

Social Stratification of Cultural Consumption Across Three Domains: Music, Theatre, Dance and Cinema, and the Visual Arts*

Tak Wing Chan
Department of Sociology
University of Oxford

John H. Goldthorpe
Nuffield College
University of Oxford

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1 Introduction

In chapter 1 of this volume, we have outlined three widely discussed arguments concerning the social stratification of cultural consumption: that is, what we have labelled as the ‘homology’, the ‘individualisation’ and the ‘omnivore–univore’ arguments. In our own previous work (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, 2007b,c) we have examined the validity of these arguments in the light of analyses of cultural consumption in England in three different domains: that is, in music, in theatre, dance and cinema, and in the visual arts. Through this work we have sought to make some advance on previous research in two main ways.

First, we have recognised that insofar as the focus of interest *is* on cultural consumption, then this must be studied as directly as possible, and that

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patterns of consumption cannot be reliably inferred from data that amount to no more than individuals' expressions of their cultural tastes and preferences. Reliance on the latter may well give an exaggerated or distorted idea of the extent of consumption (cf. Silva, 2006).¹ We have based our own analyses on data from the Arts in England Survey, carried out in 2001 (for further details see Skelton *et al.*, 2002), which involved face-to-face interviews with a national sample of persons aged 16 and over, and which aimed to assess the extent of their attendance at cultural events and their participation in cultural activities, very broadly understood. The degree to which activities within particular domains are differentiated in this survey is often not as great as we would wish but this is more than compensated for by its comprehensive coverage and by the range of socio-demographic information that was also collected.

Secondly, as regards social stratification, we have urged the need for a more considered approach to its conceptualisation and measurement. In much earlier research, variables such as occupation, education or income have been taken as more or less *ad hoc* indicators of stratification; or, alternatively, synthetic scales of 'socio-economic status' have been applied, but again with no very clear rationale. Our own position is the essentially Weberian one that is set out in chapter 2. We would wish in general to distinguish between class and status as the two major, though qualitatively different, forms of stratification of modern societies; but we have then the specific expectation that differences in cultural consumption, understood as an aspect of lifestyle, will be more strongly associated with status than with class. Thus, throughout our previous work we have applied separate measures of class and status—and further of education and income—so that assessments can be made of their relative importance in regard to cultural consumption through appropriate multivariate analyses, and also so that pointers may be gained to the actual social processes or mechanisms that underlie the statistically demonstrated effects of these variables.

In each of the three domains in which we have analysed cultural consumption, we have proceeded in the following three-step way.

- (i) From the Arts in England survey, we have derived indicators of cultural consumption, using data on whether or not individuals had participated

¹It seems often to be overlooked that Bourdieu's work (1984) relies far more on respondents' expressions of their taste than on their reports of their actual 'cultural practices'—although Bourdieu regularly elides the distinction. Such reports may of course themselves give an exaggerated account of consumption, although insofar as checks against attendance figures etc can be made, there is no indication of any gross distortion. There may, of course, be good grounds for studying taste *per se* but it would seem important that these should always be spelled out.

in a particular kind of cultural activity in the twelve months preceding the survey (or, in the case of listening to different genres of music, in the preceding four weeks). We have concentrated on individuals aged 20–64, since preliminary analyses suggested that the cultural consumption of both younger and older persons would require separate treatment.

- (ii) In each domain, we have taken our indicators of cultural activity as input to latent class measurement models: that is, we have sought to capture the association that exists between different kinds of cultural consumption through identifying a limited number of underlying *patterns of consumption* within the domain in question that can in turn serve as the basis for distinguishing different *types of consumer*.
- (iii) We have then investigated the social characteristics of different types of consumer in each domain, first through simple bivariate analyses, in which we consider their distribution by class and status, and then, more importantly, through multivariate (logistic regression) analyses. In this latter case, we examine simultaneously the effects of class, status and other stratification variables on the chances of individuals approximating one type of consumer rather than another, while controlling demographic variables such as age, sex, marital status, family composition and region of residence.

Overall, our findings provide little support for, and indeed run generally counter to, both the homology and the individualisation arguments. It turns out that in each domain we consider a rather simple latent class model gives a good fit to our data. That is to say, consumption, rather than expressing a great diversity of styles, as the individualisation argument would imply, shows a quite strong patterning that can in fact be adequately represented by distinguishing just two or three types of consumer—which in turn prove to be socially differentiated to a greater or lesser degree.² Moreover, while it might sometimes be possible to equate one of these types of consumer with the ‘mass consumer’ postulated by the homology argument, in no case can

²This is not to deny that a diversity of styles may exist *within* the various different forms of cultural consumption that we distinguish—as, say, within the consumption of popular music or, for that matter, classical music. But it is important to note that while we cannot with the data at our disposal capture such diversity, this does *not* undermine the typology that we have established. For example, *whatever* kind of popular music they may favour, those whom we have labelled as univores in the domain of music still have the low propensity that we indicate to consume other forms of music; and whatever style of classical music omnivores favour, they are still omnivorous in the sense of consuming both classical and popular forms.

we identify the counterpart ‘elite consumer’ who engages actively in ‘high’ culture while shunning ‘low’ or ‘popular’ forms. The elite consumer does, we would suppose, exist but is so minoritarian as not to show up in any national survey of normal size. And certainly the number of individuals involved would seem by far too small to allow any plausible equation with, for example, Bourdieu’s ‘dominant class’.

The types of consumer that emerge from our analyses would in fact appear generally more consistent with the omnivore–univore argument—at all events, sufficiently so for us to have adopted this terminology, with some reservations and consequent refinements, in the presentation of our results. In Table 1 we show the distribution of the types of consumer that we distinguish within each domain.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by latent classes within the three cultural domains ($N = 3819$).

Music		Theatre		Visual Arts	
Univores	70.4	Univores	64.2	Inactives	58.2
Omnivore–listeners	19.1	Omnivores	35.8	Paucivores	37.1
Omnivores	10.4			Omnivores	4.7

In the case of music, univores, the numerically preponderant type, consume pop and rock but largely, if not entirely, to the exclusion of other kinds of music (some possible ‘crossover’ effects are suggested). In contrast, omnivores have relatively high levels of consumption of classical music, of opera and operetta, of jazz *and also* of pop and rock, whether ‘live’ or via various media. But we need then to distinguish a further type of consumer, whom we label as ‘omnivore–listeners’, who are also wide-ranging in their musical consumption but via media only: that is, who are largely non-attenders at concerts and other musical events. With theatre, dance and cinema, univores, again the majority, tend to be cinema-goers only, or, one could say, are another kind of non-attender so far as live performances are concerned. Omnivores, on the other hand, have a relatively high frequency of attendance at plays, musical comedies and pantomimes, and at ballet and other dance performances *as well as* at cinemas. Finally, though, with the visual arts, the numerically most important type that we identify is not some kind of univore but rather the virtual *non*-consumer or culturally inactive individual, at least so far as consumption in institutional settings is concerned.³ And while in this domain we do once more find omnivores, who make relatively frequent

³We have no data available to us on ‘home’ consumption in the visual arts. If such consumption could be taken into account (on art in the home, see esp. Halle, 1993; Painter,

visits to museums and galleries, to special arts exhibitions and events, and also to craft fairs and cultural festivals, they represent only a quite small minority. Further, we have here again to recognise another, far more numerous, type of consumer that also compromises the omnivore–univore dichotomy. These are consumers whom we label as ‘paucivores’ in that their participation in the visual arts, while clearly more than univorous—they attend museums, galleries and less *avant garde* kinds of exhibition—still falls some way below that of omnivores in its level and its range alike.

As regards the social stratification of these types of consumer, our findings again give broad, but not unqualified, support to the omnivore–univore argument. In particular, omnivores—as this argument would require—are drawn disproportionately from higher strata, however understood; and univores, and also ‘inactives’ in the visual arts, are drawn disproportionately from lower strata. But it has at the same time to be noted that neither the differentiation of ‘true’ omnivores from omnivore–listeners in music nor that of omnivores from paucivores in the visual arts is all that marked; and further that even within the most advantaged social classes or highest ranking status groups univores, or inactives, still represent at least fairly substantial minorities. In other words, while the forms of cultural consumption that we have examined are quite clearly socially stratified—that is, on something like omnivore–univore rather than elite–mass lines—the *strength* of this stratification should not be exaggerated.

Finally, though, we can also report that our results in this connection do rather strongly confirm our own Weberian expectation that in so far as cultural consumption *is* socially stratified, this will be on the basis of status rather than of class. From our multivariate analyses in each of the domains we study it emerges that individuals’ chances of being one type of consumer rather than another—and in particular, omnivores rather than univores or inactives—are far more strongly influenced by their status than by their class, with the latter only rarely having significant effects.⁴ Income effects, too, are quite limited. In contrast, educational level proves to be a consistent and

2002) and likewise the consumption of ‘street art’ in the form of advertisements, graffiti etc. we would think the most likely change to our present findings would be that some inactives would appear as univores of more popular forms of visual art (see further Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007c). However, as will be seen, in what follows we in any event treat inactives in the visual arts together with univores in the two other domains we consider.

⁴We further show that such results are not the merely artefactual outcome of measuring status on an interval scale while class is represented as categorical. The importance of status remains even when treated simply in terms of the four major bands distinguished within our scale. Moreover, we show elsewhere (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a) that in other respects—for example, economic life-chances and political partisanship—it is class rather than status that is the dominant stratifying force.

important influence on cultural consumption in addition to status, and in some cases outweighs the latter. However, the question arises, and is taken up further in our concluding section, of whether, in this context, education is in fact best understood as operating as a stratification variable.

In sum, in treating separately three different cultural domains, our previous work has shown that, contrary to the individualisation argument, cultural consumption remains, in England at least, quite strongly patterned and in significant respects socially stratified, most notably by status; and that, further, as regards the form of this stratification, the homology argument has clearly less to commend it than does the omnivore–univore argument. At the same time, though, various difficulties with this latter argument are also revealed in moving from the domain of music—in which it was originally developed—to other domains, and especially, perhaps, to that of the visual arts.

It would, then, seem a logical continuation of the line of enquiry that we have so far pursued to move on to a cross-domain approach: that is, to examine individuals’ cultural consumption in its totality—or at least across the three major domains that we have so far considered separately—and the nature of its patterning and of its stratification at this overall level. In this way, new perspectives may be gained on the main theoretical issues with which we have been concerned, and on the omnivore–univore argument in particular. Whether or not this argument holds good in regard to individuals’ total cultural consumption is in fact in some degree independent of its validity in specific domains. Thus, even if the omnivore–univore division may appear inappropriate in certain cases, such as the visual arts, it could still be found of relevance when an overview of cultural consumption is taken—as implying, say, a general ‘cultural voraciousness’. Or, conversely, even if the division quite often shows up when the focus is on particular domains—where omnivorous takes the form of ‘taste eclecticism’—it might still not apply overall, and if only because a ‘universal’, cross-domain omnivorousness might be difficult to sustain, even for members of higher social strata, on account of financial or of time constraints (see e.g. Linder, 1970).⁵

2 Data and Analytical Strategy

We continue to use the data of the Arts in England Survey, as previously: that is, we work with an analytical sample of 3,819 men and women out of

⁵Little previous research would appear to have been carried out into the issues that here arise. One exception is López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro (2005), although the range of cultural consumption they were able to cover was relatively limited.

the original 6,042 respondents, following restriction to the age-range of 20–64 and the omission of cases where information was lacking on variables of key interest to us.

We also rely on the same indicators of cultural consumption as previously. In the case of music, we take results from questions—requiring a ‘yes/no’ answer—on whether in the twelve months preceding interview respondents had attended a classical concert, an opera or operetta, a jazz concert or a pop or rock concert; and, further, whether over the preceding four weeks they had listened through any medium (radio, TV, records, CDs, tapes etc.) to these same four genres of music. For theatre, dance and cinema (henceforth ‘theatre’), we take results from similar questions on whether in the preceding twelve months respondents had attended a play, a musical comedy or a pantomime, a ballet or some other form of dance performance, or a cinema; and for the visual arts on whether in the same period respondents had visited a museum or gallery, an exhibition of art, photography or sculpture, a craft exhibition, an event involving video or electronic art or a cultural festival.

As already described, latent class analyses drawing on these indicators in each domain enable us to identify the patterns of consumption and in turn the types of consumer that are reported in Table 1. In seeking to follow a cross-domain approach, it might then be thought a natural step to apply latent class analyses once again to all our indicators taken together. However, since there are in total 19 indicators (8 for music, 6 for theatre and 5 for the visual arts), the underlying contingency table with 2^{19} cells would be impossibly sparse even with a sample many times larger than that available to us.⁶ Thus, the strategy that we follow is based on retaining the types of consumer in different domains that are shown in Table 1, and asking, first of all, about the pattern and extent of the cross-domain association that exists among these types.

We first apply loglinear analysis to a $3 \times 2 \times 3$ table cross-classifying our respondents’ latent class membership in the three domains, as shown in Table 1.⁷ The results of such analysis are reported in Table 2. As can be seen, all two-way associations have to be included before a fitting model is obtained (though there is no need for a three-way term). There is also some indication that the strongest association of patterns of consumption occurs between theatre and visual arts.⁸ Given, then, that such cross-domain association

⁶We have also tried using modally assigned latent class membership in the three domains as indicators in a further round of latent class analysis. But this strategy proved unhelpful as we ran out of degrees of freedom before achieving a satisfactory fit with the data.

⁷This contingency table is available upon request.

⁸This emerges from the comparison of models 5, 6 and 7 in Table 2 with model 8. By

is present, a fairly simple typology of levels of overall cultural consumption suggests itself of the lines that we set out in Table 3.

Table 2: Goodness of fit statistics of loglinear models as applied to a three-way contingency table cross-classifying cultural participation in (1) music, (2) theatre, dance & cinema, and (3) the visual arts.

model	G^2	df	p
1. M,T,V	1225.94	12	.000
2. MT,V	883.53	10	.000
3. M,TV	673.57	10	.000
4. MV,T	691.77	8	.000
5. MV,TV	139.40	6	.000
6. MT,MV	349.36	6	.000
7. MT,TV	331.16	8	.000
8. MV,TV,MT	7.86	4	.097

Note: M: music, T: theatre, dance & cinema, V: visual arts.

At level 1, the lowest level, are those individuals who are univores in the domains of music and theatre and inactives in the visual arts. That is to say, the cultural consumption of these men and women, who account for around two-fifths of our total sample, tends to be limited to listening to pop and rock music and going to the cinema. At level 2 are then those individuals, just over one-fifth of the sample, who, while having somewhat higher levels of consumption than those at level 1, are still not (fully) omnivorous in any of the three domains covered. As can be seen, they divide almost equally into those who are univores in music and theatre but paucivores in the visual arts and those who are omnivore-listeners in music but univores in theatre and either inactives or paucivores in the visual arts. At level 3 come those individuals, approaching a third of the total sample, who are omnivores in one or other of our three domains. The majority turn out in fact to be omnivores in theatre—in which domain omnivorousness is most common—while at the same time, it may be noted, being often only univores in music. And finally at level 4, the highest level of consumption, we have those individuals, just a tenth of the sample, who are omnivores in two or, very exceptionally, in all three domains. Half, it can be seen, are omnivores in music and in theatre

removing the TV term from model 8 and thus turning it into model 6, G^2 is increased by 341.5 for 2 degrees of freedom. This is a much bigger increase in deviance per degree of freedom than that which would be obtained if model 8 is compared with either model 5 or model 7.

Table 3: Distribution of respondents across levels of cultural participation over all three domains.

overall level of participation		types of consumers in			%	%
		music	theatre	visual arts		
1	lowest level	U	U	I	39.0	39.0
2	Omnivore in no domain	U	U	P	11.1	22.0
		OL	U	I	5.8	
		OL	U	P	5.1	
3	Omnivore in one domain	OL	O	P	4.7	29.0
		OL	U	O	0.4	
		O	U	P	1.4	
		OL	O	I	2.2	
		U	O	P	9.8	
		U	U	O	0.3	
		O	U	I	0.9	
		U	O	I	9.2	
		4	Omnivore in two or three domains	O	O	P
OL	O			O	0.9	
O	U			O	0.1	
U	O			O	1.1	
O	O			I	0.9	
O	O			O	1.9	

Note: Music: O=Omnivore, OL=Omnivore-listener, U=Univore; Theatre, dance & cinema: O=Omnivore, U=Univore; Visual arts: O=Omnivore, P=Paucivore, I=Inactive.

while being paucivores in the visual arts.

Already from these results we can then make some observations regarding the univore–omnivore argument at the level of cross-domain cultural consumption. On the one hand, the applicability of this argument is supported by the fact that univorous and omnivorous patterns of consumption do show some degree of persistence from one domain to another. This effect is most apparent with the two-fifths of our sample who are placed at level 1—at all events if inactivity in the visual arts can be treated as in some sense equivalent to univorousness in music and theatre (see note 3 above.) But, on the other hand, individuals at level 2 are not readily seen as either univores or omnivores; and, further, cross-domain omnivorousness—or omnivorousness as general cultural voracity — is not all that marked. Nearly two-fifths of the sample, that is, those individuals placed at levels 3 or 4, are omnivores in at least one domain, yet of these only a quarter are omnivores in at least two domains, that is, are placed at level 4 rather than level, and with less than 5 per cent being omnivores in all three domains. At this stage, therefore, perhaps the most we can conclude is that while the omnivore–univore argument would still appear more apt to the social reality that we are examining than either the homology or individualisation arguments, a cross-domain approach confirms our previous view that patterns of cultural consumption in present-day societies will tend to be rather too complex to be adequately captured in omnivore–univore terms alone.

We now move on to the analysis of the social correlates of cultural consumption at the four cross-domain levels that we have identified.

3 Cross-domain cultural consumption by class and status

To repeat, our findings on cultural consumption in music, theatre, and the visual arts considered separately show that the stratification of this consumption does not occur on elite–mass lines but does, at least in some large part, follow the omnivore–univore distinction. It is then of interest to ask whether, insofar as univorous and omnivorous tendencies are also revealed in cross-domain cultural consumption, they are stratified in a similar way.

In Table 4 we show the distribution of respondents to the Arts in England survey by their level of cross-domain cultural consumption within each of the seven classes of the UK National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification.⁹

⁹This classification can be regarded as a new, updated version of the Goldthorpe class schema (see Rose *et al.*, 2005; Office for National Statistics, 2005). The seven ‘analytical’

As can be seen, class differences are quite marked and rather clearly patterned. The proportion of respondents at level 1—i.e. those whose cultural consumption tends to be limited to listening to pop and rock music and going to the cinema—increases steadily from around a sixth in Class 1 to more than three-fifths in Class 7. Conversely, the proportion of respondents at level 3, who are omnivores in one of the domains we consider, steadily decreases across the classes, as too, with only minor irregularities, does the proportion at level 4, who are omnivores in two or in all three domains. In fact, if we consider respondents at levels 3 and 4 together, we find essentially the reverse situation to that we noted with level 1 respondents. Over three-fifths of members of Class 1 are at level 3 or 4—or, in other words, display some form of omnivorousness—while this is the case with less than a sixth of members of Class 7.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents by level of cross-domain cultural participation within social class.

	level of cultural consumption			
	1	2	3	4
1 Higher managers and professionals	16.8	22.8	40.2	20.3
2 Lower managers and professionals	24.1	20.9	37.8	17.1
3 Intermediate employees	38.7	22.0	32.4	7.0
4 Small employers and own-account workers	44.7	23.3	22.6	9.5
5 Lower supervisors and technicians	49.3	25.6	22.6	2.5
6 Semi-routine workers	55.5	19.5	21.5	3.6
7 Routine workers	61.3	23.1	13.3	2.3

Turning to stratification by status, we show in the graphical form of Figure 1 data analogous to those of Table 4 but with consumption level now being related to our status scale, as described in chapter 2. Here again fairly systematic stratification is in evidence. It can be seen that although respondents at level 2 are fairly evenly distributed by status (as indeed by class, as Table 4 reveals), the proportion at level 1 decreases more or less linearly as status rises, while the reverse is the case with the proportion at level 3, and the proportion at level 4 increases with status more steeply in something approximating a curvilinear fashion. More detailed examination of these data reveal that if we consider the four major bands of our status scale (see ch. 2, pp.000-00 above), only one of the seven groups in the highest band has more than 25 per cent of its members at level 1—and that the five

classes of NS-SEC here used correspond fairly closely to those of the seven-class version of the original schema.

highest ranking groups have in fact more members at level 4 than at level 1. In contrast, in the two lower bands of the scale only one of the thirteen groups covered has clearly below half of its members at level 1 and only three show more than 5 per cent at level 4.¹⁰

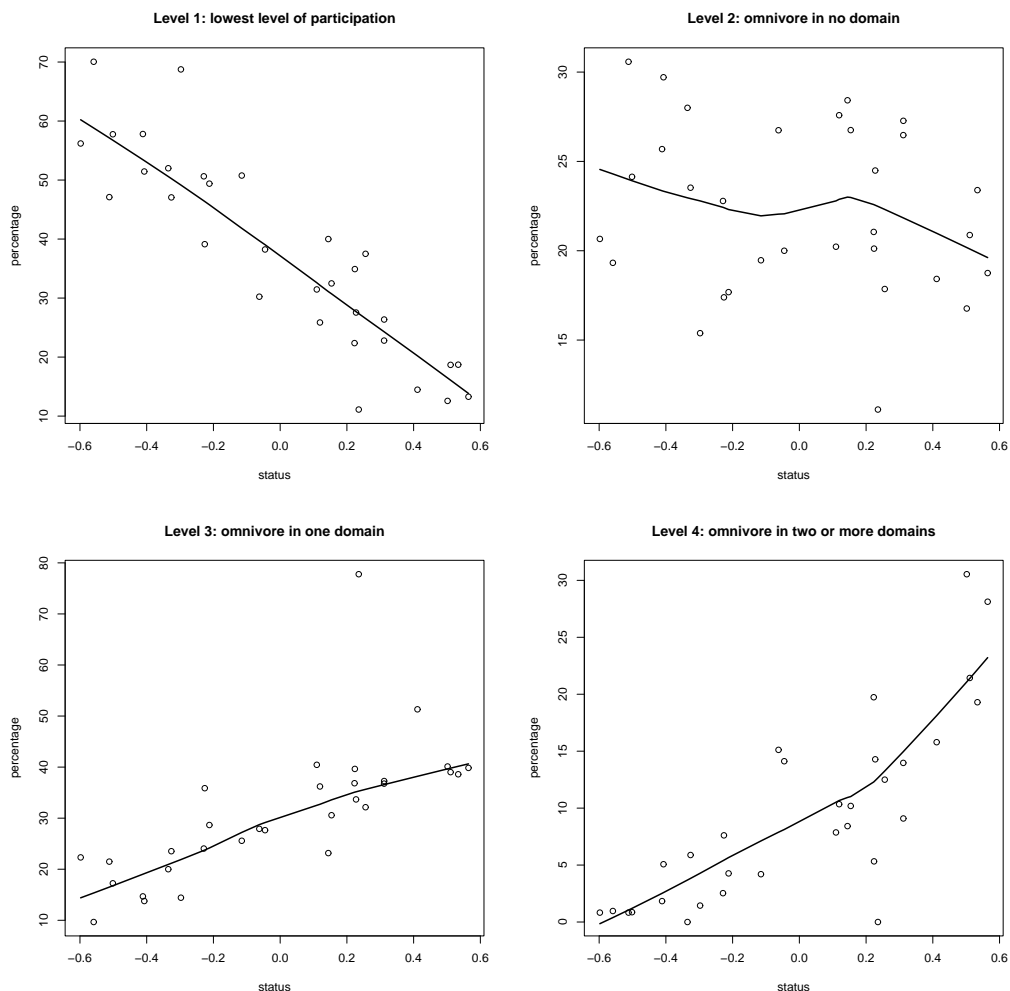


Figure 1: Bivariate association between social status and level of cross-domain cultural participation.

We can therefore conclude that univorous and omnivorous tendencies in cross-domain cultural consumption are socially stratified in essentially the same ways as we have found in consumption within particular domains. Members of less advantaged classes and lower ranking status groups are more

¹⁰The data of Figure 1 in tabular form are available from the authors on request.

likely to follow the highly restricted pattern of consumption represented by level 1; and members of more advantaged classes and higher ranking status groups are more likely to show omnivourousness at least in one domain as represented by consumption at levels 3 and 4. Indeed, a comparison of the results set out above with those reported in our previous papers on particular domains would suggest that the stratification of cultural consumption is in fact more marked and more regular when a cross-domain view is taken. However, in order to consider this possibility further and also in order to address the major issue of the relative importance of class and status as the bases of the stratification in question, we need to move on to analyses of a more sophisticated kind.

4 Cross-domain cultural consumption: multivariate analyses

As well as providing data on individuals' participation in a wide range of cultural activities and also information that allows for the construction of the stratification variables used in the previous section, the Arts in England Survey is also well suited to our purposes in that it further contains information on respondents' education and income and on a number of their socio-demographic characteristics. In proceeding now to a multivariate analysis, we take the four levels of cross-domain cultural consumption that we have distinguished as the dependent variable in a multinomial logistic regression model, and focus our explanatory interest on the class and status variables that we have already introduced, supplemented by those of respondents' educational qualifications and personal income. We also include socio-demographic variables in the model, which, though of some interest in themselves, are intended here primarily to serve as controls.¹¹

In Table 5 we show the results we obtain from our model. In the first three columns of the table these results refer to effects on the chances (log odds) of individuals being found at each of the three higher levels of cultural consumption rather than at level 1—i.e. that in which such consumption tends to be limited to pop and rock music and cinema-going; and then in the remaining three columns they refer, respectively, to effects on the chances of individuals being found at levels 3 and 4 rather than at level 2 and at level 4 rather than at level 3.

As regards the socio-demographic variables that we include, age has the

¹¹Descriptive statistics of all the variables involved in the analysis are given in our earlier papers and are also available from the authors on request.

most consistently significant effects. Older people are more likely to be found at higher levels of consumption than are younger people, except for a reverse tendency in the case of being at level 3 rather than at level 2. From the data we have available, we cannot tell whether or how far this generally positive effect of age on cultural consumption should be interpreted as one of period, of birth cohort or of life-cycle stage. But it can also be seen from Table 5 that another life-cycle indicator—having a child below the age of four—does often have a significantly negative effect on cultural consumption: that is, as regards the chances of being found at levels 3 or 4 rather than at level 1 or at level 2. Finally, there is a gender effect in that women are also more likely to be at levels 3 and 4 rather than at level 1 or 2, although men are more likely to be at level 2 than at level 1. These results are in fact broadly in line with those that we have reported in our studies of particular domains. However, it may also be noted that while in our earlier analyses living outside London did in some instances prove to have a negative effect on cultural consumption, most strongly in the visual arts, regional effects on cross-domain consumption can be effectively discounted.

Turning now to the stratification variables included in the analysis, we can first of all note further confirmation of our Weberian expectation that it is status rather than class that underlies the stratification of cultural consumption. Despite the clear bivariate association between class and level of cross-domain consumption that is shown up in Table 4, it can be seen from Table 5 that once status is included in the analysis, class effects become largely non-significant. In contrast, level of cultural consumption is found to increase significantly with status in all contrasts except that between levels 2 and 3. In particular, status has strong effects on the relative chances of individuals being found at level 4—that is, on their chances of being omnivores in at least two of the three domains we consider. In the extreme contrast, an increase of one standard deviation in status turns out to raise the odds of being at level 4 rather than at level 1 by around 84 per cent.¹² We could in fact say that the dominance of status over class as shown in Table 5 is yet clearer than when we examine consumption in our three domains separately (cf. the corresponding tables in Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005, 2007b,c), and the importance is thus further underlined of treating class and status as qualitatively differing forms of stratification rather than inadvertently blurring the distinction between them or seeking, as in the manner of Bourdieu, to transcend it.

¹²With the standard deviation of our status score being 0.365, we have $e^{(0.365 \times 1.675)} - 1 = 0.84$.

Table 5: Multinomial logit model: level of cultural participation as the dependent variable.

	2 vs 1		3 vs 1		4 vs 1		3 vs 2		4 vs 2		4 vs 3	
	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>	$\hat{\beta}$	<i>s.e.</i>
female ^a	-0.253*	(0.110)	0.487**	(0.109)	0.497**	(0.154)	0.741**	(0.116)	0.751**	(0.156)	0.010	(0.146)
married ^b	0.007	(0.133)	0.212	(0.130)	-0.196	(0.192)	0.205	(0.143)	-0.203	(0.196)	-0.408*	(0.185)
sep/div/wid	-0.004	(0.164)	0.122	(0.162)	0.150	(0.232)	0.126	(0.179)	0.154	(0.238)	0.028	(0.226)
age	0.031**	(0.005)	0.018**	(0.005)	0.054**	(0.007)	-0.013*	(0.005)	0.023**	(0.007)	0.036**	(0.007)
child (0–4) ^c	0.002	(0.131)	-0.546**	(0.129)	-0.661**	(0.223)	-0.548**	(0.142)	-0.663**	(0.227)	-0.115	(0.220)
child (5–10)	0.070	(0.123)	0.166	(0.114)	-0.107	(0.192)	0.096	(0.127)	-0.177	(0.197)	-0.274	(0.186)
child (11–15)	-0.101	(0.129)	-0.016	(0.120)	-0.069	(0.196)	0.084	(0.136)	0.032	(0.202)	-0.052	(0.190)
The North ^d	-0.191	(0.155)	-0.373*	(0.149)	-0.280	(0.211)	-0.181	(0.156)	-0.089	(0.211)	0.093	(0.199)
Midlands	-0.219	(0.155)	-0.288	(0.148)	-0.412	(0.211)	-0.069	(0.155)	-0.193	(0.211)	-0.124	(0.197)
South East	-0.241	(0.178)	-0.025	(0.164)	0.108	(0.224)	0.216	(0.174)	0.349	(0.226)	0.133	(0.205)
South West	0.106	(0.186)	-0.159	(0.183)	-0.182	(0.266)	-0.265	(0.189)	-0.288	(0.264)	-0.023	(0.251)
income	0.008	(0.006)	0.029**	(0.006)	0.029**	(0.008)	0.021**	(0.006)	0.021**	(0.007)	-0.000	(0.007)
CSE/others ^e	0.439**	(0.150)	0.325*	(0.164)	1.005**	(0.325)	-0.114	(0.186)	0.566	(0.335)	0.680*	(0.338)
O-levels	0.563**	(0.139)	0.848**	(0.141)	1.326**	(0.283)	0.286	(0.161)	0.764**	(0.291)	0.478	(0.290)
A-levels	0.806**	(0.174)	1.388**	(0.166)	2.069**	(0.306)	0.582**	(0.185)	1.263**	(0.314)	0.680*	(0.306)
sub-degree	0.877**	(0.199)	1.135**	(0.192)	2.427**	(0.308)	0.258	(0.205)	1.550**	(0.313)	1.292**	(0.305)
degree	1.384**	(0.196)	1.670**	(0.190)	3.231**	(0.303)	0.286	(0.192)	1.847**	(0.301)	1.561**	(0.294)
class 2 ^f	0.032	(0.190)	0.078	(0.173)	0.152	(0.209)	0.046	(0.162)	0.120	(0.195)	0.074	(0.174)
class 3	0.010	(0.222)	-0.141	(0.204)	-0.374	(0.284)	-0.151	(0.206)	-0.384	(0.281)	-0.233	(0.261)
class 4	0.035	(0.265)	-0.210	(0.255)	0.300	(0.335)	-0.244	(0.261)	0.266	(0.332)	0.510	(0.316)
class 5	0.309	(0.273)	0.067	(0.262)	-0.292	(0.457)	-0.242	(0.272)	-0.601	(0.457)	-0.359	(0.445)
class 6	0.026	(0.257)	-0.150	(0.241)	-0.168	(0.363)	-0.176	(0.251)	-0.194	(0.364)	-0.018	(0.347)
class 7	0.198	(0.278)	-0.446	(0.276)	-0.160	(0.451)	-0.644*	(0.288)	-0.358	(0.453)	0.286	(0.446)
status	0.800**	(0.223)	0.849**	(0.213)	1.675**	(0.318)	0.049	(0.228)	0.876**	(0.321)	0.827**	(0.306)
constant	-2.245**	(0.369)	-2.335**	(0.355)	-5.801**	(0.529)	-0.089	(0.373)	-3.555**	(0.531)	-3.466**	(0.504)

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; ^a male is the reference category; ^b single is the reference category, sep/div/wid stands for separated, divorced or widowed; ^c no children is the reference category; ^d London is the reference category; ^e no qualifications is the reference category; ^f class 1 is the reference category.

The effect of education on cross-domain cultural consumption is also of evident importance. Having higher-level educational qualifications significantly increases individuals' chances of being found at consumption levels 2, 3 or 4 rather than at level 1, and at levels 3 and 4 rather than at level 2. In the extreme contrast, individuals with degree-level qualifications are around 25 times more likely ($e^{3.231} = 25.30$) to be found at level 4 rather than at level 1 than are individuals with no qualifications. However, it may also be noted that education—like status—does not have a significant effect on the chances of individuals being at level 3 rather than at level 2; and, further, that while status, as we have seen, has a strong effect on the chances of being at level 4 rather than at level 3, educational attainment is of clear importance in this regard only in the case of post-secondary qualifications.

Finally, income, can also be seen to have a positive influence on cross-domain cultural consumption, although in rather specific ways: that is, in significantly increasing the chances of individuals being found at levels 3 or 4 rather than at level 1 or level 2, although not on their chances of being at level 2 rather than at level 1 or at level 4 rather than at level 3. The effects of income, where they do occur, would appear weaker than those of status or education: for example, an increase of one standard deviation in income raises the chances of an individual being at either level 3 or level 4 rather than at level 1 by about 37 per cent.¹³ None the less, the results shown in Table 5 still stand in some contrast to those of our domain-specific analyses where income appeared as clearly less important, having a positive effect on the chances of being a omnivore rather than a univore only in the case of theatre and not in those of music or the visual arts.¹⁴

In general, then, we might say that cross-domain cultural consumption is primarily stratified by status and education, with income in a secondary role. However, the findings of our multivariate analysis are perhaps of greatest value and interest not in what they tell us about the overall importance of status, education and income, but rather—following the different contrasts that are made in Table 5—about the particular ways in which these variables are important to a greater or a lesser degree. For this information can provide us with at least some clues as to what may be the social processes or mechanisms that underlie the statistical results that we have obtained.

¹³With the standard deviation of income being 10.863, we have $e^{(10.863 \times 0.029)} - 1 = 0.37$.

¹⁴Income did, however, also have a slight and just significant positive effect on the chances of being a paucivore in the visual arts rather than an inactive.

5 Theoretical considerations

We have shown that cross-domain cultural consumption in its pattern and its stratification tends broadly, though not in all respects, to follow the omnivore–univore lines that we have earlier found in consumption within particular domains. This similarity is most apparent in the case of those individuals who are placed at level 1 in our typology of cross-domain consumption in which univorousness in music and theatre go together with inactivity in the visual arts. However, the cultural consumption of individuals at level 2 seems not to fit well with an omnivore–univore dichotomy; and, further, the tendency for omnivorousness to extend across domains, though present, is not especially strong. As we have noted, of those respondents, two-fifths of the total, who are omnivores in at least one of the three domains we consider, only a quarter (or a tenth of the sample as a whole) are omnivores in two or all three domains—that is to say, are placed at level 4 in our typology rather than at level 3.

These results would thus underline a point that we have already made in our studies of particular domains: that in seeking a better understanding of patterns of cultural consumption and their stratification in modern societies, we need to recognise a situation of greater complexity than has often been supposed. The omnivore–univore argument has, at all events, the merit of challenging the rather simplistic ‘matching’ of social stratification and level and style of cultural consumption that is essential to versions of the homology argument. And, in so doing, it also calls into question, if more implicitly than explicitly, the ‘over-socialised’ conception of the actor on which the latter tend to rely—most extremely in Bourdeusien appeals to the exigencies of the *habitus* (cf. Coulangeon, 2003)—without making the unwarranted shift to the other extreme of accepting the apparently unconstrained cultural choices, and ones reflecting entirely personal rather than any socially grounded motivations, that are integral to versions of the individualisation argument.

What would then seem the most promising way to move ahead theoretically is to try to provide an explanation for the broadly, if qualified, omnivore–univore pattern of cross-domain cultural consumption we have documented that derives from a conception of actors as subject to differing kinds and degrees of constraint yet as still possessing degrees of freedom within which some range of choice is possible. In what follows, we aim to make a start in this direction. We do not claim to do more than to set out the elements of an explanation of the kind in question; but, we hope, we do so in a way that will encourage both empirical testing and development.

Cultural consumption, as a form of social action, can be treated as the

outcome of individuals' pursuing certain of their ends as best they can with the means available to them. As regards means, we would think primarily in terms of the extent of individuals' economic and cultural resources and in turn of the constraints that they face and the capacities that they can exploit. On the basis of the data used in the analyses that we have presented, we can take economic resources as being proxied by income; and we can take cultural resources as being proxied by education—in fact, in two different ways: first, in respect of individuals' basic information-processing capacity that has been emphasised by proponents of 'empirical aesthetics' as a key factor in cultural consumption (Moles, 1971; Berlyne, 1974); and second, in respect of individuals' degree of familiarity with and knowledge of different cultural forms and the modes of their appreciation.¹⁵

As regards the ends of cultural consumption, we would recognise that these are likely to be to an important degree *intrinsic*. That is to say, cultural consumption is a form of social action that can be readily engaged in 'for its own sake'—for the satisfactions that follow directly from the exercise of the resources and capacities for such consumption that individuals possess. However, our empirical findings clearly show that status—though not class—exerts a significant and often strong positive effect on level of cultural consumption over and above that of economic and also of cultural resources as indicated by income and education. This would therefore lead us to regard such consumption as being also undertaken out of concerns over status: that is to say, we would treat such concerns as a source of motivation for cultural consumption in addition to, or apart from, the intrinsic satisfactions that may be gained. While such motivation may focus on deliberate status enhancement or 'climbing', or on status demarcation with exclusionary intent, as emphasised by Bourdieu and his followers, we need not suppose that this is always or even typically the case.¹⁶ The more extensive cultural consump-

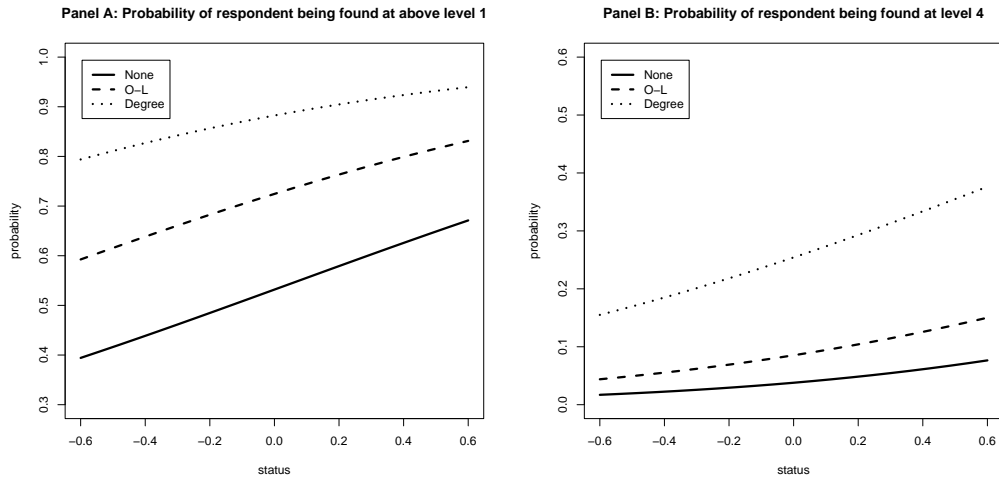
¹⁵For our present purposes, we need not enter into the issue of how far information processing capacity should be regarded as innate or acquired, nor in turn into that of whether it is more likely to be a cause or consequence of educational attainment. We use the term 'cultural resources' rather than the Bourdieu's 'cultural capital' to avoid any suggestion of commitment to his conceptualisation of 'forms of capital' or his theory of social reproduction (see further Goldthorpe, 2007).

¹⁶We recognise that some interpreters of Bourdieu, for example Holt (1997), would take him to argue that what are in effect exclusionary consumption practices come about not through deliberately strategic manoeuvring by individuals but simply through their disinterested pursuit of their tastes. However, others, for example Jenkins (2002, p.87), point to evident confusion and contradiction in Bourdieu on this issue. Jenkins notes that Bourdieu readily refers to actors' interests, in regard among other things to status, and then observes that 'it is very difficult to imagine how an "interest" can be anything other than something which actors *consciously* pursue.'

tion that would appear to follow from higher status is after all omnivorous rather than elitist in character. What is more generally involved, we would suggest, is a desire to express a lifestyle, associated with a particular status level, that seeks in some degree to give value to more than merely material consumption and preoccupations—and a desire that may then be to some extent reinforced by the normative expectations of ‘significant others’ in social networks of family, friends or colleagues at this same level. As DiMaggio (1987) has observed, in modern societies shared cultural consumption is perhaps more important than shared material living standards in providing a basis for everyday social interaction and thus a sense of ‘belonging’ in particular social circles (cf. also Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro, 2005).

How, then, can such an approach be followed in seeking to account for the empirical regularities in cross-domain cultural consumption that we have demonstrated? We may begin with what we would see as the basic contrast that emerges from our types of cultural consumer: that between individuals at level 1 and those at levels 3 and 4; or, that is, between individuals whose consumption is essentially limited to pop and rock music and the cinema and those who are omnivorous in at least one cultural domain. As we have already noted, the relevant contrasts in Table 5 show that higher income, higher education and higher status *all* make independent contributions to increasing the chances of individuals being at level 3 or level 4 rather than at level 1. Or, in terms of the preceding paragraphs, we could then say that individuals’ cultural consumption tends to increase—to become less univorous and more omnivorous—as greater economic and cultural resources reduce constraints on, and increase capacities for, such consumption, and as status provides motivation to consume at a higher level.

It might though be added here that it is tertiary education that appears as the strongest prophylactic against low cultural consumption. In other words, insofar as individuals have the capacities for cultural consumption that such education can be taken to indicate, there is a rather strong propensity for them to put these capacities to more than minimal use, and regardless of other factors. To illustrate, we show in Panel A of Figure 2 the predicted probabilities, under our logistic regression model, of being above level 1 for a hypothetical person, defined as a woman aged 40 with no children, living in London and earning £25,000 p.a. (as of 2001), as we vary her education and her status. As can be seen, if we assume that this woman has a degree, then while her probability of having a level of cultural consumption above the minimum in our typology does still increase with her status, this probability is in fact already quite high, at over 80 per cent, even if she ranks low on our status scale.



Note: Other covariates fixed as follows: Woman graduate, aged forty, living in London, with no children, and earning £25,000 p.a.

Figure 2: Probability of a hypothetical respondent being found at above level 1 (Panel A) and at level 4 (Panel B) by educational qualifications and status.

Turning next to individuals at level 2, the situation here is evidently less straightforward. These are men and women whose cultural consumption appears to be not well captured by the omnivore–univore distinction. Although clearly more than univores (as earlier noted, they are most often omnivore-listeners to music and/or paucivores in the visual arts), they are still less than fully omnivorous in any of the three domains we consider. We can, however, here usefully return to certain more detailed points emerging from the results of Table 5. It may be recalled that while the chances of individuals being found at level 2 rather than at level 1 increase with education and status but not with income, just the reverse pattern of effects operates on their chances being found at level 3 rather than at level 2: that is, these chances increase with income but not with either education or status.

Following the theoretical approach that we have outlined, we are then led to regard individuals at level 2 as having a pattern of cultural consumption that is inferior to what it would otherwise be on account primarily of a lack of economic resources and of resulting constraints—maybe ones following from various contingent and relatively short-term changes in their life situations. These individuals are comparable to those at level 3 in their capacities for cultural consumption deriving from their cultural resources and also in their status motivation to engage in such consumption; but in their economic re-

sources they are more comparable to individuals at level 1.¹⁷ In other words, men and women at level 2 could be seen as being *potential* consumers at level 3, that is, as being potentially omnivorous in one domain or another, should some improvement in their economic circumstances allow, just as, conversely, men and women at level 3 could ‘fall’ to level 2 should their economic circumstances for some reason deteriorate. The—testable—prediction thus follows that mobility over time between levels 2 and 3 should be relatively high. If viewed in this perspective, the level 2 pattern of consumption, it should then be noted, is no longer so anomalous in regard to the omnivore–univore argument as it might initially appear: it becomes in fact a quite conceivable pattern of consumption within the context of this argument.

Finally, we come to individuals at level 4 and, thus, to the question of propensities for ‘universal’ omnivorousness which, as we have shown, although present, are not especially strong. How are we to explain why only a quite small minority of the individuals we study are omnivorous in more than one cultural domain? To begin with in this regard, it would seem necessary to recognise that some limits to cross-domain omnivorousness must be expected to result from purely personal tastes and characteristics, including perhaps physical ones. Thus, some people are simply ‘not musical’ (e.g. are tone deaf) or lack visual sense (e.g. are colour blind). However, following the approach that we have outlined, we may take matters somewhat further. In this regard, we would focus on the last column of Table 5, where the chances of being at level 4 are contrasted with those of being at level 3. What is here shown is a pattern of effects interestingly different from that found in other contrasts. While status is again important, income is in this case non-significant and, further, education effects are only irregularly significant up to the tertiary level when, however, they too become strong.

What we would therefore suggest is, first of all, that the only rather weak tendency for omnivorousness in one cultural domain to be associated with omnivorousness in another is not primarily the result of constraints, as might *prima facie* be thought likely. Although income certainly counts in increasing the chances of individuals being omnivorous in one domain—that is, being at level 3 rather than at levels 1 or 2 of our typology—economic constraints, at least as proxied by income, do not appear to affect the chances of individuals being at level 4 rather than at level 3. It is possible that time constraints may play a larger part in restricting omnivorousness. But while we cannot measure such constraints directly, it is relevant to note that having small children, which exerts a negative effect on cultural consumption in most

¹⁷In the level 3 versus level 2 contrast, having children under age 5 also has a significant negative effect on cultural consumption, as it does in several other contrasts.

other contrasts, is also, like income, non-significant as regards the chances of being found at level 4 rather than at level 3.¹⁸ Of greater importance in this case, we would therefore argue, are capacities and motivation and, more specifically, their combination. A tendency for cross-domain omnivorousness would appear to be most strongly promoted when a relatively high level of cultural resources and thus capacity for cultural consumption, as indicated by tertiary education, comes together with a relatively high level of status and thus—following our theoretical expectations—an associated lifestyle, the expression of which provides additional motivation for such consumption.

At least to illustrate the argument, we may revert to our hypothetical woman, as previously defined, and show, in Panel B of Figure 2, the predicted probabilities under our regression model of her being found at level 4 when again we vary her education and status. As can be seen, if we suppose that she has no or only secondary educational qualifications, her probability of being at level 4 rises only rather slowly with her status. But if we suppose that she has a degree then the increase with status is clearly more marked, reaching around 35 per cent at the highest status levels.¹⁹ In considering individuals' chances of being found at above level 1, we concluded that a powerful effect was exerted by a high level of cultural resources alone; having a capacity for consumption above the minimal level would appear almost sufficient in itself to ensure that such consumption in fact occurs. However, as regards the chances of being found at level 4, the strongest effect results from a high level of cultural resources *coexisting with* high status; cross-domain omnivorousness seems most likely where status provides extra motivation, over and above intrinsic satisfaction, for the use of such resources.

6 Conclusions

In this paper we have considered the social stratification of cultural consumption across three different domains: music, theatre, dance and cinema, and the visual arts. In earlier work focusing on each of these domains separately, we were able to show that, contrary to the individualisation argument, consumption was in fact strongly patterned and socially stratified; and further

¹⁸It should also be kept in mind in this regard that our requirements for omnivorousness in a particular domain are not all that demanding: that is, individuals are counted as consuming a particular cultural form if they have done so once in the last twelve months (or once in the last four weeks in the case of listening to different kinds of music via media).

¹⁹As noted only 10 per cent of the total sample are at level 4. The suggestion of a status–education interaction effect in Figure 2 may be found surprising in view of the fact that no such interaction term is included in our logistic regression model. However, although log-odds are linear in the predictor, probabilities are not.

that, contrary to the homology argument, both its pattern and stratification were on—broadly—‘omnivore–univore’ rather than ‘elite–mass’ lines. The central question from which our present analyses start out is therefore that of whether, or how far, the omnivore–univore argument is still supported if a cross-domain approach is taken.

As regards the pattern of cross-domain cultural consumption, our main finding is that some tendency does exist for omnivorous or univorous consumption to be associated from one cultural domain to another, which in turn allows us to construct a fairly straightforward fourfold typology of cross-domain consumers. At the same time, though, we recognise that univorousness, or perhaps cultural inactivity, is more likely to be associated across domains than is omnivorousness. Two-fifths of our national sample are at level 1 in our typology—that is, are univores in music and in theatre while being inactive in the visual arts. But, as well as more than a fifth being at level 2, and thus not readily characterised as omnivores or univores, only one tenth are at level 4, that is, are omnivores in two or three domains, despite almost a third of the sample being at level 3 or, that is, omnivores in one domain.

As regards the stratification of cross-domain cultural consumption on the pattern represented by our typology, we find that this is also broadly in line with the expectations of the omnivore–univore argument, and that the degree of stratification is, if anything, rather more marked than within individual domains. Omnivorous tendencies are again positively associated with status—rather than with class, following our own Weberian expectations; educational attainment is again of fairly general importance in promoting omnivorousness—although perhaps not, or not only, as a stratification variable; and the effects of income on level of cultural consumption, if more specific than those of status and education, are still more often significant than when domains are considered singly. However, while these results are of evident interest, we would still wish to return to a point that we have also emphasised in the light of our previous analyses: that is, that while cultural consumption is without question socially stratified, this stratification is of a less clear and straightforward kind that seems often to have been supposed in earlier literature, and especially in that inspired by versions of the homology argument.

As well, then, as regarding the omnivore–univore argument as being on empirical grounds generally more apt than its rivals to the understanding of the pattern and stratification of cultural consumption in contemporary societies, we would further regard it as at least implicitly suggestive of a more appropriate theoretical orientation. While rejecting the idea of ‘high’ and ‘low’ forms of cultural consumption being maintained in a direct ho-

mologous relationship with the stratification order, through distinctive and exigent forms of socialisation, it also rejects the idea of cultural consumption as now having become quite disassociated from any social structural grounding that it may once have possessed. Or, one could say, the omnivore–univore argument points to the importance of avoiding the error of—in Warde’s nice phrase (1997, p.8)—a too dramatic shift of emphasis ‘from *habitus* to freedom’.

To end with, we have therefore sought to outline a theoretical approach to the explanation of empirical findings of the kind that we have presented that pursues this insight. We treat cultural consumption as a form of social action, and actors as being capable in this, as in other respects, of making meaningful choices, although subject always of course to constraints. As regards cultural consumption, we see constraints and likewise individual capacities as being determined primarily by economic and cultural resources, while status is viewed as a key source of motivation. As well as being engaged in for its intrinsic rewards—for its own sake—cultural consumption is a way of expressing an aspect of a valued lifestyle associated with a particular status level and also thus a potential source of normative approval and acceptance on the part of others at this level. Following this approach, and with reference to our empirical findings, we can then say that in general individuals’ cultural consumption increases—that, in terms of our typology, they become less univorous and more omnivorous—as greater economic and cultural resources reduce constraints on and increase capacities for such consumption and as higher status provides a greater motivation to consume. Moreover, we can at the same time suggest explanations for the seeming deviations from the omnivore–univore patterns of cultural consumption that we have revealed. Thus, individuals at level 2 in our typology can be understood as being potential omnivores in at least one domain who are, however, restricted in their cultural consumption by economic constraints though perhaps only for the time being. In contrast, the limited number of individuals at level 4 rather than at level 3—i.e. the limited number of those omnivorous not just in one but in two or more domains—would appear not to result from economic constraints at least, but rather from the fact that cross-domain omnivorousness is promoted only when a high level of cultural resources and of status-linked motivation for such consumption coincide.

The theoretical approach that we propose is, we would repeat, here presented in a still very elementary fashion. It is, though, we would hope, capable of being applied in relation to other empirical results on the stratification of cultural consumption with both critique and, if thought appropriate, further development in mind.

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