Reading habits and literary preferences of Spaniards' book readers: A multidimensional perspective

Hábitos de lectura y preferencias literarias de los lectores españoles de libros: una perspectiva multidimensional

Nela Filimon Universitat de Girona

Abstract

This research identifies three segments of book readers with latent class analysis (LCA): active book readers (who read every day or almost every day); frequent (read only 1-2 times a week); and occasional (read books sometime a month or quarter), and supplies evidence on book reading habits and preferences of Spanish readers. Socioeconomic covariates and cultural indicators complete the profile of the segments. A better understanding of book readers' behavior and literary preferences, as well as book contribution to readers' wellbeing could be of interest for cultural policy makers and book publishers.

Keywords: book reading, literary genres, latent class analysis, self-perceived happiness, cultural reproduction.

JEL classification: C38, Z11, Z13.

Resumen

El trabajo identifica tres perfiles de lectores de libros con metodología de clases latente: activos (leen casi a diario); frecuentes (solo leen 1-2 veces por semana); ocasionales (leen libros alguna vez al mes o trimestre), aportando evidencia sobre los hábitos de lectura de libros de los españoles. Indicadores socioeconómicos y culturales completan el perfil de los lectores. Una mejor comprensión de los hábitos de lectura de libros, de las preferencias literarias, así como de su contribución al bienestar de los lectores, podrían ser de interés para los responsables de políticas culturales y para las editoriales.

Palabras clave: lectura de libros, géneros literarios, clases latentes, felicidad auto-percibida, reproducción cultural.

Clasificación JEL: C38, Z11, Z13.

1. Introduction and brief literature review

Since Bourdieu's (1979) seminal work *Distinction*, substantial research evidence has shown that individuals' cultural practices and their associated lifestyle correlates can act as potential markers of social status, thus distinguishing among social groups (Bennett, Emmisson and Frow, 1999; North and Hargreaves, 2007; López-Sintas, García-Alvarez and Filimon, 2008; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012; López-Sintas, Cebollada, Filimon and Gharhaman, 2014; to name but a few). In Bourdieu's "social space", individuals' social status is determined by their endowments of capital (economic, social, cultural and symbolic, respectively); and, furthermore, one's social status contributes to shaping a status-related habitus, expressed through status-related lifestyle preferences (Becker, Kraus and Rheinschmidt-Same, 2017). In this fashion, authors like Yaish and Katz-Gerro (2012) distinguish between cultural preferences and cultural participation and supply evidence on the determinant role played by cultural capital in the formation of cultural preferences through cultural habitus (see also Verboord, 2019).

Reading, a "basic cultural activity" (Fernández-Blanco, Prieto-Rodríguez and Suarez-Pandiello, 2017), has been analyzed within various theoretical and methodological frameworks like, for example, reading habits as a decision making process (Fernández-Blanco and Prieto-Rodríguez, 2009; Fernández-Blanco *et al.*, 2017); cultural reproduction and the formation of reading habits and preferences (e.g., Fernández-Blanco, García-Díez and Prieto-Rodríguez, 1999; Filimon, 2013; Kraaykamp, 2003; etc.); reading as a leisure pursuit in relation to genres and literary books preferences or gender gap (see Logan and Johnston, 2010; Tepper, 2000; Wilson and Cash, 2000; etc.), reading habits and generational gaps (e.g. Hopper, 2005; Hughes-Hassell and Rodge, 2011; etc.), reading preferences as a social status indicator (see Atkinson, 2016; Torche, 2007; Kraaykamp and Dijkstra, 1999, etc.), to mention but a few most significant research lines, all of them supplying both theoretical and empirical evidence from various countries.

Nevertheless, as argued by Atkinson (2016), the homological association between literary taste and social status has being less researched compared to other cultural expression such as music, the cultural marker of social status par excellence. In this fashion, this research aims to add empirical evidence on the structuring capacity of book reading habits and preferences, with a special focus on Spain. Individuals' private and social environment (family, school and friends) it is analyzed too in order to determine its role in the formation of reading habits.

This research also looks into the correlation between book reading habits and individual wellbeing, measured here as self-perceived happiness. The impact of reading on happiness was claimed by well-known thinkers and writers across history, such as Montaigne (2006), who speaks about pursuing pleasure in the reading of books, Barthes (1974), who disentangles the "pleasure of the text" or Borges (2013), who was claiming that "reading should be a form of happiness". Related research evidence, so far, has returned some interesting findings on the topic: to mention but

a few, a study performed by Cesmer (2015) has shown that Italian book readers (either digital or paper books) were happier than non-readers; Ateca-Amestoy, Gerstenblüth, Mussio and Rossi (2016) found a lower impact of reading books on happiness, compared to other cultural activities like cinema-going or music listening; Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter (2003), found that American students who dedicated more time to reading for pleasure reported lower levels of happiness, a result inviting to further research.

We set here to identify latent segments of Spanish book readers, with latent class analysis (LCA), a method which accounts for the heterogeneity observed in the data, with the purpose of supplying evidence on the structuring capacity of book reading habits, measured by the frequency of reading books. LCA modelling is applied to a representative data set collected by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas¹ (CIS). LCA has identified three segments: active book readers (who read on a daily basis); frequent book readers (1-2 times per week) and occasional (who read books sometimes a month or a quarter). Additional covariates –socio-demographics, literary genres, interest in various cultural activities, cultural reproduction indicators, most preferred place for reading, and motives for reading and self-perceived happiness, among others– are used to characterize the segments.

Overall, results support existing evidence on the structuring capacity of book reading habits: thus, on average, readers in both active and frequent book readers segments are more likely to be women, while men integrate the segment of occasional readers; greater cultural and economic resources characterize the segment of active book readers, marking a difference with the other two segments; generational differences apply too, with active book readers being more mature (above 55 years of age), while frequent and occasional readers are distributed across various age segments, from 18 to 54 years, respectively; the size of habitat is relevant only for the women who are active book readers (more likely to live in large urban areas) and for the occasional segment, mostly men, who are more likely to belong to smaller habitats (below 50,000 inhabitants); women, both active and frequent book readers, also exhibited a greater interest in other cultural activities (music, cinema, theatre, plastic arts and dance), compared to men (occasional book readers) whose interest was lower; the diversity of most preferred literary genres is inversely related with the frequency of books reading: active book readers have a clear preference for few literary genres (essay, historic and police/black novel and biographies) while frequent and occasional book readers exhibit a rather omnivorous taste, with preference for a much greater variety of genres; in case of women (both active and frequent book readers), reading habits cultivated from childhood (in family, at school and with friends) also contributed to explain the differences with men (occasional book readers), who only rarely or sometimes have shared this activity with parents at home or were encouraged to read by the school teachers.

¹ Centre for Sociological Research.

Results could be useful to cultural policy makers interested in promoting measures meant to encourage reading and to book publishers in order to better adjust their portfolios of literary genres to match readers' preferences.

This research unfolds as follows: the following section is dedicated to the methodology and data; section 3 discusses the main results and the final section presents the main conclusions.

2. Methodology

2.1. Data and variables

The representative dataset comes from one of the monthly surveys (Barometer) performed by the CIS in September 2016 and which collected information from 2,483 individuals, all Spanish residents at the moment of the interview, of both genders and age 18 years and older. The information is stratified according to regions and municipalities (CIS, 2016). For the purpose of this research we base our analysis only on the subsample of all Spanish natives, excluding those who indicated that they never or almost never read books (1,540 individuals) (Table 1).

Nationality	Proportion (%)	Frequency
Spanish, of which read books:	97.3	2,415
Every day or almost every day	28.7	693
1-2 times per week	14.7	356
Sometime a month	12.6	305
Sometime a quarter	7.7	186
Never or almost never	36.2	875
Spanish and other	2.7	68
Total	100	2,483

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY OF READING BOOKS (EITHER PRINTED OR DIGITAL)

SOURCE: Own elaboration based on data from CIS (2016).

The other variables characterizing this research sample are presented in the sections below.

2.1.1. Socioeconomic variables

The survey elicited information on several representative indicators for the individuals' socioeconomic and cultural status. Occupational status unfolds in five categories: 1) employed (49.1%); 2) retired (23.0%); 3) unemployed (13.9%);

4) student (8.0%); and 5) unpaid housework (5.9%). The proxy for the economic status is the personal income with five levels: 1) no income; 2) \in 1-600; 3) \in 601-1,200; 4) \in 1,201-1,800; 5) and above \in 1,801 (Table 2). Education level unfolds in four levels and stands as a proxy for the individuals' cultural capital: 1) primary studies or less; 2) secondary school graduates; 3) vocational training; 4) university graduates and/or postgraduate studies. The demographic profile of the respondents was completed with information on gender, age, civil status, and size and type of habitat.

Variable	Proportion (%)	Variable	Proportion (%)
Gender		25-34	14.2
Male	45.3	35-44	21.6
Female	54.7	45-54	19.8
Personal income		55-64	15.1
No income	25.1	≥65	19.2
€1-600	12.8	Civil status	
€601-1,200	32.9	Married	52.0
€1,201-1,800	18.4	Single	34.4
≥€1,801	10.8	Widowed	6.4
Occupational status		Separated/divorced	7.2
Employed	49.1	Habitat (inhabitants)	
Retired	23.0	≤2,000	6.6
Unemployed	13.9	2,001-10,000	14.2
Student	8.0	10,001-50,000	24.7
Housework (unpaid)	5.9	50,001-100,000	12.1
Education level		100,001-400,000	22.9
Primary studies or less	13.5	400,001-1,000,000	7.3
Secondary school	34.4	>1,000,000	12.4
Vocational training	19.1	Type of habitat	
University degree or more	33.1	Capital of region	24.4
Age		Capital of province	11.2
18-24	10.1	Other municipalities	64.4

TABLE 2 MAIN DEMOGRAPHICS

2.1.2. Interest in reading and other cultural activities

A Likert type variable, with four levels of intensity (a lot of interest, quite a lot, little interest and no interest at all), registered book readers' interest in several cultural activities –music, cinema, reading, theatre, plastic arts (painting, photography) and dance (Table 3). Statistics (e.g., mean) show that reading together with music and cinema are among the top 3 cultural activities of interest for the book readers.

	Music	Cinema	Reading	Theatre	Plastic arts (painting, photography)	Dance
A lot	38.2	30.6	41.1	16.3	17.3	10.6
Quite a lot	44.6	45.8	44.7	35.9	34.0	21.7
Little	15.1	20.0	13.3	36.5	37.0	42.0
Not interested	2.1	3.6	0.9	11.2	11.7	25.7
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Statistics						
Mean	3.18	3.03	3.25	2,57	2.56	2.17
Median	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2,00
Std. Dev.	0.7623	0.8066	0.7162	0.8917	0.9081	0.9317
Min.	1	1	1	1	1	1
Max.	4	4	4	4	4	4

TABLE 3 INDIVIDUALS' INTEREST IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

SOURCE: Own elaboration based on data from CIS (2016).

A disclosure of the interest in reading by gender shows that, on average, women exhibit a greater interest in reading than men. As shown in Figure 1 below, while men stand out when comes about none and little interest in reading, women in turn, do the same for the two highest levels of the scale, that is, quite a lot and a lot of interest in reading, respectively (Figure 1).



FIGURE 1 INTEREST IN READING BY GENDER (In %)

Another two Likert type variables collected information on the evolution of reading habit, encompassing a time period going back ten years from the present day. Overall, data indicate that more than 75% of the book readers believe that nowadays people don't reed much. When assessing the evolution of the reading habit, 28.7% of them stated that there was no change with respect to ten years ago, while for 30.2% of the respondents ourdays people do read much more that in the past (Table 4).

TABLE 4

EVOLUTION OF READING HABIT ACCORDING TO THE RESPONDENTS' OPINION

(In %)

Today people read		Today, compared to ten years ago, people read		
A lot	1.6	A lot more	2.8	
Quite a lot	14.2	Much more	30.2	
Little	78.9	More or less the same	28.7	
Not at all	5.3	Much less	32.8	
		A lot less	5.4	

2.1.3. Book readers' behaviour

The information about book reading habits is captured by several variables:

- The frequency of reading either printed or digital books, with 3 levels: 1) every day or almost every day (45.0%); 2) 1-2 times per week (23.1%); 3) sometimes a month or a quarter (31.9%).
- A set of variables collected information about the amount of books read and bought in the last twelve months as well as the amount of printed books owned: (a) the number of books read in the last twelve months: 1) from 1 to 4 (51.1%), 2) from 5 to 10 (30.6%); 3) 11 or more books (18.4%); (b) the number of books bought in the last twelve months: 1) from 1 to 3 (49.9%); 2) from 4 to 6 (24.5%); and 3) 7 or more books (25.5%); and (c) the number of printed books at home: 1) less than 5 (1.9%); 2) between 5 and 20 (10.5%); 3) between 20 and 50 (19.6%); 4) between 50 and 100 (24.8%); 5) between 100 and 200 (18.3); and 6) more than 200 (24.9%).
- A special variable has measured the hours of free-time individuals have during a work day, once discounted the time allocated to work, family duties, and sleep: 1) no free time (6.0%); 2) from 1 to 4h a day (58.6%); 3) 5h a day or more (35.4%).

The main place where individuals read more frequently is codified here in four levels to reduce the sparseness of the data: at home (90.5%); at work (3.9%); public transport (2.4%); or other places –public library, open spaces, waiting places such as bars/cafeterias, hairdresser, etc. (3.2%).

2.1.4. Preferred literary genres and book selection criteria

Book readers were elicited information about their individual preferences for literary genres. The data in Table 5 show that the historic novel (23.8%) followed by the novel, in general (20.0%), and at some distance, by the adventure novel (9.3%) are the top three most preferred literary genres among the Spanish book readers. In a similar fashion, a great majority of the respondents (61.3%) stated that they choose the books to read based on their own criterion while 26.6% takes into account the opinion of relatives and/or friends and, only a small proportion (12.0%) considers a specialized opinion (professor, reviewer, media, etc.). Respondents indicate that they choose books to read merely depending on genre or topic of the book (63.1%), followed by the name of the author (21.3%), back cover resumes/comments (9.4%) and, other criteria (6.2%) like title, price, cover, etc. The preferred format for reading books returned three alternatives: 1) paper (78.8%); 2) digital format (11.3%); 3) equal preference for both formats (9.9%).

Variable	Proportion (%)	Variable	Proportion (%)
Historic novel	23.8	Tales and short stories	2.8
Novel	20.0	Fantasy novel	2.7
Adventure novel	9.3	Self-help books	1.4
Black novel, police novel	7.2	Cookbooks	1.4
Science fiction	5.8	Poetry	1.1
Love novel, romance	5.7	Travel books	1.0
Divulgation and informative books	4.8	Theatre	0.5
Essay	4.5	Comics	0.4
Biographies	3.1	Others	4.7

TABLE 5

BOOK READERS' MOST PREFERRED LITERARY GENRES

SOURCE: Own elaboration based on data from CIS (2016).

2.1.5. Cultural reproduction indicators

Concerning the impact of the private and social environment on the formation of reading habits –family, school, friends– the data highlighted the role played by school, during childhood or adolescence: in more than 50% of the cases, school teachers either encouraged or obliged respondents to read (Table 6). The formation of cultural tastes (McCain, 1979) as well as the role of environmental factors at

Variable	Proportion (%)	Variable	Proportion (%)		
During childhood or adolescence:					
Parents used to read you tales or books		At school treachers obliged you to read			
Often	26.3	Often	51.5		
Sometimes	26.0	Sometimes	30.7		
Rarely or never	47.7	Rarely or never	17.9		
You used to comment or talk about books with friends		At school teachers encouraged you to read			
Often	21.4	Often	50.4		
Sometimes	32.1	Sometimes	29.3		
Rarely or never	46.5	Rarely or never	20.3		

 TABLE 6

 CULTURAL REPRODUCTION INDICATORS

early ages (family, school, friends) in transmission of cultural capital endowment and habits across generations was largely documented in the literature with seminal contributions like Bourdieu's (1979) theory of habitus (see also Filimon, 2013; Fernández-Blanco, Orea and Prieto-Rodriguez, 2009; Fernández-Blanco et al., 2017, for both international and Spanish evidence and a comprehensive review of the related literature).

2.1.6. Motives that foster book reading behavior

A battery of indicators has focused on the main motives in favor of dedicating part of the free-time to book reading: 1) to be informed (14.2%); to enjoy and relax (61.2%); for study purposes (7.8%); for professional/work purposes (4.5%); to learn new things and improve cultural background (12.3%).

2.1.7. Self-perceived happiness

The respondents were asked to rate their self-perceived level of happiness, measured on a scale going from zero (completely unhappy) to ten (completely happy); related to book reading, data returned an average level of 7.57 (Std. Dev. = 1.528), with 8 as the most repeated value. Following Van Beuningen, Van der Houwen and Moonen (2014), the scale was re-codified in four categories (see Figure 2): not too happy, from 0 to 4 (2.7%); neither happy nor unhappy, from 5 to 6 (17.5%); happy, from 7 to 8 (54.5%) and, very happy, from 9 to 10 (25.4%).





This variable, without forgetting the importance of many other of its determining factors, is considered in the analysis with the purpose of verifying the existence of an a-priory expected correlation between book reading behavior and self-perceived happiness. Existing literature (see Ateca-Amestoy *et al.*, 2016; Filimon, 2018, Fujiwara and MacKerron, 2015; etc.) has shown that leisure and entertainment activities (e.g., going to cinema, theatre, reading books, listening to music, etc.) have a positive impact on individuals' wellbeing.

2.2. Research design and data analysis

In this research we apply Latent Class Analysis (LCA) to identify unobserved profiles of Spanish book readers, also called latent classes or "hidden groups" (Lazarsfeld and Henry, 1968). LCA² is an exploratory approach which can also be applied to categorical latent variables (see i.e., Daenekindt and Roose, 2014; Cuadrado-García, Filimon and Montoro-Pons, 2018; López-Sintas *et al.*, 2014; etc.).

Intuitively, LCA splits the sample in T clusters or latent classes and estimates for each cluster t its size and the conditional probabilities associated to the set of response variables introduced in the analysis. Furthermore, each observation is assigned to only one cluster (Magidson and Vermunt, 2001). To group the Spanish book readers, we use the frequency of books' reading behavior, with 3 levels – every day or almost every day; 1-2 times per week; and sometime a month or quarter (see Section 2.1.3. above). A second variable, gender, is introduced in the analysis as an active covariate, as it is expected to affect books' reading behavior and hence, the latent class membership. Gender differences in spending leisure time, reading in particular, are substantially documented in the literature (e.g., Wilson and Cash, 2000; Filimon, 2013; Fernández-Blanco *et al.*, 2017; etc.).

The parameters of the LCA are presented in the equation hereafter and are specified following Vermunt (2010): X- is a discrete latent variable, t = 1, 2, ..., T stands for the latent classes, $Y_i = (Y_{i1}, Y_{i2}, ..., Y_k ...)$ is the vector of responses of subject *i* on item k = 1, ..., K; $Y_i = (Z_{i1}, Z_{i2}, ..., Z_k ...)$ is the vector of active covariates here, gender, and k = 3 stands for the 3 response levels associated to the segmenting variable (book reading frequency). The usual local independence hypothesis is assumed to be satisfied.

$$P(Y_i|Z_i) = \sum_{t=1}^{T} P(X = t|Z_i) \prod_{k=1}^{3} P(Y_{ik}|X = t)$$

LCA is a stepwise procedure which starts by estimating first the null model (1-class LCA) which serves as a benchmark for the LCA models with more than one class. If the 1-class LCA is not a good fit for the data the LCA procedure continues by increasing the number of latent classes by one each time until it fails to reject a

² LCA was performed with Latent Gold, Vermunt and Magidson (2008).

null model. In Table 7 hereafter are presented the statistics commonly used to assess the goodness of fit of the LCA model used in this research: the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), the Consistent Akaike Information Criterion (CAIC); the chi-squared likelihood-ratio statistic (L^2) which indicates the amount of unexplained association among variables (see also Raftery, 1986; Dayton, 1998; Fraley and Raftery, 1998); according to these criteria the model preferred is the one with the lowest values, in this case the 3-class model; a p-value greater than 0.05 also indicates an adequate fit for the data and, according to this criterion, the 3-class model is the most parsimonious, as it has a lower number of parameters compared to the 4-class one.

LCA model	L ²	BIC(LL)	AIC(LL)	CAIC(LL)	No. par	df	p-value	Class. Error
1-class	2447.389	5734.83	5718.8114	5737.83	3	11	5.4e-520	0.0000
2-class	1158.3397	4482.4784	4439.7621	4490.4784	8	6	5.00E-247	0.0000
3-class	2.6631	3363.4995	3294.0855	3376.4995	13	1	0.13	0.0000
4-class	2.4972	3400.0313	3303.9196	3418.0313	18	-4		0.0002

TABLE 7 GOODNESS OF FIT STATISTICS FOR THE LATENT CLASS MODEL

SOURCE: Own elaboration based on data from CIS (2016).

3. Main findings and discussion

3.1. The parameters of the selected model

The estimates of the 3-class model are presented in Table 8 hereafter. The first row indicates the relative size of each cluster P(X = t | Z), that is, the proportion of individuals classified in each cluster: cluster one, 45% of the sample, cluster two (31.9%), and cluster 3, 23.1% respectively. LCA provides both column and row profiles estimates and we present here the row profile format: based on individuals' classification in the t cluster, $P(Y_i|X = t)$, row profiles provide an easy and intuitive interpretation of the estimates based on whether individuals classified in cluster tare over or under represented among individuals with a similar behavior (see bold values in Table 8). In this fashion, individuals in cluster 1 (45%), for example, are overrepresented among book readers who have answered Yes to reading books every day or almost every day (active book readers), and No for the two remaining categories (reading books 1-2 times a week, and sometime a month or quarter, respectively); the profile of cluster 2 (31.9%) is given by those respondents who read books only on rare occasions (Yes, once a month or quarter) and No for the other categories (every day or almost every day, and 1-2 times a week) (occasional book *readers*); in cluster 3 (23.1%) are overrepresented those who have indicated Yes to the alternative of reading books 1-2 times a week and No to the remaining categories (frequent book readers).

	Cluster 1 active book readers	Cluster 2 occasional book readers	Cluster 3 frequent book readers	Sample
Cluster Size (s.e.)	45.0 (0.0346)	31.9 (0.0372)	23.1% (0.0408)	100
Indicators of book reading frequency				
Every day or almost every day				
No	0.0	58.0	42.0	100
Yes	100	0.0	0.0	100
One-twice a week				
No	58.5	41.5	0.0	100
Yes	0.0	0.0	100	100
Sometime a month or quarter				
No	66.0	0.0	34.0	100
Yes	0.0	100	0.0	100
Gender				
Man	42.8	35.2	22	100
Woman	46.8	29.1	24.1	100

TABLE 8 PROBABILISTIC PATTERNS OF BOOK READERS' BEHAVIOR (Row profiles in %)

NOTE: Bold values indicate the proportion of individuals overrepresented among the individuals with a similar behaviour in that cluster.

SOURCE: Own elaboration based on data from CIS (2016).

The estimates of the gender constraint, introduced in the LCA model as an active covariate, show that women are more likely to be classified in clusters 1 and 3, that is, *active and frequent book readers* respectively, while men, are overrepresented in cluster 2 (*occasional book readers*). Results confirm existing evidence on Spain, with women reading, on average, more than men (see e.g., Fernández-Blanco *et al.*, 2017, etc.).

3.2. Book readers: purchasing, reading and free-time allocation decisions

The results presented in Table 9 hereafter, allow deriving several conclusions about book reading habits: free-time dedicated to book reading during a work day shows that reading is not necessarily a matter of time availability but rather a matter of habit: active and frequent book readers (clusters 1 and 3) are not the ones who have more free-time compared to occasional readers (cluster 2, with more than 5h a day); in the same fashion, the higher the frequency of book reading, the higher the number of books read during the year: more than 11 books- cluster 1; at least 10 books- cluster 3, and up to 4 in the case of occasional readers (cluster 2); books' purchasing behavior it is likely to be influenced by socioeconomic factors (personal income, occupational status) (see Table 15), with the active book readers (cluster 1) buying from 4-6 to more than 7 books per year (see Table 9) while the frequent and occasional book readers don't buy more than 3 books per year; finally, the number of books at home is, as expected, proportional to the book reading frequency (e.g., higher for the active readers).

(Row profiles, %)						
	Cluster 1 active book readers	Cluster 2 occasional book readers	Cluster 3 frequent book readers	Sample		
Cluster Size	45	31.9	23.1	100		
Free-time during a work day (hours)						
No time left (0h)	42.9	31.9	25.3	100		
1-4h a day	45.6	31.3	23.1	100		
≥5h a day	44.4	32.5	23.1	100		
No. of books read in the last 12 months						
1-4 books	24.5	49.9	25.7	100		
5-10 books	56.4	14.7	28.9	100		
≥11 books	85.7	4.9	9.4	100		
No. of books bought in the last 12 months						
1-3 books	43.2	31.4	25.5	100		
4-6 books	61.4	16.6	22.0	100		
≥7 books	67.7	15.1	17.1	100		
No. of printed books at home						
<5	24.1	55.2	20.7	100		
5-20	22.2	55.7	22.2	100		
20-50	30.5	46.8	22.7	100		
50-100	42.4	32.2	25.5	100		
100-200	51.1	21.7	27.2	100		
>200	67.7	13.6	18.7	100		

TABLE 9

PURCHASING, READING AND FREE-TIME ALLOCATION DECISIONS (Row profiles, %)

NOTE: Bold values indicate the proportion of individuals overrepresented among the individuals with a similar behaviour in that cluster.

3.3. Book reading: motives, selection criteria, preferred book format and place

The estimates summarized in Table 10 below indicate the following probabilistic profiles of Spanish book readers: a) motives chosen show a clear distinction among clusters: active book readers are motivated by educational and professional purposes, and cultural improvement needs; frequent readers look for entertainment and cultural improvement; and for the occasional readers, books play an informational and entertaining role. Similarly, active readers (cluster 1) trust on their own criterion or prefer

	(Row promes, %)						
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Sample			
	active book	occasional	frequent book				
	readers	book readers	readers				
Cluster Size	45	31.9	23.1	100			
Main motive for reading books							
To be informed	38.9	39.4	21.8	100			
Enjoy and relax	43.2	32.4	24.4	100			
Study	62.7	17.8	19.5	100			
Professional and/or work	58.0	29.0	13.1	100			
To learn new things and cultural improvement	45.5	31.0	23.5	100			
Main criterion for selecting books to read							
My own criterion	46.2	31.0	22.9	100			
Relative/friends opinion	42.3	33.7	24.1	100			
Expert opinion (professor, reviewer, media, etc.)	45.6	31.5	22.8	100			
Books to read are chosen mainly due to:							
Author	49.7	22.8	27.5	100			
Genre or topic of the book	46.8	30.4	22.8	100			
Back cover comments	40.0	36.5	23.5	100			
Other (title, price, cover)	39.3	44.6	16.1	100			
Book's preferred format							
Paper	41.1	34.2	24.7	100			
Digital	58.0	26.4	15.5	100			
Equally preferred	61.4	19.0	19.6	100			
Main place for book reading in the 1 st place	,						
At home	43.8	32.5	23.7	100			
Work place	51.7	33.3	15.0	100			
Public transport	51.3	24.3	24.3	100			
Other places	61.2	22.5	16.3	100			

TABLE 10

MOTIVES, SELECTION CRITERIA AND BOOK FORMAT (D

NOTE: Bold values indicate the proportion of individuals overrepresented among the individuals with a similar behaviour in that cluster.

an expert opinion; author and genre and topic, are determinant criteria for choosing the books to read; the format (digital or paper) facilitates book reading either at work, in public transport means or other places (coffee bars, library, hairdresser, open spaces, etc.) as this segment doesn't read at home; frequent readers (cluster 3) trust on friend's and relatives' recommendations, the author and comments on the book's back cover are the main criteria used to choose books; they prefer paper format and read at home or in public transport means; cluster 2 (occasional book readers) share some characteristics with cluster 3 as they also rely on friends' opinion and choose books based on back cover comments as well as other indicators (price, title, etc.); they are also more likely to read printed books and, house and work, are the favorite places for reading (Table 10).

3.4. Book reading and self-perceived happiness

The probabilistic patterns given in Table 11 hereafter indicate that overall, the intensity of reading, together with the nature of reading (entertainment vs educational or professional, Table 10), has an influence on the level of self-perceived happiness expressed by book readers: thus, frequent readers (cluster 3) who read for entertainment and cultural improvement are more likely to feel happy, compared to the occasional readers (cluster 2) who also read for entertainment (and to be informed) but nevertheless, with less intensity; cluster 1 (active readers) exhibit two probabilistic profiles (neither happy nor unhappy, and very happy); in spite of reading merely for educational, professional and cultural improvement purposes, as intensive readers (strong reading habits) they know how to enjoy the "pleasure of the text". Socioeconomic profiles presented in Table 15 show that cluster 1 is integrated by employed individuals, students and unemployed, with a higher cultural (university graduates) and economic (personal income) capitals than individuals in clusters 2 and 3.²

(Row promes, 70)							
	Cluster 1 active book readers	Cluster 2 occasional book readers	Cluster 3 frequent book readers	Sample			
Cluster Size	45	31.9	23.1	100			
Self-perceived happiness							
Not too happy	39.0	39.0	22.0	100			
Neither happy nor unhappy	48.1	32.8	19.0	100			
Нарру	44.2	31.3	24.6	100			
Very happy	45.5	31.6	22.9	100			

TABLE 11

SELF-PERCEIVED HAPPINESS AND BOOK READING BEHAVIOR (Row profiles, %)

NOTE: Bold values indicate the proportion of individuals overrepresented among the individuals with a similar behaviour in that cluster.

SOURCE: Own elaboration based on data from CIS (2016).

² As mentioned earlier in the text, self-perceived happiness and its impact (here, on book reading) must be analyzed taking into account other significant determinants too (e.g., education level, income, etc.).

3.5. Cultural reproduction indicators and interest in cultural activities

The probabilistic book reader profiles returned by this indicators confirm the existing research evidence on the role played by personal environment (family, friends, relatives) and school in the formation and transmission of cultural habits (i.e., Bourdieu, 1979), that is, book reading in this case: the active book readers (cluster 1) have benefited in their childhood and adolescence from a higher influence from this environment, compared to their peers in clusters 2 and 3: their parents often used to read them tales and books, at school, teacher often obliged or encouraged them to read, and they also used to often or at least sometimes talk about books with friends; for the frequent book readers (cluster 3), home influence appears as most relevant while occasional book readers (cluster 2) only rarely or never benefited from cultural reproduction benefits generated at home (Table 12).

TABLE 12 ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS AND BOOK READING BEHAVIOR (Row profiles, %)

	Cluster 1 active book readers	Cluster 2 occasional book readers	Cluster 3 frequent book readers	Sample		
Cluster Size	45	31.9	23.1	100		
In the	childhood or a	dolescence:				
Parents used to read tales or books						
Often	50.9	25.1	24.0	100		
Sometimes	42.9	31.8	25.4	100		
Rarely or never	42.7	35.4	21.9	100		
At school teachers obliged you to read				100		
Often	47.4	30.6	22.0	100		
Sometimes	39.2	34.1	26.7	100		
Rarely or never	47.4	31.9	20.8	100		
At school teachers encouraged you to read						
Often	48.0	29.8	22.2	100		
Sometimes	38.4	35.9	25.7	100		
Rarely or never	46.9	30.5	22.6	100		
You used to comment books with friends				100		
Often	54.6	23.3	22.1	100		
Sometimes	45.4	30.7	24.0	100		
Rarely or never	40.7	36.5	22.8	100		

NOTE: Bold values indicate the proportion of individuals overrepresented among the individuals with a similar behaviour in that cluster.

Interest in cultural activities. The estimates presented in Table 13 below support the findings, showing, overall, that a greater interest in cultural activities (quite a lot and a lot categories) is associated with a greater frequency of book reading behavior (active book readers).

TABLE 13

INTEREST IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES (Row profiles, %)

	Cluster 1 active book readers	Cluster 2 occasional book readers	Cluster 3 frequent book readers	Sample
Cluster Size	45	31.9	23.1	100
Interest in reading				
None	21.4	64.3	14.3	100
Little	13.2	73.0	13.7	100
Quite a lot	35.1	34.8	30.1	100
A lot	66.9	14.7	18.4	100
Interest in music				
None	37.5	43.8	18.8	100
Little	38.6	39.5	21.9	100
Quite a lot	43.4	32.2	24.4	100
A lot	49.9	27.8	22.3	100
Interest in cinema				
None	41.1	42.9	16.1	100
Little	44.6	36.5	18.9	100
Quite a lot	43.3	32.5	24.2	100
A lot	48.3	26.6	25.1	100
Interest in theatre				
None	35.1	47.4	17.6	100
Little	39.0	36.3	24.7	100
Quite a lot	48.9	27.3	23.8	100
A lot	57.6	21.2	21.2	100
Interest in plastic arts				
None	35.2	41.3	23.5	100
Little	40.1	34.5	25.4	100
Quite a lot	47.5	30.1	22.4	100
A lot	57.4	23.4	19.3	100
Interest in dance				
None	40.5	40.0	19.5	100
Little	45.0	31.4	23.6	100
Quite a lot	45.6	27.6	26.7	100
A lot	55.8	22.1	22.1	100

NOTE: Bold values indicate the proportion of individuals overrepresented among the individuals with a similar behaviour in that cluster.

3.6. Most preferred literary genres

The probabilistic classification of the literary genres most preferred by the book readers is presented in the Table 14 below. In this fashion, cluster 1 (active book readers) has few and rather specialized literary preferences, being more likely to choose genres like essay, historic novel, police and black novel or biographies; readers in cluster 3 (frequent book readers) exhibited preferences for a greater variety of literary genres such as tales and short stories, novel, adventure and fantasy novel, science fiction, theatre and poetry, and self-help and travelling books; cluster 2 (occasional book readers) share some literary preferences with cluster 3 (tales and short stories, adventure novel, science fiction, theatre, travelling and self-help books) and others not (information, comics, cook books).

(·· r - since) (v)				
	Cluster 1 active book readers	Cluster 2 occasional book readers	Cluster 3 frequent book readers	Sample
Cluster Size	45	31.9	23.1	100
Most preferred literary genres				
Tales and short stories	44.2	32.6	23.3	100
Essay	70.6	11.8	17.7	100
Historic novel	51.4	27.4	21.3	100
Adventure novel	32.6	42.6	24.8	100
Romance novel	39.5	38.4	22.1	100
Fantasy novel	43.9	29.3	26.8	100
Police, black novel	54.5	25.5	20.0	100
Novel	44.4	29.3	26.3	100
Science fiction (SF)	35.2	36.4	28.4	100
Theatre	28.6	42.9	28.6	100
Poetry	23.5	29.4	47.1	100
Biographies (Bios)	48.9	29.8	21.3	100
Travelling	20.0	53.3	26.7	100
Information	35.6	45.2	19.2	100
Self-help books	27.3	36.4	36.4	100
Cook	33.3	57.2	9.5	100
Comics	16.7	66.7	16.7	100
Other	54.9	33.8	11.3	100

TABLE 14 MOST PREFERRED LITERARY GENRES (Row profiles %)

NOTE: Bold values indicate the proportion of individuals overrepresented among the individuals with a similar behaviour in that cluster.

3.7. Socioeconomic covariates

This indicators allow characterizing the three clusters as follows: active book readers (cluster 1) are more likely to have high economic and cultural capital endowments (university graduates and personal income above $\in 1,201$), they are not too young (above 55 years of age), they are either employed, unemployed or still studying (e.g., later university enrollment for people above 25 years of age); with less family responsibilities as they are either single, widowed or divorced, and living in large cities; cluster 3 (frequent readers) is more likely to be younger (below 45 years of age), lower cultural (secondary school and vocational training) and economic capital (no income), unemployed, some, with more family burden (married) or single, living either in small cities or large urban areas (capital of province); cluster 2 (occasional book readers) is more likely to be represented by married individuals, below 45 years of age, and with a lower cultural capital (not beyond vocational training) and lower economic resources (below $\in 1,200$), compared to the active book readers' segment, and more likely to live in smaller urban areas (Table 15).

	Cluster 1 active book readers	Cluster 2 occasional book readers	Cluster 3 frequent book readers	Sample
Cluster Size	45	31.9	23.1	100
Age				
18-24	42.9	32.1	25.0	100
25-34	38.1	36.2	25.7	100
35-44	44.4	32.4	23.1	100
45-54	40.3	35.4	24.3	100
55-64	49.6	28.5	22.0	100
65+	53.0	27.0	19.9	100
Education level				
Primary school or less	41.5	36.2	22.2	100
Secondary school	38.8	36.7	24.6	100
Vocational training	37.2	37.9	24.9	100
University graduate or more	57.2	21.8	21.0	100

TABLE 15 SOCIOECONOMIC COVARIATES (Row profiles, %)

(Row profiles, %)					
	Cluster 1 active book readers	Cluster 2 occasional book readers	Cluster 3 frequent book readers	Sample	
Personal income level					
No income	41.9	33.6	24.6	100	
€1-600	41.5	37.4	21.1	100	
€601-1,200	42.7	35.9	21.4	100	
€1,201-1,800	50.5	29.7	19.8	100	
€≥1,801	58.9	22.6	18.6	100	
Occupational status					
Employed	45.2	31.8	23.0	100	
Unemployed	50.1	27.2	22.7	100	
Retired	35.5	39.7	24.8	100	
Student	50.4	26.8	22.8	100	
House works (unpaid)	37.4	39.6	23.1	100	
Personal status					
Married	43.1	32.7	24.3	100	
Single	45.4	31.4	23.3	100	
Widowed	54.5	28.3	17.2	100	
Separated/Divorced	48.2	31.8	20.0	100	
Habitat (inhabitants)					
≤2,000	30.7	45.5	23.8	100	
2,001 to 10,000	42.7	35.3	22.0	100	
10,001 to 50.000	39.7	33.7	26.6	100	
50,001 to 100,000	46.8	32.3	21.0	100	
100,001 to 400,000	51.1	27.3	21.6	100	
400,001 to 1,000,000	50.0	31.3	18.8	100	
>1,000,000	49.7	25.7	24.6	100	
Type of habitat					
Capital of region	50.8	26.1	23.2	100	
Capital of province	52.3	27.3	20.4	100	
Other municipalities	41.5	34.9	23.6	100	

TABLE 15 (Continuation) SOCIOECONOMIC COVARIATES (Row profiles, %)

NOTE: Bold values indicate the proportion of individuals overrepresented among the individuals with a similar behaviour in that cluster.

4. Conclusions

This research has focused on the native Spanish book readers with the aim of identifying segments of book readers emerging from the frequency of book reading habits. The results identified three probabilistic segments of book readers (active, frequent and occasional book readers), and based on each segment's lifestyle correlates, several conclusions can be drawn from the analysis: as suggested by the literature on cultural habits, the results show that book reading behavior could act as a marker of social and cultural status, differentiating between the three segments of book readers in terms of cultural and economic resources; book reading is directly related with the interested in other cultural activities; book reading appears to be a matter of habit and the role played by family, school and friends, from early ages, is significant in cultivating and developing the pleasure for reading; active book readers have rather specific preferences in terms of literary genres, compared to the frequent and occasional book readers who exhibit a much more omnivorous taste; in this line, novel, on average, appears to be the most preferred literary genre, and, except for specialized genres, most book readers rely on the opinion of friends, book's authorship, title, and resumes available on the back cover, when deciding to choose a book to read; gender differences are present in book reading behavior too, with women, on average, more interested in reading than men; generational patterns also apply, with older generations being more frequent book readers than the younger ones; digital books are gaining terrain, especially among the most frequent readers, showing thus that they are in command of good technological skills and devices; finally but not lastly, data also show that many places, others than home, are becoming important for enjoying book reading.

The findings could also be informative for the policy makers, inviting to some potential actions which could contribute, for example, to: strengthen the role of family and school in the formation of reading habits; ensure a greater flexibility of the working schedule to allow parents to spent more time with their children; or facilitate book reading in places other than home/work. Existing evidence has shown that encouraging cultural access and participation could contribute to individuals' wellbeing, and findings on book reading habits go in the same direction. Finally, but not lastly, further research on additional factors (e.g., new technologies, substitutes of book reading, the role of the media in advertising books, etc.) is also necessary to be undertaken in order to give new insights on the behavior of Spanish book readers.

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