

Cultural participation and time restrictions Explaining the frequency of individual and joint cultural visits

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Abstract

Research on cultural participation has as yet paid little attention to restrictions of time. This study uses time constraints related to the working hours of couples to explain the frequency of their individual as well as joint high-brow cultural participation. With data on 5438 respondents from four large-scale surveys in the Netherlands, it shows that individuals in couples where both partners hold a full-time job visit significantly fewer high-brow cultural events than people in couples with other work arrangements. Especially men who work part time seem to participate in culture more compared to men who work full time. Moreover, in households where the husband works part time, the wife's cultural participation is higher too. For joint attendance at high-brow cultural events we find no evidence that working hours hamper visits. This indicates that full-time working couples probably prioritize their joint cultural participation; as cultural activities attended together are unaffected by their longer working hours.

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1. Introduction and research questions

This study looks at whether participation in high culture is affected by aspects of time. Research on participation in cultural activities has mostly focused on distinction as a consequence of an individual's social characteristics (Sobel, 1981; Bourdieu, 1984). Whether one attends cultural events is then said to be determined by both the amount and type of resources that people possess (Bourdieu, 1984; Kraaykamp, 2002). Many findings speak in favour of the social roots of cultural participation. Earlier studies indicate that cultural participation is affected

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by parental schooling levels and aspects of familial socialization (Mohr and DiMaggio, 1995; Van Eijck, 1997; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002), level and type of education (Van de Werfhorst and Kraaykamp, 2001; DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004), occupational class (Katz-Gerro, 2002; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005), income (DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; O'Hagan, 1996), social network features (Erickson, 1996; Warde and Tampubolon, 2002) and cultural preferences and background characteristics of the spouse (Van Berkel and De Graaf, 1995; Upright, 2004; Kraaykamp et al., 2006).

Time has been an under-illuminated aspect in explaining participation in high culture. Yet visiting a museum or attending a classical concert requires a considerable amount of time. The lack of interest in time constraints in studies investigating cultural participation is surprising, because in recent decades the availability of free time has generally declined due to women's growing labour participation and the subsequent rise of dual-earner families (Jacobs and Gerson, 2001). These developments have led to numerous studies on the effects of time constraints on family life, life satisfaction and leisure participation (Becker and Moen, 1999; Barnett and Gareis, 2000; Clarckberg and Merola, 2003; Garhammer, 2004; Milkie et al., 2004; Sayer, 2005). In general these studies provide evidence that the time pressure people experience has a net effect on the time they spend with their children and devote to household activities and leisure. Research on participation in high-brow cultural activities has not yet emulated the increased focus on time constraints. Studies that have done so show only modest effects of time constraints on an individual's cultural participation (Ganzeboom, 1989; Knulst, 1989; Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2005).

Our aim in this study is to investigate whether time constraints do in fact have a meaningful impact on cultural participation. So far, most studies that explore the relationship between time constraints and cultural attendance have used individual time budgets, thereby neglecting the social embeddedness of individuals within the family (Ganzeboom, 1989; Knulst, 1989). We think improvements can be made by looking at the households people inhabit. The household context is important, since people do not operate in a social vacuum, nor are they solely dependent on their own resources and restrictions. Most individuals live in a family setting where partners share responsibilities for caring, financial well-being, cleaning and leisure participation. By studying the relation between couple-level time constraints and cultural participation, we follow the current research trend stressing the need for partner information to explain cultural behaviour (Van Berkel and De Graaf, 1995; Upright, 2004; Kraaykamp et al., 2007).

To improve upon earlier studies, we aim to answer two research questions. Figure 1 displays the way these questions build upon previous research on cultural participation. Prior studies have investigated individual-level cultural participation and provided explanations using individual predictors (panel A). The first objective of our contribution is to improve upon these by looking at the household settings in which people live. Time restrictions seem especially harsh for full-time working couples. These couples must do household chores after work and report being the busiest of all households (Jacobs and Gerson, 2001). Consequently, we assume that it is essential to include information on the time restrictions of both individuals in a couple if we want to explain differentiation in cultural participation. To do so, we introduce *couple* characteristics to explain *individual* cultural participation, as illustrated by arrow 1 (panel C). Our first research question reads as follows: to what extent is individual cultural participation affected by couple-level time constraints?

Additionally, we examine couple-level cultural participation, that is, whether spouses attend cultural activities together. It is widely known that leisure activities often are enjoyed together with a spouse (Berg et al., 2001; Kalmijn and Bernasco, 2001; Clarckberg and Merola, 2003). It

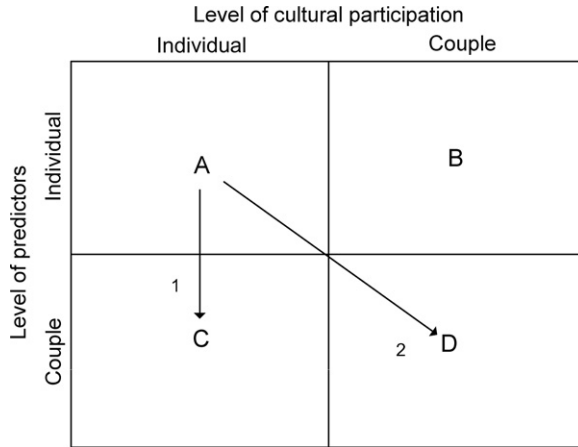


Fig. 1. Explanations and questions referring to the individual and couple level.

would thus seem worthwhile to study the time constraints a couple experiences as an explanation of their joint cultural participation, as illustrated by arrow 2 (panel D). Again, full-time working couples presumably experience the most severe time restrictions, compared to single-earner families and combination households. Hence, the second research question reads: to what extent is joint cultural participation (of partners) affected by couple-level time constraints?

To explore the extent to which time constraints matter for frequency of cultural participation, we use data from the Family Surveys of the Dutch Population (FSDP). These surveys contain information on the cultural participation of 5438 individuals and hold relevant data on partners’ characteristics and on the family. We focus especially on the time an individual in a couple devotes to paid labour.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Time constraints and cultural participation

An individual’s time budget is equipped with 24 hours in a day that may be spent on a variety of activities. A large part of this budget is associated with work obligations; a full-time job consumes about 8 hours a day, travelling time excluded. Another 7–8 hours is consumed by sleeping. The time that remains is available for personal care, looking after children, household cleaning, exercise, eating, shopping and all kinds of leisure pursuits such as watching television, visiting friends and going to the movies (Robinson and Godbey, 1997). Additionally, most people are restricted by a joint time budget because they live together in a family with a partner. Couples work, sleep, care and consume together, and manage a household agenda for their activities (Kalmijn and Bernasco, 2001; Moen, 2003). The greater the numbers of total hours worked by spouses, the fewer hours remain for other activities. Nock and Kingston (1989) showed that for every hour worked in paid labour, time spent on leisure is reduced by 40 minutes. Along this line of reasoning, full-time working couples are the ones most likely to be squeezed between work demands and recreation (Jacobs and Gerson, 2001). When both spouses work 8 hours a day and unpaid labour has to be done afterwards, little time may remain for leisure activities compared to households where couples work less.

Labour restrictions tend to be the most direct causes of feeling squeezed (Schor, 1991; Gershuny, 2000; Garhammer, 2004). The number of hours that people work obviously restricts the time available for children, leisure and personal care. In assessments of being hurried, couples in which both spouses hold full-time jobs indeed report the greatest time pressure (Hochschild, 1997; Jacobs and Gerson, 2004). This lack of time for oneself is often associated with feeling rushed (Garhammer, 2004). In addition, for full-time working couples difficulties may arise in synchronizing and coordinating family responsibilities. Consequently, for full-time working couples a time squeeze may interfere with possible cultural participation. We expect these couples may largely skip cultural activities and thus report lower levels of cultural participation. Our time-restriction hypothesis for cultural participation reads: cultural participation is lower for full-time working couples compared to couples with other working arrangements.

We assume this expectation holds for individual-level participation as well as for joint cultural participation. In our modelling, partner effects will be studied separately for both husbands and wives, since the traditional division of labour may still entail that free time for women is primarily devoted to household duties, while free time for men may be spent on other activities. We control for the possible gendered effects of time restrictions by separately studying time constraints for men and for women.

Next to the labour hours of a husband and wife, other family restrictions may limit the availability of time. The number of young children living at home and in need of care and education may be seen as a relevant time restriction for cultural participation (Ganzeboom, 1989; Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2005). Especially in families with young children, cultural participation has to be planned in advance, and a sitter might be needed to look after the children. Consequently, cultural participation in these families requires more management, more money and consumes more time than that in families without children. Our restriction-by-children hypothesis reads: cultural participation of couples with (young) children is lower than that of couples without (young) children. We believe this expectation will hold more for joint cultural participation than for individual participation.

2.2. *Cultural resources and cultural participation*

Cultural participation is different from general leisure recreation, since some general and cultural competence is needed to enjoy a visit to a museum, theatre or classical concert (Ganzeboom, 1982; Knulst, 1989; Kraaykamp, 2002; Van de Werfhorst and Kraaykamp, 2001). For instance, a visit to an art exhibition is more rewarding if one has knowledge about the artist, the history of the paintings, the meaning of the expression, the time in which the works were created and the skill it took to produce them. Educational level provides a good indication of a person's cultural competence, since institutes of higher education select pupils with above-average abilities, and moreover they pay attention to cultural socialization in their classes. As a result, higher educated individuals are particularly likely to be found among high-brow cultural audiences (Knulst, 1989; Van de Werfhorst and Kraaykamp, 2001). Next to a person's own educational level a partner's educational level may be of importance. A culturally competent spouse is likely to introduce a person to high-brow culture, making cultural participation more rewarding. Past research has convincingly demonstrated that spousal characteristics affect cultural participation (Van Berkel and De Graaf, 1995; Upright, 2004; Kraaykamp et al., 2006).

Cultural competence is not only obtained via higher education, but may also be transferred from parents to their children. Parents who are active participants in cultural activities transmit their cultural knowledge to their children. As a result, children of higher educated parents in

general have more cultural resources than children of lower educated parents. Previous research for the Netherlands indeed reports a strong influence of the parental home on a respondent's cultural participation (Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002). Our general cultural resources hypothesis therefore reads: the higher the educational attainment of couples and the higher the educational level of their parents, the higher their participation rate in cultural activities.

We may ask why we need to use (parental) educational level as a predictor when studying the effects of time restrictions on cultural participation. There is a major reason for doing so. If we were to disregard education in modelling cultural participation this would suppress the (negative) effect of time restrictions, leading to a biased estimation. This suppression is caused by the fact that in a bivariate analysis, both educational level and full-time working are positively associated with cultural participation. This correlation of full-time working and cultural participation, however, is mainly caused by the fact that the higher educated are over-represented among full-time workers. So, if education itself were absent from our modelling, the effects of time restrictions would partly reflect educational differentiation. Hence, the negative consequences of having time restrictions would be underestimated or simply be too small, because they would be suppressed by the relatively high educational level of people in full-time working couples. The same reasoning applies with respect to parental education.

2.3. *Financial resources and cultural participation*

Financial resources determine to some degree a couple's opportunities to participate in cultural activities. Tickets are required to visit a museum or attend a classical concert, and appropriate clothing may be needed, whereas leisure activities such as taking a stroll or riding a bicycle in the countryside are virtually cost-free. Previous research has frequently found a positive relation between financial resources and participation in cultural activities (Katz-Gerro and Shavit, 1998; Kraaykamp and NieuwBeerta, 2000; O'Hagan, 1996). Recent research also demonstrates that income is positively related to a wide variety of cultural activities (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005). A general empirical regularity observed in the Netherlands is that the more money is needed to participate in cultural activities, the lower the number of visitors and the more segregated the audience (Kraaykamp et al., 2006).

For the purpose of studying the effects of time restrictions on cultural participation for a family, the household income is directly related to the number of hours worked by both spouses. In other words, time pressure and financial resources are related; full-time working couples generally have more financial resources (and are under more time pressure) since they participate more in paid labour. As a result, part of the relation between full-time working couples and cultural participation is interpreted through the abundant financial assets enjoyed by full-time workers. As was the case for educational attainment, we must control for these financial resources to gain an unbiased test of the time-restriction hypothesis. So, our financial resources hypothesis reads: the higher the household income of a couple, the higher the participation rate in cultural activities.

2.4. *Additional explanatory aspects*

Earlier findings indicate other aspects that are important in determining who is patronizing the arts. As people grow older, they tend to participate more in cultural activities (Ganzeboom, 1989; Kraaykamp et al., 2006). Over the course of their lifetime people accumulate knowledge about cultural events, and as a result older people have a higher attendance rate than younger people.

Second, urban residence is associated with a higher attendance level, mainly because the supply of cultural activities tends to be larger in cities (Ganzeboom, 1989; Knulst, 1989). As there are more cultural facilities in the immediate vicinity, urban residents have to expend less effort to attend cultural events. So, we expect people living in more urban locations will have on average a higher level of participation.

3. Data and measurement

3.1. *Family Survey of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003*

We use information on the cultural participation of individuals and couples from the Family Surveys of the Dutch Population (De Graaf et al., 1998, 2000, 2003; Ultee and Ganzeboom, 1992). In 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003, couples were questioned using a face-to-face computer-assisted interview and a written questionnaire. Respondents in all four surveys were selected from a random sample of the Dutch population between 18 and 70 years of age. In the 2003 survey, additional respondents (40% of the total sample) were sampled from a representative household panel. In the interviews the complete educational and occupational careers and family history of both spouses were collected using retrospective structured questioning. While the interviewer questioned the primary respondent using a computer for prompting the spouse answered the written questionnaire. At the end of the interview, roles were switched so that both spouses completed the oral interview and answered the written questionnaire. The formulation of the questions and the format of the surveys are highly comparable over time.

3.2. *Measurement*

For every year, the FSDP survey contains questions on cultural participation. Since the FSDP is a population survey, subject categories for high-brow culture had to be rather broad to ensure sufficient numbers of participants. In comparing questions over the years, answer categories differed somewhat between waves and the formulation of the question sometimes varied slightly. To overcome these dissimilarities we recoded the answers to reflect the number of visits per year for three cultural activities: (a) attendance at classical concerts, the opera or ballet; (b) visits to historical museums or art exhibitions; (c) attendance at classic or popular theatre.¹ In addition, an overall cultural participation scale was created by summing the number of visits to the three types of high-brow cultural events.

The scales for visiting classical concerts, museums and the theatre, and the overall cultural participation scale were used to answer the first research question on the explanation of individual cultural participation by couple-level time constraints. We chose to analyse cultural activities separately to look for possible differences in time demands of the three activities. Visiting classical concerts and the theatre are typically evening activities, whereas visiting a museum is generally done in the daytime (and in weekends). Table 1 displays descriptive information's on the question on cultural participation. For years where a question is asked, the average number of visits per year is given.

¹ The coding scheme for the surveys is as follows: 1992 'never' = 0; 'at least once' = 1; 'several times a year' = 4; 1998 and 2000 'never' = 0; '1, 2 or 3 times a year' = 3; '4, 5 or 6 times a year' = 6; 'more than 6 times a year' = 12; 2003 'never' = 0, '1, 2 or 3 times a year' = 3; '4, 5 or 6 times a year' = 6; 'once a month, once a week, twice a week, more than twice a week' = 12.

Table 1
Description of cultural participation, in frequency of attendance per year

		1992	1998	2000	2003
a	How often do you attend a classical concert or opera or ballet?	–	1.26	1.21	0.81
	How often do you attend an opera or ballet?	0.29	–	–	–
	How often do you attend a classical concert?	0.50	–	–	–
b	How often do you visit a historical museum or art exhibition?	–	–	–	2.12
	How often do you visit a historical museum?	1.12	1.42	2.10	–
	How often do you visit an art exhibition?	0.99	2.27	1.46	–
c	How often do you attend classic or popular theatre?	1.16	–	–	2.49
	How often do you attend classic theatre (drama, dance)?	–	1.06	1.03	–
	How often do you attend popular theatre (musical, cabaret, comedy)?	–	2.09	2.18	–

Source: Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003; $N = 5438$.

In our second research question the issue is whether joint cultural participation (of partners) is affected by couple-level time constraints. The FSDP 2003 asked a specific question on joint cultural participation. This question refers separately to the three types of cultural visits and reads: ‘On how many occasions did you and your partner go to concerts, museums and/or the theatre together?’ Possible answers were 0%, 25%, 50%, 75% or 100% of all occasions. To obtain a measure for joint cultural participation we multiplied the frequency of an individual’s cultural attendance by the proportion of this ‘joint’ attendance (0, 0.25, 0.50, 0.75 or 1.00).

To score all individuals and couples on the basis of their working hours in paid labour we selected all male–female couples and tagged spouses as not employed, part-time employed or full-time employed. Following the definition of Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2005), working less than 12 hours per week is considered not employed, part-time is defined as working 12–34 hours and full-time working is 35 hours and more. So, for an individual’s employment status it was clear whether respondents worked part-time, full-time or did not work at all. Subsequently, couples’ working arrangements were categorized as one of four types: (a) full-time working couples, (b) combination households where both spouses worked and at least one worked part-time, (c) single-earner households with a full-time working man and a non-working woman and (d) non-employed couples.

Family restrictions referring to the presence of young children in the home are measured as (a) no children present, (b) the youngest child younger than 12 years of age and (c) the youngest child older than 12 years of age. Cultural resources are represented by the educational attainment of both individuals and their parents expressed in total years of schooling.² Monthly household income is measured in euros and is log transformed to deal with its skewed distribution. Age is measured as a continuous variable in years and is restricted to a maximum of 65 years and a minimum of 21 years. Urban residence is constructed using the address density of a couple’s neighbourhood. It is coded as (a) very rural, (b) moderately rural, (c) moderately urbanized, (d) moderately to strongly urbanized and (e) strongly urbanized. After a selection on missing values,

² The number of years in school is measured according to the various levels and streams of the Dutch educational system. Elementary school: lo/vglo = 6; secondary school: lbo/v(m)bo/mavo = 10, havo/kmbo = 11, vwo/hbs = 12, mbo = 13; higher education: hbo = 15, wo = 17, post-wo = 20.

Table 2
Description of measurements

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	S.D.
Dependent variables				
Total cultural participation	0.00	60.00	6.17	6.74
Attendance at classical concerts, opera or ballet	0.00	60.00	6.11	6.63
Visits to historical or art museums	0.00	12.00	0.95	2.05
Attendance at classic or popular theatre	0.00	24.00	2.74	3.30
Total joint cultural participation ^a	0.00	24.00	2.43	3.11
Independent variables				
Age	21.00	65.00	41.85	10.52
Educational level (years)	6.00	20.00	11.97	3.15
Educational level of mother (years)	6.00	20.00	8.56	2.72
Educational level of father (years)	6.00	20.00	9.43	3.40
Full-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.50	0.50
Part-time employed	0.00	1.00	0.21	0.41
Not employed	0.00	1.00	0.29	0.45
Household income (log)	0.00	11.44	7.51	1.27
Degree of urbanization	1.00	5.00	2.86	1.30
No children	0.00	1.00	0.31	0.46
Youngest child aged 0–12	0.00	1.00	0.44	0.50
Youngest child aged >12	0.00	1.00	0.25	0.43
Full-time working couples	0.00	1.00	0.16	0.36
Combination household	0.00	1.00	0.37	0.48
Single-earner household	0.00	1.00	0.37	0.48
Non-employed couples	0.00	1.00	0.11	0.31

Source: Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003; $N = 5438$.

^a Joint participation is available for the FSDP 2003 only ($N = 809$).

5438 respondents from 2719 couples remained for our analyses. Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics for all variables.

4. Results: explaining individual cultural participation

To answer the first research question on the effect of couple-level time constraints on individual cultural participation we analysed overall cultural consumption (Table 3) and that for the three types of cultural activities (Table 4). Separate analyses were done for husbands and wives. In model 1 we estimate a baseline model with all relevant independent characteristics. Model 2 adds the time constraints at the household level defined as a couple's working arrangement. In models 3 and 4 we estimate the effects of the respondents' employment status and their partner's employment status separately.

4.1. Overall cultural participation

Looking at model 1 in Table 3, we observe that older people tend to participate more in cultural activities. Apparently through the years people gain knowledge and a social circle that make cultural participation more likely. As expected, higher educated people are more likely to visit cultural events than those with a lower education. Further, men as well as women tend to profit from their spouse's education; a higher educated spouse leads to a greater odds of cultural participation. Socialization by higher educated parents also promotes attendance at museums, theatres and

classical concerts. Surprisingly, for men a high-educated mother leads to more participation, whereas for women a high-educated father is most supportive. Further, a high annual income increases the rate of cultural participation. This result supports our expectation regarding the financial resources needed for participation in cultural activities. The more urbanized the neighbourhood where couples live, the higher the likelihood of them attending cultural events.

A first substantive test of the effects of time constraints is performed by looking at having young children in model 1. Surprisingly, having children younger than 12 years old seems to affect male cultural participation more than female cultural participation. Note, however, that the negative effect for women is on the border of significance. As children grow older they increase the likelihood of cultural participation; husbands and wives with children older than 12 years visit cultural activities 0.92 and 1.16 times more per year than husbands and wives without children. So, it seems that having older children promotes parents in their cultural behaviour, while having young children restricts parents' cultural attendance.

Model 2 introduces household-level time constraints related to couples' working arrangement. Since we expect full-time working couples to be under the greatest time pressure, they are the reference category here. The results show that men from a combination household (where at least one spouse works part time) report significantly higher levels of cultural participation than men in couples where both spouses work full time. For women this effect is absent. So, for men the time-restriction hypothesis is supported; men in a full-time working household apparently have less time available to spend on cultural participation. For women, belonging to a full-time working couple is not significantly different from belonging to a

Table 3

OLS regression of individual cultural participation on time restrictions, unstandardized coefficients for men and women

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Men								
Age	.14**	.01	.15**	.01	.15**	.01	.15**	.01
Educational level—respondent (years)	.55**	.04	.53**	.04	.54**	.04	.53**	.04
Educational level—partner (years)	.39**	.04	.37**	.04	.37**	.04	.37**	.04
Educational level—mother (years)	.10**	.05	.10**	.05	.10**	.05	.10**	.05
Educational level—father (years)	.07	.04	.07	.04	.07	.04	.07	.04
Household income (log)	.38**	.09	.33**	.09	.35**	.09	.33**	.09
No children (ref)								
Youngest child aged 0–12	-.61**	.25	-.76**	.27	-.66**	.26	-.68**	.27
Youngest child aged >12	.92**	.31	.80**	.31	.83**	.31	.82**	.31
Degree of urbanization (1–5)	.69**	.08	.69**	.08	.69**	.08	.68**	.08
Full-time working couple (ref)								
Combination household			.83**	.34				
Single-earner household			.18	.35				
Non-employed couples			-.62	.49				
Respondent full-time employed (ref)								
Respondent part-time employed					1.34**	.44	1.26**	.44
Respondent not employed					-.89**	.40	-.70	.41
Partner full-time employed (ref)								
Partner part-time employed							.50	.33
Partner not employed							-.05	.35
Constant	-17.99**	1.03	-17.91**	1.06	-17.84**	1.03	-17.66**	1.06
N	2719		2719		2719		2719	
R ² adjusted	.261		.264		.264		.265	

Table 3 (Continued)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Women								
Age	.18**	.01	.20**	.01	.19**	.01	.20**	.01
Educational level—respondent (years)	.55**	.05	.52**	.05	.52**	.05	.51**	.05
Educational level—partner (years)	.42**	.04	.41**	.04	.42**	.04	.41**	.04
Educational level—mother (years)	.10	.05	.10	.05	.10	.05	.10	.05
Educational level—father (years)	.14**	.04	.13**	.04	.13**	.04	.13**	.04
Household income (log)	.39**	.09	.31**	.09	.33**	.09	.31**	.09
No children (ref)								
Youngest child aged 0–12	–.52	.27	–.51	.29	–.39	.29	–.43	.29
Youngest child aged >12	1.16**	.33	1.10**	.33	1.18**	.33	1.12**	.33
Degree of urbanization (1–5)	.75**	.09	.74**	.09	.73**	.09	.73**	.09
Full-time working couple (ref)								
Combination household			.60	.36				
Single-earner household			–.49	.38				
Non-employed couples			–1.15**	.52				
Respondent full-time employed (ref)								
Respondent part-time employed					.34	.35	.28	.35
Respondent not employed					–.80**	.36	–.71	.37
Partner full-time employed (ref)								
Partner part-time employed							1.30**	.47
Partner not employed							–.56	.43
Constant	–19.75**	1.09	–19.18**	1.11	–19.03**	1.11	–18.92**	1.11
N	2719		2719		2719		2719	
R ² adjusted	.267		.273		.272		.274	

Significance: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; Source: Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003.

combination household when it comes to individual cultural participation. Note, however, that women from a non-employed couple differ significantly from women who belong to a full-time or combination couple.

Models 3 and 4 provide information on the separate effects for men and women of being in a couple with a certain working arrangement. From model 3 it is clear that part-time work increases cultural participation only for men (1.34 times per year), while for women we found no difference between working part time or full time. We must therefore conclude that a reduction of working hours makes no difference for women when it comes to cultural participation. Note that these relations were established while controlling for the effects of having young children, which tends to be a reason for women to reduce their working hours (and also restricts cultural participation).

When we add a spouse's employment status, in model 4, on top of respondents' own employment status, some remarkable effects show up. For men the wife's employment status makes no difference in their cultural participation. For women, however, having a husband who works part time causes a 1.3-point increase in their cultural attendance. This means that the effects of a couple's working status as presented in model 2 can be fully attributed to whether or not men are employed part time.

4.2. Participation in various cultural events

Table 4 focuses on the three different types of cultural events: attendance at classical concerts, the opera or ballet; visiting art exhibitions and historical museums; and attending classic or

Table 4
 OLS regression of individual attendance at classical concerts, museums and the theatre on time restrictions, unstandardized coefficients for men and women

	Classical concerts, opera or ballet						Historical museums or art exhibitions						Classic or popular theatre					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Men																		
Age	.05**	.00	.05**	.00	.05**	.00	.06**	.01	.06**	.01	.06**	.01	.05**	.01	.05**	.01	.05**	.01
Educational level—respondent (years)	.12**	.01	.12**	.01	.12**	.01	.26**	.02	.26**	.02	.26**	.02	.16**	.02	.16**	.02	.16**	.02
Educational level—partner (years)	.08**	.01	.08**	.01	.08**	.01	.17**	.02	.16**	.02	.16**	.02	.12**	.02	.13**	.02	.12**	.02
Educational level—mother (years)	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02	.05*	.03	.05*	.03	.05*	.03	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02
Educational level—father (years)	.05**	.01	.05**	.01	.05**	.01	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02
Household income (log)	.06*	.03	.06*	.03	.06*	.03	.13**	.05	.13**	.05	.13**	.05	.13**	.04	.16**	.04	.13**	.04
No children (ref)																		
Youngest child aged 0–12	-.25**	.09	-.23**	.08	-.25**	.09	-.12	.14	-.00	.14	-.07	.14	-.39**	.14	-.43**	.13	-.37**	.14
Youngest child aged >12	.01	.10	.02	.10	.01	.10	.59**	.16	.63**	.16	.60**	.16	.20	.15	.18	.15	.21	.15
Degree of urbanization (1–5)	.13**	.03	.13**	.03	.13**	.03	.35**	.04	.34**	.04	.34**	.04	.21**	.04	.21**	.04	.21**	.04
Full-time working couple (ref)																		
Combination household	.12	.11					.39*	.18					.32	.17				
Single-earner household	.06	.12					.38*	.19					-.27	.18				
Non-employed couples	-.19	.16					.24	.26					-.67**	.24				
Respondent full-time employed (ref)																		
Respondent part-time employed			.09	.15	.08	.15			.68**	.23	.67**	.23			.56**	.22	.50*	.22
Respondent not employed			-.26	.13	-.25	.14			-.05	.21	-.09	.22			-.58**	.20	-.36	.20
Partner full-time employed (ref)																		
Partner part-time employed					.10	.11					.19	.18					.21	.17
Partner not employed					.05	.11					.25	.18					-.35*	.17
Constant	-5.06**	.35	-5.04**	.34	-5.05**	.35	-7.89**	.56	-7.60**	.55	-7.75**	.56	-4.95**	.53	-5.21**	.52	-4.86**	.53
N	2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719	
R ² adjusted	.163		.163		.162		.200		.201		.201		.133		.128		.134	

Women

Age	.06**	.00	.06**	.00	.06**	.00	.08**	.01	.08**	.01	.08**	.01	.06**	.01	.06**	.01	.06**	.01
Educational level—respondent (years)	.11**	.02	.11**	.02	.11**	.02	.26**	.02	.26**	.02	.25**	.02	.16**	.02	.15**	.02	.15**	.02
Educational level—partner (years)	.11**	.01	.11**	.01	.11**	.01	.16**	.02	.16**	.02	.16**	.02	.14**	.02	.14**	.02	.14**	.02
Educational level—mother (years)	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03	.05	.03	.05	.03	.05	.03
Educational level—father (years)	.04**	.01	.04**	.01	.04**	.01	.08**	.02	.08**	.02	.08**	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02
Household income (log)	.07*	.03	.07*	.03	.07*	.03	.11*	.05	.12*	.05	.11*	.05	.13**	.05	.14**	.05	.13**	.05
No children (ref)																		
Youngest child aged 0–12	–.15	.10	–.13	.09	–.14	.10	–.27	.15	–.23	.15	–.25	.15	–.09	.15	–.03	.15	–.05	.15
Youngest child aged >12	.08	.11	.09	.11	.08	.11	.48**	.17	.51**	.17	.48**	.17	.54**	.17	.59**	.17	.55**	.17
Degree of urbanization (1–5)	.14**	.03	.14**	.03	.14**	.03	.31**	.04	.31**	.04	.31**	.04	.28**	.05	.28**	.05	.28**	.05
Full-time working couple (ref)																		
Combination household	.02	.12						.36*	.18				.22	.18				
Single-earner household	–.15	.12						.17	.19				–.51**	.19				
Non-employed couples	–.25	.17						–.09	.27				–.82**	.27				
Respondent full-time employed (ref)																		
Respondent part-time employed			–.02	.12	–.03	.12		.31	.18	.28	.18		.05	.18	.02	.18		
Respondent not employed		–.20	.12	–.18	.12			.08	.19	.11	.19		–.68**	.19	–.64**	.19		
Partner full-time employed (ref)																		
Partner part-time employed				.08	.15					.56*	.24					.66**	.24	
Partner not employed				–.09	.14					–.21	.22					–.26	.22	
Constant	–5.35**	.36	–5.33**	.36	–5.33**	.36	–8.23**	.57	–8.19**	.57	–8.13**	.57	–5.60**	.57	–5.52**	.57	–5.45**	.57
N	2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719		2719	
R ² adjusted	.171		.171		.171		.205		.205		.206		.139		.138		.140	

Significance: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; Source: Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003.

popular theatre. The baseline model is not presented. For all three cultural events that model shows close resemblance to model 1 in [Table 3](#).

[Table 4](#) displays some differences across the various activities for men and women. It seems there are no significant effects of time constraints when it comes to attending classical concerts, opera or ballet. For museum visits, however, relatively strong effects are observed. Men in full-time working couples spend significantly less time attending museums than men in combination or single-earner households. Again, from model 3 it is clear that working part time is especially important for men; this increases their own cultural participation (by 0.67 times a year) as well as the participation of their wife (by 0.56 times a year). Our analysis of attendance at classic and popular theatre displays slightly different results; no relevant significant effects of time constraints at the couple level are observed. For women, living in a single-earner household or being in a non-employed couple does significantly lower the odds of being a cultural participant. This probably has less to do with time constraints than with other qualities (social circle, attitudes, and competence) associated with unemployment. Model 3, for theatre attendance, again shows that it is profitable for men to work part time; compared to full-time working men they visit the theatre 0.50 times more per year. Women with a part-time working husband are also more often found among theatre audiences (0.66 times more per year).

In sum, analysing the three cultural activities separately shows that for visiting museums and theatre attendance, time constraints are a relevant factor. Especially constraints related to the husband's employment status affect both the husband's and the wife's cultural participation.

5. Results: explaining joint cultural participation

Our second research question deals with the extent to which joint cultural participation (of partners) is affected by couple-level time constraints. The 2003 FSDP survey asked a specific question on how frequently spouses attend cultural activities together. [Table 5](#) examines couples' joint cultural participation. The analyses show women's and men's ages to be highly correlated. We therefore chose to include the women's age only. Parental education is available for four parents. For parsimony, we included only the maximum parental educational level per spouse.

The baseline model 1 in [Table 5](#) shows that the effects of the control variables are as expected. Older couples and highly educated couples do participate relatively often in cultural events. Surprisingly, household income is not of importance for joint cultural participation. Evaluating the time constraints, having children works negatively for joint cultural participation of spouses. Both young and older children reduce joint cultural attendance. Our previous models showed that having children older than 12 years leads to more individual cultural participation. This effect can probably be understood as one of the parents accompanying an adolescent child to a cultural performance or museum. Nonetheless, it reduces the cultural participation of both spouses together. Model 2 includes couple-level working status. Although all effects are in the expected direction and resemble earlier results on individual cultural participation, they fail to reach significance. This means that we must conclude that joint visits are hardly affected by a couple's working hours. The subsequent models, 3 and 4, which introduce the working hours of men and women separately, show similarly insignificant results.

We can think of two reasons why we did not find the expected effects of time restrictions associated with a couple's working status. First, joint cultural participation might be considered such a valuable and rewarding activity that partners in a couple prioritize such attendance. Perhaps this is an activity they are least likely to give up. We were able to show that work status matters for individual attendance, so time restrictions do seemingly hinder individual cultural

Table 5
OLS regression of joint cultural participation of couples on time restrictions, unstandardized coefficients

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Couples								
Age (of woman)	.05**	.01	.05**	.01	.05**	.01	.05**	.01
Educational level—man (years)	.11**	.02	.11**	.02	.11**	.02	.11**	.02
Educational level—woman (years)	.13**	.03	.12**	.03	.13**	.03	.12**	.03
Educational level—parents man (max)	.04	.02	.04	.02	.04	.02	.04	.02
Educational level—parents woman (max)	.02	.03	.01	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03
Household income (log)	.06	.04	.05	.04	.06	.04	.05	.04
No children (ref)								
Youngest child aged 0–12	–.45**	.15	–.48**	.16	–.46**	.15	–.47**	.16
Youngest child aged >12	–.61**	.23	–.66**	.23	–.64**	.23	–.66**	.23
Degree of urbanization (1–5)	.23**	.05	.23**	.05	.23**	.05	.23**	.05
Full-time working couple (ref)								
Combination household			.25	.19				
Single-earner household			–.07	.20				
Non-employed couples			–.05	.29				
Man full-time employed (ref)								
Man not employed					–.13	.24	.01	.26
Man part-time employed					.08	.25	.02	.25
Woman full-time employed (ref)								
Woman not employed							–.12	.20
Woman part-time employed							.18	.19
Constant	–4.76**	.58	–4.63**	.58	–4.75**	.58	–4.62**	.59
<i>N</i>	809		809		809		809	
<i>R</i> ² adjusted	.189		.191		.188		.189	

Significance: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; *Source*: Family Surveys of the Dutch Population 1992, 1998, 2000 and 2003.

participation, but not joint cultural participation. Second, a lack of statistical power might cause the effects of work status to remain insignificant. Since, the question on joint cultural participation was asked only in the 2003 FSDP, our analyses on joint cultural participation have fewer respondents and subsequently couples.

6. Conclusion and discussion

In this study, we analysed the extent to which time restrictions associated with working arrangements in households affect individual and joint cultural participation. We employed data for 5438 Dutch individuals from 2719 couples on their work and participation at cultural events. Previous studies focused mainly on individual cultural behaviour and used as explanatory aspects mostly individual characteristics. This study advances research on participation in cultural events in two directions. First, it demonstrates that time restrictions are not as individual as one might expect. Husbands and wives live in a family, and time pressure is therefore highly associated with the living arrangements in these families. We studied two of the most relevant family aspects: having young children and working full time as a couple. Second, we studied joint attendance at cultural events, since leisure activities are known to be social events. Many previous studies on cultural participation neglected the social nature of attending cultural events. This study

explicitly acknowledged the fact that cultural participation is often a joint activity. Consequently characteristics of significant others were introduced in modelling cultural participation.

From our research on individual cultural participation and couple-level time constraints we conclude that an inclusion of a couple's work status can indeed explain frequency of individual cultural attendance. Whereas other studies have often failed to report significant effects of working hours on cultural participation, we show here that it is the combination of the working hours of both spouses that matters. People in full-time working couples suffer the greatest time constraints and, as a result, participate less in cultural activities compared to people from combination households. We find surprisingly little support for our expectation that people in full-time working couples differ from those in single-earner families or non-employed couples. This non-linearity probably caused the insignificant results of time constraints in previous studies. The reasons why unemployed individuals refrain from cultural participation are almost certainly not related to time restrictions. Explanations may be found in the lack of a social circle of cultural aficionados, a relatively low level of cultural competence, the apathy often associated with unemployment and the rather traditional attitudes amongst the unemployed.

With our second research question we asked whether joint cultural participation is affected by couple-level time constraints. We had to reject this expectation. We found no significant difference in cultural participation between full-time working couples and combination households. An explanation may be that couples protect activities undertaken together against their time-pressure problems. One might conclude that the last thing full-time working couples economize on is their coupled leisure. This, however, must be a question for future research on the motives for joint cultural leisure.

Most striking in our findings on cultural participation is the importance of the husband's employment status; men who work part time attend cultural activities more often than men who work full time. For women, this effect is absent. Women who work full time do not differ from their part-time working counterparts in cultural participation. This leads us to conclude that time restrictions related to work are sex-specific when it comes to cultural participation. Moreover, a part-time working husband seems beneficial for a wife's cultural participation, but the same is not true the other way around. This leads us to conclude that to promote cultural participation in a family it is important to simulate men to work fewer hours.

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