c]				
O-levels or equivalent	0.131	(0.102)	0.070	(0.120)
A-levels or equivalent	0.333**	(0.113)	0.244†	(0.131)
Degree or greater	0.471**	(0.105)	0.449**	(0.122)
Mother's terminal education age[d]				
16–18	0.036	(0.045)	0.028	(0.044)
19 or older	0.054	(0.078)	0.112	(0.086)
Father's class at 10[e]				
I	0.261**	(0.066)	0.144*	(0.069)
II	0.211**	(0.062)	0.041	(0.061)
III	0.127	(0.084)	0.013	(0.090)
IV	0.103	(0.083)	-0.035	(0.072)
V	0.033	(0.078)	0.016	(0.072)
VII	-0.093	(0.069)	-0.104	(0.069)
Normalized vocab score	0.010	(0.022)	0.017	(0.022)
Maintained school (dummy)	0.075†	(0.042)	-0.028	(0.043)
Intercept	2.055**	(0.106)	1.957**	(0.126)
N	917		1166	
R^2	0.147		0.12	

[a]The coefficients in this table are based on the equation $ln(hourlywage) = \beta_1 Reading + \beta_2 x + \alpha + \epsilon$

[b]Reference category: none

[c]Reference category: none

[d]Reference category: 15 or younger

[e]Reference category: VI

A.2 Latent class analysis

This appendix summarises the results of the latent class analysis mentioned in a footnote in section 5.2.

Latent class analysis can be expressed as

$$\pi_{ijkl}^{ABCD} = \sum_{t=1}^{T} \pi_t^X \pi_{it}^{\bar{A}X} \pi_{jt}^{\bar{B}X} \pi_{kt}^{\bar{C}X} \pi_{lt}^{\bar{D}X} ...$$

In this case, our latent class analysis of highbrow activities contains four binary variables: the activities are A, B, C, D, and i, j, k, and l are all equal to 2, and there are T latent classes. The probability of being in class t is x_t^X, which is determined by the responses to A, B, C, and D: $x_{it}^{\bar{A}X}$ is the probability that a respondent is in category i for question A, and so on.

Models were run using Latent GOLD in order to identify whether meaningful latent classes could be deduced for highbrow activities, middlebrow activities, and undirected activities (before distinguishing between middlebrow home and middlebrow non home activities). Results of these models are shown in table A.2. The aim was to use a model where the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) is minimised, following Chan and Goldthorpe [2007c] and Jaeger [2009].

Table A.2: Latent class measurement models fitted to data on leisure participation (BCS70)

		BIC(LL)	L^2	df	p-value	Class.Err.
Highbrow	1-Cluster	22842.1332	1191.7643	11	<0.0001	0.0000
	2-Cluster	21760.5503	67.0252	6	<0.0001	0.0884
	3-Cluster	**21752.9389**	16.2576	1	<0.001	0.2514
	4-Cluster	21780.1172	0.2796	-4	.	0.1732
Middlebrow	1-Cluster	50352.8719	2478.2633	247	<0.0001	0.0000
	2-Cluster	48832.5890	880.2992	238	<0.0001	0.1477
	3-Cluster	48606.9441	576.9732	229	<0.0001	0.1779
	4-Cluster	48541.0970	433.4450	220	<0.0001	0.2973
	5-Cluster	**48504.2116**	318.8785	211	<0.0001	0.3333
	6-Cluster	48534.0007	270.9864	202	<0.001	0.3277
Undirected	1-Cluster	60817.7276	4447.0730	1013	<0.0001	0.0000
	2-Cluster	58897.2305	2431.6894	1002	<0.0001	0.1518
	3-Cluster	58026.4858	1466.0582	991	<0.0001	0.1658
	4-Cluster	57888.5450	1233.2308	980	<0.0001	0.2467
	5-Cluster	**57822.8157**	1072.6150	969	0.011	0.2463
	6-Cluster	57845.4252	1000.3380	958	0.17	0.2852

Given only one result generates a P-value greater than 0.05, these results show that latent class analysis does not informatively reduce the dimensions of the leisure variables. In addition, the fourth highbrow model, with a 4-cluster solution, is not valid as its degrees of freedom are negative: this is due to the four variables used to derive the solution [Pepe and Janes, 2007]. In addition, when regression models were run using the BIC-maximising latent classes derived here, the results were similar to the results presented in sections 5.4.2–5.4.4.

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