

Article



Parental socialization and the consumption of domestic films, books and music

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Abstract

By innovatively combining insights from research on cultural consumption, socialization and nationalism, this study is one of the first empirical studies to shed more light on role of parental socialization in domestic and foreign cultural consumption of films, books and music. Similar to previous studies on parental socialization of highbrow and lowbrow cultural consumption, parents' cultural socialization when respondents were in their formative years (i.e. parental domestic cultural consumption) is relevant for respondents' domestic and foreign cultural consumption later in life. Parents' national behaviour during their children's formative years is related to the respondents' positive nationalist attitudes, which, in turn, is associated with respondents' domestic film and music consumption. Parental socialization plays a less important role in domestic book consumption, indicating that in less diverse cultural markets, other socialization influences (such as school) might be playing a role as well. Adding to the debate on the influence of parental socialization over the life course, we found indications that the effects of parental socialization on domestic consumption were weaker for older compared to younger people. This suggests the importance of parental socialization and the varying ways in which it is associated with domestic cultural consumption.

Keywords

Consumption, culture, socialization, domestic, nationalism

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Introduction

Increasing flows of foreign goods have provided consumers with more alternatives to domestic goods (Netemeyer et al., 1991) and have stimulated cosmopolitan lifestyles (Bauman, 1998). Over the last decades, scholars have focused more and more on the ideas of cultural cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan consumption (e.g. Regev, 2007, 2011; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). Several authors have argued that cultural distinction is supplemented, or even replaced by cultural openness, tolerance or cosmopolitanism as a status marker and central dimension of cultural consumption (e.g. Peterson and Kern, 1996; Roose et al., 2012; Rössel and Schroedter, 2015). In this contribution, we focus on domestic and foreign cultural consumption. We relate domestic cultural goods to a localist orientation, whereas international cultural goods might express a cosmopolitan orientation and a competence with regard to foreign cultures (Hannerz, 1990). Thereby linking such 'forms of cosmopolitanism [...] to resource endowment' (Rössel and Schroedter, 2015: 86). Thus, by examining domestic versus foreign cultural consumption, we add to the debate on the changes in Bourdieu's concept of field and the emergence of new societal cleavages based on cultural cosmopolitanism (Fligstein, 2008). Furthermore, we innovatively combine these ideas with insights from consumer research. In this field of research, although overlooking *cultural* goods in particular, studies have demonstrated that people prefer domestic products over foreign ones and that large parts of the population hold negative attitudes towards foreign goods – labelled consumer ethnocentrism (e.g. Balabanis et al., 2001; Sharma et al., 1995). Moreover, we innovatively focus on three types of cultural goods: films, music and books consumption. These goods have a pervasive presence in everyday life, reflect societal norms and values and have important cultural and communicative functions (Edensor, 2002; UNESCO, 2009; Verlegh, 2007). This allows us to theorize about possible differences between various cultural types.

Previous studies on domestic versus foreign consumption have mainly linked it to structural characteristics (such as education, social class, gender and age). We add to this by examining parental socialization as a determinant of theoretical importance. Cultural consumption research has always shown a strong interest in parental transmission of cultural preferences since this transmission would provide children with distinctive capital (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Katz-Gerro et al., 2007; Mohr and DiMaggio, 1995). The research has demonstrated that parents' cultural socialization is key to children's cultural consumption (e.g. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Mohr and DiMaggio, 1995; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Ter Bogt et al., 2011; Van Eijck, 1997; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). In the field of consumer culture, Martens et al. (2004) similarly argue that parents transmit various resources to their children, thereby affecting their children's consumption choices. This study empirically examines the relation between parental socialization and the consumption of domestic and foreign cultural goods. This allows us to assess to what extent a focus on the nation, that is, consumption of domestic goods, is reproduced via parental socialization, similarly to other types of cultural transmission.

Finally, previous studies have linked cultural openness to the concept of (trans)-national identity (e.g. Janssen et al., 2008; Rössel and Schroedter, 2015) and have argued that domestic cultural goods reflect national culture and identity (Edensor, 2002). Consumer ethnocentrism research has repeatedly shown that choices for domestic products are related to nationalist attitudes (e.g. Balabanis et al., 2001; Sharma et al., 1995). Building on these fields of study and combining their insights with socialization theories, we investigate to what extent parents' behavioural expressions of national belonging are associated with respondents' domestic and foreign cultural consumption and to what extent this runs via the transmission of nationalist attitudes. In this way, we tie domestic versus foreign consumption pattern to ideas of (banal) nationalism, as consumption of domestic goods can consciously and unconsciously mark national boundaries on a daily basis (Billig, 1995), even in these times of further globalization.

In sum, this study has three main objectives. First, it aims to contribute to the investigation of domestic versus foreign cultural consumption as part of a new pattern of cultural lifestyles, showing differences between national and international orientations (Meuleman and Savage, 2013). Second, it builds on previous research by investigating whether socialization theory applies to this new cultural dimension as well. And finally, the third aim is to innovatively link national attitudes and national exemplary behaviour (and its socialization) to domestic versus foreign consumption. We conducted our study in one of the highest globalized countries in the world: the Netherlands (Dreher, 2006; KOF Swiss Economic Institute, 2015).

Theoretical perspectives

Domestic and foreign cultural consumption

In line with our first research aim, we will first discuss our reference to domestic and foreign culture as part of cultural cosmopolitanism (Meuleman and Savage, 2013). Related to the ideas of national and local versus international and cosmopolitan orientations, we are interested in the consumption of cultural goods that consumers consider 'national'. Previous research has found that people's selfassessed consumption of – what they interpret as – 'national' cultural goods is positively correlated with their consumption of cultural goods (films, music and books) from filmmakers, musicians and writers actually residing in the Netherlands (vs residing abroad) (Meuleman and Lubbers, 2014). Domestic cultural goods reflect (perceived) national culture, without necessarily having a nationalistic meaning. This distinction is in line with the conceptualization in consumer studies, where production origin is the main focus of consumer ethnocentric tendencies or consumer animosity. In a multiple correspondence analysis, used to detect and represent underlying structures in categorical data by giving a geographical representation of the data and underlying axes (see Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004), Meuleman and Savage (2013) demonstrated the empirical validity of this distinction (i.e. foreign vs domestic) as a separate axis of cultural lifestyles, next to cultural (dis)engagement (i.e. people that often vs never consumed or visited culture), and the distinction between established/highbrow goods and lowbrow/ 'emerging' goods (e.g. visiting classical concerts, museums, art galleries vs visiting pop concerts or musicals).

Both domestic and foreign cultural goods as referred to in this study can range from lowbrow (e.g. sentimental music) to highbrow (e.g. classical music) genres and can be in any language. Meuleman and Lubbers (2014) have shown that the domestic versus foreign divide in music consumption remains, regardless of genre or language. Yet, as the concept of highbrow and lowbrow genres might overlap with the geographical origin of the cultural goods (e.g. Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010), we will – in our explanation of domestic and foreign cultural consumption – control for highbrow and lowbrow consumption of the respondents and their parents, as well as their education and social class.

Socialization: Parents' domestic consumption and national behaviour

The second research aim of this study is to investigate whether socialization theory applies to domestic versus foreign cultural consumption as part of cultural cosmopolitanism. Parents play an important role in the formation of their children's attitudes and behaviours (e.g. Barber, 2000; Glass et al., 1986; Jaspers et al., 2008; Van Eijck, 1997). They transfer values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours through nonverbal communication, exemplary behaviour and explicit teaching (Glass et al., 1986). Based on social reproduction and class differentiation theories, previous studies in the field of consumption have argued that parents affect their children's consumption by transmitting various (cultural, economic and social) resources onto their children (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Featherstone, 1991; Martens et al., 2004). Martens et al. (2004) label this the 'mode of consumption' approach. Research has shown that parental cultural preferences and consumption are key in explaining cultural preferences and behaviour of their children (Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Mohr and DiMaggio, 1995; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Ter Bogt et al., 2011; Van Eijck, 1997; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). According to Martens et al. (2004) and Van Eijck (1997), parents have the most significant influence on children's cultural orientations. Parental cultural socialization is thought to inculcate children with cultural resources (i.e. cultural capital) such as taste, knowledge and receptivity to specific cultural products (Bourdieu, 1984). Similar to the transmission of lowbrow or highbrow culture, we expect that parents transmit preferences for domestic or foreign cultural goods. Regarding the latter, parent's socialization of cultural cosmopolitanism might function as a new form of endowment (Rössel and Schroedter, 2015). This can happen either implicitly through parental exemplary behaviour or more explicitly via parental teaching and guidance. Implicitly, children can observe and imitate their parents' domestic or foreign cultural consumption behaviour. More explicitly, parents might intentionally stimulate their children's domestic or foreign cultural consumption,

for instance, by talking about certain authors or by taking them to particular concerts. Hence, parents '[...] not only act as gatekeepers regarding what can be consumed, but also actively engage in cultivating ways of consuming' (Martens et al., 2004: 166). We hypothesize 'The stronger parents' domestic cultural consumption, the more often respondents will consume domestic cultural goods (H1a) and the less often they will consume foreign cultural goods (H1b)'.

The consumption of domestically produced goods might not only be affected by parents' cultural socialization – as we just discussed – but also by parents' national example behaviour, since domestically produced cultural goods can reflect and communicate aspects of national culture and identity (Edensor, 2002; UNESCO, 2009; Verlegh, 2007). For instance, in studies on consumer culture, the consumption of national dishes is linked to national sentiments (e.g. Caldwell, 2004; Hirsch and Tene, 2013). Hence, we can expect that parents' national socialization, or their lack of cosmopolitan orientation, also will affect their children's domestic and foreign cultural consumption behaviour. Previous research has shown that parents from ethnic minority groups tend to transmit ethnic group pride, knowledge and traditions to their children (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents' ethnic socialization is associated with children's ethnic identity development, favourable ethnic in-group attitudes and engagement in ethnic behaviours (e.g. Demo and Hughes, 1990; O'Connor et al., 2000; Umaña-Taylor and Fine, 2004). Similar socialization effects are found among native majority members. Parents directly and indirectly influence their children's national attitudes (e.g. by telling national narratives, participating in national celebrations or visiting national museums), providing important examples of attitudes towards the nation (see Barrett, 2007). Since group members not only favour their own group compared to other groups but also favour its products over products from other groups (Brown, 2000), we can expect that parents' national socialization (such as celebrating national holidays) is positively related to the consumption of domestic products. In this way, parents might reproduce a focus on the nation and might consciously and unconsciously mark national boundaries on a daily basis (Billig, 1995). Thus, we hypothesize 'The stronger parents' national behaviour, the more often respondents will consume domestic cultural goods (H2a) and the less often they will consume foreign cultural goods (H2b)'.

By researching the influence of parents' national behaviour on cosmopolitan consumption (H2), we contribute to our third research aim: to innovatively link national attitudes and national exemplary behaviour to domestic versus foreign consumption. To further improve our understanding of the relation between parental national socialization and respondents' domestic cultural consumption, we will examine to what extent this relation between socialization and consumption is mediated by respondents' nationalist attitudes. Previous research has indeed shown that respondents' own nationalist attitudes are related to preferences for domestic consumer goods and dislikes for foreign consumer goods (in consumer ethnocentrism research: e.g. Balabanis et al., 2001; Sharma et al., 1995). By examining its relation to parents' national socialization, this study aims to provide some indications of the extent to which parents' national socialization is internalized by

respondents (in the form of nationalist attitudes) and to what extent this, in turn, influences respondents' cosmopolitan consumption. We expect that 'Respondent's nationalist attitudes will mediate the positive association between the parents' national behaviour and the respondent's consumption of domestic cultural goods (H3a) and mediate the negative relation between parents' national behaviour and the respondent's consumption of foreign cultural goods (H3b)'.

Socialization through the life course

As an addition to the framework of cosmopolitan socialization (via parents' cultural and (inter)national exemplary behaviour), we examine how this type of socialization changes over the life course. It has been argued and shown that the formative years during adolescence are an important period for parental socialization of attitudes and beliefs (Alwin and Krosnick, 1991; Inglehart, 1990). The circumstances during the formative years can mark people in such a way that the attitudes acquired in this crucial life phase remain relatively stable throughout the rest of their lives. This would mean that parental socialization in the formative years is similarly related to attitudes in different periods later in life (Alwin and Krosnick, 1991; Glenn, 1980). Following socialization theory, it is also possible that the effect of parental socialization diminishes over time (divergence) as the frequency and intensity of parent-child contact reduces and other significant others (e.g. peers or partners) become more important. In the field of cultural socialization, Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002) demonstrated that family influence on cultural participation does not vary much over the life cycle, that is, they found similar effects of parents' cultural participation on the cultural participation of their adolescent (age 14 years) and adult (age 30 years) children. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck (2010) have shown that the effect of parents' cultural behaviour on respondents' education and cultural possessions were somewhat weaker for older compared to younger people. Yet, the effect of parents' cultural behaviour on respondents' cultural behaviour did not significantly interact with age. Daenekindt and Roose (2014) provide evidence for both arguments: stability and change in consumption patterns over the life course. Thus, previous research remains rather inconclusive about the stability of the effect of parents' cultural socialization on respondents' cultural consumption over the life course. We will explore whether the effect of parents' cosmopolitan socialization depends on the respondents' age in order to examine possible socialization changes during the life course.

Different types of cultural goods

Another aspect we like to add to the framework of cosmopolitan socialization is the potential difference in domestic and foreign consumption of films, music and books. First, because these are quite different types of goods to consume. For instance – regardless of geographical origin – reading books requires more formal schooling and skills (Kraaykamp and Dijkstra, 1999; Van Rees et al., 1999)

and demands more time and effort than listening to music (Purhonen et al., 2010) or watching films. Individuals who went to school in the Netherlands are educated in Dutch literature, and reading has a much more prominent position in education than singing (music) and theatre (movies). Second, the cultural status hierarchy of these goods might differ. For example, reading in one's leisure time is often seen as a relatively high-status activity (Kraaykamp and Dijkstra, 1999). Accordingly, domestic books might be placed higher in a symbolic hierarchy than domestic music and films. From these observations, we might expect that parental (national or cosmopolitan) socialization is less important for domestic book consumption than for film and music consumption, as other socialization influences (e.g. school) might play a greater role in the former type of consumption. Third, it is interesting to examine films, music and books separately because of the differences in cultural markets. Only 29% of the consumed books are imported in the Netherlands in 2006 (UNESCO, 2009). In contrast, the film sector is largely dominated by foreign, mainly American, supply. More than 90% of the top movies viewed in theatres in 2006 in the Netherlands was foreign (UNESCO, 2009). Investments in films are much larger compared to the investments in music or books, and the Dutch film industry relies on a budget that is far from comparable to that of the United States. In comparison, 74% of the physical (non-digital) music sales in the Netherlands was foreign in 2006 (UNESCO, 2009). Although in the Dutch music market, artists from the United Kingdom and the United States have been very successful over the years and Dutch musicians have become increasingly popular since the mid-1990s (Hitters and Van de Kamp, 2010). Because of the differences in the book, film and music market in terms of domestic shares, we may expect that parents' past domestic cultural behaviour has a varying influence in the consumption of domestic and foreign cultural consumption. To get more insight in possible differences between films, music and books, we will explore these three types of cultural goods separately in our analyses.

Data and methods

Data

The data were collected in the Longitudinal Internet studies for the Social Sciences (LISS) panel. This is a nationally representative online panel of 5000 Dutch households (comprising 8000 individuals) administered by CentERdata at the University of Tilburg in the Netherlands. Next to the LISS Core Study (which is a yearly repeated longitudinal study on topics such as family, household, work and schooling), researchers get the opportunity to collect their own data via online questionnaires to the panel members (for more information, see http://www.liss data.nl). In the fall of 2011, a questionnaire on the consumption of domestic and foreign cultural goods was added, and the data were collected among household members who were at least 16 years old (N=4785). We excluded non-natives from our dataset (11%) together with people with missing information on ethnicity (4%)

since the questions on Dutch national behaviour might not apply to non-natives' parents as it is unknown if they were living in the Netherlands during the respondents' youth. In addition, we excluded respondents aged 80 years and older (3%) because their parents were not able to participate in some of the national behaviours the respondents were asked about (i.e. World War II commemorations on 4 and 5 May which were installed in 1947; N=3910).

Dependent variables: Films, books and music

To examine the geographical range of cultural tastes, respondents were asked how often they consume films (on television, digital versatile disc (DVD) or in the theatre) from (a) the Netherlands, (b) Europe (other than the Netherlands), (c) the United States of America and (d) from other parts of the world (four items). Response categories were 1 'never', 2 'rarely', 3 'sometimes', 4 'regularly' and 5 'often'. The first item is used to measure respondents' domestic film consumption. We took the maximum score on how often respondents consume films from other countries in Europe, from the United States or from elsewhere to measure respondents' foreign film consumption. In this way, respondents that, for instance, often watch films from the United States but hardly from anywhere else are still considered as respondents who often consume foreign films (which would not be the case if we took the mean score on these items).

The questions about music consumption were distinguished by geographical area and language. Respondents were asked how often they consume music from the Netherlands in either Dutch or foreign languages (two items). The maximum score measures domestic music consumption. The maximum score on respondents' consumption of music from foreign artists in German, French, English and other languages is used to measure foreign music consumption (maximum of four items). Again, response categories ranged from 1 'never' to 5 'often'.

Similar to films, respondents were asked how often they consumed books from the before-mentioned geographical areas (four items). The item on the frequency of book consumption from the Netherlands is used to measure domestic consumption. Respondents' foreign book consumption is operationalized by taking the maximum score on book consumption from Europe (other than the Netherlands), the United States of America and other parts of the world. Domestic and foreign book consumption both ranged from 1 'never' to 5 'often'. In sum, six dependent variables have been constructed for domestic and foreign films, music and books; all ranging from 1 'never', 2 'rarely', 3 'sometimes', 4 'regularly' to 5 'often'.

When respondents never consumed a particular cultural good (regardless of the geographical area), we coded their scores as missing values for that particular good, while their consumption of the other cultural goods is examined. As we wanted to make sure that respondents made a comparison between their domestic and foreign consumption for each cultural good, we coded scores as missing values when respondents only answered the question on domestic consumption (and not on

foreign consumption), and the other way around. For films, 4% of the respondents had missing values (N=3748), for music, 2% (N=3833) and for books, 15% (N=3296).

Domestic films were watched regularly to often by 22% of the respondents, while 49% watched foreign films regularly to often. For music, 57% of the respondents listened to music by Dutch artists regularly to often and 76% did so for foreign music. Finally, 37% of the respondents read domestic books regularly to often, which is comparable for foreign books (38%).

Respondents' consumption of cultural goods which are perceived to be Dutch/ foreign is positively correlated to open questions about respondents' favourite artists where the origin of musicians was post-coded by the authors (based on the artists' residence) (Meuleman and Lubbers, 2014). So respondents have a good idea of the geographical origin of cultural goods. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that cultural goods can be produced by multiple artists from various countries, by artists who (or whose parents) were not born in the Netherlands or by artists born in the Netherlands but no longer residing in the country. This might make it more difficult for respondents to assess their domestic versus foreign cultural consumption. However, these issues concern only a very small group of artists in the Netherlands.

Independent variables

To measure parents' domestic consumption, we asked respondents how often (ranging from 1 'never' to 5 'often'), their parents watched Dutch films, listened to Dutch music (sung in either Dutch or a foreign language) and read books from Dutch authors when respondents were aged 15 years. For each type of respondents' cultural consumption (films, music and books), we will examine the specific parental domestic exemplary behaviour in the analyses. We used retrospective questions to measure parents' (domestic) cultural consumption, which is common in research on parents' cultural resources (e.g. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010; Van Eijck, 1997). A drawback of retrospective questions is that respondents' recollection might not be accurate. Yet, the questions we used concern actual visible behaviours which are more easily remembered than parental attitudes or preferences. Moreover, using retrospective measures and controlling for educational level, De Vries and De Graaf (2008) have shown that the effects of parents' highbrow cultural consumption on respondents' highbrow cultural consumption are relatively little biased (by random and correlated measurement error).

Parents' national behaviour is measured by an average score of the following items: 'My parents always observed a 2-minute silence on 4 May (Remembrance Day)', 'My parents always hung the Dutch flag on 5 May (Liberation Day)' and 'My parents always used orange decorations or wore orange clothing on Queen's Day or international championships', ranging from 1 'totally disagree' to 4 'totally agree'. Similar to the retrospective questions on parents' consumption, we asked

	Factor loadings	(pattern matrix)	
Items	Respondents' cultural patriotism	Respondents' chauvinism	Parents' national behaviour
Resp: Pride in achievements in sports	.707	087	014
Resp: Pride in arts and literature	.770	.152	032
Resp: Pride in history	.485	123	.084
Resp: World better place if people from other countries were more like the Dutch	.001	839	020
Resp: Netherlands is a better country than most other countries	.024	−.679	.006
Parents hung flag (5 May)	127	.007	.893
Parents observed silence (4 May)	.067	.063	.367
Parents orange decorations/clothes	.023	073	.493
Eigenvalue	2.225	1.524	1.378

Table 1. Exploratory factor analysis on parents' and respondents' national items.

Source: Longitudinal Internet studies for the Social Sciences (LISS) Data 'Domestic cultural consumption' 2011, N = 3748 (film); results are similar for N = 3833 (music) and N = 3296 (books).

about concrete visible behaviour. The correlations between parents' national behaviour and respondents' nationalist attitudes (see below) are low. This indicates that respondents seem to recall parents' national behaviour rather than reporting parents' national behaviour based on their own nationalist attitudes (i.e. respondents who have nationalist attitudes do not necessarily report that their parents frequently participated in national holidays). In addition, exploratory factor analysis showed that the three items on parents' national behaviour load on a different factor than the items on respondents' nationalist attitudes, indicating that the two constructs are empirically distinguishable (Table 1). We included dummy variables to examine whether the respondents for whom we had no information on their parents' domestic consumption (16% parental film consumption, 18% music and 17% books) and parents' national behaviour (6%) (later imputed) differ from those for whom we did have this information.

Based on an exploratory factor analysis on the nationalism items, we found two separate factors for *respondents' nationalist attitudes* (Table 1). Items referring to being proud of 'The Dutch performance in sports', 'The Dutch achievements in art and literature' and 'The Dutch history' load on one factor. In line with previous research – arguing that patriotism refers to love for and pride of one's nation (Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Coenders et al., 2004; Dekker et al., 2003) also with particular regard for national cultural aspects (Meuleman et al., 2013) – we interpret this factor as *cultural patriotism* (ranging from 1 'not proud at all' to 4 'very

We performed a principal factor analysis with oblique rotation.

proud') (Cronbach's α = .69). The second factor, relating to *chauvinism*, consisted of two items: 'It would be a better world if people from other countries were more like the Dutch' and 'Generally speaking, the Netherlands is a better country than most other countries' (ranging from 1 'totally disagree' to 5 'totally agree'). This is largely in line with previous research defining chauvinism as the view of national superiority compared to other countries (Blank and Schmidt, 2003; Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989).

We control for highbrow and lowbrow consumption. Domestic cultural consumption has been linked to lowbrow consumption in previous research (e.g. Roose and Vander Stichele, 2010), which could imply that we are actually examining lowbrow consumption rather than domestic consumption. Nationalist attitudes could then seem to affect domestic cultural consumption because lower social strata are more likely to be nationalist (Coenders et al., 2004) and are more likely to consume lowbrow goods (Bourdieu, 1984). Although we also control for education and class, these measures might not fully pick up highbrow and lowbrow taste. Moreover, by including these two measures, we also control for people's general cultural participation which is likely to be related to national consumption as well. We dichotomized the variables on highbrow and lowbrow consumption as they were skewed, with around one-third to a half of the respondents and their parents being culturally inactive. We measured parents' highbrow participation with a dichotomous variable assessing whether parents visited the theatre, a concert of classical music, an opera or operetta or a museum when respondents were aged 15 years (around 69% was active in at least one of the activities, coded '1') (e.g. Dimaggio and Useem, 1978; Katz-Gerro and Shavit, 1998; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Parents' lowbrow participation was assessed by asking whether parents visited a popular music concert, musical or the cinema when respondents were 15 years old (around 55% was active in at least one of the activities, coded '1') (e.g. Dimaggio and Useem, 1978; Katz-Gerro and Shavit, 1998; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012).

Similar to the variables we used for parents' highbrow participation, we measured respondents' highbrow participation by asking whether they visited the last year: the theatre, a concert of classical music, an opera or operetta, a museum, a film house, an art gallery or a ballet (around 64% was active in at least one of the activities, coded '1'). Respondents' lowbrow participation was assessed by asking whether respondents visited the last year: a concert of popular music, a musical, the cinema, a dance event or house party or a cabaret show (around 75% was active in at least one of the activities, coded '1').

We furthermore controlled for education and social class of the parents and the respondent, as well as for respondents' sex and age. *Parents' educational level* is measured by the highest educational level attained by either father or mother, ranging from 'no completed education' to 'university' which we recoded into six categories similar to those of the respondents. *Respondents' educational level* consists of standard categories by the Statistics Netherlands (Centraal Bureau van Statistiek (CBS)), ranging from 1 'primary education' to 6 'university'. We included

the parents' and the respondents' educational levels as ordinal variables in our analyses. *Parents' and respondents' social classes* were measured with an adjusted version of the well-known Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero (EGP) class scheme (Erikson et al., 1979). We examine the higher class (high- and low-grade professionals), the middle class (routine non-manuals and lower service sales employees), the lower class (manual supervisors and workers), self-employed people, and other classes (people outside the labour market and not classifiable social classes). Parents' social class was measured by the highest class attained by either father or mother. Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics of the different variables for N films = 3748, for N music = 3833 and for N books = 3296.

Methods

We replaced remaining missing values for the independent variables using the expectation—maximisation algorithm in which values were imputed on the basis of relevant variables from the dataset. All variables that are treated as linear variables in the analyses were standardized (mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1) in order to be able to compare the strength of the effects. We perform six separate linear regression analyses on the six dependent variables: domestic and foreign film, music and book consumption.

Results

Films

Table 3, Model 1 shows the association between parents' domestic consumption and national behaviour with respondents' domestic and foreign film consumption. We find fairly strong positive effects of parents' domestic film consumption, as their domestic consumption was higher, respondents' domestic, but also respondents' foreign film consumption is higher (B=.199 and B=.181, respectively). This is partly in line with hypothesis 1, where we anticipated this relation only for domestic film consumption. Evaluating hypothesis 2 for the consumption of domestic and foreign films, we find that parents' national behaviour had a (weak) positive effect on domestic film consumption (B=.048) and a negative effect on the consumption of foreign films (B=-.061). This fully supports the hypothesis.

In Model 2, we added respondents' nationalist attitudes. The more chauvinistic respondents were, the more they consumed domestic films (B = .048) and the less they consumed foreign films (B = -.035), like we anticipated. Cultural patriotism had a positive effect on domestic film consumption (B = .048); however, it had a hardly smaller effect on foreign film consumption (B = .039). These results show that chauvinism differentiates more between domestic and foreign film consumption than patriotism: the difference between the effect sizes of chauvinism on domestic versus foreign film consumption was .075, whereas for cultural patriotism, it was only .009. After including respondents' nationalist attitudes in Model 2

Table 2. Descriptive statistics dependent and independent variables.

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	Films	Films (N=3748)			Music	Music ($N=3833$)			Book	Books (N=3296)		
	%	Min/max	Mean	SD	%	Min/max	Mean	SD	%	Min/max	Mean	SD
Domestic consumption		1/5	2.89	0.87		1/5	3.61	0.94		1/5	3.15	0.97
Foreign consumption		1/5	3.41	1.02		1/5	4.01	0.88		1/5	3.07	Ξ.
Parents' domestic consumption (film/music/books)		1/5	2.50	1.02		1/5	2.90	0.91		1/5	2.97	<u></u>
No information on parents' domestic consumption	16.3	1/0			18.3	1/0			16.7	1/0		
Parents' national behaviour		1/4	2.72	0.71		4/1	2.72	0.71		4/1	2.74	0.71
No information on parents' national behaviour	6.3	1/0			6.4	1/0			5.5	1/0		
Respondents' chauvinism		1/5	2.93	0.87		1/5	2.94	98.0		1/5	2.87	98.0
Respondents' cultural patriotism		1/4	2.98	0.57		4/1	2.99	0.57		4/1	2.99	0.57
Parents' education		9/1	2.96	1.5.1		9/1	2.94	1.5.1		9/1	3.05	1.53
Parents' social class												
High class (ref)	30.0	1/0			29.6	1/0			31.9	1/0		
Middle class	7.9	1/0			7.9	1/0			7.6	1/0		
Low class	28.1	1/0			28.3	1/0			27.0	1/0		
Self-employed class	14.0	1/0			14.3	1/0			14.5	1/0		
Other class	20.0	1/0			20.0	1/0			19.0	1/0		
Parents' highbrow participation (active)	68.0	1/0			67.5	1/0			70.6	1/0		
Parents' lowbrow participation (active)	54.7	1/0			53.8	1/0			55.8	1/0		

(continued)

Table 2. Continued

	Films	Films (N = 3748)			Music	Music ($N=3833$)			Books	Books (N=3296)		
	%	Min/max Mean	Mean	SD	%	Min/max Mean	Mean	SD	%	Min/max Mean	Mean	SD
Respondents' sex (men)	46.3	1/0			46.2	1/0			42.3	1/0		
Respondents' age		62/21	49.87	16.08		17/79	50.09	16.10		17/79	50.33	16.17
Respondents' education		9/1	3.40	1.47		9/1	3.37	1.47		9/1	3.52	1.48
Respondents' social class												
High class (ref)	40.9	1/0			40.4	1/0			43.2	1/0		
Middle class	27.9	1/0			28.0	1/0			28.6	1/0		
Low class	19.4	1/0			6.61	1/0			16.5	1/0		
Self-employed class	3.0	1/0			3.2	1/0			2.9	1/0		
Other class	8.8	1/0			9.6	1/0			8.7	1/0		
Respondents' highbrow participation (active)	62.3	1/0			62.0	1/0			67.8	1/0		
Respondents' lowbrow participation (active)	74.9	1/0			74.3	1/0			76.9	1/0		

Source: LISS data 'Domestic cultural consumption' 2011. Min: minimum; max: maximum; SD: standard deviation; ref: reference.

Table 3. Linear regression analysis on the consumption of domestic and foreign films.

	Domestic	ic			Foreign			
	Model		Model 2		Model I		Model 2	
	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.
Constant	2.889	.039 ***	2.861	.052 ***	3.402	.044 ***	3.327	.058 ***
Parents' domestic film consumption (z)	199	.015	.192	.015 ***	<u>-8</u>	.017 ***	.177	.017
Parents' domestic film consumption $ imes$ age	054	.015	048	.015	.032	*910:	.031	710.
No information on parents' domestic film consumption	142	.04 *** 140.	–. 146	.04 ***	151	.046 *	143	.046 *
Parents' national behaviour (z)	.048	.014***	.033	*410.	190.—	*** 910 [°]	064	*** 910 [°]
Parents' national behaviour $ imes$ age	042	% * *	039	.0I4**	016	910.	710.—	910.
No information on parents' national behaviour	.245	.063 ***	.260	.063 ***	890.	170.	.082	.071
Respondents' chauvinism (z)			.040	.015**			035	*910:
Respondents' cultural patriotism (z)			.048	.015 **			.039	*910:
Parents' education (z)	016	.017	005	810:	.036	810:	.029	.020
Parents' social class ($high = ref$)								
Middle class	065	.057	069	.056	121	.063	125	.063*
Low class	.038	.040	.027	.040	015	.045	015	.045
Self-employed	.002	.047	009	.047	173	.053 **	175	.053 ***
Other class	.040	.043	.037	.043	<u>–</u>	.048*	Ξ.	.048*
Parents' highbrow participation (inactive $=$ ref)	029	.035	024	.035	067	.039	077	.039*
Parents' lowbrow participation (inactive = ref)	.045	.033	.029	.033	.212	.037 ***	.200	.037 ***

(continued)

Table 3. Continued

	Domestic	ic			Foreign			
	Model I	ĺ	Model 2		Model		Model 2	
	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.
Respondents' sex: Men (women = ref)	063	.028*	089	.030 **	190.	.031	720.	.033 *
Respondents' age (z)	.078	*** 910 .	.088	*** /10	210	*** 810:	200	*** 610 [°]
Respondents' education (z)			017	810:			000	.020
Respondents' social class								
Middle class			082	.037*			012	.042
Low class			010	.043			011	.048
Self-employed			.127	.082			045	.093
Other class			.049	.053			009	090
Respondents' highbrow participation (inactive $=$ ref)			024	.033			039	.037
Respondents' lowbrow participation (inactive $=$ ref)			.107	.036 **			.145	.040 ***
ر المراجع المر المراجع المراجع	.062		.073	3	.149	6	.155	

Source: LISS Data 'Domestic cultural consumption' 2011, N film = 3748.

(and respondents' other characteristics), the effect of parents' national behaviour on domestic film consumption is reduced from .048 to .033. Sobel tests indicated that the effect of parents' national behaviour on respondents' domestic film consumption is significantly mediated by respondents' nationalist attitudes (z = 4.338, standard error (SE) = .004, p < .001). This is in line with hypothesis 3. Nevertheless, the negative effect of parents' national behaviour on foreign film consumption in Model 2 was almost equal to the effect in Model 1 and was not significantly mediated by respondents' nationalist attitudes. This refutes hypothesis 3b.

Music

In Table 4, the regression analyses of domestic and foreign music consumption are shown. Similar to film consumption, parents' domestic music consumption was strongly positively associated with both domestic (B=.244) and foreign (B=.138) music consumption of respondents. Although the association with domestic music consumption was stronger than the association with foreign consumption, this is only partly in line with hypothesis 1. Again, parents' national behaviour had a (weak) positive effect on respondents' domestic (music) consumption (B=.033) and a negative effect on foreign (music) consumption (B=-.061). This again is in full support of hypothesis 2.

Respondents' nationalist attitudes were added in Model 2. The more chauvinistic respondents were, the more they consumed domestic music (B = .081) and the less they consumed foreign music (B = -.007). The latter effect does not reach significance however. Cultural patriotism was (moderately) positively related to both domestic as foreign music consumption (B = .103 and .095, respectively), as it was in the model on film consumption. Again, chauvinism seems to be differentiating between domestic and foreign (music) consumption more than cultural patriotism (the difference between the effect sizes of chauvinism on domestic versus foreign music consumption was .088, whereas for cultural patriotism, it was only .008). Similar to film consumption, we see that the effect of parents' national behaviour on domestic (music) consumption is (significantly) reduced (z = 7.091, SE = .005, p < .001) after including respondents' national behaviour and foreign (music) consumption was not mediated. These results only support hypothesis 3a.

Books

Finally, Table 5 presents the consumption of domestic and foreign books. Similar to film and music consumption, parents' domestic (book) consumption quite strongly positively affects both domestic and foreign (book) consumption (B=.191 and B=.137, respectively). Although this is not completely in line with hypothesis 1, the relation with domestic consumption was stronger than the relation with foreign consumption. Parents' national behaviour was not significantly related to respondents' domestic (book) consumption, but it was (weakly)

 Table 4. Linear regression analysis on the consumption of domestic and foreign music.

	Domestic	ij			Foreign			
	Model		Model 2		Model		Model 2	
	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.
Constant	3.638	.041	3.595	.054***	4.005	.038***	3.829	.049***
Parents' domestic music consumption (z)	244	.015	.220	.015	.138	.014***	.122	.014***
Parents' domestic music consumption $ imes$ age	029	.015	023	.015	190:	.014***	.058	.013***
No information on parents' domestic music consumption	067	.04	085	.04I	084	.037*	180.—	.037*
Parents' national behaviour (z)	.033	.015*	.004	.015	190.—	.014***	075	.014***
Parents' national behaviour $ imes$ age	024	.015	019	.015	023	.013	021	.013
No information on parents' national behaviour	015	990.	003	.065	094	.059	067	.059
Respondents' chauvinism (z)			180:	.015***			007	.014
Respondents' cultural patriotism (z)			.103	.015***			.095	.014***
Parents' education (z)	077	%*810·	030	610:	.048	**910 :	.053	.017**
Parents' social class (high = ref)								
Middle class	.003	090:	.003	.059	.020	.054	.023	.053
Low class	920.	.043	.046	.043	710.	.039	.007	.039
Self-employed	920.	.050	090	.049	043	.045	047	.044
Other class	600	.045	007	.045	124	.04 ₩	113	.04 *-
Parents' highbrow participation (inactive $=$ ref)	190.	.036	.082	.036*	10.	.033	.002	.033
Parents' lowbrow participation (inactive = ref)	104	.035**	128	.034***	.078	.031*	.049	.031

(continued)

Table 4. Continued

	Domestic	cic			Foreign			
	Model		Model 2		Model		Model 2	
	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.
Respondents' sex: Men ($women = ref$)	079	079 .029**	077	.031*	.004	.027	.035	.028
Respondents' age (z)	036	*910. 9th-	033	710.	226	.015	213	**** 910°
Respondents' education (z)			071	***810 :			007	710.
Respondents' social class								
Middle class			.002	.039			.055	.035
Low class			.040	.044			680	*040
Self-employed			.063	.085			119	.077
Other class			054	.056			068	.051
Respondents' highbrow participation (inactive $=$ ref)			046	.034			026	.031
Respondents' lowbrow participation (inactive = ref)			601.	.037**			.234	.034***
۲-2	Ų.	680.	•	120	•	.139	•	991

Source: LISS Data 'Domestic cultural consumption' 2011, N music = 3833. S.E. standard error; ref: reference. *p < .05;***p < .01; ****p < .01.

 Table 5. Linear regression analysis on the consumption of domestic and foreign books.

	Domestic	cic			Foreign			
	Model I		Model 2		Model I		Model 2	
	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.
Constant	3.376	.044 ***	3.212	.058***	3.321	.052***	3.099	*** 190.
Parents' domestic book consumption (z)	161.	%% 8 10.	.183	*** <u>/10</u>	.137	.021***	.123	.020
Parents' domestic book consumption $ imes$ age	10.	710.	002	910.	.071	***610°	.049	**610 :
No information on parents' domestic book consumption	159	.046 ***	107	.045*	199	.053***	128	.052*
Parents' national behaviour (z)	910.	910:	610.	910:	059	*610 :	036	610:
Parents' national behaviour $ imes$ age	04	*910:	038	*910:	027	610:	026	610:
No information on parents' national behaviour	.154	.075*	.185	*440.	011	880.	.017	980.
Respondents' chauvinism (z)			061	*** 910			139	***610
Respondents' cultural patriotism (z)			.064	***910			.022	610:
Parents' education (z)	.032	610:	030	.020	.121	.022***	.032	.023
Parents' social class (high = ref)								
Middle class	160:	.065	.082	.064	—· I3I	920.	<u>4</u> .	.074
Low class	900	.046	.040	.045	125	.054*	065	.053
Self-employed	.073	.053	.063	.053	<u> </u>	.062**	169	*190·
Other class	025	.048	.021	.048	135	.056*	075	.055
Parents' highbrow participation (inactive $=$ ref)	.049	.04	.003	.040	900.	.047	054	.047
Parents' lowbrow participation (inactive = ref)	031	.037	036	.037	.094	.043*	860.	.042*

(continued)

Table 5. Continued

	Domestic	ic			Foreign			
	Model		Model 2		Model		Model 2	
	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.	В	S.E.
Respondents' sex: Men (women = ref)	578	.032 ***	594	.034***	421	.038	400	.039
Respondents' age (z)	.105	% 810:	.094	***610°	.024	.021	010.	.022
Respondents' education (z)			660.	.020			.121	.023 ***
Respondents' social class								
Middle class			046	.04			.014	.048
Low class			020	.050			<u>-</u> .	.058*
Self-employed			060.	.094			190	601.
Other class			.042	090			007	.070
Respondents' highbrow participation (inactive $=$ ref)			.217	.037			.255	.043
Respondents' lowbrow participation (inactive = ref)			.054	.04			080	.047
~	_	<u>+</u>	•	.174	Ų.	.097		.148
								Î

Source: LISS Data 'Domestic cultural consumption' 2011, N books = 3296 S.E.: standard error; ref. reference. *p < .05, **p < .01, **e*p < .001.

negatively related to foreign book consumption (B = -.059). This is only partly in line with hypothesis 2.

In Model 2, respondents' nationalist attitudes were added. Interestingly, and unlike film and music consumption, chauvinism is weakly negatively related to the consumption of domestic books. It is even stronger negatively related to foreign books reading. Furthermore, cultural patriotism is positively related to the consumption of domestic books but not to the consumption of foreign books. Since parents' national behaviour does not significantly influence domestic book consumption in the first place, the idea of mediation has to be refuted for domestic book consumption (also indicated by Sobel test z = 0.194, SE = .005, p = .847). Also, the negative effect of parents' national behaviour on foreign (book) consumption is not significantly mediated by respondents' nationalist attitudes (z = -1.685, SE = .004, p = .091). Hence, hypothesis 3 has to be refuted with regard to book consumption.

Changes over the life course

We supposed that socialization effects – the relation between parents' exemplary behaviours and national behaviours and respondents' cultural consumption – may alter over the life course. For each of the cultural types, we investigated whether this was the case.

First, we found that the positive relation between parents' domestic film consumption and respondents' domestic film consumption was weaker for older people. The analyses showed a negative interaction term with age. There was no significant interaction effect for music and book consumption (although the effects do point in the same direction). On the contrary, for all the three cultural types, we find that the positive effect of parents' domestic consumption on respondents' consumption of *foreign* consumption was *stronger* for older people.

Second, with regard to the relation of parents national behaviour, the interaction term with age shows that the positive effect of parents' national behaviour on domestic consumption was significantly weaker for older people where it concerns film and book consumption, but not for domestic music consumption (although the interaction effect for music does point in the same direction). Regarding foreign consumption, no significant interactions between parents' national behaviour and age were found.

Conclusion and discussion

In this contribution we examined consumers' choices for domestic and foreign cultural goods as part of a new structuring dimension of lifestyles: 'cultural cosmopolitanism'. Bridging research on cultural consumption, socialization and nationalism and extending the focus of previous research, we focused on the role of cosmopolitan socialization: parental domestic cultural consumption and their national behaviours.

First – similar to previous studies on parental socialization of lowbrow and highbrow cultural consumption (e.g. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2010; Mohr and DiMaggio, 1995; Nagel and Ganzeboom, 2002; Ter Bogt et al., 2011; Van Eijck, 1997; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012) - parents' cultural socialization when respondents were in their formative years (i.e. parents' domestic cultural consumption) appears to be relevant for respondents' domestic cultural consumption later in life. The findings indicate that respondents are socialized with specific domestic culture on top of a general cultural engagement, as parents' domestic cultural consumption was more strongly related to respondents' domestic than foreign cultural consumption. Generally, parents' domestic cultural socialization is the most relevant predictor for respondents' domestic cultural consumption in later life. Thus, socialization theories are applicable to this new dimension of cultural consumption and following social reproduction and class differentiation theories (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984), intergenerational transmission of this form of cultural openness might be playing a role in the possible emergence of new societal cleavages (Rössel and Schroedter, 2015). Parents' domestic cultural consumption was as anticipated less strong positively related to foreign cultural consumption, but the relation was not negative. An explanation for this finding might be that the measurement of parents' domestic cultural consumption could also be related to parents' general cultural interest, since we had no measurement of parents' foreign cultural consumption next to their domestic consumption.

Second, as proposed in previous research (e.g. Caldwell, 2004; Edensor, 2002; Hirsch and Tene, 2013; Verlegh, 2007), we found that nationalist attitudes and behaviours are positively related to domestic cultural consumption. We found that parents' national behaviour during their children's formative years was related to the respondents' national attitudes, which, in turn, were associated with respondents' domestic cultural consumption, possibly reproducing a focus on the nation and marking national boundaries in everyday life (Billig, 1995). Thus, cosmopolitan consumption is not only related to parents' cultural socialization but also by parents' national example behaviour and parents transmit and communicate a focus on national and local versus international and cosmopolitan culture (Hannerz, 1990; Martens et al., 2004), possibly as a new form of endowment (Rössel and Schroedter, 2015). This only holds for the consumption of films and music however. For books, we do find the expected relation with respondent's cultural patriotism, but not with parents' national behaviour and chauvinism. This might be related to the fact that books are a relatively more highbrow cultural good compared to films and music to begin with (e.g. Kraaykamp and Dijkstra, 1999), appealing to a different audience.

When examining *foreign* cultural consumption, we found that parents' national behaviours and respondents' chauvinism are negatively related to foreign consumption, as expected, but that patriotism is positively related.⁴ As our measurement of patriotism only concerns pride in *cultural* aspects (i.e. national history, sports, arts and literature), this might be related to a general interest in culture, influencing cultural consumption regardless of whether it is domestic or foreign.

All in all, our contribution shows that parental socialization is more strongly related to respondents' domestic film and music consumption than to their domestic book consumption. This supports the idea that in more diverse cultural markets, parental socialization is more important and that other socialization influences (such as school) might be playing an important role in book consumption as well (Kraaykamp and Dijkstra, 1999; Van Rees et al., 1999). It would be relevant to see this study replicated in countries with varying market shares of foreign cultural consumption, such as the United Kingdom or the United States.

A drawback of this study was that it was not possible to examine the mechanisms behind parental socialization. For instance, it could not be distinguished whether the transmission of various (cultural) resources happens implicitly through parental exemplary behaviour or more explicitly via parental teaching and guidance (e.g. Glass et al., 1986). That said, this is in the field the first study that brings together information from the parents regarding their domestic cultural consumption, national behaviour, highbrow and lowbrow consumption, education and social class. With this information in hand, we found parental socialization to be directly and indirectly associated with domestic cultural consumption. For future studies, it would be an interesting venue to disentangle the processes of imitation and parental guidance, for instance, by examining discourse at breakfast or visiting national museums.

Adding to the debate on the influence of parental socialization over the life course, we have found indications that the effects of parental socialization on domestic consumption were weaker for older compared to younger people (divergence) (mainly for film consumption). This is in line with the idea that the effect of parental socialization diminishes over time as parent-child contact reduces and others (e.g. peers, partners) become more important (e.g. Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997; Martens et al., 2004). On the other hand, we have found some indication that the effects of parental socialization on foreign cultural consumption were stronger for older compared to younger people (convergence). An explanation for these contradictory findings is not straightforward, but we suspect that the difference in foreign cultural supply across age cohorts plays a role here. Younger compared to older cohorts might be less influenced by their parents in their choice for foreign cultural goods because they have more easy and independent access to these goods via new media (e.g. music channels on TV or the Internet).

To conclude, this study is one of the first empirical studies to shed more light on 'cultural cosmopolitanism' as a new structuring dimension of cultural lifestyles in such a comprehensive way (e.g. Bauman, 1998; Meuleman and Savage, 2013; Regev, 2007, 2011; Rössel and Schroedter, 2015; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). To understand cultural cosmopolitanism, we have shown that direct parental exemplary cultural behaviour is relevant. Cultural cosmopolitanism is also stimulated when parents hold less national orientations (Martens et al., 2004). National orientations of parents affect nationalist attitudes of their children that in turn affect cultural consumption patterns.

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Notes

- 1. The Dutch Remembrance Day honours all killed civilians and military in the Netherlands or abroad since the outbreak of World War II, during war or peace operations. The Dutch Liberation Day celebrates the fact that 'we in the Netherlands, since 1945, live in freedom' and 'focus on the importance of freedom and the necessity to combat servitude' (National Committee for 4 and 5 May, http://www.4en5mei.nl). In addition, the Netherlands observes Queen's Day, celebrating the Dutch Monarchy. Orange is considered the national colour.
- 2. The (relatively many) missing values on respondent's social class were completed with information from the 'Work and schooling' questionnaire from the Longitudinal Internet studies for the Social Sciences (LISS) Core Study (wave 4, 2011) about people's current profession (self-reported). This variable consisted of categories similar to the adjusted Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero (EGP) class scheme.
- 3. Parents' social class was measured by the 'highest' class attained by either father or mother. Self-employed people were defined as a separate class as they cannot univocally be placed in the ranking. Therefore, when one of the parents is self-employed (and it remains unclear whether this is higher or lower than the highest social class for instance), we took the father's social class as representing parents' social class, being likely to be the main provider of the family.
- Although chauvinism does not reach significance for music consumption and patriotism does not for book consumption.
- 5. We do find stronger effects of parental and respondent's schooling on book consumption.

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