

**MULTIDIMENSIONAL FACETS OF CULTURAL DISTINCTION  
IN THE MUSIC DOMAIN: CONTEXT, METHODS, AND  
MEANINGS**

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
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## Table of contents

<b>List of figures and tables</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Chapter 1</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>1. Introduction and thesis background</b> .....	<b>9</b>
1.1 Introduction.....	9
1.2 Classic studies of social distinction, consumption and culture.....	12
1.3. The genesis of contemporary sociology of tastes and cultural consumption .....	14
1.4. Music: its importance for classic and contemporary research.....	21
1.5. Contemporary research.....	23
1.6. Collection of articles: theoretical and empirical advancements in the sociology of taste and cultural consumption.....	33
1.7. Summary.....	42
<b>Chapter 2</b> .....	<b>43</b>
<b>2. Musical distinctions in England - Understanding cultural homology and         omnivorism through a methods comparison</b> .....	<b>43</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	43
2.1 Homology.....	45
2.2 Omnivorism.....	48
2.3. Conclusion.....	57
<b>Chapter 3</b> .....	<b>61</b>
<b>3. Patterns of cultural engagement and social differentiation: a consistency         analysis of musical taste, participation and knowledge</b> .....	<b>61</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	61
3.2 Dimensions of musical engagement: Taste, participation and knowledge ...	63
3.3. Practices, music and worlds.....	64
3.4. Aim and research questions.....	66
3.5. Methodology.....	68
3.6. Results.....	71
3.7. Discussion and conclusion.....	81
<b>Chapter 4</b> .....	<b>84</b>
<b>4. Identifying musical taste and distaste groups in Austria, England, Israel         and Serbia: is there evidence of cultural omnivorism?</b> .....	<b>84</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	84
4.2. Distinction and omnivores.....	85
4.3. Intensity of musical judgement.....	87

4.4. Cultural research: a cross-national perspective .....	89
4.5. Aims and research questions .....	91
4.6. Data and method .....	92
4.7. Results.....	98
4.8. Omnivorism, distinction, and beyond: a cross-national perspective .....	110
4.9. Conclusion .....	112
<b>Chapter 5 .....</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>5. Musical preferences and technologies: contemporary material and symbolic distinctions criticised.....</b>	<b>115</b>
5.1. Introduction.....	115
5.2. Cultural and technological stratification.....	117
5.3. Technologies and musical practices .....	119
5.4. Chile: material and symbolic differences .....	122
5.5. Research questions and hypotheses .....	123
5.6. Data and method .....	124
5.7. Results.....	128
5.8. Discussion and conclusion.....	133
<b>Chapter 6 .....</b>	<b>136</b>
<b>6. Conclusion.....</b>	<b>136</b>
6.1 Introduction.....	136
6.2 Key findings.....	137
6.3 Theorizing contemporary musical taste patterns .....	145
6.4. Gaps in the thesis .....	145
6.5. Next steps.....	149
6.6. Final thoughts .....	150
<b>References .....</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>Appendix A.....</b>	<b>174</b>

## List of figures and tables

### Figures

Figure 2.1. MCA first and second dimensions - Musical indicators and supplementary variables. ....	46
Figure 2.2. MCA first and third dimensions - Musical indicators and supplementary variables. ....	47
Figure 3.1. MFA overall results for first and second axes. ....	78
Figure 3.2. MFA overall result for individuals (first and second axes) highlighting consistent patterns of engagement. ....	80
Figure 4.1. Pattern of preferences: urban contemporary. ....	99
Figure 4.2. Pattern of preferences: local. ....	100
Figure 4.3. Pattern of preferences: local and highbrow. ....	101
Figure 4.4. Pattern of preferences: highbrow. ....	102
Figure 4.5. Pattern of preferences: eclectic. ....	103
Figure 5.1. MFA overall results for first and second axes. ....	130
Figure 5.2. MFA overall results for first and third axes. ....	132

### Tables

Table 2.1. Omnivore by volume linear regressions. ....	50
Table 2.2. Different regression models to test omnivore by volume. ....	51
Table 2.3 Omnivore by composition multinomial regression. ....	53
Table 2.4. Omnivore by composition: LCA MIMIC multinomial regression (effect coding). ....	55
Table 2.5. Omnivore by composition logistic regressions. ....	56
Table 3.1. Descriptive statistics for sociodemographic variables. ....	67
Table 3.2. Musical indicators ....	68
Table 3.3. Model fit of final model structure. ....	71
Table 3.4. Structural model coefficients. ....	74
Table 3.5. Results from multiple factor analysis. ....	76
Table 3.6. Consistency across patterns. ....	77
Table 4.1. Data sources and stratifying variables. ....	93
Table 4.2. Measurement scales of musical indicators. ....	95

Table 4.3. Model fit of final model structure. ....	98
Table 4.4. Eclectic group preferences sorted by conditional probabilities (descending order). ....	106
Table 4.5. Structural model coefficients. ....	108
Table 5.1. Descriptive statistics of sociodemographic variables. ....	125
Table 5.2. Musical taste indicators. ....	126
Table 5.3. Frequencies for acquisition and technology usage variables. ....	127
Table 5.4. Results from MFA. ....	129
A.1. Musical genres to be analysed and percentages. ....	174
A.2. Volume of preferences. ....	174
A.3. Distribution of hierarchical patterns of taste. ....	174
A.4. Covariates. ....	175

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## **Abstract**

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**Multidimensional facets of cultural distinction in the music domain: context, methods, and meanings**

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From different traditions, research in the field of sociology of cultural taste and consumption has argued that contemporary societies are symbolically stratified through cultural engagement. These theoretical frameworks differ mainly in their explanations of the mechanisms that shape the relationship between culture and social stratification. Motivated by concepts from Pierre Bourdieu, Richard A. Peterson, and other key scholars, this thesis is focused on addressing the relationship between music consumption and social stratification. Due to its peculiar characteristics, music provides a good illustration of how people, through cultural engagement, draw boundaries that symbolically differentiate social groups.

Although literature in the area has made great progress, there are still theoretical and empirical gaps. It is possible to find some passionate views which deny the relevance of some operationalisations and methods over others (Wuggenig, 2007; Chan, 2010a). From a comparative point of view it is questioned whether different dimensions of cultural practices can deliver consistent results (Peterson, 2005; Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2011; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Research which focuses on comparisons between societies frequently lacks detailed theoretical conceptualisations regarding how cultural items are distributed in different social settings (Katz-Gerro, 2011; Purhonen and Wright, 2013). Other important gap in the literature is the lack of understanding about how technologies act as an element of social distinction (López-Sintas, Cebollada, Filimon and Gharhaman, 2014). The main objective of this research is therefore to review how research has defined and studied the relationship between culture and society across several perspectives and to offer new insights which significantly contribute to the advancement of knowledge of the sociology of cultural taste and consumption. This is motivation for the development of four research articles which use several quantitative methods to analyse survey data from Austria, England, Chile, Finland, Israel and Serbia.

This thesis shows that musical engagement, regardless of how and where it is measured, remains socially stratified. Age is the primary stratifying factor for musical engagement, highlighting the distinction between popular music preferred by the younger age cohorts, and the classical or traditional music of the older. Both are reinforced by educational level and social class. Individuals displaying broader musical preferences are more likely to be in advantageous positions. This concurs with arguments about omnivorism as a manifestation of cultural homology in the classic Bourdieusian sense (Lizardo and Skiles, 2012). Thanks to the innovative analysis of available data and the use of more specific cultural indicators it is possible to elaborate research questions to address the study of musical engagement and its place in society, integrating research methods, theory of practices, local and global contexts, and technologies as salient analytical dimensions.

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No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning

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## **1. Introduction and thesis background**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The manner in which contemporary societies are stratified has been deeply investigated since the middle of the last century and different theoretical frameworks have emerged, all arguing the persistent existence of inequalities in economic, social and cultural terms. Emerging from the context of sociology of taste and cultural consumption, there is consensus on the existence of clear patterns which group certain cultural items and associate them with indicators of individuals' social position such as age, education, and class. During the last three decades, many scholars devoted themselves to determining the shape these patterns take, and explanations about their formation and prevalence have been influenced by several authors. Although not unique, two major works have served as influential starting points to a vast number of investigations, particularly those which take a quantitative perspective.

P. Bourdieu's seminal work *La Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1979) makes possible an understanding of how 1960s' French social class system can be distinguished in terms of cultural consumption. Put simply, it is possible to extract that members of the higher classes tend to prefer more sophisticated, 'difficult' cultural forms – highbrow – and reject popular and folk forms – lowbrow – and that the middle classes aspire to and imitate the tastes of dominant groups while simultaneously struggling to differentiate themselves from the dominated lower classes, which tend to passively prefer simplistic forms.

In the early 1990s, the influential work of R. A. Peterson and colleagues offered evidence of a different trend in which cultural engagement works as a social marker in the USA. The cultural omnivore hypothesis (Peterson and Simkus, 1992) can be broadly defined as the opposition between high social position groups which engage in several highbrow and lowbrow cultural activities (omnivores) and individuals in lower social positions who are involved in fewer, mainly lowbrow, cultural activities (univores).

This thesis takes its lead from key texts, and posits music consumption as a key facet of this differentiation. Music is fundamentally a social phenomenon, capable of

generating communication among composers, performers and audiences, and of integrating all aspects of an individual's life (Frith, 1996; Bennett, Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal and Wright, 2009; Prior, 2013). Historically, it has held a significant place in cultural taste and consumption analysis, including that produced by most of the authors who have influenced the various strands of the theory. Due to its peculiar characteristics, music detects strong tensions between popular and consecrated forms, and provides a good illustration of how people, through cultural engagement, draw the cultural boundaries which differentiate social groups (Savage, 2006). Additionally, music is one of the most popular cultural activities, witnessed by its being one of the most common cultural indicators found in national surveys of culture and the arts (Peterson, 2005; Bennett et al., 2009), and offers a unique variety of alternatives to be accessed and consumed (Pinch and Bijsterveld, 2004). Today, several studies confirm that musical engagement in a number of societies provides a domain where it is possible to visualise strong social tensions related to, among others, age, education and class.

However, musical engagement is socially distributed in various forms, some unpredicted by early commentators. Moreover, some of the theoretical standpoints emerging from Bourdieu and Peterson could today be considered outdated. Traditional low-highbrow hierarchies are not the only ones, and distinctions can be found in different social groups (Bellavance, 2008). Variables which explain patterns of cultural engagement vary across societies (Katz-Gerro, 2002; Lizardo and Skiles, 2009; Purhonen and Wright, 2013) and across dimensions of musical practices (Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2011). Although it is accepted that there is evidence (although mixed) to support both main approaches, at the same time they are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Holbrook, Weiss and Habich, 2002; Tampubolon, 2008a; Bennett et al, 2009; Lizardo and Skilles, 2012) and we are far from fully comprehending the meaning that musical engagement has for society.

Although literature in the area has made critical advances, theoretical and empirical gaps still exist. There is a lack of empirical dialogue between perspectives, an aspect from which it is possible to find some passionate views which deny the relevance of some operationalisations and methods over others (Wuggenig, 2007; Chan, 2010a). From a comparative point of view there is sufficient suspicion regarding the need to broaden the range of dimensions of cultural practices to be analysed, and it is questioned if they can deliver consistent results (Peterson, 2005; Purhonen, Gronow

and Rahkonen, 2011; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Although it is possible to find research which focuses on comparisons between societies (Katz-Gerro, 2002; Lizardo and Skiles, 2009; Purhonen and Wright, 2013), this frequently lacks detailed theoretical conceptualisations with regard to how cultural items are distributed in different social settings. Another important aspect, commonly overlooked by cultural consumption research, is the lack of understanding about how technologies act as an element of social distinction. Again, this significantly impacts upon research focused on analysing quantitative data (López-Sintas, Cebollada, Filimon and Gharhaman, 2014).

Alternative conceptualisations used as interpretative tools alongside refinements to existing theoretical standpoints are central to providing answers as part of the development of a better understanding of the social meaning which musical engagement has in many contemporary societies. This thesis therefore critically revisits some of the commonly accepted theoretical and empirical frameworks and new advancements which explain how the relationship between musical engagement and social groups is shaped. **The central aim of this thesis is therefore to review how research has defined and studied the relationship between culture and society across several perspectives and to offer new insights which significantly contribute to the advancement of knowledge of the sociology of cultural taste and consumption.** In this regard, concepts such as symbolic boundaries (Lamont, 1992), alternative musical genre classifications (Frith, 1996; Warde and Gayo, 2009) and operationalisations of patterns of cultural engagement (Ollivier, 2008), consumption practices (Warde, 2005), national historical and cultural repertoires (Lamont, 1992), and the importance of technologies (López-Sintas et al, 2014) form the motivation for the development of four research articles which use several quantitative methods to analyse survey data from Austria, England, Chile, Finland, Israel and Serbia to address the following specific objectives:

- **Review and compare several conceptualisations and methodological frameworks published over the last 30 years.**
- **Explore the meaning of distinctions across different dimensions of musical practices and quantify their consistency in terms of taste, participation, and knowledge.**

- **Extend the search for musical taste and distaste groups to a cross-national approach which takes into account the importance of national historical and cultural repertoires.**
- **Empirically examine if, running parallel to musical taste, technological engagement is socially stratified, offering a framework to their conjoint analysis in music consumption research.**

This chapter provides context to the research, developing a detailed review of the current literature, divided into six sections. Section two gives a brief account of a number of classical studies of social distinction through consumption. The third section presents a chronological review of those works considered the most relevant in terms of inspiring research in cultural stratification. These foundational studies provide theoretical and empirical support for this research. The fourth section justifies the study of music. The next section introduces the most important quantitative research over the past 25 years, focusing on advances which have shaped the research agenda of the discipline and this thesis. Finally, section six introduces the collection of articles which compose this thesis, starting with their objectives and research questions followed by the most important advancements which characterise recent attempts to elucidate the relationship between cultural and social stratification. These provide theoretical and empirical grounds for the articles presented across the next chapters.

### **1.2 Classic studies of social distinction, consumption and culture**

The relationship between culture, consumption and social stratification has been theorised from a range of different perspectives. In the text *The sociology of elite distinction*, J. P. Daloz (2010) provides a detailed critical review of the various theories of social distinctions. The author states that early reflections can be found in antiquity, where for example excessive ostentation by some members of the elite was considered by Plato and Aristotle as contributing to a possible disturbance of social harmony (Daloz, 2010). Jumping forward in time, it is not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that it is possible to find the first substantive works of relevance to this research. Although it is appropriate to mention many who have contributed to the discipline, the work of Veblen (1994[1894]) and Weber (1946) is particularly pertinent to this research, as being among the first to observe consumption in industrial societies as comprising elements of social distinction. Advances in the sociological discipline during this period were sporadic, unrelated

efforts, which did not follow a clear line of cumulative development. Among others, this thesis also recognises the outstanding contributions of M. Arnold, J. Baudrillard, W. Benjamin, E. Durkheim, N. Elias, E. Goffman, W. Sombart, G. de Tarde, A. de Tocqueville, and W. L. Warner.

In terms of sociological theory, on the one hand, American economist and sociologist T. Veblen developed a complete theorisation about social distinctions in American capitalist society of the late nineteenth century, describing how economical occupations are symbolically differentiated through conspicuous consumption. *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1994[1899]) establishes how historically society has been structured as the opposition between a leisure (elite) class excluded from productive labour and lower classes of servants who engage in manual work. As a consequence, consumption and its vicarious display are reassertion of social elites' status. On the other hand, for Max Weber, one of the best known classical sociologists, society is structured in terms of the economic and symbolic factors which command how power is distributed. The Weberian approach emphasises the differentiation between social classes (stratified according to labour markets) and status groups (stratified according to backgrounds which confer social honour, such as ancestry or knowledge) (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010a; Daloz, 2010). Consequently, the lifestyles of individuals stratify status positions and shape social inequality within society (Weber, 1946). Other notable contributions from different perspectives also understand consumption as social distinction. The following section briefly presents some of them.

Georg Simmel's seminal article *Fashion* (1957[1904]) theorises the existence of two forces which can be found in fashion and which are in constant tension. On the one hand, fashion addresses the need for social adaptation (imitation) and simultaneously satisfies the desire for change and contrast (differentiation). Fashion, Simmel claims, is a product of class distinction where preferences of the upper and lower classes are not identical. These forces are part of a constant fashion cycle, where once imitated by the lower classes, popularised preferences lose their ability to distinguish, forcing to the upper classes to seek new distinguished items (Daloz, 2010). From the (neo)-Marxist perspective, the concept of commodity fetishism establishes that 'owners believe that the mere possession of the objects acquired has the quasi-magical consequence of bestowing prestige upon them' (Daloz, 2010: 27). Authors from the Frankfurt School (social scientists directly or indirectly associated with the Institute

for Social Research in Frankfurt am Main, Germany) have studied how the commodity fetishism of highly standardised cultural items promotes the interests of capitalism and is used as a control mechanism (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979[1944]; Marcuse, 1991[1964]); similarly, from the British cultural studies discipline (mainly from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham), writers have understood subcultures in terms of the class struggle of the working class against the conditions of its existence and as providing potential subversive resources (Bennett, 2008).

Moving on from the first foundational works, it is possible to perceive that sociologists have expressed a growing interest in the study of the relationship between consumption and social structures. These efforts have contributed to the formation of what is today known as the *sociology of taste and cultural consumption*, a discipline within which this thesis is developed.

### **1.3. The genesis of contemporary sociology of tastes and cultural consumption**

Before presenting the fundamental theoretical and empirical perspectives used in this research, it is necessary to make some clarifications regarding the research lineage the thesis follows. The study of cultural consumption had no relevance to the research agenda of the sociological discipline until after the second half of the twentieth century (Daloz, 2010), when it is possible to find the first general conceptualisations of the interrelationship between cultural engagement and social conditions. This thesis seeks to understand the subject from this perspective, often referred to as the sociology of tastes and cultural consumption; as part of the pioneering works, the oeuvres of H.J. Gans, P. Bourdieu, P. DiMaggio, R.A. Peterson and M. Lamont have had a major influence on the collection of papers presented here.

#### ***1.3.1. Homology arguments: Gans and Bourdieu***

The first approaches reviewed in this thesis, that is, those of H.J. Gans and P. Bourdieu, can be broadly characterised as being focused on understanding cultural engagement within social groups, through what has been called *taste cultures* (Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2009) or *homology arguments* (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010a). Both, and particularly Bourdieu, provide a solid framework for research in the subject. However, as will be illustrated in subsequent sections, their positions can be challenged, both theoretically and empirically.

In the influential book *Popular and high culture. An analysis and evaluation of taste*, Gans (1999[1974]) presents evidence of an association between a low, middle and highbrow cultural hierarchy and socioeconomic differences in 1970s American society. For the author, society is not a mass but is formed by classes. Following the same logic, there are in society several types of *taste cultures* which have to be taken into consideration. Without exalting highbrow culture or presenting a negative connotation of low or mass culture, Gans defines taste culture as an abstraction which separates culture from the individuals involved in it (users and creators) and which is defined by shared aesthetical values and taste standards. Consequently, cultural taste is not *a priori* hierarchised but is a consequence of *choice*, meaning that people are free to select their cultural engagement according to their needs and possibilities. Thus, people who make similar choices are part of one of the five *taste publics* defined by the author: *high culture*, *upper-middle culture*, *lower-middle culture*, *low culture* and *quasi-folk low culture*. Although the influence of Gans appears limited today, the concept of cultural choice has been an important interpretative tool for some of the subsequent works in this area.

Almost in parallel with Gans, but with much greater scope and influence, Bourdieu's seminal work *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1979) is inspired by the Weberian differentiation between class and social status. According to this premise, differences in status or lifestyle can be explained as differences in social or economic class. Analysing data which describes 1960s French society, Bourdieu (1979) establishes the concept of *homology* between the space of aesthetic preferences and that of social class structures. To understand the homology hypothesis, some of the key concepts need to be presented in more detail.

Although Bourdieu denies the existence of solid boundaries between classes, he argues that different positions in the division of labour are derived from differences in *capitals*. Capitals can be defined as species of interchangeable power which allow individuals to obtain certain profits. They are accumulated during the life course of an individual in four basic forms: economic, cultural, social and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu's model of class structure defines the individual's position in a multidimensional social space<sup>1</sup> which has three axes<sup>2</sup>: volume of capitals, their

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<sup>1</sup> A system of objective relationships between combinations of power and resources and their evolution over time (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> This idea is rooted in Bourdieu's analytical framework, which uses multiple correspondence analysis. This technique and its relevance for Bourdieusian framework are explained in chapter three.

composition, and their trajectories (changes in capitals during lifecourse). Now it is necessary to define what kind of cultural tastes and consumption are related to different social positions. Cultural items which serve as markers of prestige are imposed through symbolic violence, and preferences from other social classes acquire negative connotation. The ability to impose what is tasteful therefore belongs to the upper classes. According to Bourdieusian theorisation, lifestyles are socially structured and reflect the individual's position in the social space. This however is not direct, but is mediated by another key Bourdieusian concept: *habitus*.

Habitus is a concept which according to its most basic definition describes intuitive actions (Husserl, 1989[1952]) and which is developed and expanded by Bourdieu in order to understand a much wider range of behavioural dispositions (Cockerham and Hinote, 2010). According to Bourdieu, habitus can be defined as a system 'of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to operate as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations in order to attain them' (Bourdieu, 1990: 35). Habitus is composed of each individual's preferences and interpretations, and incorporates influences acquired through socialisation and experience. In summary, this thesis understands habitus as a reproduced and inherited set of dispositions which generates the capacity to produce judgment and action. An important consequence derived from the habitus of individual is the idea of the unity of tastes which links internalised practices for the same types of individuals. This implies that under the Bourdieusian paradigm, habitus means that positions in social space (combinations of volume and composition of capital) can be distinguished from others through their differently unified and internally coherent sets of *class conditions*.

These various class conditions provide a particular set of dispositions which are not directly observable (Weininger, 2005). What is possible to observe are those practices and preferences which define lifestyles. Through quantitative and qualitative analysis, Bourdieu (1979) finds that the lifestyle of the ruling class has what he calls a *sense of distinction*, while the habitus of the dominated class is anti-aesthetic and prioritises utility over form (*taste for necessity*). In between, the petty bourgeois cultural taste acts as cultural goodwill (Weininger, 2005), aspiring to share



the preferences of the ruling class but suffering from economic and cultural constraints to accessing them.

For Bourdieu these struggles for different social positions take place in *fields*, which he defines as artefacts through which it is possible to understand social structure. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) use the battle or playing field as an analogy to the systems of relations where individuals display and exchange their resources and dispute access to advantaged positions<sup>3</sup>. In this sense, lifestyles are indirectly involved in social struggle, and what comes into play in the fields is the ability to dictate what is legitimate. Therefore, homology is the assumption that the social class structure is in correspondence (isomorphism) with the structure of aesthetic preferences, and that this relationship is mediated by habitus. The position of individuals is defined by the volume and composition of capitals; their tastes are organised on a low-to-high hierarchy, and it is possible to observe homology (or consistency) across fields and spaces<sup>4</sup>.

### ***1.3.2. Cultural classes: a different trend in cultural engagement***

In contrast to the homology arguments, research has also focused on detecting how individual preferences can be grouped into *cultural classes*, *cultural choices* or *taste patterns* (Peterson and DiMaggio, 1975; Peterson, 1983; Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2009), observing a trend in cultural engagement which questions the idea that lowbrow (or highbrow) culture is only consumed by lower (or upper) classes and rejected by the other as suggested by the homology argument.

The very early work of Abrams (1956, cited in Chan(2010a)) analyses the media consumption habits of the British elite of the time, finding little difference between them and the rest of the population, while Mann (1967) reveals that among attendees at the Sheffield Playhouse theatre (mostly middle-class and highly educated) some had more eclectic tastes than others. In the USA, Wilensky (1964) compared cultural consumption between a group of men from higher social groups and a group of men from lower groups and the unemployed. Although the privileged group read quality newspapers or books more frequently, there were few reported differences regarding consumption of mass culture, such as watching certain television shows. In Israel,

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<sup>3</sup> Warde (2004) summarises the concept of fields as a structured domain integrated around ‘some particular stakes and commitment to the value of those stakes; a structured set of positions; a set of strategic and competitive orientations; and a set of agents endowed with resources and dispositions.’ (Warde, 2004: 14).

<sup>4</sup> In this regards Bourdieu lacks clarity and constantly mixed concepts. This thesis understands ‘field’ as ‘fields of preferences or styles’, in the sense of ‘cultural field’ or ‘musical subfield’ Warde (2004).

Benski (1989) showed that ethnicity is closely associated with musical tastes, with Ashkenazim Israelis (European and American origin) displaying more traditional taste patterns and Sephardic Israelis (Asian or African origin) preferring traditional music but also integrating Western types of popular music.

Later research confirms that broad cultural preference patterns have existed for at least 30 years, and can be found more often in individuals from superior social positions. A series of research papers analysed American data from the Public Participation in the Arts survey (1982, 1992 and 2002) and detected across time the existence of a pattern of arts consumption which displayed broader preferences and a reduction in the numbers of individuals who prefer only highbrow culture (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro, 2005; García-Álvarez, Katz-Gerro and López-Sintas, 2007). In the Netherlands, van Eijck and Knulst (2005) analyse cross-sectional data captured in 1983 and 1999 and show that the proportion of individuals who consume an eclectic mix of culture remained constant over time. In Denmark, Jaeger and Katz-Gerro (2010) and Katz-Gerro and Jaeger (2013) analysed cross-sectional data on cultural consumption since the mid-1960s. Using advanced quantitative methods, they show that it is possible to detect several patterns of popular consumption, among them, one of limited consumption and another which mixes low and highbrow. Over time, this remains relatively constant, although the eclectic group grows until reaching a plateau at approximately ten per cent of the population.

These findings offer historical empirical evidence of cultural openness, challenging the idea that distinctions are only reflected through a low-to-high hierarchy. As early as the mid-1950s, research broadly indicated that cultural engagement tends to not always show that upper classes are cultural snobs and to reject middle and lowbrow cultural activities; on the contrary there seems to be openness in engagement. Among the prominent scholars in this research tradition it is worth noting the contribution of American sociologists P. DiMaggio and Peterson, who have conducted a vast amount of research which provides theoretical and empirical ground for contemporary work in the field.

The work of Peterson and DiMaggio (1975) includes an historical analysis of country music in North America. The authors focused on the *massification* hypothesis, which acts as a critique of the rise of mass culture in America. This hypothesis states that

due to the forces of modernisation it is possible to see a reduction in diversity and the emergence of a highly homogeneous mass culture (Alexander, 2003). The authors concluded that there existed mixed supportive evidence of massification. While patterns of preference blurred income, education, and occupation difference, nevertheless, culture had not become more homogeneous. DiMaggio and Useem (1978) review research about the visual and performing arts in America, finding that cultural participation in popular arts activities are similar in all social classes; however, blue collar workers do not consume higher culture. Peterson edited an issue of the journal *American Behavioural Scientist* (volume 26, number 4) focused on the empirical measure of *patterns of cultural choice* (Peterson, 1983). The work of Hughes and Peterson in that issue (Hughes and Peterson, 1983) shows that in 1970s American cultural participation and attitudes could be segmented into eight clusters, where higher social positions are differentiated from lower through wider cultural involvement.

Inspired to challenge the homology arguments, and especially Bourdieu's vision, M. Lamont's book *Money, Moral and Manners* (1992) is oriented to determine if in France and the USA it is possible to discern the existence of snobbish and elitist cultural capital. For this the author develops the concept of symbolic boundaries, which could be defined as "...conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space" (Lamont, 1992:9). The comparative analysis shows that the upper-middle class in both countries draw three types of symbolic boundaries: moral virtue, socioeconomic differences and cultural hierarchies. These are criteria that individuals use to evaluate status. The cultural form of boundaries is therefore shaped around aspects such as manners, taste, and knowledge of highbrow culture (Lamont, 1992, Bennett et al, 2009). Cultural engagement, as one of the elements that shape boundaries, ties musical works and artists in terms of similarities and differences to expectations from audience members.

In the mid-1960s the idea of cultural differentiation through wider cultural engagement emerged; indeed, a previously reviewed research suggested, some individuals appeared to display musical consumption practices which crossed symbolic boundaries. However, it was not until DiMaggio (1987) that the fundamental idea which supports the next research stream arose: '[T]he number of genres that a person consumes is a function of his or her socioeconomic status' (DiMaggio, 1987, p.444). The concept of *cultural omnivore* emerged as a need for a

contestation to the one-to-one correspondence between cultural preferences and social position previously theorised as *elite-to-mass theories*<sup>5</sup>. The influential work of Peterson and Simkus (1992) focused on how music tastes define cultural boundaries in the USA. These authors rank patterns of musical preferences based on a list of thirteen musical genres, associating them with the occupations (nineteen categories) that tend to prefer them. The researchers confirm that tastes are not only correlated in an elite-to-mass form with social position markers, such as occupation, gender, race, age, income, and education, but also that higher status groups tend to prefer a wider range of genres. Tentatively, the *omnivore-univore* hypothesis is illustrated as an inverted pyramid, where at the top, individuals from higher social positions are simultaneously involved in highbrow and lowbrow cultural activities (omnivores) and below, individuals from lower social positions engage in one or few lowbrow cultural activities (univores). Among the conclusions, the authors acknowledge that fine arts, represented by classical music, are still elements of social distinction; however cultural hierarchy seems not so clear at intermediate and lower levels. Moreover, elites include in their repertoire not only highbrow culture, but appreciation for each cultural form available. As a result, it is possible to observe *class privileges* in the double cultural access of cultural omnivores due to ‘passing knowledge of a wide range of musical forms.’ (Peterson and Simkus, 1992, p.170). Peterson (1992) continues with the analysis of the results obtained in his previous work, making explicit that cultural hierarchies appear no longer to follow an elite-to-mass distinction but have shifted to omnivore-univore. Among the explanations, Peterson (1992) proposed that elite-to-mass theories might have been true in the past, but has been superseded by the recent emergence of cultural omnivorism. Also, as possible explanations, Peterson briefly mentioned that higher morality extracted from high culture contradicts postwar society, and that higher technical education and increased mobility have modified traditions and cultural expressions.

### **1.3.3. Summary**

The literature reviewed throughout this section provides a foundation to the theoretical and empirical approaches which inspire this research. It made use of data from different sources alongside sophisticated theoretical frameworks, and it is possible to detect that its vision regarding cultural stratification has evolved from

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<sup>5</sup> Gans (1999[1974]) left a door open to an alternative approach to cultural consumption. He recognised that people from the highest taste group might prefer some cultural items outside the highbrow cultural boundaries defined for their specific taste culture.

high to lowbrow association with social groups to consider the volume of cultural engagement as a dimension for distinction<sup>6</sup>. In addition, it is noted that social distinctions should not only be understood as an effect of social origin or wealth, but that other factors such as age, race, gender and education define patterns of cultural engagement, thus demystifying the negative connotation of mass culture. In this regard, previously mentioned studies – but especially Bourdieu (1979), Lamont (1992) and Peterson and Simkus (1992) – are pillars of the theoretical framework within which this research is developed.

#### **1.4. Music: its importance for classic and contemporary research**

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this thesis focuses on the study of the musical domain (or ‘field’, to use the Bourdieusian concept). This section explains the rationale behind this choice. The first step is to define culture and the arts. Far from being a trivial exercise, theorising these concepts could be the subject of a full thesis; it is therefore decided to use the definition of culture provided by Gans (1999[1974]: 5): ‘the practices, goods and ideas classified broadly under the arts (including literature, music,...) whether used for education and aesthetic and spiritual enlightenment or for entertainment and diversion’. In an attempt to define art forms, Becker (2008[1982]) considers as their features, ‘... a work which has aesthetic value, however that is defined; a work justified by a coherent and defensible aesthetic; a work displayed in the appropriate places (hung in museums, played at concerts)’ (Becker, 2008[1982]: 138). In this context therefore, we understand that music as a cultural domain includes different forms of aesthetic values for different social groups (Frith, 1996; Alexander, 2003). Historically, music has held a significant place in the analysis of the relationship between culture and social stratification. From the founding works of sociology to today, research highlights the importance of music in terms of how society expresses itself musically. Several classic sociologists have written about music, among them Simmel (1968[1882]),

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<sup>6</sup>Alongside previously presented arguments, another has been developed which contradicts them. The postmodernist view claims the end of previously established norms and convictions is giving way to more fluidity, where individuals are responsible for constructing their own lifestyle and identities, free from hierarchies and ranks (Bauman, 2007, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010a; Daloz, 2010). In this sense, German sociologist Ulrich Beck coined the term ‘individualization thesis’ (Beck, 2007). Much discussion led by social theorists has been carried out around this idea; however, it has not received particular attention from cultural consumption research due to not being empirically compelling (and thus considered rather inaccurate) (Atkinson, 2007; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010a).

Weber (1958[1921]) and Adorno (1999[1978]), who are considered to be among the founders of what it is today called the *sociology of music*<sup>7</sup>.

In this thesis it is not possible to explain all forms of inequality through a single cultural domain. With this drawback in mind, the decision to focus on music is justified on four accounts. Firstly, music is one of the most popular cultural activities which people enjoy and which is part of everyday life (Frith, 1996; Bennett et al, 2009; Prior, 2013). In addition, individuals do not react indifferently to music they dislike, but strongly against it (Frith, 1996; Savage, 2006). Secondly, music is central to social research because of the strong tensions which it presents between popular and consecrated forms (Savage, 2006; Bennett et al, 2009). Thirdly, among the different cultural domains we were able to explore, musical indicators are those most frequently found in national surveys about culture and the arts (Peterson, 2005). Fourthly, music is a unique cultural domain, which can be accessed and consumed through a heterogeneous variety of alternatives (Pinch and Bijsterveld, 2004), providing a testbed to understand the value which different musical practices have as forms of distinction and how this is related to taste distinctions.

Both Bourdieu and Peterson give particular attention to the study of music. Bourdieu has been a source of inspiration and a starting point for a remarkable amount of research on the analysis of music in society (Prior, 2011, 2013). Certainly one of the most cited quotes from his oeuvre is related to the key role which music plays in defining symbolic differentiation: "... [n]othing more clearly affirms one's class, nothing more infallibly classifies, than taste in music. This is of course because, by virtue of the rarity of the conditions for acquiring the corresponding dispositions, there is no more "classificatory" practice than concert-going or playing a "noble" instrument" (Bourdieu, 1979, p.18). Although the Bourdieusian concepts are key to understanding culture and taste, and the theoretical framework they provide is applicable to any cultural domain, the author does not say much more regarding music itself and its role as a social marker (Prior, 2013). Peterson superficially justifies the use of musical indicators. Peterson and Simkus (1992) claimed that this type of cultural indicator is not constrained to time or money availability and allows

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<sup>7</sup> For a detailed historical review, chapter 1 of Honigsheim (1989) is particularly interesting. Today, the research agenda of the sociology of music has expanded to include a wider range of topics, such as production, appropriation, aestheticisation and social fragmentation of music, and the effects of time-space dynamics and feelings which music produces (Hesmondhalgh and Negus, 2002, Bennett, 2008; Prior, 2011, 2013; Crossley and Bottero, 2015).

respondents to freely choose alternatives which may be at variance with their behaviour. Moreover, music is a cultural domain where almost everybody has an opinion; it is thus possible to infer that the aesthetics of different social groups divided by levels of social position may differ (Peterson, 1992).

### **1.5. Contemporary research**

This section presents research which has been directly influenced by the aforementioned authors during the past two decades. This emphasises work on musical engagement but also reviews some of the most influential studies of other forms of cultural consumption in general, being roughly divided into two sections: the first is a focus on research produced directly after the seminal papers of Peterson, and mainly develops the concept of cultural omnivorism, its conceptualisation and operationalisation. The second part, placed approximately after the Peterson (2005) review, is focused on the extensive national and comparative efforts to elucidate the shapes which cultural contemporary engagement takes, contrasting Bourdieu's distinction with Peterson's omnivorism theory. This division does not follow a strict historical order and constantly escapes the proposed time bounds; however it adequately reflects the paths followed by developments in the subject.

#### ***1.5.1. First generation: Peterson and Simkus (1992) – Peterson (2005)***

After Peterson's seminal works it is possible to detect an increased interest in empirical research in this area of study, especially in North America. At this stage, research critically revisited mass-to-elite theories, empirically detected patterns of cultural omnivorism around the world, proposed different conceptualisations and operationalisations, and extended the discussion to different cultural indicators and fields. Here, some of the most relevant research which focused on these aspects is reviewed.

Peterson and Kern (1996) produced the first empirical definition of omnivorism, measuring the tendency to be a cultural omnivore in terms of the amount of low and middlebrow musical genres which respondents prefer, dividing the sample between highbrows (people who choose both classical music and opera and strongly like one of these) and others (people who do not select highbrow musical genres). Their research compares data from the 1992 and 1982 SPPA surveys, and finds an increment of omnivorous behavior during the decade under study, through significant growth of omnivorousness on the part of the youngest, females and white social groupings. In summary, Peterson and Kern (1996) highlight that this 'new' trend

neither implies liking everything indiscriminately nor indifference to distinctions, but rather is an openness to appreciate everything, thanks to some knowledge about different musical expressions and changes in symbolic boundaries. It is important to notice that none of the early work by Peterson and his colleagues made explicit the challenge to the homology thesis. In fact, Bourdieu is only named sporadically and neither Peterson (1992) nor Peterson and Kern (1996) presented their findings explicitly as an alternative to the homology perspective, but rather contrasted them with the elite-to-mass theories, where it is possible to include homology.

Bryson's series of articles (1996, 1997) show that musical dislikes are as important as likes in the construction of boundaries among social groups. An important motivation of her research is that it is not possible to infer rejection of cultural activities from individuals' reported likes (for criticism see Tampubolon, 2008b). Bryson (1996) expands on this by building in an exclusiveness scale, which counts the amount of genres which people 'dislike' and 'dislike very much'. The author proclaims that highly educated people are more socially tolerant and tend to prefer everything but heavy metal. Her findings are consistent with Lamont (1992) and Peterson and Simkus (1992). An important but neglected contribution is that Bryson is one of the first writers who explicitly establishes homology and omnivorism as contradictory views. Bryson (1996) and Peterson and Kern (1996) opened the door to a vast body of research focusing on testing the positive correlation between amount of preferences (in form of likes and dislikes) and social advantages (for instance Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal, 2008; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009; Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2010).

In an alternative setting, Bryson (1997) does not conceptualise omnivores or univores in any specific way, but fits logistic regressions separately for each genre using dislike as the dependent variable, and infers the effects of sociodemographic variables by counting the number of significant effects across them. Through this analysis the author calls for a more detailed analysis of univores, concluding that lowbrow musical genres are more likely to contribute to the construction and reinforcement of boundaries defined around race, ethnicity religion and geography. A similar procedure, but based on an analysis of the liking of musical works, is performed by Savage (2006).



Parallel to Bryson (1996, 1997), Erickson (1996) provides a detailed review of the work of Bourdieu in relation to cultural consumption, integrating social networks, class relations at work, and cultural omnivorism as a reflection of cultural hierarchy. Empirically, Erickson (1996) justifies that the analysis of a particular industry (the private contract security industry in Toronto, Canada) is a suitable case study to enable understanding of how *fields* work. Unlike Peterson and colleagues, Erickson proposes that cultural hierarchies are not hierarchies of taste but of cultural variety. Individuals with broader cultural knowledge (generally from higher status occupational levels) tend to select cultural activity according to its relevance to their professional career, including how it may enhance their current occupation and network variety.

The relevance of Erickson (1996) is twofold. Firstly, it has motivated the inclusion of measures of social networks, or social capital, in the analysis of cultural consumption. As some argue, networks and culture should be analysed simultaneously (Pachucki and Breiger, 2010; Bottero and Crossley, 2011). However, after Erickson (1996) comes the influential article of Lizardo (2006), which again tests the relationship between taste and networks. The author focuses on how cultural tastes create and transform social networks, concluding that taste helps to create and maintain network relations. Erickson (1996) and Lizardo (2006) conclude that consuming music is very much a social act; those who are embedded in diverse or heterophilous networks consume music to a much greater degree than those who are not. While education and class remain important determinants of the breadth of cultural consumption, consumption is mediated and constrained through networks. This evidence, along with more recent work (van Eijck and Lievens, 2008; Roose and Stichele, 2010; Lizardo, 2011; Edelman and Vaisey, 2014; Widdop, 2014), shows that social networks and social capital play a much more significant (and reciprocal) role in establishing and expressing cultural preferences.

Secondly, Erickson's research has inspired the inclusion of knowledge as an analytical dimension of cultural engagement. Taste and knowledge are useful for drawing boundaries between individuals who own the same capitals, and at the same time to separate them from those who do not (Thornton, 1995). Although Bourdieu (1979) included knowledge as part of cultural engagement, and Peterson and colleagues implicitly made reference to it as part of their 'passing knowledge' idea, these kind of indicators are not included in quantitative cultural research as often as

taste or participation. Bennett, Emmison and Frow (1999) have shown that individuals from lower social positions tend to have a depth of knowledge of popular music and little knowledge of high culture. Professionals, however show extensive familiarity with both. As an extension of omnivorism, Savage and Gayo (2011) propose the concept of cultural *experts*. An expert is a person who, thanks to the possession of competences, is able to express (positively or negatively) judgment of a broad range of musical works. Several studies recognise the importance of knowledge and include cultural indicators to account for it (Carrabine and Longhurst, 1999; Veenstra, 2005; Bellavance, 2008; Lahire, 2008; Ollivier, 2008; Atkinson, 2011; Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2011; Rössel, 2011).

Applying a statistical classification technique to data about literature consumption in the Netherlands, van Rees, Vermunt and Verboord (1999) detected the existence of four clusters of literature consumers (non-readers, lowbrow readers, omnivorous readers and highbrow readers). This study became the first based on a statistical model to classify people according to patterns of cultural engagement. The authors of this influential study proposed that cultural research should follow new guidelines. Firstly, research should analyse more than one cultural domain simultaneously and beyond music. Research certainly has expanded its borders beyond music to other genres, such as the visual arts (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007b), literature (Zavisca, 2005), food (Warde, Martens and Olsen, 1999), comedy (Friedman, 2012), television (Lizardo and Skiles, 2009), and sports (Widdop, Cutts and Jarvie, 2014). Secondly, the authors point out that the meaning of omnivore is not only defined by the number of genres which people choose, but also ‘by the number of cultural items within a sector and the manner in which these are graded according to their degree of legitimacy’ (van Rees, Vermunt and Verboord, 1999, p.350). Thirdly, having noted that tastes in high-status groups can be extremely broad due to a tendency to exaggerate, they suggest that instead of using data about taste, research should be able to capture real behaviour.

Following these studies, numerous research studies have included real behaviour, adding a new analytical dimension to cultural engagement. However, this is not always consistently accounted. Participation can be understood as the act of free or paid attendance at a cultural event or venue. Stichele and Laermans (2006) analyse population data from Flanders about attendance at cultural events. What is interesting about this research is the operationalisation of cultural indicators of attendance as

trichotomous variables: never, once a year and several times a year. Under this approach, authors conclude that groups divided by patterns of cultural consumption may differ from each other not only in patterns of participation but also in frequency of participation. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a, b) analysed data about participation in the visual arts and music, and detected an omnivore group; however, they also found a group of *paucivores*, as people in the middle who consume a modest amount within a somewhat limited range of possibilities. In this regard, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) propose the concept of voraciousness, which ‘reflects a ‘quantitative’ dimension of leisure consumption based not only on the breadth of cultural tastes (as in omnivorousness) but also on the frequency of participation in different leisure activities’ (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007, p.126). Consequently, patterns of cultural consumption may differ not only in terms of diversity but also in terms of frequency of participation. A range of research has focused on patterns of participation (López-Sintas and García-Álvarez, 2002, 2004; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro, 2005; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009; Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2010; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2013; Widdop and Cutts, 2012).

Some research has also considered that real engagement could be defined as the consumption of free or paid cultural items through physical or digital media. For instance, some scholars have distinguished between methods of acquiring music, differentiating between the medium used to listen to music and the act of attending a concert (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a; Tampubolon, 2008b; Alderson, Heacock and Junisbai, 2010; Roose and Stichele, 2010); others present a detailed description of practices used to access music using digital technologies and methods of learning about new music (López-Sintas, García-Álvarez and Filimon, 2008; Tepper and Hargittai, 2009; López-Sintas, Zerva and García-Álvarez, 2012; López-Sintas et al, 2014).

Other studies, rather than grouping individuals into empirically determined classes, have focused on detecting cultural choice patterns in a different way. Inspired by Hughes and Peterson (1983), these have sought to group cultural indicators in dimensions which reflect the inclination that people have for engaging them. This is commonly administered through the application of a factor analysis of cultural indicators and by retaining a reduced number of dimensions (or scales) which define lifestyles. Hughes and Peterson (1983) were the first to apply this analytical strategy to cultural data. In a rather straightforward procedure, Katz-Gerro and Shavit (1998)

applied linear regressions directly to the factor scores for each scale of lifestyles to quantify the effect of sociodemographics. Results show that highbrow cultural preferences are heterogeneously distributed across the Israeli Jewish population. These differences however cannot be applied to for popular and religious culture. Katz-Gerro (2002) emulates the technique to statistically determine which items compose highbrow cultural preferences in Italy, Israel, West Germany, Sweden and the USA. The author concludes that highbrow consumption is structured differently across countries, and moreover is not only distributed across class and education differences but also age, gender and religiosity. Van Eijck (2001) highlights the lack of understanding derived from the omnivore-univore hypothesis in terms of how individuals mix cultural items. As with van Rees, Vermunt and Verboord (1999), he differentiates between the amount of cultural items that individuals prefer and the composition of these preferences. The tendency to be highbrow and omnivore is explained by social advantage (class, education, income). In a similar way, others define cultural hierarchies and combinations of preferences based on predefined legitimacy ranks (Warde, Gayo-Cal and Wright, 2008; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009; Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2009, 2010, 2011).

Peterson (2005) presents a milestone work in the area; reviewing more than twenty years of research based on his ideas, this paper recounts findings from around the world, summarising the impact that the notion of the cultural omnivore has had in the field, the evolution of the concept, and its operationalisation. In the context of this overview, Peterson (2005) identifies the categories of his theory as highbrow univores, highbrow omnivores, lowbrow univores and lowbrow omnivores. These capture taste levels, recognising the persistence of low-highbrow hierarchy. In addition, these categories recognise that contrary to the predictions of Peterson and Simkus (1996), the decrease in highbrow consumption among young cohorts has produced a decrease in the proportion of omnivores. This work is considered to be the end of a first generation of studies which mainly focuses on detecting patterns of preference and proposes conceptual guidelines for omnivore-oriented research. Despite natural scepticism, it currently seems to be widely accepted that a broad range of cultural consumption offers (new) forms of social distinction which question homology arguments.

### ***1.5.2. Second generation: rise of national projects and new theoretical and empirical approaches***

A second generation of studies is constituted mainly by major national efforts to elucidate the shape of the relationship between culture and social structure. Most of these seek to replicate Bourdieu's *Distinction*, updating and adjusting theorisations to different realities, mixing quantitative and qualitative data and seeking comparability across countries.

The first of these studies is the *Australian Everyday Culture* survey (AECS), a detailed analysis of cultural practices in mid-1990s Australian society. The work of Bennett, Emmison and Frow (1999), *Accounting for tastes. Australian everyday cultures* summarises the objective of the research as one which takes into account a wide range of cultural practices, understanding how likes and dislikes shape cultural patterns and how these are related to the social backgrounds of respondents. Although chronologically this research belongs to the previous section, it is introduced here as it was the first of its kind and a source of inspiration for subsequent national studies. Mixing quantitative data and interviews, it analyses a number of domains which cover a wide variety of cultural practices: from home-based leisure activities, ownership of electronic equipment and gambling, to literature, music and the use of art galleries. The theoretical standpoint that the authors take is inspired by, although not free from criticism of, Bourdieu's oeuvre. Among criticism, the authors noted that the French social and cultural hierarchies of the time were particularly strong; Bourdieu did not pay particular attention to popular culture or other axes of differentiation such as gender and ethnicity. Other critics point to the static conceptualisation of tastes as dichotomies, in contrast to its complex definition of practices.

Results from Bennett, Emmison and Frow (1999) seem to be consistent with the predictions of Bourdieu (1979), other than that in 1990s Australia there is little evidence of one single, universal scale of social legitimacy but rather multiple definitions in terms of, among others, class, age, gender, and location. Another reason the authors may have distanced themselves from Bourdieu's framework is its inability to capture previous colonial influences, in particular the Americanisation of popular culture seen in Australia (Emmison, 1997). Results from the music domain indicate the strongest association to be with social class. This however is in the form of the univore-omnivore, and more specifically in the form of musical knowledge.

Yet these results do not exactly follow the operationalisation of Peterson and his colleagues. Performing an analysis similar to Hughes and Peterson (1983), several patterns of *partial* omnivores were found. These differ in the combination of musical genres which they like or dislike, and social background such as age, education and income. Other researchers, contrary to Peterson's basic assumption, have also found internal division between omnivores, especially when individuals' preferences are borderline, that is, they cross only some cultural boundaries (for instance Emmison, 2003; Bennett et al, 2009; Tampubolon, 2010).

In the UK, the project *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion: A Critical Investigation* (CCSE) (2003-2006) has been highly influential on subsequent national efforts. As a stricter methodological replication of Bourdieu (1979), the CCSE study updates theoretical and empirical grounds to understand cultural practices in British contemporary society. Results were presented across a broad range of publications; most however were summarised in the book 'Culture, Class, and Distinction' (Bennett et al, 2009). Among the main findings, evidence of more or less structured fields were found, once again music being the one where more marked tensions were detected. In summary, the study concluded that cultural capital still matters, although not, however, structured on uni-dimensional high-low hierarchies, but comprising educational qualifications, eclecticism in cultural practices, and engagement in appropriate subcultures. The ten year gap between AECS and CCSE led to a more elaborated critique of the cultural omnivore of Peterson and his colleagues. According to the CCSE authors, the true meaning of cultural omnivore is not clear: did it signify the end, alteration, or new forms of cultural capital? Was it a new form of distinction or just a statistical artefact? In fact, Bennett et al (2009) reported the existence of several groups in the musical domain with omnivore orientation. Although mainly found in the middle classes, they appear to hardly hold their originally theorised features. These concerns about the omnivore are shared by several other authors (Lahire, 2008; Atkinson, 2011; Prior, 2011, 2013; Rimmer, 2011).

In a similar argumentative line, research from other countries also found inspiration in the CCSE project. Among them, Finnish sociologists delivered a project entitled *Cultural Capital and Social Differentiation in Contemporary Finland* (2005-2013) (Rahkonen et al., 2006). Although it has been commonly claimed that Finnish society is relatively homogeneous, and that consequently culturally it is as well, the authors

argue that it is still possible to detect tension in several cultural fields (Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2010). The main results are summarised in a vast number of articles (Kahma and Heikkilä, 2008; Purhonen, Gronow and Purhonen, 2009, 2010, 2011; Kahma and Toikka, 2012; Heikkilä and Rahkonen, 2011) and a recently published book (Purhonen, Gronow, Heikkilä, Kahma, Rahkonen and Toikka, 2014). Alongside features particular to Finnish society, reported patterns of cultural practice are similar to those of other developed countries, especially the UK (Purhonen and Wright, 2013). In Denmark, the project *Contemporary patterns of social differentiation – the case of Aalborg* (2003-2006) analysed the consequences of social differentiation in contemporary society, focusing on the study of the city of Aalborg, Denmark (Prieur, Rosenlund and Skjøtt-Larsen, 2008; Prieur and Savage, 2011, 2013; Skjøtt-Larsen, 2012). One of the project's features was its engagement in constant dialogue with concepts from the Bourdieusian tradition, proposing the existence of emerging forms of cultural capital, including its local and global forms. These findings are consistent with those from the Serbian project *Cultural needs, habits and taste of citizens of Serbia and Macedonia* (2005-2007) (Cvetičanin, 2008; Cvetičanin and Popescu, 2011), where it is reported that different positions in stratification axes are reflected in cultural tensions based mostly on several forms of folk music, from traditional countryside style to electronic urban.

Survey research in the discipline has also investigated cultural consumption in several societies worldwide, finding more or less consistent results with those previously reported; it has also detected peculiarities and interesting new insights from countries such as Austria (Binder, 2012); Belgium (Roose and Stichele, 2010); Brazil (Hedegard, 2013); Canada (Veenstra, 2010); Chile (Torche, 2007, 2010); France (Coulangeon and Lemel, 2010a, b; Glevarec and Pinet, 2012), Israel (Katz-Gerro, Raz and Yaish, 2007, 2009; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012); Korea (Yoon, Kim, and Eom, 2011); Netherlands (Ter Bogt, Delsing, van Zalk, Christenson and Meeus, 2011); Norway (Birkelund and Lemel, 2013); South Africa (Snowball, Jamal and Willis, 2010); Spain (López-Sintas and García-Álvarez, 2002, 2004); Turkey (Rankin, Ergin and Gökşen, 2013); United Kingdom (Widdop and Cutts, 2012), and the USA (Sonnett, 2004; García-Álvarez, Katz-Gerro and López-Sintas, 2007; Alderson, Heacock and Junisbai, 2010; Tampubolon, 2008a; Goldberg, 2011)<sup>8</sup>. This flourishing has opened up the possibility of developing comparative research.

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<sup>8</sup> This enumeration is not exhaustive. It does not, for example, include previous work reviewed in Peterson (2005), Chan (2010a) and Katz-Gerro (2011).

However, only a limited number of studies make comparisons between countries and have not always analysed musical indicators (for instance Katz-Gerro, 2002; Lizardo and Skiles, 2009; Tampubolon, 2010; Bennett, Bustamante and Frow, 2013; Birkelund and Lemel, 2013; Purhonen and Wright, 2013). Moreover, authors such as Daloz (2010) and Katz-Gerro (2011) criticise the commonly observed lack of theoretical, empirical and contextual development on cross-national research.

Emphasising the need to extend the discussion to cross-national comparisons, it is important to highlight the project 'Social Status, Lifestyle and Cultural Consumption: A Comparative Study' (SSLCC) (2004-2007). The book 'Social Status and Cultural Consumption' (Chan, 2010a) summarises the project's main standpoint as a test of three perspectives (homology, omnivorism and individualisation) in six countries: the USA, France, Chile, Hungary, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. Particularly critical of homology arguments, and especially of Bourdieu's theoretical foundation, the main theoretical and empirical feature is the explicit consideration of the Weberian differentiation between scales of social status and class. Chan and Goldthorpe (2010a) argue that this is one of the main weaknesses of research in the area, as cultural consumption is a reflection of status and not class. Under the assumption that the status of an individual in modern societies is reflected in their occupation, and that differences in status do not influence relationships between close friends, Chan and Goldthorpe (2010a) calculated social status scales on the basis of the occupation of close friends or couples (the detailed procedure is explained in Chan (2010b)). In each of their case studies, Chan (2010a) applied methodologies to statistically classify individuals according to their patterns of cultural consumption, except in Hungary and Holland, where the classification is manually done.

By examining different societies and cultural domains, Chan (2010a) concluded that it is possible to observe that there is no empirical support for the hypothesis of homology, and that groups with greater social advantages display cultural engagement consistent with that of the cultural omnivore. Not without criticism of the cultural omnivore, the authors detected the existence of groups which are not pure omnivores and others, *paucivores*, which do not engage in any cultural activities. In terms of variables of social stratification it is important to note that the authors found that after controlling for social status (and age, gender, income, education, marital status etc), social class does not have a significant effect in explaining



patterns of cultural consumption. This was found in all countries except the Netherlands. Three chapters come to this conclusion, analysing different types of music indicators: consumption (USA), taste (France) and participation (the UK).

#### **1.6. Collection of articles: theoretical and empirical advancements in the sociology of taste and cultural consumption**

Current research has also taken an increasing interest in the discussion of the relevance of some methodological conceptualisations and operationalisations, critically revisiting concepts of homology and omnivorism, and proposing the inclusion of new, relevant analytical dimensions to assist in the understanding of contemporary patterns of cultural consumption. Using this as inspiration, the central aim of this thesis is therefore to review how research has defined and studied the relationship between culture and society across several perspectives, and to offer new insights which contribute significantly to the advancement of the knowledge of sociology of cultural taste and consumption. Using several quantitative methods, this thesis analyses survey data related to music consumption in Austria, England, Chile, Finland, Israel and Serbia, focusing on the following aims to provide answers to four specific sets of research questions:

- **The importance of using methodological approaches to detect musical distinctions.** The main objective of chapter three is to review and compare several conceptualisations and methodological frameworks published over the last thirty years. Through direct comparison of statistical methods used to test hypotheses derived from different theoretical and empirical statements, the following research questions are answered: *Do different statistical methods offer consistent results? What are the advantages and disadvantages of different analytical strategies?*
- **The meaning of cultural distinctions across dimensions of musical practices and the quantification of their consistency.** With the objective of exploring the meaning of distinctions across different dimensions of musical engagement in Finland, chapter four detects groups of musical taste, participation and knowledge, accounting for consistency between eclectics, voracious consumers and experts. Research questions for this chapter are: *In the contemporary Finnish musical domain, is it possible to detect patterns of taste, participation and knowledge consistent with Frith's (1996) worlds? Among them, is there a group within each dimension that could be labelled as*

*eclectic, voracious, and expert? Do different socio-demographic variables impact differently on explaining patterns of taste, participation and knowledge? Do individuals tend to belong to consistent musical worlds between and within dimensions of musical practices?*

- **The cross-national search for musical taste and distaste groups and the importance of national repertoires.** Chapter five aims to extend the search for musical taste and distaste groups by taking a unique cross-national approach in order to answer: *Is it possible to detect groups of musical preferences across Austria, England, Israel, and Serbia? How are they composed in terms of musical likes and dislikes and how are they structured across several axes of social stratification? Is musical eclecticism a feature spread across different societies? Are Austrian, English, Israeli and Serbian eclectics holders of higher social positions? Do they differ in terms of sociodemographic characteristics?*
- **The relationship between musical taste and technologies.** The objective of chapter six is to integrate within taste and cultural consumption analysis a new salient dimension, such as technologies to acquire music, conceptualised as modes of musical exchange and formats used to listen to music. Research questions for the chapter are laid out as follows: *Are technological modes used to listen to music related to consumers' tastes? How strong is the association between musical technologies and social stratification axes? Does the strength of the relationship between technologies and social stratification super-exceed that between musical taste and social stratification axes?*

The theoretical and empirical developments introduced in the following paragraphs are the most relevant features in terms of how they have inspired the collection of articles which compose this thesis. Although these articles follow a non-sequential progression which reflects their multiple scope, they share several theoretical foundations and analytical strategies; these are grouped in order, from the general guidelines followed by all the articles to the most specific features which individually characterise them.

#### ***1.6.1. Homology and omnivore as compatible views***

A position taken by every article of this thesis (and empirically demonstrated in chapter three) is that the perspectives of homology and omnivorism are views which

can be seen as compatible. It is possible to find in the literature a significant amount of research proposing and justifying this. Among the first, Holbrook, Weiss and Habich (2002), using massive data from market research, demonstrated that in terms of consumption preferences, both perspectives occur simultaneously. In this regard, Warde (2007) arrived at similar conclusions, recognising that cultural behaviour is diverse, with some individuals from different backgrounds preferring different things to different degrees, and others liking everything. It is also argued that the open orientation of omnivores might be interpreted as a new kind of cosmopolitan habitus, and that the idea of highbrow omnivore highlights the concepts of distinction (Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007; García-Álvarez, Katz-Gerro and López-Sintas, 2007; Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal, 2007; Tampubolon, 2008a).

In this regard, two works are particularly relevant to the provision of theoretical and empirical justification. The theorisation of Lizardo and Skiles (2012) sees omnivorism (and patterns of preference in general) as an aesthetic disposition (in a Bourdieusian sense), that is, as the ‘ability to appreciate form in partial separation from function/content and the capacity to constitute common objects or experiences in an aesthetic way’ (Lizardo and Skiles, 2012:266). From an empirical perspective, Tampubolon (2008a) refined a modelling strategy, tested in chapter three, which allows detection of broad cultural engagement as a special case of cultural distinction. Starting from this premise and instead of viewing them as rivals, each article of this thesis assumes compatibility between perspectives; in particular, the second chapter compares the different operationalisations of homology and cultural omnivore.

### ***1.6.2. Conceptualisation of omnivores***

As mentioned above, chapter three compares several operationalisations and statistical techniques used in cultural consumption research. In this regard, it has been from the point of view of the cultural omnivore where literature has offered a wide range of alternatives. The first of these is now widely accepted and divides omnivore conceptualisations according to *volume* or *composition*.

Van Rees, Vermunt and Verboord (1999) and van Eijck (2001) stated that the term omnivore should relate not only to the number of cultural forms which people choose, but also to the combinatorial logic of them. Inspired by this, Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal (2007) argued that the cultural omnivore as an explanation of contemporary cultural engagement is not straightforward, and proposed a differentiation between omnivores by *volume* and *composition*. The former may be

defined as a cumulative scale of genres which people like, while the latter is a matter of crossing symbolic boundaries and may be defined as a comparison of typologies of consumers which measure the breadth of their preferences. The different operationalisations of cultural omnivore proposed by the most relevant works of the last thirty years can be grouped within these two categories, and under this logic are presented and compared in chapter two. In addition, taste patterns found in chapters three and four are contrasted against these definitions.

Several authors recognise that omnivorism is a reflection of openness to various forms of cultural expression, and that this coincides with calls to be adaptable and tolerant, values accepted by some as socially desirable (Ollivier, 2008). However, cultural omnivorism as commonly defined by Peterson, and research directly influenced by his oeuvre, feature individuals from higher social positions; this implies highbrow taste and also assumes that lower classes are passive to culture (Peterson, 2005; Lahire, 2008). These peculiarities make it difficult to search for cultural omnivores under a comparative perspective. For this, chapter three and four propose the use of flexible theoretical and empirical approaches which consider differences within the dimensions of musical practices (three) and across countries (four).

The first aspect common to both articles is the use of an alternative conceptualisation to define patterns of broader preference. The concept of cultural *eclecticism*, broadly defined as the ‘... selection and combination of cultural elements belonging to domains considered different’ (Ollivier, Gauthier and Truong, 2009: 459), offers some desirable advantages for comparative research into musical engagement. The most important is that this definition is more flexible than Peterson’s, allowing the comparison of patterns of broader engagement which cross boundaries beyond the traditional low and highbrow classifications. Eclecticism can be detected in any situation where patterns of musical engagement reflect unexpected inconsistencies in a way similar to others proposed in the literature, such as loose-boundedness, dissonance, and modes of openness to cultural diversity (Lamont, 1992; Lahire, 2008; Ollivier, 2008; Ollivier, Gauthier and Truong, 2009). Chapters three and four therefore assume that cultural eclecticism provides the initial evidence by which it is possible to determine whether omnivores a) exist, and b) display the features which Peterson’s thesis postulates across different dimensions of musical practice – taste, participation, and knowledge – and across different contemporary societies.

### ***1.6.3. Boundary crossing and musical classifications in comparative research***

Music is a cultural domain which relies particularly heavily on trends, market characteristics, and local and global influences which are evolving at great speed (Wright, 2011), making it important to consider the specific contexts in which people understand culture. After deciding how homology and omnivorism are conceptualised, it is necessary to assign meanings to different patterns of preference which allow the detection and understanding of the symbolic boundaries which musical engagement reflects. No doubt this is an important aspect for cultural consumption research, and particularly crucial when performing comparative research. To continue the presentation of the main features of this thesis, three aspects are introduced and integrated with musical taste and consumption research: cultural legitimacy scales, musical judgmental discourses and national repertoires.

The most common way to identify whether individuals' preferences delimitate or cross boundaries is by defining a ranking of cultural items which marks what is low and high. In general, cultural hierarchies are necessary to understand symbolic differences among social groups in terms of their social advantages or disadvantages (van Eijck, 2001). However, there is a discrepancy in how individuals perceive them, and low-highbrow classifications are not unique. It has been shown that dichotomies such as old-new and traditional-global are also powerful social markers (Savage, 2006; Bellavance, 2008; Prieur, Rosenlund and Skjøtt-Larsen, 2008; Cvetičanin and Popescu, 2011; Savage and Gayo, 2011). Moreover, some cultural activities can be categorised as inclusive or exclusive from the point of view of the number of people who practice them (Bennett, Emmison and Frow, 1999; Warde, Tomlinson and McMeekin, 2000; Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal, 2007; Glevarec and Pinet, 2012).

Beside the concerns mentioned earlier, this kind of interpretative device reflects boundaries which still persist in contemporary societies (Tampubolon, 2010). Furthermore, what constitutes an interpretive tool which remains widely used in the literature? Chapter two tests one of the most frequently used hierarchical scales in the study of cultural consumption, that is, the Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009) ranking of cultural items based on a legitimacy scale. This, based on Bourdieu's premise, assumes that some pieces of art are recognised as being of high aesthetic value – of good taste – and are provided by dominant institutions (such as educational organisations) and individuals with high levels of cultural capital (such as critics). Depending on the proportion of highly educated people liking them, genres can

therefore be classified as *legitimate*, *common* or *unauthorised*. For each cultural item, a legitimacy ratio is calculated as the ‘percentage of university graduates liking divided by the percentage of those with no qualification liking’ (Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009: 127). Legitimate are those items which are more than twice as often preferred by graduates. Unauthorised are those less frequently liked by graduates than the rest of the sample (that is, with a ratio of less than 1); the remainder are common. Legitimacy scales have been applied within cultural consumption research to operationalise omnivorism as individuals who prefer items from different levels within a hierarchical classification (such as Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2010).

At the same time there is awareness that any hierarchical system faces difficulties with the diversification of cultural items. For instance, the mixing of genres and the constant restructuring of musical canons make it difficult to classify items as low or high (Bellavance, 2008). To contextualise chapters four and five, which are oriented to comparative research, it is considered that the scales of cultural hierarchies as proposed by Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009) are not enough. On the one hand, they implicitly assume that taste, participation and knowledge are homogeneously distributed across societies, limiting the ability to capture the way in which different multidimensional patterns constitute elements of distinction. On the other, the diversity of social, economic and political contexts makes it difficult to use predefined cultural hierarchies.

As a consequence, symbolic boundaries can also be visualised differently, and in this regard, S. Frith (1996)’s range of discursive practices is a powerful resource when attempting to understand individuals’ musical evaluation. These are related to H. Becker’s *Art worlds*<sup>9</sup> and Bourdieu’s taste groups, which are derived from cultural capital. Broadly speaking, the author’s three defined judgmental discourses recognise that engagement with certain musical forms (regardless of whether they are considered high or lowbrow) produces symbolic profit (Prior, 2011, 2013). Taking their names from Becker (2008[1982]), these musical worlds are characterised as follows: *Art* is where music provides a transcendent experience available only to people with certain abilities. *Folk* values music as a cultural necessity with little or

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<sup>9</sup> *Art worlds* is a concept defined by Becker (2008[1982]) and refers to ‘the network of people whose cooperative activity, organised by their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of artworks that the art world is noted for’ (Becker, 2008[1982]: x). These ‘worlds’ have sometimes been considered complementary to Bourdieu’s *fields*. For a detailed comparison of concepts, check Bottero and Crossley (2011).

no separation of art and life, and emphasises its role as a means of placement. In *Popular* discourse, values are created by and organised around the music industry and music events geared towards emotional gratification.

With few exceptions (van Eijck, 2001; Ollivier, 2008), these studies have not been used to contextualise musical taste groups for comparative research purposes. In this sense, Frith's (1996) discourses/worlds can be understood as macro-genres which augment the theoretical basis of this thesis, and from which to understand combinations of musical preference. They are flexible enough to generalise out to include different dimensions of musical engagement or national musical scenes, while being able to capture locally defined stratification axes and relevant additional cultural hierarchies, such as old-new and local-global. In consequence, chapters three and four interpret grouped patterns of musical preference in relation to art/folk/popular discourses and propose that in cases where symbolic boundaries are crossed, when individuals' musical engagement intercepts genres belonging to two or more different discourses, this is evidence of the cultural eclecticism or omnivorism defined above.

Although Frith's concepts allow for a more precise meaning to be attached to patterns of musical preference, cross-national comparative research requires this to one step further. Emerging from several national contexts, evidence questions cultural omnivorism as an explanation of contemporary cultural engagement. Several works presented here confirm that omnivores are found to be diverse and fall into no recurrent patterns (Peterson, 2005). It is unclear whether such findings are due to a global trend, regardless of nationality, or whether omnivorousness is indeed a peculiar feature of American society, or merely spread across some specific countries (Rimmer, 2012; Prior, 2013). The fifth chapter therefore argues that the meaning of musical preferences within social structures varies according to national economic, social and historical contexts. In this respect it is Lamont (1992) who contributes an interesting approach to facilitate the understanding of differences between symbolic boundaries across nations. For Lamont, criteria which individuals use to evaluate status take different forms, which are combinations not only of individuals' experience, interests and social position, but also of a number of cultural and structural factors or *national repertoires*. This is how national values and ideologies define one country in opposition to another and contributes to shaping symbolic boundaries (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). To carry out a cross-national study and truly

understand differences of preference patterns, chapter four considers it fundamental to contextualise interpretations, including historical and cultural national repertoires. This strategy, along with the theoretical and empirical considerations previously exposed, provides more refined insights into the existence and meaning of cultural omnivorism.

#### ***1.6.4. Theory of practices and the expansion of musical indicators***

Several commentators have argued that extracted results and conclusions derived from most quantitative research which analyses survey data about preferences might erroneously conceptualise culture and access to culture (Holt, 1997, 1998; Lizardo, 2008; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014). In the field of cultural stratification, the selection of cultural indicators has not been a matter of indifference to researchers. Although it has been argued that compared to Bourdieu's findings, taste today is less defined in terms of social class, this is still a useful form by which to identify highly polarised social groups and subcultures (Bennett et al, 2009). The kind of indicators commonly used in such analysis – preferences for fixed genres or works – are collectively referred to as *objectified* taste (Holt, 1997). This leads to the common assumption that the way of listening to music constitutes an inherent characteristic of individuals. Indeed, the importance of quantifying differentiated styles of consuming, namely *embodied* tastes (Holt, 1997), is recognised. To date however, quantitative research on cultural consumption which integrates multiple indicators of taste is rather limited. Rössel (2011), Daenekindt and Roose (2014) and Hanquinet, Roose and Savage (2014) are among the few who from a quantitative perspective simultaneously analyse indicators of preference and aesthetic disposition in the form of attitudes towards culture and arts. In this regard, chapters three and five propose an extension of the analysis of patterns of musical preference, with a view to carrying out cultural consumption research by comparing different dimensions (taste, participation and knowledge) and integrating technologies used to access music.

With this in mind, both chapters three and five make use of the theoretical framework commonly adopted by researchers of consumption, namely the *theory of practices* (Schatzki, 1996, Schatzki, Cetina and von Savigny, 2001; Reckwitz, 2002; Warde, 2005; Warde, 2014). Practices, according to Schatzki, Cetina and von Savigny (2001) are composed of several elements which are organised nexuses of activity occurring in the field of practices. Individuals are carriers of practices in the form of bodily behaviour and routinised ways of understanding, knowing how and



desiring (Warde, 2005). According to the author, cultural taste alone does not imply practice; this is merely a moment of almost every practice, and it is engagement in different practices which explains the nature and process of consumption. Moreover, practices are social, 'a 'type' of behaving and understanding that appears at different locales and at different points of time and is carried out by different body/minds' (Reckwitz, 2002: 250). A practice (such as musical engagement) therefore requires for its existence all these elements and their interrelationships. The inclusion of concepts taken from the theory of practices in the study of musical preference extends the analysis of preference patterns to other elements, recognising that beyond taste, consumer practices also act as elements of distinction.

As shown alongside this literature review, social researchers have not derived their most prominent ideas solely from the analysis of taste indicators. Several alternative concepts were developed from the analysis of knowledge (for instance Erickson, 1996; Bennett, Emmison and Frow, 1999; Savage and Gayo, 2011) or the consumption of recorded music and the act of attending a live concert (for instance, van Rees, Vermunt and Verboord, 1999; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a; Tampubolon, 2008a; Roose and Stichele, 2010). However, there is no clarity about which dimension of cultural engagement is a better reflection of social differentiation. Some claim that taste (Peterson, 2005), participation (van Rees, Vermunt and Verbood, 1999; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a) or knowledge (Savage and Gayo, 2011) is better. Chapter three focuses on extending the debate, integrating definitions of patterns with broader engagement (eclectic, voracious, and expert) and Frith's art/folk/popular judgemental discourses to analyse how consistent individuals are across musical practices.

Another gap detected in the literature is the lack of quantitative cultural stratification research which analyses musical practices, in particular the relationship between preferences and technologies used to exchange and listen to music. Some describes patterns of musical preference and their relationship with purchases, collections of CDs, and technologies which people use; others present a detailed description of practices used to access music using digital technologies, or methods of learning about new music (López-Sintas, García-Álvarez and Filimon, 2008; Tepper and Hargittai, 2009; López-Sintas, Zerva and García-Álvarez, 2012; López-Sintas et al, 2014). In summary, it is argued that research on cultural and social stratification should not only emphasise how social differences are shaped around personal taste

judgements, but also must not forget how culture is acquired and shared. Regarding the study of the relationship between taste and technologies, chapter five of this thesis highlights some of the concepts from homology and the theory of practices to postulate that today taste distinctions are not the only ones, and that methods of exchange and technological formats are also carriers of symbolic boundaries. Like taste, technologies are embedded in consumption practice; they cannot be separated from their uses and functions.

### **1.7. Summary**

This chapter has explored the theories of cultural consumption, describing the theoretical framework which justifies this thesis, and has presented its objectives and research questions. Each chapter is an article, a stand-alone piece of investigation, which together form a cohesive piece of research which seeks to contribute to the knowledge of the relationship between cultural consumption and social structures. Although the chapters which follow can be read independently, the proposed order attempts to build the main argument of this thesis, beginning with a critical review of previous work on the subject, extending it to the presentation of comparative frameworks, continuing across dimensions of engagement and cross-nationally, finally to deliver an extension to the debate by proposing the inclusion of technologies in cultural consumption research.

## 2. Musical distinctions in England - Understanding cultural homology and omnivorism through a methods comparison<sup>10</sup>

**Abstract:** P. Bourdieu's homology thesis and R. A. Peterson's cultural omnivorism have particularly captured the attention of scholars on cultural stratification. Research has supported one hypothesis, the other, or both simultaneously. Meanwhile, a question remains unanswered: do different statistical methods offer consistent results? This article reviews and compares several methodological frameworks published over the last 30 years. The wide range of alternatives has sometimes generated contradictory results. English musical taste and distaste indicators from the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion project (CCSE) are analysed. Through direct comparison of statistical methods, it is demonstrated that results are consistent and complementary. Moreover, it is argued that there is no ideal methodological blueprint.

**Keywords:** Musical Taste, Homology, Omnivorism, Methods Comparison

### 2.1 Introduction

The processes and mechanisms by which contemporary societies are symbolically stratified through cultural engagement have been theorised from several different perspectives. However, during the late twentieth century two major works on the social stratification of culture captured the attention of researchers: P. Bourdieu's homology thesis and R. A. Peterson's cultural omnivorism. A large body of research has reported results worldwide, supporting one hypothesis or another or simultaneously both. It has addressed a wide variety of cultural domains, analysing data containing various types of cultural indicators under several operationalisations and statistical methods. The main objective of this article is to offer a review of several methodological frameworks proposed to study the relationship between social stratification and musical taste. A second aim is to show to what extent results from different methodological approaches are consistent. To accomplish this, it is illustrated how homology and omnivorism are tested under several operationalisations and methods proposed by the most salient research published over the last 30 years.

This article examines data obtained from the *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion project* (CCSE), a national study specifically designed to enable the study of cultural

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<sup>10</sup> This chapter is based on the following article: Leguina, A. (2015). Musical distinctions in England - Understanding cultural homology and omnivorism through a methods comparison. *Bulletin of Sociological Methodology*. doi: 10.1177/0759106315572563.

consumption (Thomson, 2004; Bennett et al., 2009). The sample comes from a probabilistic cross-sectional design, taken between winter 2004 and early spring of 2005 and is representative of adults aged 18+ from England, Wales and Scotland. Due to the reduced amount of missing values, and following the common practice in the literature, 10 observations with missing values were excluded from the analysis<sup>11</sup>. Only the English subsample is analysed, amounting to an effective sample size of 1,269 individuals. Appendices 1, 2 and 3 show the eight musical genres analysed on a seven-point gradational scale and recoded as a like-neutral-dislike trichotomy (A.1). In accordance with proposed operationalisations, these indicators are also coded as volume of preferences (A.2) and hierarchically ordered according to the Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009) rank (A.3). The authors calculated for each genre (as well as for the entire sample and three age cohorts) a legitimacy ratio as the ‘percentage of university graduates liking divided by the percentage of those with no qualification liking’ (Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009: 127). Legitimate genres are those that are more than twice as often preferred by graduates. Unauthorised are those less frequently liked by graduates than the rest of the sample (ratio less than 1) and the remainder are common. Thus the categories are as follows: legitimate: classical; common: heavy metal, modern jazz, rock and world music; unauthorised: country and western, electronic and urban, which coincide respectively with the Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen (2010) high, middle and lowbrow classification. In order to simplify analysis and facilitate comparison between techniques, only some of the most frequently studied sociodemographic variables in the literature were included, such as age, sex, social class and education<sup>12</sup> (Appendix 4). Some of the most relevant studies are briefly described below<sup>13</sup>. To contextualise this comparison, each framework is presented alongside the statistical techniques, which have traditionally been used to test it. This selection is not comprehensive, but covers the most prominent works and the most commonly applied methodologies in the literature.

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<sup>11</sup> Exceptions are the application of EM algorithm and multiple imputation found in Tampubolon (2008a, b, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> No education: CASMIN 1a+1b; Secondary basic/intermediate: CASMIN 1c+2a+2b; Secondary complete: CASMIN 2c vocational + 2c general; Lower tertiary: CASMIN 3a; Upper tertiary: CASMIN 3b (Brauns, Scherer and Steinmann, 2003).

<sup>13</sup> For a comprehensive theoretical review of the subject see Peterson (2005), Bennett et al. (2009), Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009) and Coulangeon and Lemel (2010a).

## 2.1 Homology

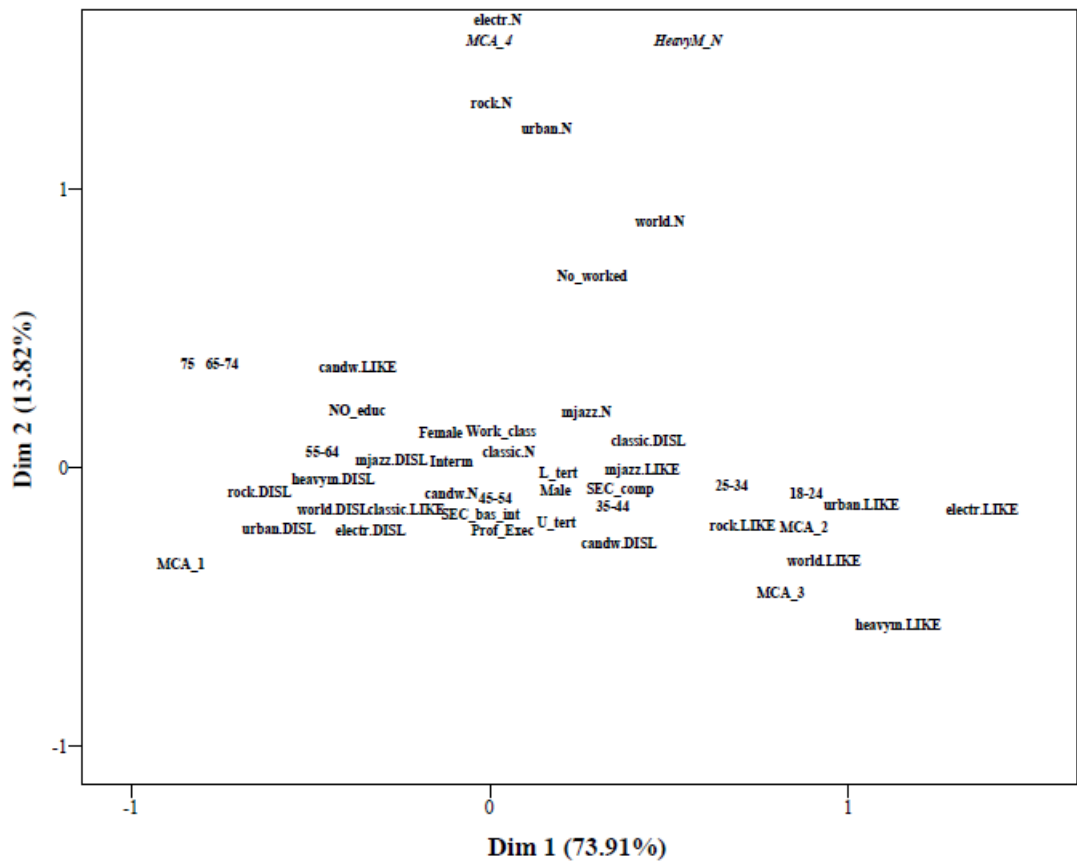
Briefly, Bourdieu's theoretical approach stands on two key concepts: *structural homology* and *habitus*<sup>14</sup>. According to this framework, homology between the space aesthetic preferences and that of social class structures is mediated by habitus (Bourdieu, 1979). An important assumption derived from habitus is the *unity of tastes*, which implies distinction among classes in terms of their sets of cultural activities. This occurs within *fields*, where individuals are socially positioned and where struggles – symbolic violence – take place (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In addition to habitus, people during their life accumulate *capitals*, which are species of power allowing certain profits to be obtained (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The resulting multidimensional space is therefore a reflection of volume and a composition of capitals. Consequently, members of the upper social classes tend to prefer more sophisticated and 'difficult' cultural forms which the middle class (or *petit bourgeoisie*) aspires to and imitates while at the same time struggling to differentiate themselves from the dominated lower social classes, who tend to passively prefer simplistic and repetitive cultural items. Briefly, the homology hypothesis might be stated as follows:

**H<sub>1</sub>:** Social stratification axes are highly correlated with lifestyles (Bourdieu, 1979; Tampubolon 2008a; Bennett et al., 2009; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2010a). Specifically, higher (lower) social positions tend to prefer (reject) what are traditionally accepted as highbrow musical genres, while lower (higher) social positions prefer (reject) lowbrow.

Bourdieu argued that quantitative analysis tools in sociology must be multidimensional and relational, and should not reduce variable interrelations into dependent-independent hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1979). In consequence, correspondence analysis and multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) are considered to be the most appropriate methods to understand social reality (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Rouanet et al., 2000; Lebaron, 2010). MCA is a multivariate technique used to analyse categorical data, structured as Individuals x variables tables.

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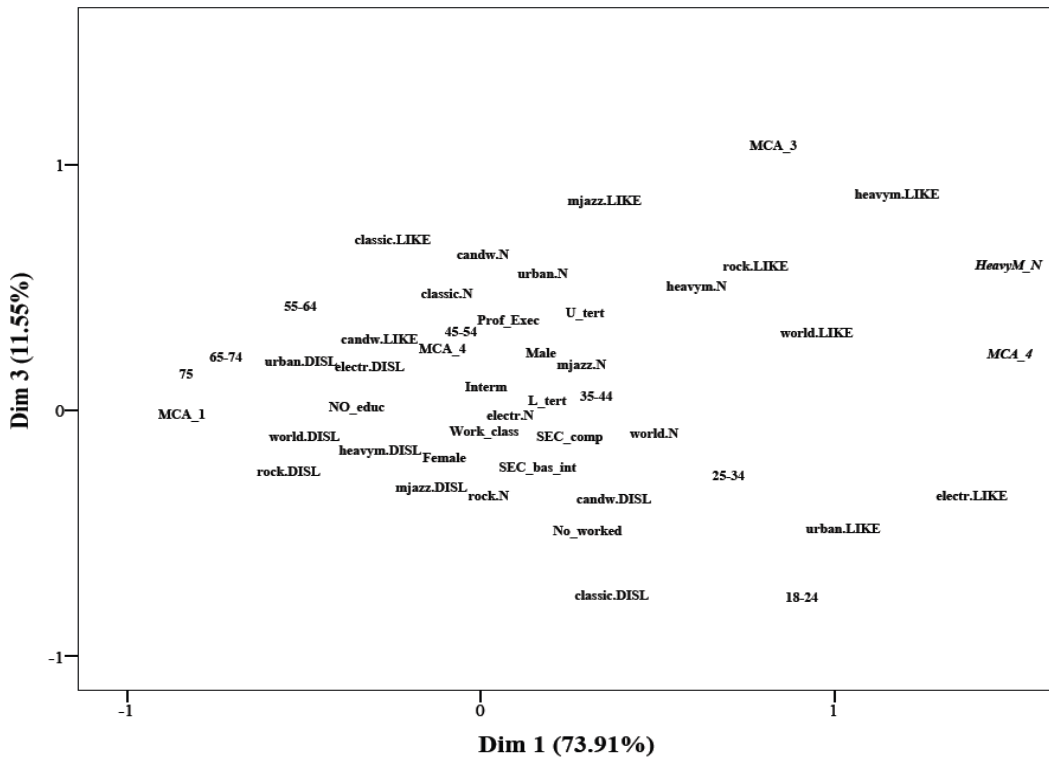
<sup>14</sup> '...both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification (...) of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that represented social world...' (Bourdieu, 1979:170).



**Figure 2.1.** MCA first and second dimensions - Musical indicators and supplementary variables.

Genre labels: Classical (classic), Heavy metal (heavyM), Modern jazz (m jazz), Rock (rock), World music (world), Country and western (candw), Electronic (electr), Urban (urban). Taste labels: Like (LIKE), Neutral (N), Dislike (DISL).

The objective is the dimension reduction, providing summary values which can be plotted as clouds to visualise interrelations among individuals and categorical variables. Supplementary individuals and variables may be included to aid interpretation of results (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004). This technique was applied to indicators of musical taste recoded as categorical variables (like, neutral, dislike), using the package FactoMineR (Lê et al., 2008), part of the R statistical software (R Core Team, 2013). Inspecting the modified explained percentages of variance (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004), it was decided to retain the first three dimensions; these explain over 98 percent of the modified cloud variance (31.47 percent of original variance). Figures 2.1 and 2.2 represent how musical likes and dislikes are interrelated.



**Figure 2.2.** MCA first and third dimensions - Musical indicators and supplementary variables

Genre labels: Classical (classic), Heavy metal (heavym), Modern jazz (mjazz), Rock (rock), World music (world), Country and western (candw), Electronic (electr), Urban (urban). Taste labels: Like (LIKE), Neutral (N), Dislike (DISL).

The first dimension shows tensions between individuals reporting like of electronic, urban, heavy metal, rock, and world music, in contrast to the ones declaring dislike of these but preferring country and western, and classical music. The second dimension distinguishes individuals who claim to be neutral to electronic, urban, heavy metal, rock, and world music. Finally, the third dimension reflects tensions between liking modern jazz, rock, classical, and heavy metal and dislike of these while liking urban and electronic music. Then we superimpose the four explanatory variables on our cultural map as supplementary and we calculate how much of the axis variance each variable explains ( $R^2$ ) through one-way ANOVAs, one of the tools to describe MCA results available on FactoMineR. We conclude that age is the most important structuring variable of musical taste across the first dimension, followed by educational level. The second dimension is related to class and education; these variables also appear across the third dimension, where differentiation is again predominantly age.

Next, hierarchical cluster analysis is applied (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004). The objective is to understand whether there are distinct groups based on musical taste

patterns and if so, to describe them in socioeconomic terms. It was decided to retain four clusters as the final solution. The decision was made inspecting graphical outputs such as dendograms and MCA confidence ellipses (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004) for different settings. The largest detected group is labelled as  $MCA_1$  (41.8 percent of the sample), which exhibits a preference for classical, and country and western but rejects urban, electronic and rock. This group is mainly composed by adult (over 35 years old), women, and individuals with low and intermediate levels of education. A second group,  $MCA_2$  (20.5 percent of the sample), likes electronic, urban, and to a lesser extent rock and world music. They dislike the preferences of the previous group. Its members are mainly from younger age cohorts (25-34 years old), the working class, and individuals who having attained secondary and post-secondary education. A third group,  $MCA_3$  (24.3 percent of the sample), shows a preference for the greatest number of genres (including rock, jazz, classical, and world music), running alongside higher tolerance to heavy metal. Its members are mainly from the sample of middle-aged (36-54 years old), men, and individuals who having attained the highest levels of education and social class. Finally, a fourth group,  $MCA_4$  (13.3 percent of the sample), holds neutral opinions on genres that the  $MCA_2$  group likes and which  $MCA_1$  rejects. They tend to be adults (over 55 years old), with low educational level and from the working class. There is an indication that rejection of different genres by the various detected taste groups is based on social position. Simultaneously, we observe that the  $MCA_3$  group appears to be able to cross cultural boundaries, and further, they might tend to behave like cultural omnivores, which we discuss below. It is therefore possible to observe simultaneously evidence of the homology hypothesis ( $H_1$ ), and different forms of cultural omnivorism.

## 2.2 Omnivorism

The influential work of Peterson and Simkus (1992) offered evidence of an alternative trend, in which cultural engagement works as a status marker in the USA. This idea, named cultural omnivorism, might be defined as the opposition between individuals from higher social positions who simultaneously prefer several highbrow and lowbrow musical genres (omnivores), and individuals from lower positions who preferred one or few lowbrow genres (univores) (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). Subsequently, refined conceptualisations have been developed. Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal (2007) argue that reference to the cultural omnivore as an explanation of contemporary cultural engagement is not straightforward, and propose to differentiate between omnivore by *volume* and by *composition*. The



former may be defined as a cumulative scale of genres, which people like, while the latter is a matter of crossing symbolic boundaries and may be defined as a comparison of typologies of preferences that measure their breadth.

### **2.2.1. By volume**

Peterson and Kern (1996) produced the first work that provided an empirical definition of an overall trend of omnivorism. They measured tendency to be a cultural omnivore by the amount of low and middlebrow musical genres that respondents chose, dividing the sample between highbrows (people who choose both classical music and opera and strongly like one of these) and others (people who do not select highbrow musical genres). Linear regression models by ordinary least square (OLS) are then applied to test the impact of sociodemographic variables on amount of likes. Linear regression is a statistical model in which a numerical continuous (dependent) variable is predicted by a set of numerical or categorical (independent) variables. Ordinary least square (OLS) is a method used to estimate regression coefficients (Long, 1997).

Similarly Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal (2008), Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009) and Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen (2010) applied means comparison and Poisson regression to test omnivorism by volume, but using the raw number of preferences and participation. This is a statistical model in which a numerical counting (dependent) variable is predicted by a set of numerical or categorical (independent) variables (Long, 1997). Therefore, an omnivore by volume hypothesis might be stated thus:

**$H_2$ :** The higher the respondent's social position, the higher the volume of musical genres the respondent likes (Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal, 2008; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009; Purhonen et al., 2010). Individuals who prefer legitimate music are more likely to prefer other non-legitimate genres (Peterson and Kern, 1996).

The sample is divided into those with 'legitimate' likes and those without. In this case, 'legitimate' means whether or not respondents like classical music. Next, linear regression was implemented using SPSS Statistics version 20 (IBM Corp, 2011). In relation to the raw number of likes, regardless of whether respondents like classical or not (first two columns table 2.1), there is a negative effect of age; if respondents

do not like classical there is an additional negative effect of being female and having attained basic or intermediate secondary level education.

**Table 2.1.** Omnivore by volume linear regressions.

	# likes ( $\beta$ )		# common likes ( $\beta$ )		# unauth likes ( $\beta$ )	
	Legit taste	No legit taste	Legit taste	No legit taste	Legit taste	No legit taste
Sec bas/int	-.214	-.278*	-.093	-.070	-.128	-.207*
Full sec	.296	.016	.101	.270*	.207	-.254*
L tert	-.194	-.259	.056	.133	-.243*	-.392***
U tert <sup>1</sup>	.056	-.039	.156	.286*	-.101	-.329**
Never work	-.949	-.233	-.490	-.023	-.313	-.209
Interm	-.042	.059	.016	.045	-.048	.015
Prof. exec <sup>2</sup>	-.246	.221	-.056	.230*	-.184*	-.012
Female <sup>3</sup>	-.205	-.491***	-.234**	-.456***	.026	-.039
Age	-.072**	-.034*	-.026	.017	-.046***	-.051***
Age <sup>2</sup>	3E-04	4E-05	-3E-05	-3E-04**	3E-04**	.4E-04***
Intercept	6.064***	3.650***	2.764***	1.089***	2.273***	2.568***
R <sup>2</sup>	20.9%	16.1%	24.4%	17.3%	7.9%	11.4%

Ref. cats: 1: No educational qualifications; 2: working class; 3: Male.

Sig levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$  (two tailed tests)

In addition, volumes of common and unauthorised likes are used as dependent variables. Results are presented in the last four columns of Table 1. Regardless of whether respondents like classical or not, being female decreases the amount of common likes. In the case of having no taste for classical, there are positive impacts of high educational level and social class. That is, people who have no legitimate taste but occupy higher positions of the social hierarchy tend to display more common tastes. Regarding the volume of unauthorised likes, if respondents like classical music there is a negative impact of post-secondary education, higher social class and, according to age squared term, a negatively declining effect of age. However, if a respondent reports not liking classical, there is a concomitant negative effect of educational level and again, there is a positive declining effect of age. In summary, results show affirmative evidence regarding the homology hypothesis but only partial support to that of omnivore by volume. Liking classical music does not seem to increase the number of common and unauthorised preferences, which could be interpreted as rejection. For individuals who do not like classical music, higher educational level and social class positively impact on volume of common tastes.

Bryson (1996) builds an exclusiveness scale, which counts the amount of genres that people ‘dislike’ and ‘dislike very much’. Amount of dislikes is the dependent variable for OLS linear regressions. Similarly, Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal (2008) compare the amount of dislikes between omnivores and non-omnivores. An alternative ‘omnivore by volume’ hypothesis might therefore be stated as:

**H<sub>3</sub>:** The lower the respondent’s social position, the higher the amount of musical genres the respondent dislikes (Bryson, 1996).

Different types of regression model most commonly used to analyse count data are applied to test the impact of stratification variables on the amount of likes and dislikes. Instead of selecting one technique, we applied linear, Poisson and negative binomial regression, using number of likes and dislikes as dependent variables. The latter might be understood as a generalisation of Poisson regression, allowing analysis of over-dispersed count variables (high proportion of zeros) (Long, 1997). Due to differing specifications, estimated parameters are not directly comparable among models; we therefore focus on coefficients significance (table 2.2).

**Table 2.2.** Different regression models to test omnivore by volume.

	Linear regression (β)		Poisson regression (β)		Negative binomial (β)	
	Volume of likes	Volume of dislikes	Volume of likes	Volume of dislikes	Volume of likes	Volume of dislikes
Sec bas/int	-.126	.142	-.048	.031	-.059	.031
Full sec	.331*	-.251	.144*	-.017	.027	-.017
L tert	.036	-.085	.025	-.055	.146	-.053
U tert <sup>1</sup>	.393**	-.501**	.163*	-.113*	.159	-.114
Never work	-.466	-.210	-.227	-.047	-.243	-.032
Interm	.035	.008	.012	.001	.012	.000
Prof. exec <sup>2</sup>	.098	.032	.036	.006	.034	.005
Female <sup>3</sup>	-.366***	.364***	-.156***	.080	-.146*	.084
Age	-.019	.005	-.004	.002	-.005	.002
Age <sup>2</sup>	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Intercept	3.352***	3.967***	1.184***	1.371***	1.206***	1.369***
R <sup>2</sup>	10.1%	6.2%	4.7%	2.8%	2.5%	1.8%

Ref. cats: 1: No educational qualifications; 2: working class; 3: Male.

Sig levels: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001 (two tailed tests)

In the case of Poisson and negative binomial, McFadden pseudo R squared measures are not directly comparable with linear regression R squared (Long, 1997).

Higher educational level has a positive (negative) impact on number of likes (dislikes). Being a woman has a negative (positive) impact. However, it is interesting that in the case of volume of dislikes, Poisson and negative binomial regression detected no impact of respondent’s sex. Moreover, negative binomial regression

detected no effect of educational level over volume of likes and dislikes. This could be explained by differences between methods to deal with count data. Under certain conditions, a negative binomial model is the most suitable for modelling this kind of dependent variable (Long, 1997). Linear and Poisson regression results are consistent between each other and provide support of an omnivorous trend. Higher education effectively motivates an increment to the number of likes and reduction of dislikes. However, these results are not consistent across different regression models.

### **2.2.2. By Composition**

Van Rees, Vermunt and Verboord (1999) noted that ‘omnivorism’ should not only relate to the number of cultural preferences, but also to the combinatorial logic of them. The authors proposed the use of latent class analysis (LCA), which has become one of the standard techniques to test omnivorism. An LCA model assumes that based on response profiles, each individual belongs to one (and only one) of  $k$  non-observed classes or clusters. The amount of classes and the individual membership of classes is unknown and unobserved (Skrondal and Rabe-Hesketh, 2004). Independent variables could be used as explanatory variables in multinomial regression to test their impact. This kind of regression allows for the testing of the impact of independent variables over a nominal dependent variable with multiple categories (Long, 1997). An advancement on this is a combination of the two, known as the LCA MIMIC model (Skrondal and Rabe-Hesketh, 2004) that allows for the simultaneous detection of taste clusters and the quantification of the effect on them of stratification axes<sup>15</sup>. An omnivore by composition hypothesis can therefore be specified as:

**H<sub>4</sub>:** In any society it is possible to detect a cohesive taste pattern group (most likely constituted by individuals holding higher social positions) that tends to prefer a combination of musical genres that cross cultural boundaries (van Rees et al., 1999; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a; Tampubolon, 2008b, 2010; Widdop and Cutts, 2012).

LCA is applied to indicators of musical taste recoded as categorical variables (like, neutral, dislike). The software used to fit the proposed model is Latent GOLD 4.5 (Vermunt and Magidson, 2008). An important assumption of LCA models is local dependency. This means that if judgment of musical genres is related among them,

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<sup>15</sup> For instance García-Álvarez, Katz-Gerro and López-Sintas (2007), Tampubolon (2008a, b, 2010), Jaeger and Katz-Gerro (2010), Widdop and Cutts (2012).

these associations have to be fully explained for the latent classes (Skrondal and Rabe-Hesketh, 2004). To deal with this, we included extra associations between pairs of taste indicators based on suggestions from Latent Gold 4.5 estimated bivariate residuals (Vermunt and Magidson, 2008). The same was done for the LCA MIMIC model. Consistent with previously detected tensions, it is possible to conclude that the best model is one of four latent classes<sup>16</sup>. The largest group detected, *LCA*<sub>1</sub> (47.3 percent), again prefers classical and to a lesser extent country and western while rejecting forms of popular music. A second group detected, whose members like urban and to a lesser extent electronic and world music, is labelled *LCA*<sub>2</sub> (15.4 percent). A third group, *LCA*<sub>3</sub> (31 percent), shows a preference for the greatest number of genres, including rock, classical, and heavy metal and to a lesser extent modern jazz, world and urban music. Members of this group display patterns of preference consistent to the omnivore by composition. Finally, a fourth group *LCA*<sub>4</sub> (6.2 percent) represents a concentration of neutral opinions of rock, classical, and electronic genres, and dislike of what the *LCA*<sub>2</sub> and *LCA*<sub>1</sub> group members like.

**Table 2.3** Omnivore by composition multinomial regression.

	<i>LCA</i> <sub>1</sub> vs. <i>LCA</i> <sub>3</sub> (β)	<i>LCA</i> <sub>2</sub> vs. <i>LCA</i> <sub>3</sub> (β)	<i>LCA</i> <sub>4</sub> vs. <i>LCA</i> <sub>3</sub> (β)
Sec bas/int	-.046	-.104	-.736
Full sec	-.200	-.720*	-.527
L tert	-.401	-.792*	-.428
U tert <sup>1</sup>	-.663*	-1.218**	-.918
Never work	1.359	.828	2.683**
Interm	.053	-.059	.262
Prof. exec <sup>2</sup>	.173	.025	-.428
Female <sup>3</sup>	.835***	.961***	.746**
Age	.033	-.157***	.016
Age^2	.000	.001	.001
Intercept	-2.438**	3.548	-4.243**
R^2	22.3%		

Ref. cats: 1: No educational qualifications; 2: working class; 3: Male.

Sig levels: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001 (two tailed tests)

A multinomial regression is then applied, using as a dependent variable the previously obtained classification of taste groups (Table 2.3). In this model, the *LCA*<sub>3</sub> group is used as the reference category. Education, gender and age have significant impacts on explaining differences between taste groups. The *LCA*<sub>1</sub> group tends to

<sup>16</sup> The decision was made focused on widely accepted criteria, such as lowest Bayesian information criterion (BIC), lowest percentage of misclassification, moderate bivariate residuals, and ease of interpretation (Vermunt and Magidson, 2008).

contain adults (over 55 years old) and respondents with low educational levels. As demonstrated above, tension exists between these and the *LCA*<sub>2</sub> group, composed primarily of young (less than 35 years old), women and respondents with secondary level education and low social class. *LCA*<sub>4</sub> members are mostly adults (over 65 years old), with a low educational attainment and from a lower social class. *LCA*<sub>3</sub> are mainly young and middle-aged (25 to 54 years old), men, with a high education level and social class. These taste groups are consistent with those previously detected through MCA and cluster analysis. Despite small differences in preferences and rejections that define groups, using both techniques it is possible to conclude that these groups occupy the same social positions. Therefore, again it is possible to demonstrate mixed evidence of omnivorism and homology.

Replicating the LCA MIMIC approach proposed by Tampubolon (2008a, b) it is assumed that indicators of musical taste are ordinal scales. Due to the sparseness of data, which might produce highly biased estimate parameters, we use an alternative estimation method, namely, maximum a posteriori estimation (Galindo-Garre and Vermunt, 2006). Based on similar criteria to those used in the previous model, a five-cluster solution was selected, explaining 40.8 percent of entropy variance. Across all analyses we find a group with distinctive intense like for electronic and rock, and extreme dislike of country and western, jazz, heavy metal and classical music. We label this group as *MIMIC*<sub>1</sub> (11.3 percent). Members of the *MIMIC*<sub>2</sub> group (21.5 percent) have the highest overall levels of intermediate opinions and ‘do not know’ answers. This group reveals a preference only for classical and country and western music. The *MIMIC*<sub>3</sub> group (21.3 percent) reveals preferences for classical and to a lesser extent country and western. Members also display the strongest dislike for every other genre. Our fourth group, *MIMIC*<sub>4</sub> (23.4 percent), highlights its taste for rock, jazz, and classical music, along with intense dislike of electronic, urban, country and western, and world music.

Important to note is that this group displays lower levels of distaste for heavy metal. *MIMIC*<sub>5</sub> (22.5 percent) displays a strong like of rock and urban, while its members’ views on world music and jazz are neutral. Moreover, this group expresses, as the cultural omnivore framework predicts, high levels of acceptance of heavy metal, world, electronic and classical music but a strong dislike of country and western.

**Table 2.4.** Omnivore by composition: LCA MIMIC multinomial regression (effect coding).

	<i>MIMIC</i> <sub>1</sub> ( $\beta$ )	<i>MIMIC</i> <sub>2</sub> ( $\beta$ )	<i>MIMIC</i> <sub>3</sub> ( $\beta$ )	<i>MIMIC</i> <sub>4</sub> ( $\beta$ )	<i>MIMIC</i> <sub>5</sub> ( $\beta$ )
Intercept	10.787*	-6.636	-9.505	.531	4.823
No educ	.477	.593	.525	-.732*	-.862**
Sec bas/int	.970***	-.910*	-.581*	.245	.277
L tert	-.090	-.278	-.311	.508	.170
Full sec	-.549	.479	.150	-.211	.131
U tert	-.808*	.115	.217	.190	.285
Working cl	-.144	-.298	-.177	-.545	1.164
Interm	-.272	-.789	-.342	-.257	1.659
Prof. exec	-.229	-1.042	-0.690	.045	1.916
Never worked	.645	2.128	1.209	.757	-4.739
Male	-.297	-.318	-.338*	.268*	.685***
Female	.297	.318	.338*	-.268*	-.685***
Age	-.375*	.181	.214	.103	-.123
Age <sup>2</sup>	.002	-4.E-04	-3.E-04	-.002	.000

Sig levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$  (two tailed tests)

Results from the regression part of the model show that all variables (with the exception of social class) are statistically significant (Table 2.4). In addition, inspecting conditional probabilities (not shown), it is possible to again confirm that *MIMIC*<sub>1</sub> tend to be of a younger age cohort than the rest. *MIMIC*<sub>4</sub> and *MIMIC*<sub>5</sub> share a higher social class and education; *MIMIC*<sub>5</sub> are predominately males. *MIMIC*<sub>2</sub> and interestingly *MIMIC*<sub>3</sub> are characterised as less educated and from a lower social class. The former are more likely to be adults while the latter elderly. In this context, this model distinguishes between *MIMIC*<sub>5</sub>, *MIMIC*<sub>3</sub> and a group of purely more traditional taste (*MIMIC*<sub>4</sub>). A number of groups display limited likes and broad dislikes. These are found both in the highest and the lowest social hierarchy, a result that is consistent with the homology thesis. *MIMIC*<sub>5</sub> are able to cross cultural boundaries among groups, but due to their unclear strong preferences it is not possible to relate this group to any of the traditional definitions of omnivorism. To refine the search for taste and distaste groups, neutral opinions (and in particular intermediate likes and dislikes) have to be examined. Therefore, we conclude there is partial evidence of omnivorism by volume and composition.

In an alternative setting, Bryson (1997) fitted logistic regressions for each genre using dislike as the dependent variable, and infers effects of sociodemographic variables counting the number of significant effects across them. A similar procedure but based on an analysis of the liking of musical works is performed by Savage (2006). However, authors do not conceptualise omnivores or univores in any specific

way. Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen (2010) test omnivorism by composition, defined as whether respondents simultaneously display taste for low, middle and highbrow genres. These categories are constructed based on ratios of legitimacy defined in terms of the educational level of respondents. Dichotomic variables for each combination of taste are then used as dependent variables in logistic regressions. Therefore, a second omnivore by composition hypothesis is:

**H<sub>5</sub>:** The higher the respondents' social position, the more likely they are to display a taste pattern that combines musical genres which cross low to highbrow cultural boundaries (Savage, 2006; Purhonen et al., 2010).

**Table 2.5.** Omnivore by composition logistic regressions.

	legitimate taste ( $\beta$ )	Common taste ( $\beta$ )	Unauthoriz ed taste ( $\beta$ )	Leg- comm- unauth taste ( $\beta$ )	Legitimate -common taste ( $\beta$ )	Legitimate -unauth ( $\beta$ )	Common- unauth taste ( $\beta$ )
Sec bas/int	.572**	-.203	-.462*	-.092	.171	.115	-.374*
Full sec	1.079***	.336	-.764**	.248	.726**	.295	-.331
L tert	.866***	.243	-.251	.460	.459	.589*	.082
U tert <sup>1</sup>	1.522***	.462*	-.739**	.619*	1.124***	.657**	-.302
Never work	-.118	-.196	-1.239**	-1.482	-.463	-1.241	-.662
Interm	.052	.133	-.101	-.096	-.016	.065	.100
Prof. exec <sup>2</sup>	.390*	.214	-.220	-.245	.162	.002	.021
Female <sup>3</sup>	.032	-.681***	-.015	-.093	-.178	.022	-.343**
Age	.090***	.063**	-.122***	.073**	.136***	.042	-.039
Age <sup>2</sup>	-4E-04*	-.001***	.001***	-.001**	-.001***	.000	1.276E-05
Intercept	-4.534***	.254	4.422***	-3.426***	-4.726***	-3.141***	1.812***
R <sup>2</sup>	16.5%	16.9%	5.7%	2.8%	8.5%	6.4%	8.7%

Ref. cats: 1: No educational qualifications; 2: working class; 3: Male.

Sig levels: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001 (two tailed tests)

Finally, logistic regressions using ‘having or not’ each of these taste patterns and their combinations as binary dependent variable are fitted (table 2.5). Logistic regression can be seen as a special case of multinomial regression, where the dependent variable has only two categories (Long, 1997). Significant estimated parameters indicate that males tend to display common and common-unauthorised patterns of taste. Age has a positive (declining) impact on probability of displaying legitimate and common taste, but is negative (declining) in terms of unauthorised patterns of taste. The younger age cohort tends to prefer unauthorised taste, older respondents common and legitimate taste. Individuals with a higher level of education tend to have legitimate and common tastes; respondents with low



educational attainment tend to have unauthorised taste. This is consistent with the homology thesis. Moreover, respondents who are middle-aged and have higher levels of education display all three patterns of taste, as omnivorism by composition presupposes. There is of course the possibility that they might be influenced by how taste patterns are defined in terms of the educational level of the respondents that prefer them. For example, when the pattern includes classical music, we see the effect of university education and when it includes unauthorised music, the effect of low education.

### **2.3. Conclusion**

It is possible to note that through the analyses performed, the conclusions extracted are consistent. They offer supportive evidence for the hypotheses they are intended to test, and at the same time they could be used to test others. These results concur with some of the peculiarities of the English data (Bennett et al., 2009, particularly Chapter 5). Not surprisingly, age is the primary stratifying factor of musical tastes and distastes, highlighting the distinction between popular music preferred by the younger age cohorts (urban and electronic), and the classical or traditional music of the older age groups, both reinforced by educational level and social class. Using every technique we detected a group that tends to like more music, or at least to choose two or more genres that cross cultural boundaries (*MCA*<sub>3</sub>, *LCA*<sub>3</sub> and *MIMIC*<sub>5</sub>). Although age and education are the most important variables we can use to distinguish groups of musical taste, class and taste are still strongly associated. Individuals belonging to these groups are likely to be in an advantageous position, that is, one which allows access to and the potential to know broadly about culture. In this regard we concur with arguments about cultural openness and the boundary crossing of some social groups, where it is possible to detect omnivorism as a manifestation of cultural homology in the classic Bourdieusian sense, as previous research confirms (Tampubolon, 2008a; Bennett et al., 2009; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2010a, b; Lizardo and Skiles, 2012). Savage and Gayo (2011) argue that tensions in the musical field are not clearly distinguished by low and highbrow hierarchy, but they may be better defined between people who know and like a broader variety of music and those with more reduced command. The authors extend the search for omnivorism by analysing a different set of indicators from CCSE data which simultaneously measure taste and knowledge of specific musical works. An expert therefore, as an alternative concept to Peterson's cultural omnivore, is someone who, thanks to the possession of competences is able to express positive or negative

judgment in regards to a broad range of musical works. We agree with the motivation of Savage and Gayo (2011), and although our analysis used different indicators, tensions detected among taste groups are consistent with their overall results.

Results from classification techniques (MCA and cluster analysis, LCA and MIMIC LCA) appear to be highly consistent. Moreover, association between grouping techniques measured through contingency index is 0.788 between MCA and LCA, 0.687 between MCA and MIMIC, and 0.718 between MIMIC and LCA. These become clearer when we compare preferences from *MCA*<sub>1</sub>, *LCA*<sub>1</sub> and *MIMIC*<sub>3</sub> (mainly classical and country and western), *MCA*<sub>2</sub>, *LCA*<sub>2</sub> and *MIMIC*<sub>1</sub> (mainly urban and electronic), and *MCA*<sub>4</sub>, *LCA*<sub>4</sub> and *MIMIC*<sub>2</sub> (a high proportion of neutral opinions). Differences can be explained by their different theoretical constructions and data processing methods. The most notable difference between outcomes occurs between MIMIC and other techniques. Analysing gradational scales of preferences (and moreover, with additional information from covariates), the MIMIC model is the only technique able to detect a group whose taste combines genres which can be related to what is today considered highbrow music (classical, jazz and rock) (Savage, 2006; Bennett et al., 2009) and whose members are from a higher social position (*MIMIC*<sub>4</sub>). Solutions with a different number of clusters were tested using MCA and LCA, and it was not possible to detect a group with similar composition. Despite similitude and differences among techniques it is important to highlight that individuals belonging to specific clusters or classes does not necessarily imply that they simultaneously possess the same preferences but that they are likely to share similar taste and distaste as defined by a combination of genres<sup>17</sup>.

Now that we have determined that techniques deliver highly consistent results and that they can be used to simultaneously test homology and omnivorism, we consider their advantages and disadvantages. First, MCA has the advantage of being an exploratory technique where results are summarised in the form of intuitive and easy-to-read maps, which makes it ideal to quickly identify interdependencies between indicators and sociodemographic variables. In addition, cluster analysis of retained dimensions makes it possible to detect the existence of grouped patterns in the same way as LCA. Usefulness of regression models depends on the hypothesis to be tested. An analysis of number of likes or dislikes does not seem to provide other

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<sup>17</sup> Special thanks to the anonymous referee who pointed out this.

information than evidence of global trends of omnivorism by volume; furthermore, results depend on the type of regression used. For more sophisticated dependent variables, such as predefined patterns of taste, logistic regressions deliver results consistent with other analyses. This procedure has as an advantage its easiness, wide availability in statistical packages and extensively validated in the literature. LCA has the advantage of defining groups based on a probabilistic framework from latent variable modelling (Skrondal and Rabe-Hesketh, 2004). Moreover, the MIMIC model can simultaneously estimate the impact of sociodemographic variables in the construction of latent classes. Through these techniques it is possible to study both hypotheses of homology and omnivorism. A disadvantage is the complexity of these techniques compared to others, where statistical assumptions and data requirements might negatively influence final results, and sometimes it is not possible to obtain a solution because of the difficult convergence of complex models<sup>18</sup>. Despite this, the MIMIC model is able to recognise a previously undistinguishable taste group. We do not believe however that there is a perfect method to test one perspective or another; rather, there are several alternatives that may vary according to research questions, operationalisations of concepts, and data constraints. Moreover, these methods are complementary.

Among the limitations of this research we notice that the reduced number of analysed indicators from only one particular cultural domain might influence results and conclusions. Also, we did not focus in depth on the violation of statistical assumptions, inclusion of interactions on regression models, treatment of missing values or other more sophisticated improvements to reviewed techniques. These might indeed have an important impact on the construction of more elaborated hypotheses, and subsequent results and interpretations. This research intended to illustrate how theory and methods are related in the sociology of taste and cultural consumption. As van Meter (2003) argues, comparing results from two or more methods is the only way to be sure our results and further interpretations are not influenced by methodological choices. Although certain theoretical assumptions might seem built to adapt to methods, we argue that the operationalisation of cultural stratification should not be limited by methods, but that methods should accurately translate the theories they seek to empirically demonstrate. Each technique has its

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<sup>18</sup> The vast majority of researchers reviewed in the literature do not mention how they dealt with the assumption of local dependency; it is plausible therefore to assume they did not do anything, and highly likely that these studies conclude that more latent classes exist than actually do.

own advantages and disadvantages, and a good statistical analysis should detect overall data trends and response patterns, regardless of the sets of tools used.

### **3. Patterns of cultural engagement and social differentiation: a consistency analysis of musical taste, participation and knowledge<sup>19</sup>**

**Abstract:** This article detects groups of musical taste, participation and knowledge, offering new evidence of the extent to which musical engagement of the individuals belonging to these groups is consistent. Our theoretical approach considers that aesthetic dispositions are the key element of distinction. Consistency is measured in terms of adherence to one (or more) judgemental discourses, which we categorise as art, popular or folk. Our article first detects patterns of taste, participation and knowledge. Secondly, it tests the impact of different explanatory variables on their formation; thirdly, it studies the consistency of individuals across dimensions of musical engagement. To achieve this, we refer to data from the Finnish project ‘Cultural Capital and Social Differentiation in Contemporary Finland’ (2007). Using MIMIC latent class analysis and multiple factor analysis, it is found that musical engagement across patterns of taste, participation and knowledge is not necessarily consistent. In conclusion, we suggest that an analysis of cultural consistency offers an interesting new perspective which considers individual engagement as multidimensional, where cultural items (genres and individual pieces of work) are one dimension, while other analytical dimensions relate to how strongly these items are preferred, how they are consumed or accessed, and how well they are known.

**Keywords:** Musical taste, participation and knowledge, homology, cultural omnivorism, Finland

#### **3.1 Introduction**

It is widely recognised that choices made by individuals regarding cultural engagement can work as powerful social markers. However, the way in which cultural taste, participation, and knowledge are socially distributed has changed with time. No research to date has focused on understanding, for example, if individuals who declare a taste for a certain type of music also attend concerts and display knowledge exclusively related to their favourite genres. In other words, it is unknown to what extent an individual’s musical taste, participation and knowledge are consistent. The main objective of this article is thus to extract the additional information which a detailed analysis is capable of delivering, contrasting how different dimensions of music practices are socially distributed and how consistent individuals across them are. To meet our purposes we propose to detect patterns of musical engagement in terms of adherence to one (or more) of Frith’s (1996) art/popular/folk judgemental discourses across three dimensions of musical practice: taste, participation, and knowledge.

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<sup>19</sup> This chapter is based on the following article: Leguina, A. (2015). Patterns of cultural engagement and social differentiation: A consistency analysis of musical taste, participation and knowledge. Unpublished manuscript.

Bourdieu's seminal work *La Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1979) is one of the most influential studies which focuses on attempting to understand how and why cultural and leisure activities are unevenly distributed. According to the Bourdieusian framework, cultural taste is socially structured from a position of domination and symbolic violence, where members of the upper classes tend to prefer more sophisticated, 'difficult' cultural items – commonly known as highbrow – and reject ones which are popular and simplistic, or lowbrow. At the same time, the middle classes (or *petit bourgeoisie*) aspire to and imitate the tastes of dominant groups while simultaneously struggling to differentiate themselves from the lower classes. The correspondence between social class structure and aesthetic preference, or homology, is therefore an isomorphism mediated by the judgment of what is good or bad taste. This capacity is anchored in personal habitus, defined by Bourdieu as reproduced and inherited dispositions which generate the capacity to produce judgment and action. In addition to habitus, during one's life course different types of capital are accumulated, which exist in four basic forms: economic, cultural, social and symbolic. These are species of interchangeable power, allowing individuals to obtain certain profits. Struggles for different social positions take place in fields, systems of relations where individuals display their resources in order to access advantaged positions.

However, as noted by Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen (2009), contemporary research has also focused on detecting how individual preferences can be grouped in taste patterns. In this regard, the work of Peterson and colleagues (Peterson, 2005) showed itself to be particularly influential. This idea, named cultural omnivorism, can be broadly defined as the opposition between individuals from higher social positions who simultaneously prefer several highbrow and lowbrow musical genres (omnivores), and individuals from lower positions who prefer one or few lowbrow genres (univores). When it first appeared, the work of Peterson and his colleagues was interpreted as a challenge to the widely-accepted approach of Bourdieu (Peterson, 2005).

Despite this, our position in this article is based on the perspective of Lizardo and Skiles (2015). This argues that empirical research which positions homology and omnivorism as contradictory views misunderstands Bourdieu's conceptualisation. According to these authors, the key element of distinction is not one of exclusive highbrow preferences but the command which individuals have over their aesthetic

disposition. That is, the ability to appreciate form in partial separation from function/content and the capacity to constitute common objects or experiences in an aesthetic way. Acquired through exposure to advantaged conditions in households and formal education, these allow the aesthetic valuation of a wider variety of objects. This feature is indeed consistent with cultural openness theorised according to patterns of broader engagement, and the usefulness of this reasoning will be discussed in the next section.

### **3.2 Dimensions of musical engagement: Taste, participation and knowledge**

In the field of cultural stratification, the selection of cultural indicators has not been a matter of indifference to researchers. Although it has been argued that it is less defined today in terms of social class than outlined in Bourdieu's (1979) findings, taste is still a useful form by which to identify highly polarised social groups and subcultures (Bennett et al, 2009). The literature defines broad taste groups based on the idea of a widespread orientation of individuals according to cross-cultural boundaries, but also on the basis of dislikes and neutral opinions (chapter 2). In our case, in line with Ollivier, Gauthier and Truong (2009) we focus on the concept of taste eclectics, broadly defined as the "selection and combination of cultural elements belonging to domains considered different, e.g., highbrow and lowbrow" (Ollivier, Gauthier and Truong, 2009: 459). These are individuals who not only move between categories defined by musical status (that is, low or highbrow) but who also cross other kinds of boundaries such as 'old-new' and 'popular-exclusive' (Ollivier, 2008).

However, it is argued that research into cultural and social stratification should not only emphasise how social differences are shaped around personal taste judgements but at the same time not forget how culture is acquired and shared. Some consider participation to be a public display of cultural boundaries, closer to the concept of lifestyle and a signal of real commitment (Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). In this regard, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) propose the concept of voraciousness, which 'reflects a 'quantitative' dimension of leisure consumption based not only on the breadth of cultural tastes (as in omnivorousness) but also on the frequency of participation in different leisure activities' (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007, p.126). Consequently, patterns of cultural consumption may differ not only in terms of diversity but also in terms of frequency of participation.

Although for Bourdieu (1979) knowledge was more important than taste or participation, and Peterson and colleagues implicitly made reference to it as part of their ‘passing knowledge’ idea, this kind of indicator is not included in quantitative cultural research as often as taste or participation. The literature accepts that a socially advantaged person needs to have some knowledge of (or at least familiarity with) a wide variety of cultural genres, as well as the ability to recognise how and where to display expertise in order to obtain certain privileges (Erickson, 1996). As an extension of omnivorism, Savage and Gayo (2011) propose the concept of cultural experts. According to this, a knowledge expert is a person who, thanks to the possession of competences, is able to express judgement (either positive or negative) of a broad range of musical works.

Due to the different nature of each type of indicator, it is plausible that the explanatory power exerted by socio-demographic variables on broader engagement might differ across them. Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011), Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen (2011) and Yaish and Katz-Gerro (2012) are among the few commentators who simultaneously analysed more than one dimension. Their results confirm that taste and knowledge are related to cultural and symbolic resources (such as class and education) while participation is constrained by economic resources and availability (such as income and place of residence). More recently, Weingartner (2014) discussed the relevance of understanding the mechanisms employed when making consumption decisions. Using indicators from film taste and consumption, and attitudes and expectations towards both, the author provides a connecting theoretical link which mixes rational-choice and practice theory. This seems to offer a plausible explanation for consistencies in patterns of cultural engagement. In fact, some commentators have argued that individuals do not necessarily display consistent lifestyles (Lahire, 2008; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014). Despite the astonishing amount of evidence presented here, research appears to make no explicit mention of the levels of consistency or inconsistency which individuals display across taste, participation and knowledge.

### **3.3. Practices, music and worlds**

With the idea of simultaneously studying taste, participation and knowledge, our theoretical framework is enriched by a perspective commonly adopted by researchers of consumption, namely the theory of practices (Warde, 2014). According to the author, cultural taste alone does not imply practice; it is merely a component of



almost all practice, and it is engagement in different practices which explains the nature and process of consumption. Here, inspired by previous efforts from Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011) and Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen (2011) we propose to extend the analysis of preference patterns to more than one dimension, recognising that consumer practices (and the aesthetical dispositions related to them) as a whole act as elements of distinction.

Over the last sixty years, music has been central to social research focusing on understanding the relationship between culture and society. To determine to what degree individuals' engagement across musical practices is consistent, we need to assign meanings to different patterns of preferences. This will allow the detection and understanding of the symbolic boundaries which engagement reflects. In this regard, Frith's (1996) judgemental discourses have been used to provide a framework for research in the field (van Eijck, 2001; Ollivier, 2008) and provide a solid theoretical basis from which to understand combinations of musical works. These are related to Becker's (1982) art worlds and Bourdieu's taste groups, which are derived from the notion of cultural capital. Broadly speaking, Frith recognises that engagement with any musical form (regardless of whether it is considered high or lowbrow) produces symbolic profit (Prior, 2013). A particularly interesting feature for our research is the fact that Frith himself provides a link between his way of understanding musical valuation (that is, through judgemental discourses) and Bourdieu's aesthetical dispositions: '[P]eople bring similar questions to high and low art, (that) their pleasures and satisfactions are rooted in similar analytic issues (...). The differences between high and low emerge because these questions are embedded in different historical and material circumstances, and are therefore framed differently, and because the answers are related to different social situations, different patterns of sociability, different social needs.' (Frith, 1996: 19).

In other words, music speaks to each one of us differently, and our varying responses can be seen a reflection of our aesthetic disposition. We agree that this is not the only way to measure disposition (for instance, see Daenekindt and Roose, 2014; Weingartner, 2014). However, we believe that by isolating worlds of values (or just worlds) it is possible to group macro-genres which have aesthetical and functional elements in common. Empirically, Frith's (1996) worlds complement our operationalisation of patterns of musical preferences, allowing us to interpret them in relation to engagement in three different worlds: Art is where music provides a

transcendent experience available only to people with certain abilities. Folk values music as a cultural necessity with little or no separation of art and life, and emphasises its role as a means of placement. In the Popular world, values are created by and organised around the music industry and music events geared towards emotional gratification. Our conceptualisation therefore evaluates consistency in terms of consistent adherence to one of these worlds across practices; at the same time, consistency is found where individuals are simultaneously eclectics, voracious, and/or experts.

### **3.4. Aim and research questions**

In this article, we provide a detailed analysis of Finnish musical taste, participation and knowledge. Finland is a democratic parliamentary republic and has a capitalist economy with a large welfare state, one of the so-called Nordic social democracies. In terms of socio-economic equality it is one of the most egalitarian societies in the world. Despite this, it is possible to detect an unequal distribution of cultural items (Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2009, 2010, 2011; Kahma and Toikka, 2012). This has given rise to three research questions.

The first research question, derived from the taste culture perspective, tests the existence of patterns of musical engagement across practices. These are a reflection of aesthetic dispositions viewed through the separate lenses of the art/folk/popular musical worlds: In the contemporary Finnish musical domain, is it possible to detect patterns of taste, participation and knowledge consistent with Frith's (1996) worlds? Among them, is there a group within each dimension that could be labelled as eclectic, voracious, and expert? From here, is possible to derive the following hypotheses:

**H1a:** In every dimension of each musical practice it is possible to detect a number of patterns of engagement which can be interpreted in terms of art/folk/popular worlds.

**H1b:** Among them, at least one could be defined as eclectic taste, voracious participation or expert knowledge.

Our second research question acknowledges that the musical engagement of individuals across practices might be due to different factors: Do different socio-demographic variables impact differently on explaining patterns of taste, participation and knowledge? Based on previous evidence (Cvetičanin and Popescu, 2011; Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2011 and Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012;

Weintgartner, 2014), this question might be broken down into the following hypotheses:

**H2a:** Cultural and symbolic resources (specifically, educational level and social class) are the best explanatory variables of broader musical taste and knowledge.

**H2b:** Economic resources (measured by income and place of residence) and gender are the best explanatory variables of broader participation as an audience member in live music concerts.

Our third research question: Do individuals tend to belong to consistent musical worlds between and within dimensions of musical practices? This echoes calls which question consistency in individual lifestyles and is motivated by the possibility of boundary crossing across musical practices and worlds. We argue that inconsistency within such practices and worlds embedded in individual aesthetic dispositions is a powerful marker of social distinction. We therefore broke down this question into four hypotheses:

**H3a:** Individuals possessing lower (higher) cultural, symbolic and economic resources tend to be more (in)consistent in their musical engagement within practices.

**H3b:** Individuals with (in)consistent engagement in one dimension (taste, participation or knowledge) tend to display (in)consistent engagement in other dimensions as well.

**Table 3.1.** Descriptive statistics for sociodemographic variables.

<b>Sociodemographic variables</b>					
<b>Age</b>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Missing</i>
	18	74	46.45	15.58	0.00
<b>Education</b>	<i>No/basic</i>	<i>Vocational</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>University</i>	<i>Missing</i>
	14.34	34.29	32.64	18.73	0.00
<b>Occupational class</b>	<i>Working</i>	<i>Intermediate</i>	<i>Prof-exec</i>	<i>Not class.</i>	<i>Missing</i>
	25.94	34.29	28.24	5.04	6.48
<b>Sex</b>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Missing</i>		
	58.72	41.28	0.00		
<b>Place of residence</b>	<i>Countryside</i>	<i>Suburban</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>City centre</i>	<i>Missing</i>
	14.12	51.15	16.64	17.51	0.58
<b>Income</b>	<i>&lt;2000</i>	<i>2000-2999</i>	<i>3000-4999</i>	<i>&gt;5000</i>	<i>Missing</i>
	22.55	21.61	21.33	8.43	26.08

### 3.5. Methodology

This article draws on data from the project ‘Cultural Capital and Social Differentiation in Contemporary Finland’ (Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2009) which was specifically designed to stimulate discussion of cultural consumption. The data was collected by Statistics Finland in the latter part of 2007. The sample is representative of the Finnish population aged 18 to 74, amounting to an effective sample size of 1,388 individuals.

**Table 3.2.** Musical indicators

<b>Taste<sup>1</sup></b> (% dislike/ % neutral/% like/ % missing)	<b>Participation<sup>2</sup></b> (% never/ % once a year/ % two or more/ % missing)	<b>Knowledge<sup>3</sup></b> (% Don't know/% heard of/ % known/% missing)
Finnish schlager (15.1/15.0/67.8/2.2)	Rock (47.6/33.6/15.6/3.2)	Kolmas Nainen: Tästä asti aikaa (18.1/6.6/71.9/3.5)
Rock (8.6/20.2/68.1/3.1)	Opera (67.3/23.9/5.7/3.1)	Metallica: Enter sandman (41.2/16.4/38.5/4.0)
Modern jazz (33.6/42.8/20.0/3.6)	Classical (62.8/24.1/9.9/3.1)	Eminem: Stan (45.7/17.5/32.3/4.5)
Blues <sup>4</sup> (16.6/34.4/45.0/4.0)	Jazz (71.2/20.1/5.2/3.5)	Vivaldi: Four seasons (12.5/18.2/66.0/3.3)
Finnish folk (24.4/38.8/33.4/3.4)	Musical (45.7/41.9/8.7/3.6)	Philip Glass: Einstein on the beach (79.6/10.7/5.3/4.4)
World music <sup>4</sup> (26.5/49.4/20.3/3.8)	Nightclub (40.3/27.1/29.5/3.0)	Gustav Mahler: Symphony n. 5 (53.6/19.9/22.3/4.3)
Classical (18.2/29.9/48.3/3.5)		Miles Davis: Kind of blue (55.8/17.7/21.7/4.8)
Opera <sup>4</sup> (39.5/33.2/23.9/3.4)		Britney Spears: Oops I did it again (32.1/14.6/48.4/4.9)
Country and western <sup>4</sup> (19.1/33.8/43.9/3.2)		Olavi Virta: Hopeinen kuu <sup>5</sup> (4.2/5.5/88.0/2.3)
Electronic dance (32.6/40.5/23.6/3.4)		Paula Koivuniemi: Aikuinen nainen (2.5/5.0/90.1/2.4)
Heavy metal (35.8/28.4/32.5/3.3)		
Urban (38.6/37.2/20.8/3.4)		
Religious (27.7/38.3/31.6/2.4)		

1: Local independence extra parameters: Classical <-> Modern jazz; Classical <-> Finnish folk; Urban <-> Electronic dance; Religious <-> Finnish folk.

2: Local independence extra parameters: Classical <-> Opera; Jazz <-> Rock; Jazz <-> Classical; Nightclub <-> Rock.

3: Local independence extra parameters: Einstein on the beach <-> Four seasons; symphony n. 5 <-> Four seasons; symphony n. 5 <-> Einstein on the beach Kind of blue <-> symphony n. 5; Aikuinen nainen <-> Tästä asti aikaa.

4: Excluded from taste model.

5: Excluded from knowledge model.

#### 3.5.1. Variables

Some of the most frequently analysed socio-demographic variables in the literature were included in the analysis (Table 3.1 provides descriptive statistics). Table 3.2 presents the indicators analysed, representing all three dimensions of the musical

practices available in the survey. These indicators are greatly influenced by the research carried out in the UK by Bennett et al. (2009). In terms of taste indicators, the thirteen musical genres were recoded as a like/neutral/dislike trichotomy (for details see online appendix). Unsurprisingly, attendance levels of individuals were rather low, and so the six attendance indicators were recoded as never/once a year/two or more times a year. To construct a set of variables which capture ‘pure’ knowledge (Prior, 2013) we followed the Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen (2011) coding blueprint. Both categories implying familiarity (‘known and like it’ and ‘known and dislike it’) were merged into one macro category labelled ‘known and formed an opinion’. The remaining two categories were retained as originally defined.

During preliminary analyses, these cases were reassigned to the most frequent category, excluded from analysis, treated as imputed missing values and recoded in the midpoint as neutral. Our exploration suggested that results are robust regardless of which alternative is used. However, in order to retain the largest amount of data possible, we decided to assign these cases to the neutral category and not infer (or impute) a non-existent taste judgment. Unsurprisingly, attendance levels were rather low, so the six attendance indicators were recoded as never/once a year/two or more times a year. Instead of genres, musical knowledge is measured through 4-point scales which combine taste and knowledge for specific musical works: ‘known and like it’, ‘known and dislike it’, ‘don’t listen but known’ and ‘don’t know at all’. To construct a set of variables that capture ‘pure’ knowledge (Prior, 2013) we follow the Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen (2011) coding blueprint<sup>20</sup>. Both categories that imply familiarity (‘known and like it’ and ‘known and dislike it’) were merged as one macro category labelled ‘known and formed an opinion’. The remaining two categories are retained as originally defined.

### ***3.5.2. Statistical procedures***

#### *Step 1: Latent class model with explanatory variables*

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<sup>20</sup> Regarding to Finnish artists, a search on the website [www.last.fm](http://www.last.fm), provides the following information (consulted on May 16, 2014): Paula Koivuniemi is one of the most popular schlager singers in Finland. Her singing career spans over five decades. At age 65, Paula still records music and hosts tours and gigs. Olavi Virta (27/2/15, Sysmä – 14/7/72, Tampere) was a Finnish singer, acclaimed as the king of Finnish tango. Kolmas Nainen is a rock band which formed in 1982 and split up in 1994. The band reached the peak of their success in the late 80s and early 90s. In 2009 they made a comeback and released a new album.

Separate models for taste, participation, and knowledge were fitted. The objective was to classify individuals according to their patterns of engagement and to quantify the explanatory power of socio-demographic variables. The latent class model with covariates, known as the LCA MIMIC model (Skrondal and Rabe-Hesketh, 2004), has been applied before to the study of culture and social stratification. The model assumes that each observation belongs to one of T unknown and unobserved (latent) classes or groups. The probability is that a respondent displays a specific pattern of musical engagement conditional to a set of explanatory variables. Empirically speaking, this implies that an individual's background has a real impact in shaping their patterns of musical practices. Contrary to the application of standard LCA (as, for instance, seen in Chan, 2010), the impact of socio-demographic variables is not quantified posterior to classification but is an active part of the process.

As stated, the model assumes that if cultural indicators are related among them, these associations have to be fully explained for the latent groups. To meet this assumption (referred to as 'local independency'), following the suggestion of Vermunt and Madigson (2008), pairs of musical genres with higher residual covariance were correlated (notes 1, 2 and 3 in Table 2). In addition, indicators highly correlated to others were excluded during this stage. In other words, we avoided the possibility of measuring the same indicator twice. To ensure representativeness and comparability, the genres and works included at this stage are the ones which better define the Finnish musical worlds, as well as those more frequently found in the literature (notes 4 and 5 in Table 2). Due to data sparseness, an alternative estimation method known as *maximum a posteriori estimation* was used. This approach makes it possible to extract reliable insights into overall patterns of musical engagement without compromising our proposed theoretical approach. Models were adjusted using Latent GOLD 4.5 (Vermunt and Madigson, 2008), including the use of *multiple imputation* to account for missing values.

### *Step 2: Multiple factor analysis*

The MIMIC LCA models did not themselves reflect how taste, participation and knowledge are interrelated. To map our indicators and quantify how they are related, we went one step further and proposed the performing of multiple factor analysis (MFA) (Escofier and Pages, 1994). A common procedure found in the literature used to study the impact of grouped variables on the overall solution (or the construction

of the social space) is to apply MCA and to sum the contribution of each variable to total variance (per cent) separately for each dimension (for instance Bennett et al, 2009; Kahma and Toikka, 2012). However, the influence of each set of variables strongly depends on the number of variables and categories belonging to each group, running the risk of wrong quantification. In contrast, MFA (an extension of MCA) allows the analysis of variables structured on subsets, weighting them proportionally to their size to make their influence comparable.

Firstly, we considered  $j = 1, \dots, J_k$  groups of variables, each with  $k$  variables. We then carried out a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) on each *Variables x Individuals* contingency table ( $Y_j$ ) and first eigenvalues of each  $Y_j$  were retained ( $\lambda_1^j$ ) to be used to weight each group of variables. Secondly, MCA was performed on the new matrix =  $\left[ 1/\lambda_1^j Y^1, \dots, 1/\lambda_1^j Y^J \right]$ . This feature is particularly convenient for our analysis as it allowed us to accurately quantify the relevance (in terms of contribution) of each dimension of each musical practice to the social space. In summary, our analysis consisted of three active groups of variables (13 taste indicators; 6 attendance indicators; 10 knowledge indicators) and nine supplementary variables (social class, education, age, place, income, gender, taste, attendance and knowledge groups). The analysis, including missing values imputation through *regularised iterative MFA*, was performed using the FactoMineR package (Lê, Josse and Husson, 2008), part of the R statistical software (R Core Team, 2013).

**Table 3.3.** Model fit of final model structure.

	# clusters	BIC	DF	Class. Error (%)
Taste	3	22901	1286	8.10
	<b>4</b>	<b>22886</b>	<b>1252</b>	<b>12.55</b>
	5	22938	1218	12.94
Participation	3	12684	1304	11.01
	<b>4</b>	<b>12582</b>	<b>1276</b>	<b>11.54</b>
	5	12633	1248	14.07
Knowledge	3	17252	1282	7.11
	<b>4</b>	<b>17184</b>	<b>1248</b>	<b>9.54</b>
	5	17255	1214	11.13

*Bold: selected model*

### 3.6. Results

To decide the final MIMIC LCA model for each dimension, we focused on several criteria, including the lowest Bayesian information criterion (BIC), lowest percentage

of misclassification, moderate residuals, and higher percentage of variance explained (for details regarding MIMIC LCA goodness of fit, see Vermunt and Magdison, 2008; Tampubolon, 2008). In summary, for each dimension we retained a model with a four clusters solution (Table 3.3).

### ***3.6.1. Identifying taste, participation and knowledge groups***

Our first results of interest are interpreted as conditional probabilities, which conditional to belonging to a specific group quantify the probability of responding to each cultural item in a particular way (see online appendix). Across all three dimensions we found groups which engage with musical genres and works which we could relate to the popular world. *Popular taste* group members (26.6% of the sample) tend to display likes of genres such as rock, heavy metal and urban, and rejection of folk, religious and jazz. The participation in *popular* group (28.3%) expresses frequent attendance of nightclubs and (to a lesser extent) of rock concerts and musicals. Members of the *popular knowledge* group (38.3%, the largest among the knowledge clusters) tend to voice knowledge and opinion of globally known works such as ‘Oops I did it again’, ‘Enter sandman’, ‘Stan’ and two Finnish songs (‘Tasta asti aikaa’ and ‘Aikuinen nainen’).

Other groups which were present in all three dimensions display engagement with jazz and classical genres, along with some locally preferred styles. These groups might be identified as being part of the art world. We are aware that this is a term which could be considered either subjective, or too broad, or both. However, we believe its use is justifiable, in that this taste pattern consists of commonly accepted highbrow genres and works. Members of the *taste art* group (29.4%) voice a liking of folk and religious music, alongside the strongest preference of classical music and a rejection of urban and heavy metal. The *art participation* group is the smallest within this dimension (17.1%). Its members declare attendance of opera and classical music concerts two or more times a year alongside less frequent attendance of jazz concerts and musicals. The *knowledge art* group (22.3%) has the highest rates of knowledge of classical music works but out of the globally known works declares knowledge of only ‘Tasta asti aikaa’.

Due to the differing nature of the dimensions of musical engagement, only in the taste and knowledge categories was possible to detect a group which engaged with local musical forms. It is important to note that the label *folk* refers both to a subset



of musical genres and works which could be locally produced, and at the same time to others that might not be but which are preferred as peculiarities of the Finnish musical scene (Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2009). *Taste folk* is the smallest of the taste groups (13.3%) and displays a high rate of liking schlager, folk and religious music, and neutrality to the remaining genres. In the case of the *folk knowledge* group (22.4%), its members demonstrate knowledge of only three musical works: the two Finnish songs and the classical work, ‘Four seasons’. In terms of participation, we identify a specific group characterised through its lack of attendance of live events. The *inactive* group (28.4%) tends to declare only sporadic attendance of musicals and nightclubs.

In all three dimensions we found groups which tend to display broader engagement or which are inconsistent across worlds. *Taste eclectic* is the largest group in this dimension (30.5%). Its members like rock, schlager, classical and heavy metal, while declaring themselves neutral to the remaining musical genres. They therefore appear to combine some preferences from popular, art and folk taste groups. In our second dimension of analysis, participation, we detected a group that we labelled *voracious*; this covered around a quarter of the sample (26.0%). They express once-a-year attendance of a wide variety of musical events; voraciousness here is thus not related to frequency, but to openness to a broad variety of musical events. *Knowledge expert* (16.9%) is the smallest group in the dimension and displays a strong knowledge of Finnish songs and ‘Four seasons’, while in relation to the rest of the musical works declaring ‘don’t listen to but known.’

Thus far we were able to confirm the existence of patterns of engagement which relate to art/folk/popular worlds (Frith, 1996; van Eijck, 2001; Olliver, 2008). Moreover, there effectively appeared to exist individuals who are inconsistent across worlds and whose engagement is eclectic, voracious, or expert (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007; Ollivier, Gauthier and Truong, 2009; Savage and Gayo, 2011). This evidence supports hypotheses **H1a** and **H1b**. To understand the influence of socio-demographic variables we interpreted results from the structural part of the models, using estimated coefficients and *eclectic*, *voracious* and *expert* groups as a reference (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4. Structural model coefficients.

		Taste			Knowledge			Participation		
		Art vs diss	Pop vs diss	Folk vs diss	Art vs exp	Pop vs exp	Folk vs exp	Art vs vor	Pop vs vor	Inac vs vor
<i>Intercept</i>		<b>5.604</b> (1.920)**	3.182 (2.380)	2.094 (3.111)	<b>-28.410</b> (9.814)**	<b>5.460</b> (1.754)**	-1.521 (1.853)	-7.065 (5.190)	1.744 (1.537)	0.413 (2.789)
Age		<b>-0.346</b> (0.086)***	-0.152 (0.121)	<b>-0.268</b> (0.123)*	<b>0.816</b> (0.316)**	-0.146 (0.080)	0.133 (0.080)	0.036 (0.189)	0.114 (0.085)	0.002 (0.110)
Age <sup>2</sup>		<b>0.005</b> (0.001)***	0.000 (0.002)	<b>0.005</b> (0.001)*	<b>-0.006</b> (0.003)*	0.000 (0.001)	<b>-0.002</b> (0.001)*	0.002 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.001)	<b>0.002</b> (0.001)*
Education <sup>1</sup>	Vocational	-0.529 (0.403)	<b>1.159</b> (0.588)*	-0.225 (0.457)	-0.397 (0.363)	0.350 (0.440)	-0.187 (0.394)	-0.229 (0.754)	-0.410 (0.500)	-1.098 (0.579)
	College	-0.320 (0.441)	<b>1.556</b> (0.675)*	-0.673 (0.516)	<b>0.812</b> (0.421)*	0.412 (0.473)	-0.267 (0.435)	0.292 (0.799)	-0.414 (0.529)	<b>-1.534</b> (0.597)*
	University	-0.326 (0.544)	<b>1.481</b> (0.691)*	-1.003 (0.716)	<b>1.646</b> (0.552)**	0.267 (0.562)	0.271 (0.523)	<b>1.878</b> (0.941)*	<b>-1.628</b> (0.566)**	<b>-1.992</b> (0.737)**
Occupational class <sup>2</sup>	Intermed	-0.077 (0.357)	-0.323 (0.462)	-0.455 (0.412)	0.205 (0.364)	0.408 (0.357)	0.317 (0.361)	0.148 (0.679)	<b>-1.041</b> (0.343)**	-0.875 (0.509)
	Prof-exec	-0.672 (0.419)	-0.575 (0.481)	<b>-1.496</b> (0.535)**	0.102 (0.407)	0.251 (0.388)	0.310 (0.397)	0.023 (0.666)	<b>-1.092</b> (0.369)**	-0.855 (0.496)
	Not class	0.620 (0.567)	-0.143 (0.699)	0.265 (0.695)	0.672 (0.689)	-0.372 (0.600)	-0.138 (0.572)	0.609 (0.901)	<b>-1.265</b> (0.555)*	-0.002 (0.664)
Sex <sup>3</sup>	Male	-0.479 (0.288)	<b>1.247</b> (0.365)***	<b>-1.065</b> (0.350)**	0.130 (0.270)	0.444 (0.280)	-0.350 (0.272)	<b>-2.742</b> (0.655)***	<b>0.838</b> (0.252)***	<b>-1.279</b> (0.452)**
	Suburban	-0.606 (0.347)	<b>1.379</b> (0.669)*	-0.284 (0.420)	-0.304 (0.359)	0.124 (0.397)	-0.518 (0.386)	-1.037 (0.671)	-0.327 (0.424)	<b>-1.570</b> (0.548)**
Place of residence <sup>4</sup>	Town-village	-0.160 (0.399)	0.753 (0.701)	0.218 (0.498)	<b>-1.436</b> (0.453)**	-0.247 (0.450)	-0.220 (0.422)	-0.454 (0.725)	0.058 (0.486)	-0.218 (0.568)
	City centre	<b>-1.011</b> (0.461)*	1.045 (0.737)	-0.775 (0.558)	-0.014 (0.467)	0.775 (0.554)	0.438 (0.538)	-1.362 (0.824)	<b>-1.278</b> (0.494)**	<b>-2.051</b> (0.674)**
Income <sup>5</sup>	2000-2999	<b>-0.841</b> (0.394)*	-0.399 (0.474)	<b>-1.258</b> (0.473)**	-0.047 (0.386)	0.701 (0.385)	<b>0.761</b> (0.382)*	-0.344 (0.633)	-0.573 (0.371)	-0.430 (0.496)
	3000-4999	<b>-0.915</b> (0.398)*	-0.548 (0.493)	<b>-1.041</b> (0.497)*	<b>-0.813</b> (0.420)*	0.160 (0.3870)	-0.018 (0.385)	-0.850 (0.661)	<b>-0.960</b> (0.363)**	<b>-1.785</b> (0.508)***
	>5000	-0.583 (0.491)	-0.284 (0.559)	-0.152 (0.597)	-0.554 (0.534)	0.668 (0.489)	0.443 (0.489)	-1.132 (0.882)	<b>-1.469</b> (0.447)**	<b>-1.505</b> (0.618)*
<i>Variance explained</i>		38.68 %			32.42 %			44.88 %		

Ref. cat: 1: No/basic; 2: Working; 3: male; 4: countryside; 5: less than 2000. \* p < 0.05, p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001 (two-tailed tests).

Although it is common practice to select the potentially lowest group as a reference, our procedure allowed us to directly test whether inconsistent groups are in higher social and economic positions compared to individuals who occupy popular, art, and folk worlds. Entropy  $R^2$  from our models indicates to what extent socio-demographic variables are able to explain our detected latent classes. They range from explaining a 44.88% for participation groups 38.68% for taste, and 32.42% in the case of knowledge.

In the taste model, all variables have statistically significant effects. Age has a negative effect on the displaying of a taste for *art* (odds ratio between brackets:  $e^{-0.346} = 0.70$  derived from table 4) and *folk* (0.76) taste. However, age squared coefficients suggest that when age increases, individuals tend to be more likely to display these taste patterns. Surprisingly, a higher educational attainment increases the chance of displaying *popular* taste (for instance an odds ratio of 4.39 for university education). In terms of occupational class, individuals from the professional executive group (the upper level) are less likely to be part of the *folk world* (0.22). Males are less likely to belong to the *folk* (0.34) than the *eclectic* taste group but more likely to belong to the *popular* (3.48). Similarly, positive significant effects indicate that individuals from the suburbs (3.97) are more likely to be part of the *popular* taste group while those from the city centre are more likely to be *eclectic* (0.36). In terms of income, individuals with earnings of less than 4999 euros per month are more likely to be *eclectic* than belong to the *art* or *folk* group.

In the participation model, all explanatory variables except age are statistically significant. Individuals having attained a higher level of education (college or university) are less likely to belong to the *popular* (0.21 in the case of university education) and *inactive* (0.13 and 0.19 respectively) than the *voracious* categories. At the same time, attending university increases the probability of being part of the *art* group (6.54). Individuals belonging to the upper class are less likely to be part of the *popular world* (0.33) category. Males are less likely to belong to the *art* (0.06) and *inactive* (0.27) categories and more likely to belong to the *popular* (2.31) than the *voracious* group. Individuals residing in cities are less likely to be part of the *popular* group (0.27 for the inner city) or declare *inactive* participation (0.12 for the inner city and 0.20 for the suburbs). Income has the expected effect: the bigger an individual's income, the less likely they are to be *inactive* (odds ratio for individuals with the highest income: 0.22) or *popular* (0.23).

In the knowledge model, age, education, income, and place of residence had statistically significant effects. Older participants (2.26) are more likely to display *art* than *expert* knowledge. It was possible to capture a similar picture in the case of education, where higher educated (2.25 for college and 5.18 for university) participants are also more likely to display *art* than *expert* knowledge. Individuals with a low income are more likely to subscribe to the *folk* group (2.14) while individuals with an income of between 3000 and 4999 euros are more likely to be *experts* (0.44). Conversely, residents of towns and villages (0.23) with a higher income (0.44) are less likely to be part of the *art* group than they are to be *experts*.

Results obtained from the structural part of the models offered only partial evidence to support **H2a** and **H2b**. While cultural resources (education and social class) indeed explain taste and knowledge, the impact of the other variables is comparable in size, and (particularly in the case of knowledge) occupational class has no effect. Similarly, in terms of participation, we observed the predicted effects of economic resources (income and place of residence) and sex, but education and class also have significant effects. Surprisingly, age has no effect on patterns of musical participation.

We also found evidence to support **H3a**. Our models showed that patterns inconsistent across musical worlds (eclecticism, voraciousness, and expertise) can be explained by higher levels of cultural and economic resources. In general, eclectics, voracious and expert group members tend to have higher levels of education, class and income, and live in cities, more often than consistent patterns of practices.

**Table 3.5.** Results from multiple factor analysis.

		<b>Dim.1</b>	<b>Dim.2</b>	<b>Dim.3</b>
Eigenvalue		1.82	1.67	0.88
% of var.		9.92	9.12	4.79
Cum. % of var.		9.92	19.04	23.83
<i>Contribution of var. groups to overall variance</i>	Taste	39.57	25.58	43.72
	Participation	26.55	45.31	16.66
	Knowledge	33.88	29.11	39.63

### 3.6.2. Positioning musical engagement groups

The next step of our analysis, multiple factor analysis, sought to provide a graphical representation of interrelating practices and worlds. An inspection of the explained percentages of variance obtained from MFA (first half of Table 3.5) led to the decision to retain the first three dimensions; these explain 23.83% of the total

variance (89.2% of adjusted variance; 45.7%, 37.1% and 6.4% for the first three dimensions respectively). These results provided additional evidence to answer **H2a**, **H2b**, and **H3a**, confirming what was found through the MIMIC LCA models. In general, it appeared that members whose practices involve the art world are in higher social position than and pop and folk, with the latter in the lower position.

The first dimension (horizontal axis, Graph 1), to which contribution to its variance is 39.57% from taste indicators, 33.88% from knowledge, and 26.55% from participation (second half of table 3.5), is shown on the left side of the axis mainly in the form of individuals from popular taste, participation and knowledge groups. In contrast, on the right side of the axis there is a concentration of individuals mainly from art taste, participation and knowledge groups. As expected, this axis presents a contrast in age difference, grouping young cohorts to the left and older to the right. Participation contributes 45.31% to the total second dimension variation (vertical axis on figure 3.1), which indicates the presence of inactive and popular participation below zero. Above zero it was possible to find a completely opposite image, grouping participation voracious and art, and taste eclectic. This tension is well reflected in income, education and social class, with all three lower below zero and higher above zero. Finally, the third axis variance is mainly due to taste (43.72%) and knowledge (39.63%), and reflects tensions between a broad knowledge of every musical work, expressed in the polarisation of the knowledge expert group (above zero) and the rest of the sample (below zero).

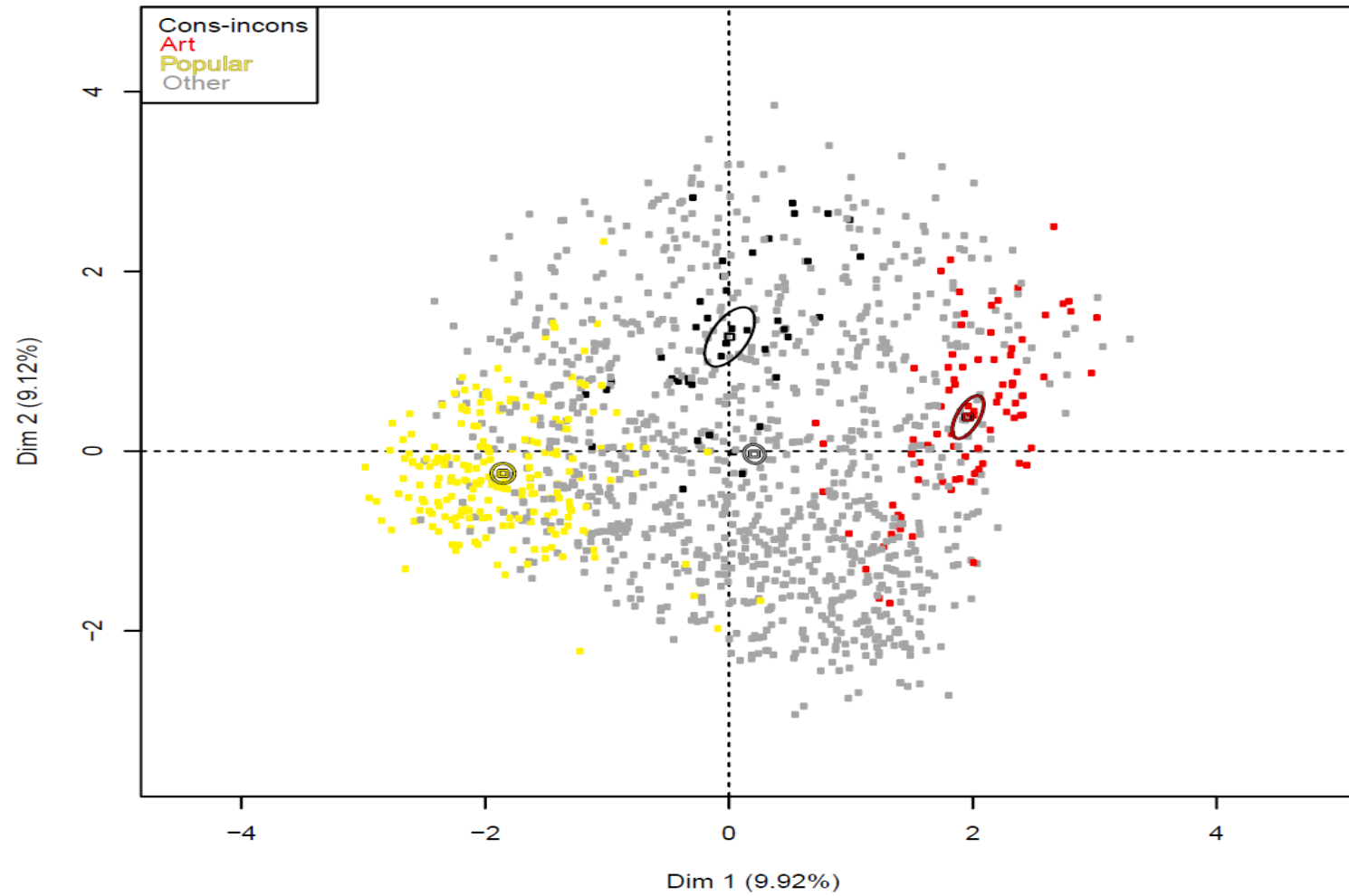
**Table 3.6.** Consistency across patterns.

		Participation				Knowledge			
		<i>Vor</i>	<i>Pop</i>	<i>Art</i>	<i>Inac</i>	<i>Exp</i>	<i>Pop</i>	<i>Art</i>	<i>Folk</i>
Taste	<i>Eclec</i>	<b>42.76%</b>	29.89%	8.28%	19.08%	<b>19.08%</b>	44.37%	4.37%	32.18%
	<i>Pop</i>	29.97%	<b>64.58%</b>	0.54%	4.90%	4.90%	<b>85.01%</b>	0.27%	9.81%
	<i>Art</i>	7.77%	8.01%	<b>39.08%</b>	45.15%	26.94%	5.58%	<b>46.36%</b>	21.12%
	<i>Folk</i>	12.64%	3.45%	29.31%	54.60%	21.84%	5.17%	54.60%	<b>18.39%</b>
Participation	<i>Vor</i>					<b>16.00%</b>	53.14%	8.57%	22.29%
	<i>Pop</i>					10.59%	<b>70.94%</b>	0.25%	18.23%
	<i>Art</i>					31.20%	4.40%	<b>49.60%</b>	14.80%
	<i>Inac</i>					19.11%	13.61%	39.53%	27.75%



Now we knew how cultural practices and worlds are socially structured, we needed to determine whether individuals are (in)consistent. We focused therefore on checking whether their musical engagement changes across dimensions. Table 3.6 shows the percentages belonging to each pair of engagement patterns. Within each quarter, row percentages were calculated; each row thus totals 100% (for instance, the first cell indicates that 42.76% of taste eclectics are also voracious in their participation).

Taste and participation appear to be consistent, with only three combinations (tolerant-voracious, popular-popular, and art-art) making up a concentrated 44.07% of the sample. It is interesting to note however that individuals expressing art taste are more frequently inactive in terms of participation (45.15%). Similarly, more than half of the individuals from *folk taste* groups are *inactive*. In the case of the taste and knowledge group, 42.07% of the sample display consistent patterns (*expert-eclectic*, *popular-popular*, *art-art* and *folk-folk*). It is of note however that consistency between folk groups is rather low, with only 18.39% of folk taste group members being part of the folk knowledge group. Another important discrepancy is the one observed within the *eclectic taste* group. In general, its members tend to be part of the *popular* (44.37%) or *folk knowledge* (32.18%) rather than the *expert* group. Within the knowledge and participation group, again it is possible to identify only three consistent patterns, accounting for only 33.72% of individuals. *Experts* constitute only 16% of voracious group members, and it appears that the latter tend more frequently to be part of the *popular knowledge* category (53.14%). As with taste and participation, inactive group members tend to be more frequently part of the *art knowledge* group (39.53%). Our results so far led us to accept **H3b** with caution. It was possible to detect some bi-dimensional consistency across practices, particularly in the *popular* world (and to a less extent in *art*); however, some anomalies were also found, particularly in the case of inactive participation among those individuals who are adherents of the art and folk worlds. In general, knowledge appears to be less consistent than taste and participation.



**Figure 3.2.** MFA overall result for individuals (first and second axes) highlighting consistent patterns of engagement.



Although around half of the sample is consistent in two dimensions, when the three are considered simultaneously, just 24.06% are consistent; 14.99% display consistent engagement with popular musical items (*consistent popular*) and 6.12% with art (*consistent art*), while a rather low 2.95% are simultaneously *eclectic*, *voracious* and *expert*, or what we could call *consistently-inconsistent*. Results this time were not in favour of **H3b**. Finally, based on MFA analysis from the previous section, figure 3.2 presents a visual representation of how the social positions of these consistent patterns differ. Due to data limitations, the *folk* world is built using only indicators from taste and knowledge groups (therefore not shown on Graph 2). Confidence ellipses (at 95%) test whether each world's position within the social space differ statistically (Lê, Josse and Husson, 2008). As can be observed, the results here confirmed support of **H3a**. Large differences exist in age (first axis) for *popular* (younger), and among *consistently-inconsistent* (middle-aged) and *art* (older) group members. Overall, *consistently-inconsistent* group members have a higher level of education, are from a higher class and have a higher income (higher position on axis 2). The *art world* category is located slightly above *popular world*. Regarding the remaining variables, *art* is composed of individuals with a high educational level and social class, followed by *popular* and *folk* group members. A high proportion of *art* group members reside in the inner city, while *popular* members tend to live in suburbs and *folk* in the countryside, towns and villages. In terms of income, groups are structured differently: *art* members present as the highest earners among the three groups, but there is almost no difference between *popular* and *folk*. Similarly, although the *art* group has a higher proportion of individuals from the upper class, the social class of the *popular* group is higher than *folk* (whose members are mostly in intermediate positions).

### 3.7. Discussion and conclusion

In the previous section we provided answers to our research questions and hypotheses. Here, we summarise our findings and discuss their implications. To answer our first research question, we have found evidence which confirms the existence of groups possessing different patterns of engagement in each dimension. In concordance with our expectations, these groups effectively appear to relate to the art/popular/folk worlds, confirming that musical engagement can be understood in terms of common aesthetical and functional elements. Moreover, consistent with previous research, it was possible to find *taste eclectic*, *participation voracious* and

*knowledge expert* groups which display inconsistency across music worlds (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007; Savage and Gayo, 2011; Purhonen, Gronow and Rahkonen, 2011).

Regarding our second research question, we found partial evidence to confirm our hypotheses. Although our results confirmed previously reported evidence, it is clear that consumption practices are complex processes which cannot be explained by a single resource or theory. Not only does possession of the right cultural resources facilitate access to certain genres and works, but aspects such as disposable time, money and place of residence can also restrict or encourage individual decisions to engage in cultural activities (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007; Widdop and Cutts, 2012, Weingarner, 2014). Further exploration, outside this article's scope, testing interactions terms between different socio-demographics would provide us with more specific answers and enhance understanding of how structuring factors are interrelated.

To answer our third research question, our results led us to conclude that individuals are not necessarily consistent in their musical engagement across dimensions. Inconsistent musical engagement is indeed a marker of distinction, but this needs to be considered carefully. Regardless of the way we label groups possessing broader preferences, such groups reflect aesthetical dispositions in concordance with different music worlds. However, these worlds are not fixed and change across time and space (Lena and Peterson, 2008). What we offer here is a framework by which to understand musical engagement; its outcome is a snapshot of a specific moment of time within a specific society. Although the methodology is replicable, it is not possible to generalise the results directly to other contexts.

In terms of consistency across practices, this study detected that around a quarter of the sample displayed consistency of taste, participation and knowledge. Because of the novelty of our approach, we are not in position to judge if this figure is low or high. What we can do is verify how consistency across musical worlds is socially hierarchised. Members of the cultural elites in high social positions (*art*) coexist with members of *popular* and *folk* categories in interchangeable middle and lower positions, to which it is possible to add (at the top of the social hierarchy) *consistently-inconsistent*. This group, an intersection of different discursive practices, is composed of the very small proportion of the sample which attains the highest

educational level, social class and income. In essence, the way in which this cultural distinction is socially structured accords with what Bourdieu (1979) demonstrated several years earlier; it also appears compatible to Lahire's (2008) notion of cultural dissonance (Hanquinet, 2013). Dissonances or inconsistencies across practices are a phenomenon which need to be explored further. Future research should focus on obtaining a better understanding of the high variety of bi- and tri-dimensional patterns of engagement.

Our results suggest that theoretical frameworks which address how cultural goods are socially distributed and which are based on only one dimension of cultural engagement offer only a partial view of the subject. In conclusion, although a theory based on intuition that taste, participation and knowledge are not similarly related to axes of social stratification has already been voiced, no previous research has simultaneously contrasted the meanings of these three interpretative categories. In this sense we believe that quantitative research demands that we consider individual engagement as multidimensional, where cultural items (genres and works) constitute one dimension, and other analytical dimensions are related to how strongly these items are preferred, how they are consumed or accessed, and how well are they known.

#### **4. Identifying musical taste and distaste groups in Austria, England, Israel and Serbia: is there evidence of cultural omnivorism?<sup>21</sup>**

**Abstract:** This paper offers a unique opportunity to detect musical taste and distaste groups by taking a cross-national approach to answer some fundamental questions. Are omnivores everywhere holders of higher social positions? And if not, what is the significance of the term in contemporary societies? We analyse comparable data from Austria, England, Israel, and Serbia, countries that have never before been compared under a unified method of analysis which uses the concept of cultural *eclecticism* as an interpretative tool and considers gradational scales of preference for both globally and locally known genres. A MIMIC latent class analysis shows the existence of five internally divided groups. However, it is only in England and Austria that broader tastes reflect higher social position. Consequently, this study finds that cultural eclectics reflect multiple axes of social distinction that are heavily dependent on national repertoires.

**Keywords:** Cultural omnivores, musical taste, cross-national comparison

##### **4.1 Introduction**

In the early 1990s, American sociologist Richard Peterson and his collaborators produced a stream of work that initiated a change of paradigm regarding American musical taste and how it acts as a status marker on several stratification axes (Peterson, 2005). Over the last two decades, the *omnivore/univore* hypothesis has influenced a body of research that uses cultural terms to explain the symbolic stratification of contemporary societies. However, only a limited amount make comparisons between countries (Katz-Gerro, 2002; Lizardo and Skiles, 2009; Chan, 2010a; Tampubolon, 2010; Birkelund and Lemel, 2013; Purhonen and Wright, 2013). Discussion regarding what omnivorism means in contemporary societies has often been obscured by theoretical and methodological differences between single country studies.

This research offers a unique opportunity to revisit the omnivore hypothesis under a unified method of cross-national analysis. To accomplish this, we interpret omnivorism as a special case of cultural *eclecticism* (Ollivier, 2008; Ollivier, Gauthier and Truong, 2009). Our methodological approach incorporates the simultaneous analysis of locally produced and globally known musical genres. Its objective is to verify whether cultural omnivorism is a widespread phenomenon, and to determine to what extent any conclusions can be generalised across countries with

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<sup>21</sup> This chapter is based on the following article: Leguina, A. and Tampubolon, G. Identifying musical taste and distaste groups in Austria, England, Israel and Serbia: is there evidence of cultural omnivorism?. Under review in *Poetics*.

different social structures and different levels of cultural openness. To truly understand the scope of the omnivorism hypothesis, we argue that it is essential to perform a cross-national comparison to test the hypothesis within a range of social, political and cultural contexts, reflecting different historical and cultural repertoires (Lamont, 1992). This research contributes new insights to the study of cultural omnivores worldwide.

#### **4.2. Distinction and omnivores**

Explanations regarding the existence of several homogeneous patterns of cultural engagement have been intensely developed and have emerged from different traditions, arguing a clear association between lifestyles and economic and social characteristics (Weber, 1946; Veblen, 1994[1894]; Gans, 1999[1974]; Peterson and DiMaggio, 1975). These theoretical frameworks differ mainly in their explanations of the mechanisms that shape the relationship between culture and social stratification. Through what was an innovative theoretical and empirical approach for his time, P. Bourdieu's homology thesis makes possible an understanding of how 1960s' French social classes can be hierarchically *distinguished* in terms of their cultural consumption. Put simply<sup>22</sup>, one can extract from Bourdieu's seminal work *La Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1979) that members of the higher classes tend to prefer more sophisticated, 'difficult' musical styles – commonly known as *highbrow* (such as classical music or jazz) – and reject popular and folkloric forms – *lowbrow* – while the middle classes (or *petit bourgeoisie*) aspire to and imitate the tastes of dominant groups while simultaneously struggling to differentiate themselves from the dominated lower classes, which tend passively to prefer simplistic, repetitive music.

However, in the early 1990s a theoretical approach emerged from the USA, one that challenged the by then widely-accepted approach of Bourdieu. The cultural omnivore hypothesis can be broadly defined as the opposition between high social status groups who engage in several highbrow and lowbrow cultural activities simultaneously (omnivores) and lower social status groups who are involved in fewer, mainly lowbrow cultural activities (univores) (Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Peterson, 2005). Not exempt from criticism, the work of R.A. Peterson and his colleagues nevertheless encountered a generally positive reception, and during the past twenty years several refinements to the taste omnivorism theory

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<sup>22</sup> For a more detailed explanation, see Tampubolon (2008b), Bennett et al. (2009) and Prior (2013).

have been made. For instance, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) propose *voraciousness*, defined as a measure of frequency of active participation. In similar spirit, Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal (2007) summarise previous insights and define omnivorism by *volume* (a cumulative scale of preferred cultural activities) and *composition* (a comparison of typologies of consumers measuring the breadth of their preferences). Other writers examine the notion of cultural knowledge (Erickson, 1996; Savage and Gayo, 2011).

From several national contexts, the variety of evidence questions cultural omnivorism as an explanation of contemporary cultural engagement. It is unclear whether such variations are due to a global trend regardless of nationality, whether omnivorousness is indeed a peculiar feature of the American society, or if it is only spread across some specific countries (Rimmer, 2012; Prior, 2013). When it first appeared, the work of Peterson and his colleagues was interpreted as a challenge to the widely-accepted approach of Bourdieu. However, a variety of evidence questions omnivorism as the sole explanation of contemporary cultural engagement (Atkinson, 2011). Although its true meaning remains unclear, nowadays it is broadly accepted that homology and omnivorism are indeed compatible (Tambubolon, 2008a; Lizardo and Skiles, 2012). Demonstrating the existence of cultural omnivorism based on a cross-national approach is thus not straightforward. We need to define a flexible theoretical and empirical approach that considers global and local differences within and between societies, alongside an adequate set of cultural indicators.

For the first of these, we use the concept of *cultural eclecticism*, broadly defined as the “selection and combination of cultural elements belonging to domains considered different, e.g., highbrow and lowbrow” (Ollivier, Gauthier and Truong, 2009: 459). This conceptualisation offers some desirable advantages which allow us to perform an appropriate analysis without jeopardising the strength of our cross-national comparison. For instance, although the meaning of cultural omnivorism might differ across societies, openness to various forms of cultural expression coincides with calls to be adaptable and tolerant, values accepted as socially desirable (Ollivier, 2008). Peterson’s original conceptualisation of omnivorism, assumes that this feature is only granted by advantaged social position, and that lower classes are passive to culture (Lahire, 2008). According to Ollivier, Gauthier and Truong (2009), eclecticism describes cultural engagement which crosses boundaries in ways they identify not

only as omnivorism, but also as loose-boundedness (Lamont, 1992), dissonance<sup>23</sup> (Lahire, 2008), and modes of openness to cultural diversity (Ollivier, 2008). Cultural eclecticism is thus a widespread feature of society, and provides the initial evidence by which we can begin to determine whether omnivores exist and are part of the elite in each country, as Peterson's thesis postulates.

#### **4.3. Intensity of musical judgement**

Historically, music has held a significant place in the analysis of the relationship between culture and social stratification. For Bourdieu (1979), music plays a central role as one of the most important social markers. Moreover, music is a cultural domain where everybody has an opinion. Tampubolon (2008a) notes that cultural boundaries are drawn between groups when one declares a strong like for some genre(s) while others highly dislike the same one(s). Conceptual tools such as musical genres allow the detection of communities' perspectives of musical styles. However, agreement exists in that it is not possible to explain all forms of inequality through a single cultural hierarchy (Erickson, 1996). Aware of this limitation, we can justify the decision to analyse indicators of musical taste for two reasons. Firstly, music is a cultural activity, part of everyday life and central to social research, where it is possible to detect strong tensions between popular and consecrated forms (Frith, 1996; Bennett et al, 2009). Secondly, several studies confirm that musical taste and consumption is a domain where it is still possible to visualise social tensions which relate to, among others, age, class and education, allowing comparability and confirming our selection (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a; Katz-Gerro, Raz and Yaish, 2007; Tampubolon, 2008b; Bennett et al, 2009; Cvetičanin and Popescu, 2011; Binder, 2012).

It is broadly recognised that individuals are not neutral in their judgment of the music they listen to. However, such judgements are not always extreme. During the 1990s and early 2000s, the first survey data that included musical likes and dislikes was the US General Social Survey 1993 (for instance Bryson, 1996, 1997; Sonnett, 2004). Tampubolon (2008a) presented the first study which analyses from an omnivorism perspective the full like-to-dislike gradational scale (5 points). The author revisits Bryson's (1996, 1997) studies of musical dislikes, and among the findings he

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<sup>23</sup> B. Lahire's cultural dissonance argues that individual preferences and cultural practices may be consonant (consistent with a reference social group) or dissonant (atypical compared to the reference group). Although the author separates himself from Bourdieu's or Peterson's arguments focusing on intra-individual cultural engagement, it is relevant to mention as a different conceptualization for distinction.

highlights internal divisions between omnivores. Two taste groups indicate very high frequencies of ‘like very much’ to three or four genres out of eight, but also one or two ‘very much dislike’ and even some neutral opinions. Therefore, to refine our search for taste and distaste groups, neutral opinions, and in particular intermediate likes and dislikes have to be examined.

A major weakness of studies in this area is that music (like any other cultural domain) is not equally important to all people. A difference with other art forms is that music relies heavily on trends, market characteristics and internal and external influences (Wright, 2011), making it important to consider the specific contexts in which people understand culture. Consequently, to detect symbolic boundaries that musical engagement reflects it is necessary to assign meanings to different patterns of preferences. In this regard, Frith (1996) claims that the individual’s evaluation of musical genres is based on a range of discursive practices which have evolved over time. Broadly speaking, the author’s three defined judgmental discourses recognize that similarly as taste for highbrow music is a reflection of class, engagement with rare and exclusive popular music produces symbolic profit (Prior, 2013). *Art* discourse is where music provides a transcendent experience available only to people with certain abilities. *Folk* discourse values music as a cultural necessity with little or no separation of art and life, and emphasises its role as a means of placement. In *Popular* discourse, values are created by and organised around the music industry and music events geared towards emotional gratification. These concepts have been used to contextualise musical taste groups (van Eijck, 2001; Ollivier, 2008), but never for comparative purposes.

Based on a similar macro-genre classification as Frith (1996), Lena and Peterson (2008) documents the trajectories that musical genres follow from one category to another. Understanding genres as creative group processes makes clear that they cannot be labelled as a unique category once and for all. However, they allow us to capture a contemporary snapshot of genres’ current category based on combinations of liked and disliked expressed by individuals within each country. With the aforementioned limitation, we therefore argue that it is possible to extend Frith’s (1996) framework to provide us with a solid theoretical basis from which to understand combinations of musical preferences, flexible enough to generalise to every local music scene, and which at the same time captures several locally-defined stratification axes. In consequence, if eclecticism does exist, we suggest it occurs at



the intersection of these three discourses. Its meaning within social structures varies according to national economic, social and historical contexts; it is capable however of crossing some – if not all – country-specific boundaries as defined by other taste groups.

#### **4.4. Cultural research: a cross-national perspective**

M. Lamont's classic book *Money, Moral and Manners* (1992) developed a sophisticated comparative analysis of France and the USA, showing that criteria that individuals use to evaluate status can be divided into three types of symbolic boundaries: moral virtue, socioeconomic differences, and cultural hierarchies. The third, the focus of this article, is shaped around aspects such as manners, taste, and knowledge of what is commonly known as highbrow culture (Lamont, 1992, Bennett et al, 2009). However, the form these boundary patterns take across societies are not necessarily the same. The author then explains differences between signals that American and French use to evaluate symbolic boundaries as combinations of not only individuals' experience, interests, and social positional but also a number of cultural and structural factors or *national repertoires*. These are the ways how national values and ideologies define countries in opposition to another and contribute to shape symbolic boundaries (Lamont, 1992; Lamont and Molnár, 2002).

In carrying out this cross-national study we provide an analysis of musical tastes and distastes from Austria, England, Israel, and Serbia, the first time such a comparison has been carried out. To justify the relevance of our country selection, we consider briefly the main features their historical and cultural national repertoires. Firstly, although these countries played diverse political roles during the twentieth century, today they are all democratic regimes and have capitalist economies. Contemporary Austria is a small republic defined by its constitution as perpetually neutral. Its society is highly homogeneous in ethnic and religious composition, with a developed market economy and broad welfare state that does not redistribute income. Post-second world war, the United Kingdom rebuilt itself into a modern European nation to become a leading trading power and financial centre. However, the current right-wing government has exponentially restricted the growth of social welfare programmes. Under a communist regime for forty-five years, after ten years of a nationalistic-influenced government, the economy of contemporary Serbia is mainly dominated by market forces, with a large state sector and a reformed (but not sufficiently strong) welfare state. Created in 1947, the State of Israel is marked by

migratory patterns and deep tensions with neighbouring Arab countries, both of which define its ethnic and religious divisions. Israel has a technologically-advanced market economy and a comprehensive welfare state.

Secondly, the selected countries espouse different levels of openness to foreign cultural influences, which exist alongside locally produced genres. Austria is culturally open and has a significant musical legacy: in addition to preserving a strong folk tradition, it is considered by many to be the European capital of western classical music. However, tensions exist here between supporters of *traditional folk*, *schlager* and *volkstümliche* folk-pop ballads, American- and British-influenced *rock* and *hip-hop*, and hybrid *world music* (Reitsamer, 2014). England features widely in the literature on culture and social stratification. Nowadays, tensions are evident between young people with a preference for popular emerging styles such as *urban* music, as opposed to the more traditional tastes of *country and western*, *world music*, and *classical* of the more adult population (Savage, 2006; Savage and Gayo, 2011). Israel has been greatly influenced by its international diaspora, religious traditions and musical forms. *Songs of the land of Israel* (broadly recognised as mainstream folk music) and western-influenced *pop/rock* are massively popular in Israel (Regev, 2000). However, *Middle Eastern music*, originating from the Arab and Islamic musical traditions, has been largely excluded from the local music mainstream (Regev, 2000). Serbia was until 1990 part of a communist state and largely closed to external influences; it has maintained its highly diverse and popular folk expressions mixed with the latest global music. Historically, *old-town folk*, ancient musical expressions, and *traditional folk* are highly popular among Serbians, alongside *rock* and *dance* music (Cvetičanin, 2008). During the 1990s in Serbia, rock took a critical stance against the post-socialist regime (Mijatovic, 2008), while dance evolved into *turbo-folk* (electronic music with its roots in folk), emulating the lifestyle of the nineties new elite (Kronja, 2004).

In summary, these political, economic, and cultural differences make our cross-national comparison appealing as a means to test the existence of broader musical taste patterns. Following the classification of cross-national studies proposed by Katz-Gerro (2011), we use national data obtained in each country from survey data with similar characteristics but which is adapted to country-specific realities. The analytical strategy is thus for the first time to build statistical models to elucidate

each national reality from a comparative perspective based on a representative, but different, sample of cultural indicators.

#### **4.5. Aims and research questions**

This article provides a detailed analysis of Austrian, English, Israeli and Serbian musical taste, the first time such comparison is being made. Specifically, we focus our efforts on answering four research questions:

1. *Is it possible to detect groups of musical preferences across our sample of countries?* Previous research has already explained how political, economic and cultural differences go some way to explaining the symbolic differentiation reflected by cultural consumption in Austria (Binder, 2012); England (Tampubolon, 2008b; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a, 2010b; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009; Savage and Gayo, 2011), Israel (Katz-Gerro, Raz and Yaish, 2007, 2009; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012) and Serbia (Cvetičanin and Popescu, 2011). Based on a flexible theoretical and empirical approach this research offers a robust test of whether musical preferences can be grouped into a finite number of patterns.
2. *How are they composed in terms of musical likes and dislikes and how are they structured across several axes of social stratification?* Intensity and meaning given to musical genres is best understood within each cultural context, as the circumstances in which these judgments are framed may differ. The discourses of Frith (1996) provide conceptual support to help identify patterns of musical like and dislike. Cross-national research in each area thus needs to take into consideration the tensions and particularities of each national musical scene. With this in mind, we decided to analyse a representative sample of both global and local genres. However, it is important to notice that in our case, ‘local’ refers to a subset of musical genres and works that could be locally produced (such as Austrian schlager and Serbian turbofolk), but also to others which might not locally produced, but which are preferred as peculiarities of each musical scene (such as Austrian world music and English heavy metal).
3. *Is musical eclecticism a feature spread across different societies?* This research understands musical taste as a dynamic phenomenon across countries, and we therefore suggest the use of the alternative term *cultural eclectic*, which provides an overview within which to detect those taste and

distaste groups which cut across cultural boundaries. Analysing gradational scales of measurement, taste and distaste groups are tested to see whether they are culturally open. In order to acknowledge the significance of the combinatorial nature of the judgments made by respondents, we argue that cultural boundaries are built not only when one group expresses extreme dislike and another expresses extreme like of one or more particular genres (Savage, 2006; Tampubolon, 2008a) but also when within each group intermediate or neutral preferences are expressed.

4. *Are Austrian, English, Israeli and Serbian eclectics holders of higher social positions? Do they differ in terms of sociodemographic characteristics?* Although it has been argued that taste today is less defined in terms of social class, it is still useful to identify highly polarised social groups (Bennett et al, 2009). Identifying eclectic behaviour is expected to verify if any of omnivorousness operationalisations (volume, composition or both), commonly defined as a feature of individuals from higher social positions (Peterson, 2005) are possible to detect across our sampled countries.

#### **4.6. Data and method**

This section introduces the data used in this research, our statistical modelling strategy and our method of missing data imputation. Special emphasis is given to the integration of the theoretical aspects mentioned above.

##### **4.6.1. Data**

The data used for this research comes from a number of national studies that have been specifically designed to enable the study of cultural consumption; the first part of Table 4.1 summarises their main features. The data has similar levels of representation, favouring comparisons across countries. However, it was collected over a five-year period (2003-2008), making it impossible to control for differences relating to variations in music markets over time, such as trends or new popular genres. Explanatory variables in the models have been recoded into comparable categories to broadly illustrate how stratification axes across countries explain overall trends, and to speed up statistical modelling. Age in years was recoded in three wide categories to broadly illustrate tension among youth-middle-adult age groups comparable across countries. Occupational class roughly corresponds with Erickson and Goldthorpe's four-class schema (Breen, 2005) and due to low

frequency, petty bourgeoisie was merged with intermediate. Educational levels correspond with the International

**Table 4.1.** Data sources and stratifying variables.

		<b>Austria<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>England<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Israel<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>Serbia<sup>4</sup></b>
Source		Project <i>Wozu Musik?</i> (Music, what for?)	Project <i>Cultural capital and social exclusion</i>	Cultural consumption survey	<i>Cultural Needs, Habits and Taste of Citizens of Serbia and Macedonia</i>
Year		2008	2003	2007	2005
Sample size		1004	1279	1005	1364
Representativeness		Austrian population	Adults living in private households in England	Israeli Jewish population	Population of legal age from Republic of Serbia
<b>Covariates</b>		<b>Percentage</b>			
Age (years)	18 to 35	30.3	28.0	32.9	38.6
	36 to 50	31.1	28.7	28.9	29.7
	Over 50	38.6	43.1	36.2	31.7
	<i>Missing</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>0</i>
Gender	Male	47.1	44.9	43.3	45.7
	Female	52.9	55.1	56.7	53.8
	<i>Missing</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0.5</i>
Occupational class	Labour contract	22.0	32.6	16.7	47.4
	P.bourgeoisie + intermediate	51.4	31.6	35.9	33.1
	Service	16.0	33.5	33.9	17.8
	<i>Missing</i>	<i>10.6</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>13.5</i>	<i>1.7</i>
Education	ISCED 1-2	15.6	28.7	17.2	13.6
	ISCED 3	72.2	36.0	47.2	56.5
	ISCED 4-6	12.2	33.9	34.5	27.3
	<i>Missing</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>2.6</i>
Nationality		Born in Austria: 88.6 Not born in Austria: 11.1 <i>Missing:0.3</i>	NA	NA	Serbian: 87.0 Non Serbian: 11.2 <i>Missing:1.8</i>
Ethnicity		NA	English white: 85.5 Other ethnic group: 14.3 <i>Missing:0.2</i>	Sefaredi: 30.7 Adkenazi: 42.4 Israeli: 22.0 Other: 1.3 <i>Missing:3.6</i>	NA
Place of residence		North (incl. Vienna):55.8	London: 24.5	Large city (>200.000): 28.6	NA
		Rest of the country:44.2	Rest of the country:75.5	Rest of the country:71.4	
	<i>Missing</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>3.6</i>	

1:Huber (2009), 2:Thomson (2004). Only English subsample, 3:Yaish and Katz-Gerro (2012), 4:Cvetičanin (2008). Only Serbian subsample.

Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) (UNESCO, 2012)<sup>24</sup>. It has only been possible to include a self-declared ethnicity variable when examining England and Israel. Austria and Serbia are the only countries that provide information about the respondent's nationality. For place of residence, we include a dichotomic variable for Austria and England (whether the respondent lives in the capital or the rest of the country); for Israel the only information available is city size, and no such information is available for Serbia. The second part of table 4.1 provides a summary of the explanatory variables, their categories and frequencies.

Table 4.2 presents the musical genres used for each country. In order to include the largest amount of data possible, the residual 'do not know' category has been recoded in the midpoint of the scale and should be considered as neutral. Although response frequencies for most genres analysed are not higher than 5%, the decision about how to deal with them is not a trivial one and during preliminary phases of data analysis we tried several options to deal with them: cases were reassigned to the most frequent category, excluded from analysis, treated as imputed missing values and recoded in the midpoint as neutral. Our exploration suggested that results are robust regardless of which alternative is used. Individuals that respond 'don't know' normally do so for between one and three genres while displaying a clear opinion of the rest. Consequently, their impact on overall patterns of taste and distaste is rather limited. The decision of how to treat these cases is therefore beyond statistical criteria. In this regard, we argue that to maintain the directionality of measurement scales it is not possible to reassign these cases to another category (such as the most frequent) or impute them as missing values, because we would be inferring a non-existent taste judgment.

Secondly, excluding them would induce bias into the distribution of likes and dislikes. We believe that assigning these cases to a neutral category that does not presuppose a taste or distaste level minimises the risk of obtaining biased results. No matter how convincing our justification might be, we need to be cautious about the scope of interpretations derived from our new 'neutral' category. The meaning of the intermediate point of our dislike-to-like scales is indifference, neutrality or lack of polarised judgement, but also lack of taste (distaste) due to ignorance. This is particularly clear in the case of Austria, where the original measurements are recorded on a six-point scale, and where it is also possible to find the highest rate of

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<sup>24</sup> Primary or below:ISCED 1-2; Secondary:ISCED 3; Tertiary:ISCED 4-6.

‘don’t know’ for three genres. This category was retained as a new intermediate category (number four), thus converting indicators to seven-point scales.

The music genres selected for each country have been ascribed to one of five global genres which approximate to the most frequently-occurring musical indicators analysed in the literature (rock, classical, jazz, hip-hop/urban and electronic). As noted in Table 4.2, labels are not identical, but roughly comparable across countries and against previous research. We also include three or four country-specific genres. As mentioned above, these belong to folk and popular styles that reflect local cultural tensions and complement the characterisation of each musical domain.

**Table 4.2.** Measurement scales of musical indicators.

	<b>Austria</b>	<b>England</b>	<b>Israel</b>	<b>Serbia</b>
<b>Scale of measurement</b>	7-points like to dislike	7-points like to dislike	5-points like to dislike	5-points like to dislike
<b>Common genres</b>	Rock music out of the charts (2.6%) Classical (2.9%) Jazz (0.6%) Hip-hop/black music (12.0%) Techno/house (14.4%)	Rock, including indie (4.1%) Classical, incl. opera (0.4%) Modern jazz (0.8%) Urban, incl. Hip-hop and R&B (5.8%) Electronic dance music incl. techno and house (8.3%)	Rock (2.8%) Classical (1.5%) Blues and jazz (3.0%) Hip-hop (8.0%) Dance (4.6%)	Rock/pop (3.2%) Classical (1.0%) Blues and jazz (2.6%) Rap/hip-hop (15.2%) Dance/house (13.4%)
<b>Country specific genres</b>	Traditional Austrian folk (1.2%) World music (21.2%) Volkstumliche/schlager (0.9%)	World music, incl. reggae and bhangra (2.7%) Country and western (0.6%) Heavy metal (2.6%)	Songs of the land of Israel (1.7%) Hebrew music (2.4%) Middle Eastern music (1.4%) Religious music (1.5%)	'Old-town' folk (0.3%) Traditional folk music (0.4%) Turbofolk (2.4%)

*In brackets: Percentage of don't know and have not heard of.*

#### **4.6.2. Latent class analysis with covariates (MIMIC)**

This article utilises a latent class model with covariates, known as the latent class MIMIC model (Skrondal and Rabe-Hesketh, 2004). The advantage of this approach is that we can test whether observed musical tastes and distastes indicators can be grouped in specific patterns or latent classes, and at the same time quantify the impact of a set of explanatory variables pertaining to the construction of classes, avoiding bias produced when classification and explanatory variables of groups are performed in separate steps (Vermunt and Magidson, 2008). This statistical method has been shown to be adequate for understanding the association between culture and

social structure, proving to be a refined tool based on a probabilistic framework from latent variable modelling (Tampubolon, 2008a, b, 2010). Chapter 2 performs a comparison of the most commonly used statistical methods in cultural stratification, concluding that there is not perfect analytical strategy. But the MIMIC latent class model performs well and provides relevant insights about the relationship between culture and social structures.

A MIMIC latent class model assumes that each observation belongs to one of  $t=1, \dots, T$  unknown and unobserved (latent) classes. The probability that a respondent ( $Y_i$ ) displays a specific pattern of musical taste and distaste conditional to  $q=1, \dots, Q$  explanatory variables  $Z_i$  is

$$P(Y_i|Z_i) = \sum_{t=1}^T P(Y_i|X = t) P(X = t|Z_i)$$

where the first part of the model, called *measurement model*

$$P(Y_i|T = t) = \prod_{k=1}^K P(Y_{ik}|T = t) = \prod_{k=1}^K \prod_{r=1}^{R_k} \theta_{ktr}^{I(Y_{ik}=r)}$$

corresponds to the measurement model (specified as unrestricted latent class analysis), with  $k=1, \dots, K$  number of musical genres,  $r=1, \dots, R_k$  is the specific answer to  $k$  genre and  $I(Y_{ik} = r)$  takes the value of 1 if observation  $i$  displays taste level  $r$  to genre  $k$  and 0 otherwise. The output of this submodel is the probability of displaying specific patterns of tastes and distastes given the belonging to a specific taste and distaste group. The second part (*structural model*) is defined as follows:

$$P(X = t|Z_i) = \frac{\exp(\gamma_{0t} + \sum_{q=1}^Q \gamma_{qt} Z_{iq})}{\sum_{s=1}^T \exp(\gamma_{0s} + \sum_{q=1}^Q \gamma_{qs} Z_{iq})}$$

where  $\gamma$  represents the parameters of the structural model derived from multinomial logistic regression. This part of the model quantifies the impact of stratifying variables over taste and distaste groups found. The software used to fit the proposed model is Latent GOLD 4.5 (Vermunt and Magidson, 2008).

An important assumption of latent class analysis is local independence. Put simply, this means that if judgment of musical genres is related among them, these associations have to be fully explained for the latent taste and distaste groups



(Skrondal and Rabe-Hesketh, 2004). To meet this assumption it was decided to add direct reciprocal effects to allow specific pairs of musical genres to covary. Separately for each national model, this was done where it was possible to observe large bivariate residuals in the estimated covariance matrix. Local independence structures for each country differ<sup>25</sup>, meaning that some pairs of genres are more strongly related than can be explained by the default model (Vermunt and Magidson, 2008). Empirically, the relaxation of this assumption allows to take into account aspects such as shared audiences (for instance traditional folk and volkstümliche/schlager in Austria), roots (rock and heavy metal in England), or language (Hebrew music and songs of the land of Israel) and the mixing of genres ('old-town' folk and traditional folk music in Serbia).

In order to minimise any loss of information, multiple imputation is performed (Rubin, 1987; Vermunt, Van Ginkel, Van der Ark and Sijtsma, 2008). In essence, the procedure as defined by Rubin (1987) is the same regardless the method for analysing complete data and the aim is to create multiple imputed data sets replacing each missing value with plausible ones. These new imputed datasets represents uncertainty about the right value to impute and are separately analysed by using standard procedures for complete data. Then, results from these analyses are combined following Rubin's rule to provide statistical inferences that account for this uncertainty. A highly important methodological challenge of this kind of complex model is the sparseness of data. The standard maximum likelihood (ML) estimation procedure complicates to evaluate model fit, and estimated parameters might be highly biased or even converge to infinity (Galindo-Garre and Vermunt, 2006). However, the complexity of those models with ordinal indicators forces us to go one step further, using an alternative estimation method called *maximum a posteriori estimation*<sup>26</sup> which prevents the obtaining of boundary solutions. Sensitivity tests under different configurations<sup>27</sup> demonstrated that this approach makes it possible to

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<sup>25</sup> **Austria:** Direct effects between Traditional folk and Volkstümliche/schlager, Hip-hop/black music and Techno/house, Hip-hop/black music and World music; **England:** Direct effects between Rock and Heavy metal, Modern jazz and Classical, Modern jazz and World music; **Israel:** Direct effects between Blues and jazz and Rock, Blues and jazz and Classical, Hebrew music and Songs of the land of I., Hebrew music and Middle Eastern music, Religious music and Middle Eastern music; **Serbia:** Direct effects between Blues and jazz and Rock/pop, Blues and jazz and Classical, Blues and jazz and Rap/hip-hop, Dance/house and Rap/hip-hop, 'Old-town' folk and Traditional folk music, 'Old-town' folk and Turbofolk.

<sup>26</sup> For a detailed explanation, refer to Galindo-Garre, Vermunt and Bergsma (2004), Vermunt and Magidson (2005), and Galindo-Garre and Vermunt (2006).

<sup>27</sup> Sensitivity test and Latent GOLD syntax are available on request.

obtain reliable insights into overall patterns of musical taste, with the information available and without compromising our proposed theoretical approach.

#### 4.7. Results

To select the final model for each country we tested several specifications, including models with different amounts of latent classes and different local independency parameters. The procedure is not automatic, therefore we focused on widely-accepted criteria, such as lowest Bayesian information criterion (BIC)<sup>28</sup>, lowest percentage of misclassification, moderate bivariate residuals, and ease of interpretation (Formann, 2003; De Menezes and Lasaoa, 2007; Vermunt and Magidson, 2008). Table 4.3 summarises only the first and second criteria. Fitting models independently for each country, these criteria lead us to select in every case a five-cluster or class solution.

**Table 4.3.** Model fit of final model structure.

	# clusters	BIC	DF	Class. Error
Austria	4	27046.439	889	0.130
	<b>5</b>	<b>27034.485</b>	<b>881</b>	<b>0.164</b>
	6	27046.052	863	0.171
England	4	34675.914	1174	0.125
	<b>5</b>	<b>34617.707</b>	<b>1156</b>	<b>0.132</b>
	6	34615.139	1138	0.151
Israel	4	26063.912	901	0.165
	<b>5</b>	<b>26040.813</b>	<b>880</b>	<b>0.167</b>
	6	26065.675	859	0.163
Serbia	4	28367.841	1274	0.108
	<b>5</b>	<b>28230.335</b>	<b>1257</b>	<b>0.137</b>
	6	28280.618	1240	0.138

Bold: selected model.

<sup>28</sup> Criterion used to evaluate and compare goodness of fit penalising in terms of model complexity. Models with lower BIC are preferred (Vermunt and Magidson, 2008).

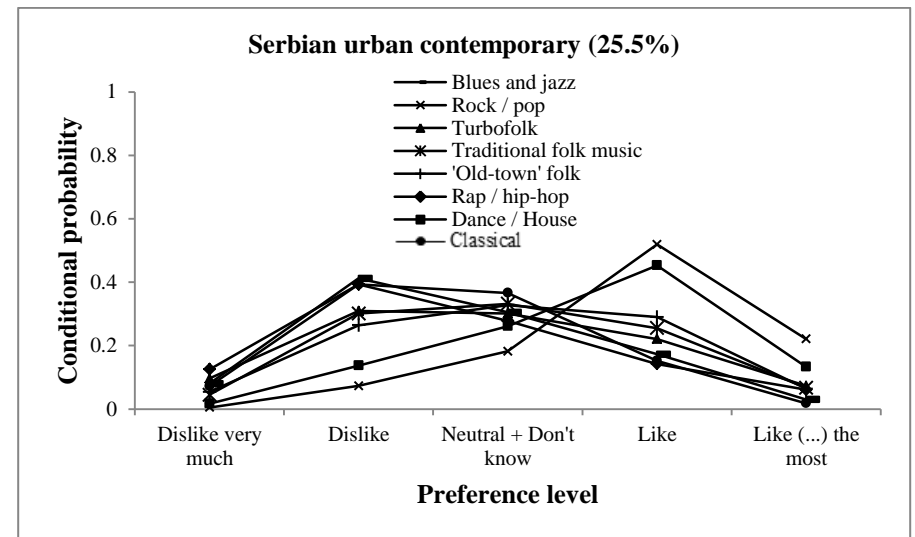
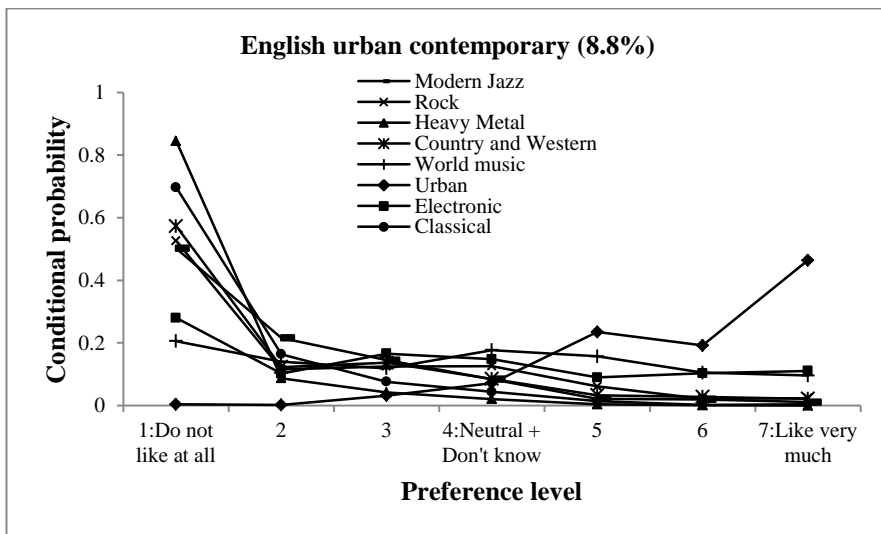
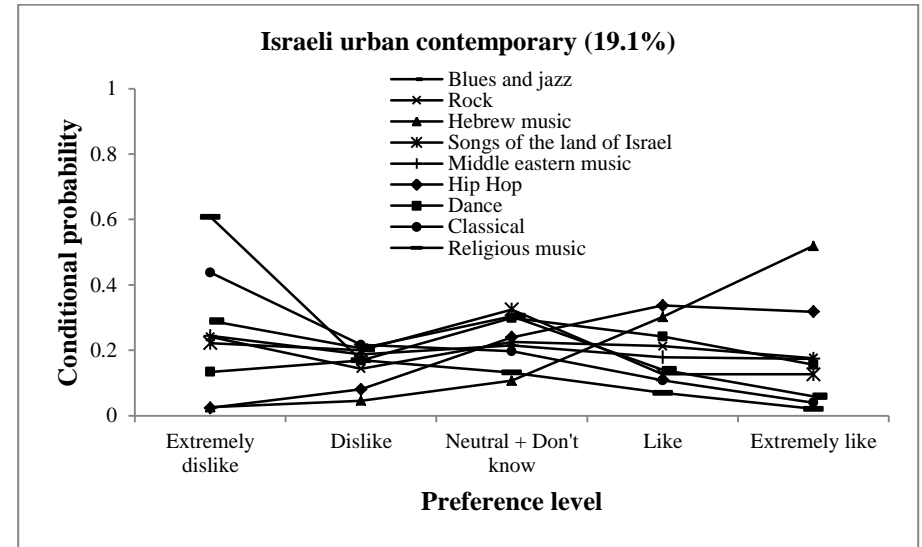
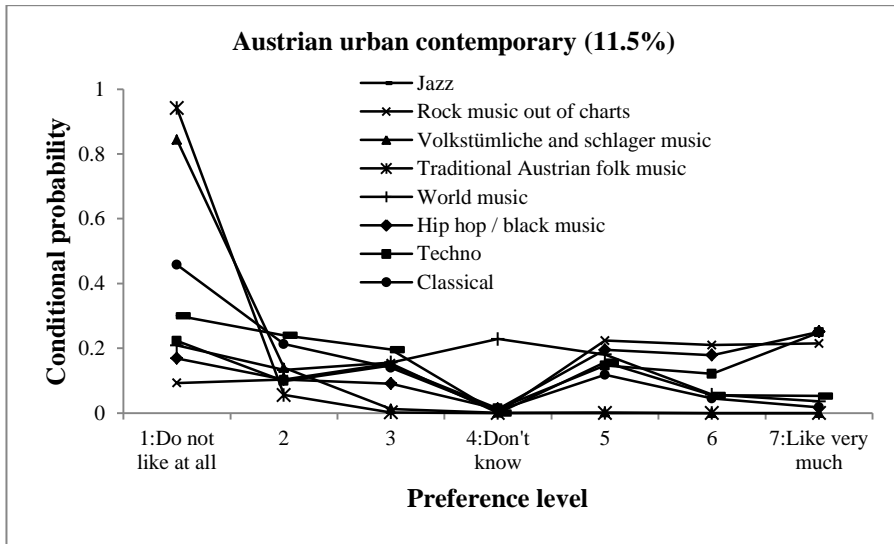


Figure 4.1. Pattern of preferences: urban contemporary.

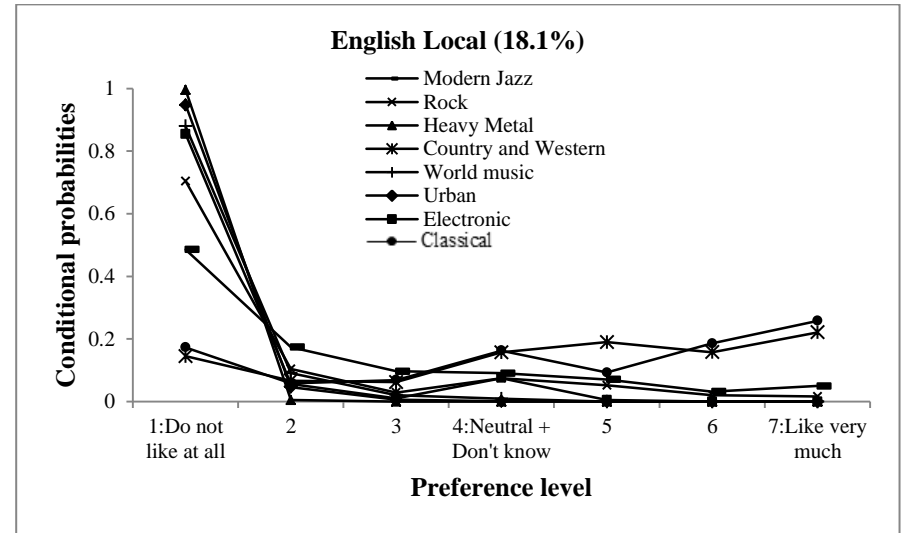
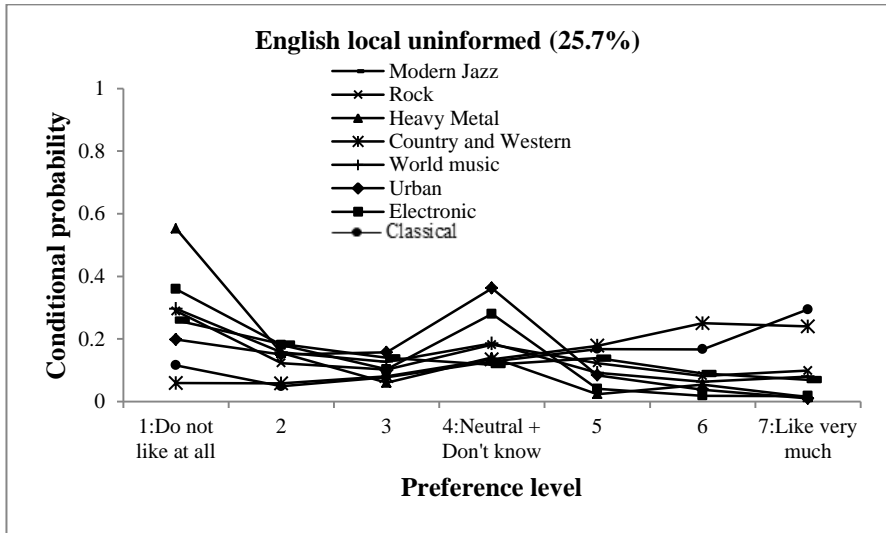
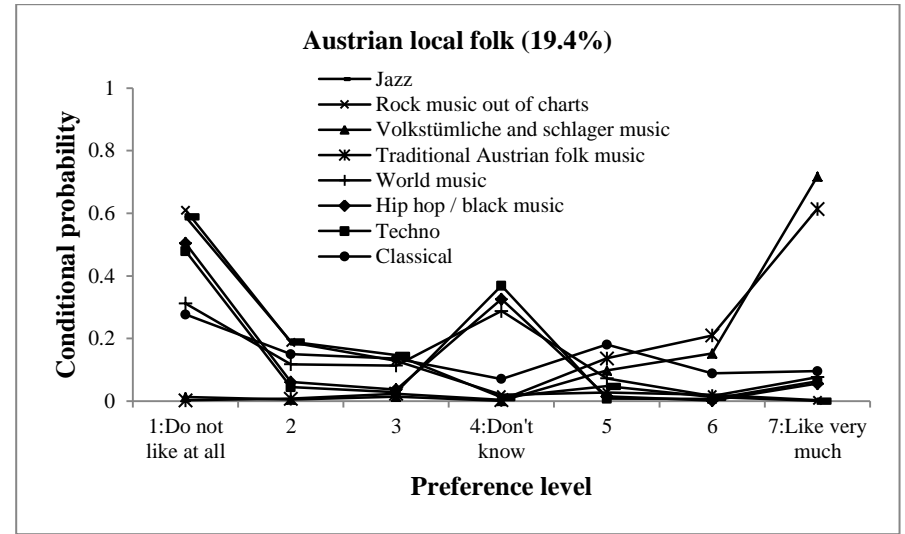
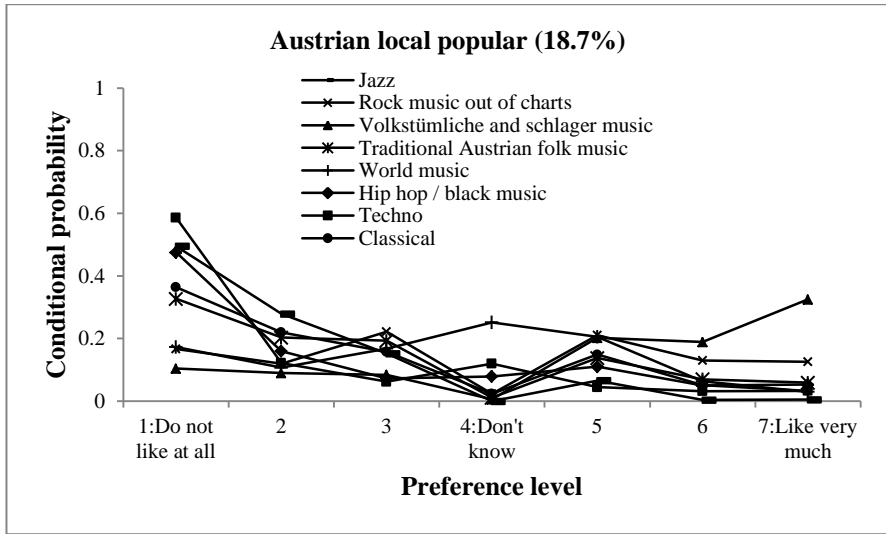


Figure 4.2. Pattern of preferences: local.

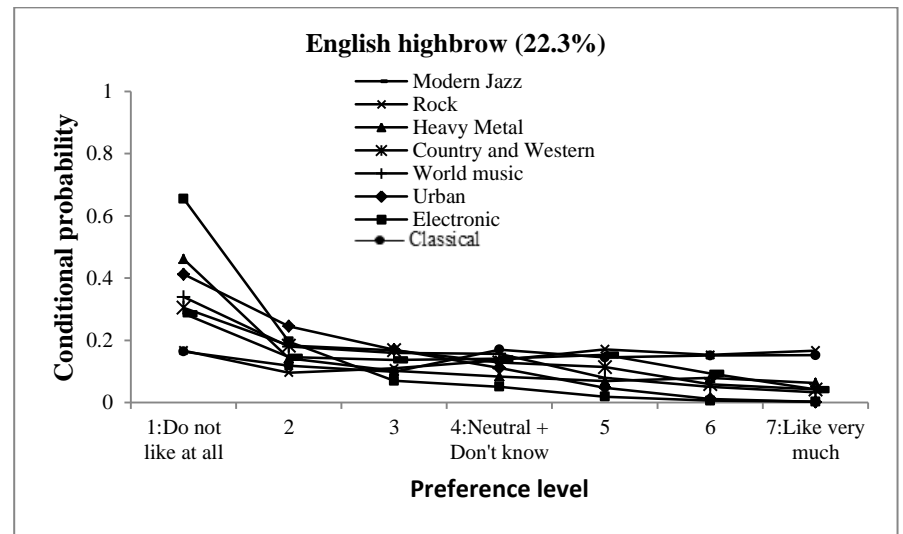
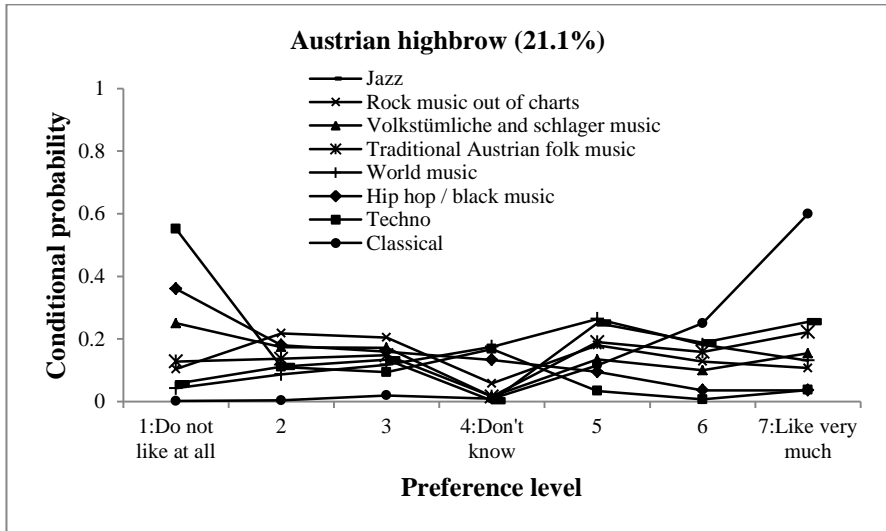
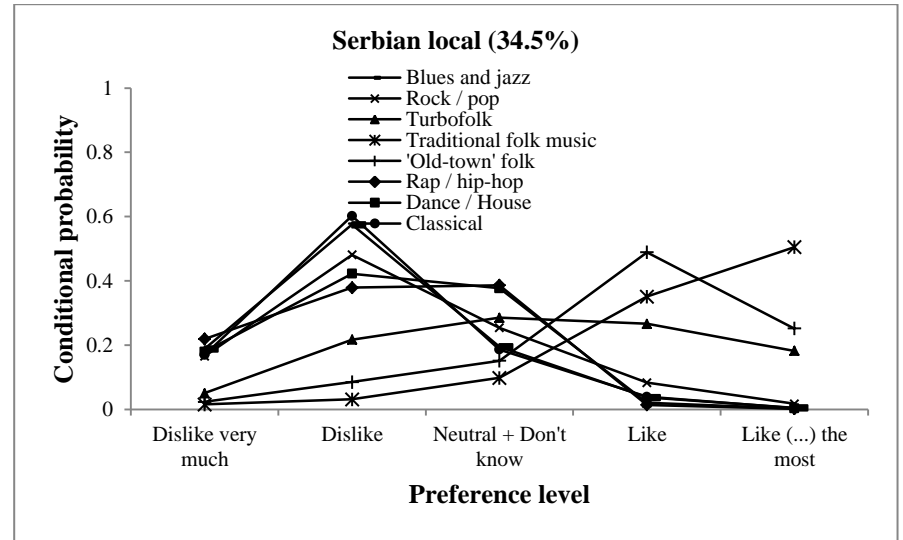
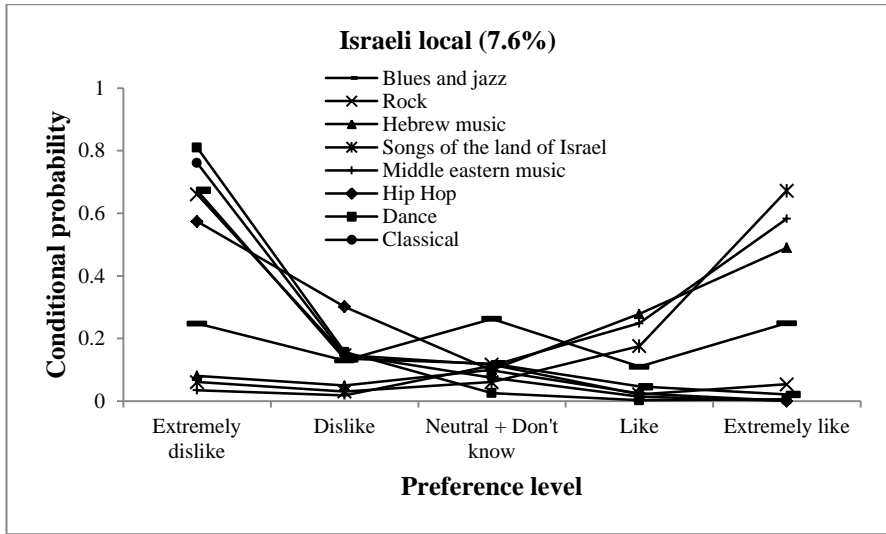


Figure 4.3. Pattern of preferences: local and highbrow.

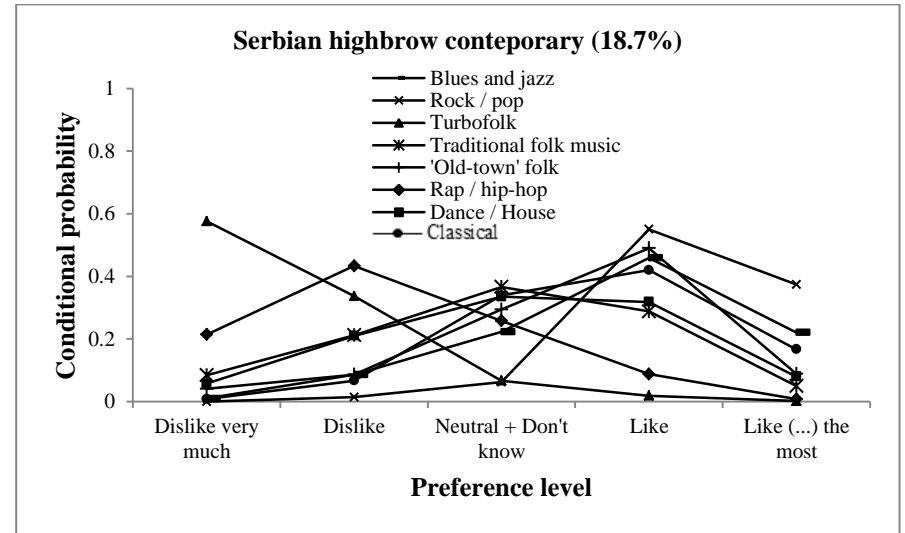
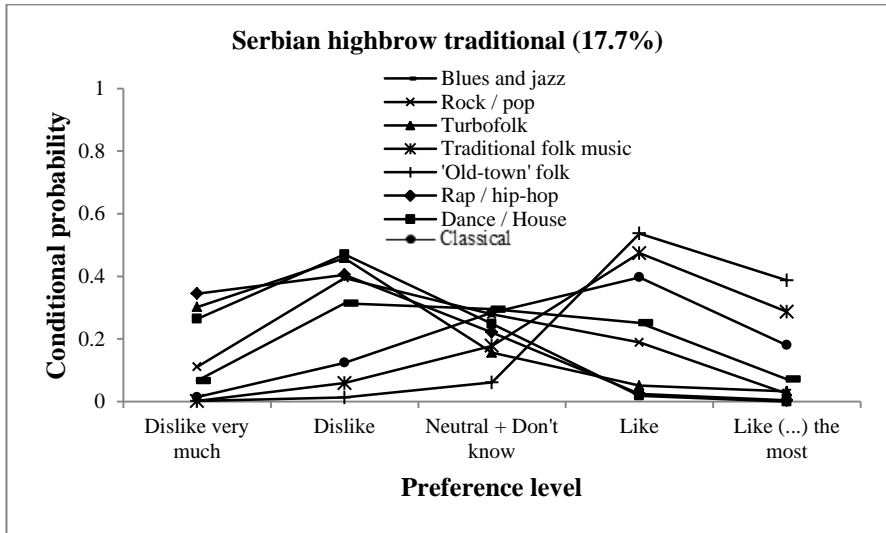
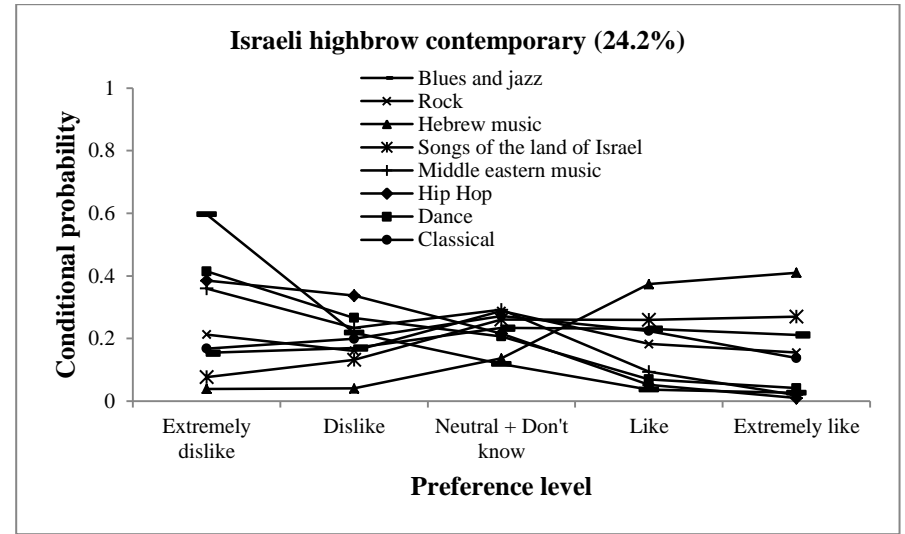
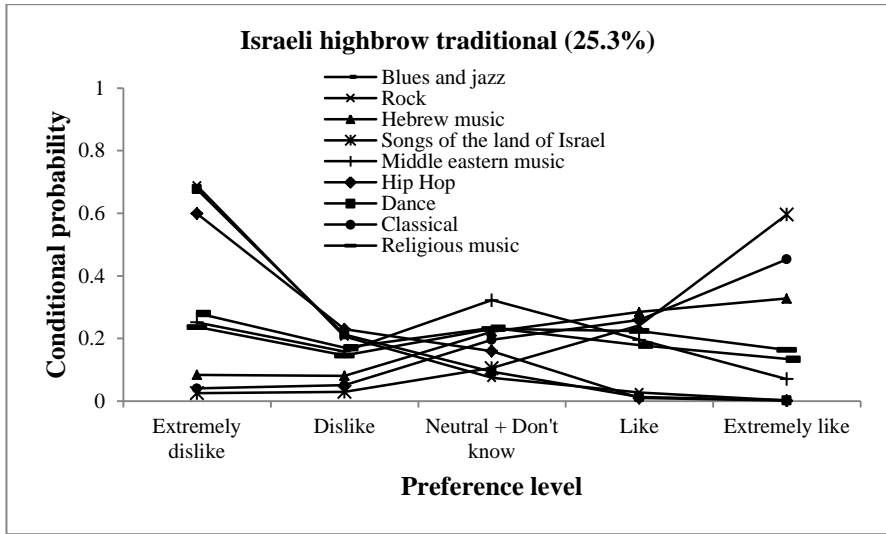


Figure 4.4. Pattern of preferences: highbrow.

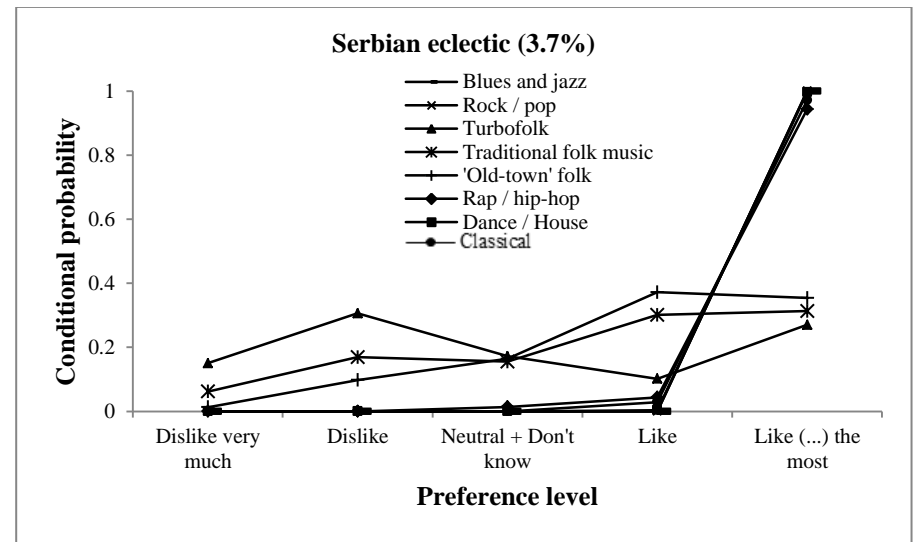
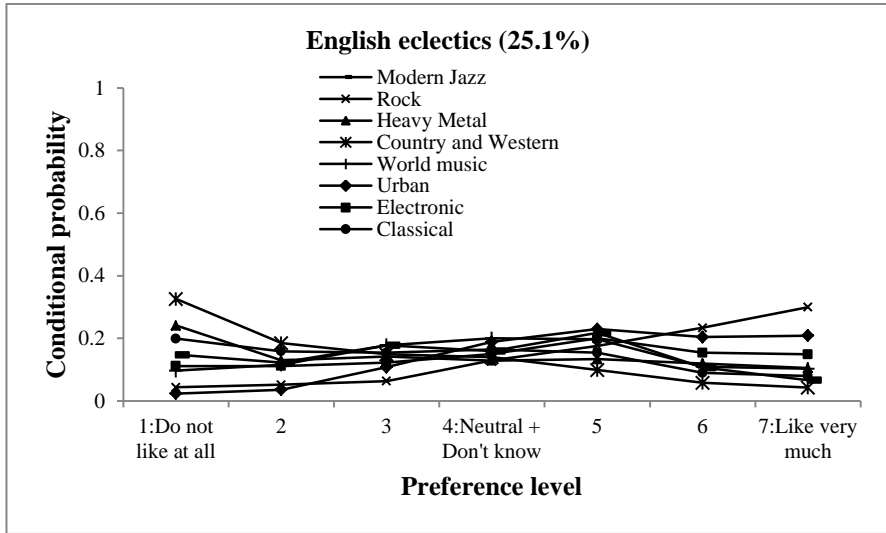
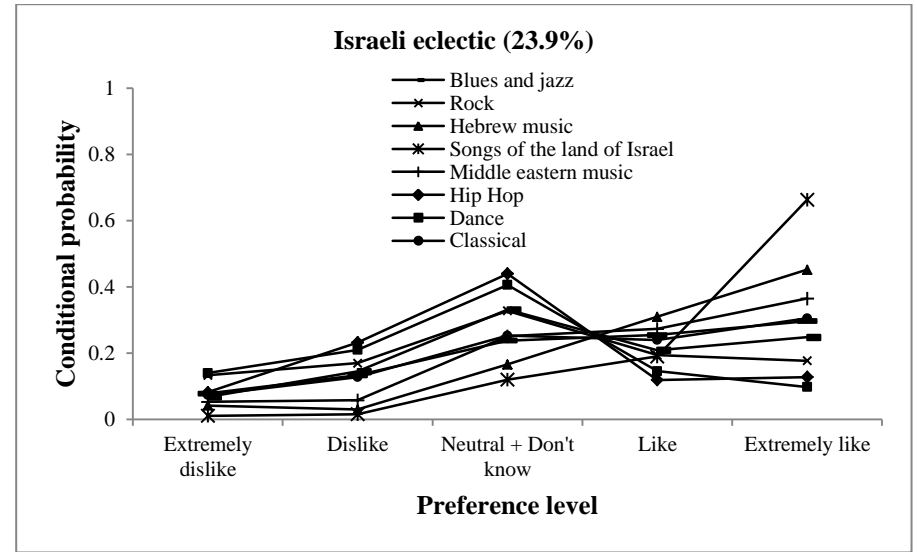
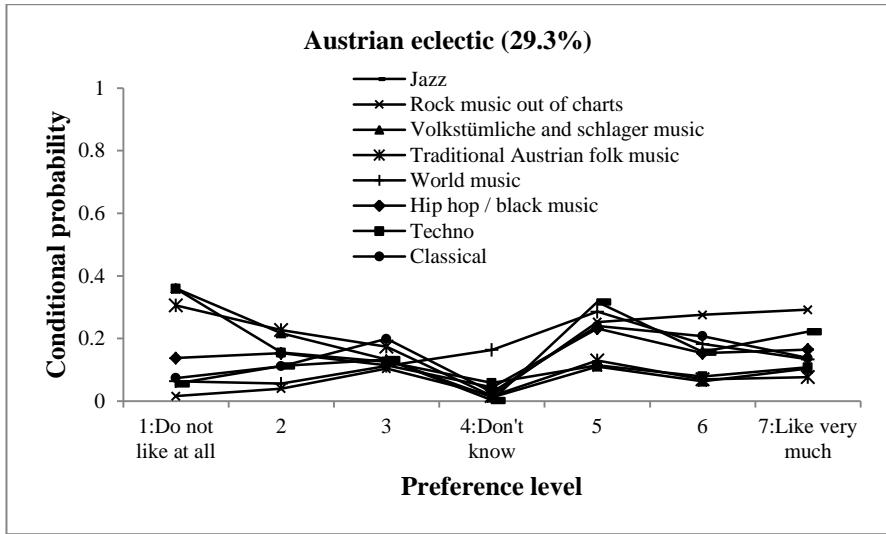


Figure 4.5. Pattern of preferences: eclectic.

#### ***4.7.1. Identifying taste and distaste groups: comparative analysis***

To understand the composition of latent classes and to reduce the amount of data presented, figures 4.1 to 4.5 summarise for each taste group their conditional probabilities of displaying a specific preference level for each genre. Note that if two individuals belong to the same latent class, they are likely to share similarities defined by a combination of genres, but they are not required to display the exact same preferences. Taste groups are thus interpreted according to how likely it is that a member judges each genre in a particular way. It is important to note that our comparative analysis is focus to understanding whether it is possible to find equivalent taste groups across countries under equivalent judgemental contexts as the ones proposed by Frith (1996).

Across all four countries we find the highly distinctive *urban contemporary* group. Members tend to display intense like of contemporary popular music, mainly such globally-known music genres as electronic, hip-hop and rock (all part of Frith's *Popular* discourse). In Austria, England and Israel, members of the urban contemporary group tend to voice extreme dislike of folk music, jazz and classical music; the Serbian urban contemporary group expresses dislike of hip-hop and a positive opinion of folk music.

A second major group reveals a strong preference for local music. Here, as expected, cross-country differences emerge. Austrian *local folk* groups and the Israeli and Serbian *local* groups voice a strong like of traditional folk music and dislike of popular, jazz music and classical (except in Austria, where members of this group appear tolerant of classical music). The Israeli local group is the smallest group of music fans in the country; in Serbia however, the local group is the largest, and declares strong like of all local genres and dislike of all other categories of music in the survey, highlighting the popularity of Serbian folk (Cvetičanin and Popescu, 2011). In Austria we found internal division and identified a subset of the local group: *local popular* music. Members of this group demonstrate a preference towards folk-rooted popular schlager and distaste for traditional folk and classical. In England, the most notable difference among local groups is the existence of two subgroups, divided in terms of levels of neutral and 'don't know' answers. Both groups display a strong like of both country and western and classical music. However, the *local uninformed* group has higher overall levels of intermediate opinions and 'don't know' answers compared to the *local* group. Moreover, this group is the largest in England,



accounting for about a quarter of the total sample. Despite internal division, taste for locally produced music with folk roots in all four countries might be related with *folk* discourse and are clearly distinguished from urban contemporaries and other taste groups.

Our next taste groups are labelled as highbrow. We are aware this is a term open to discussion, and one which could be considered either subjective, or too broad, or both. However, we believe its use is justifiable, in that this taste pattern consists of genres accepted as highbrow in each country such as jazz and classical (Binder, 2012; Tampubolon, 2008b; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012; Cvetičanin and Popescu, 2011), along with rock and some local styles. These are genres which appear to be compatible to those outlined in Frith's *Art* discourse. Austrian and English *highbrows* show intense dislike of the chart music that *urban contemporary* groups prefer. In Austria, this group also rejects volkstümliche/schlager, hip-hop and techno, while the English highbrow group dislikes electronic, urban, country and western and world music, but has the lowest levels of distaste for heavy metal. Israeli and Serbian highbrows are subdivided into those oriented to *contemporary* and *traditional* styles. In Israel, contemporary highbrows show a dislike for Israeli religious music and are neutral to classical and rock, while the traditional highbrows dislike jazz and rock and are neutral to religious music. In Serbia, both *contemporary* and *traditional* highbrows show strong dislike of turbo-folk and strongly like folk and classical. However, members of the *highbrow contemporary* group distinguish themselves by their taste for rock/pop and blues/jazz. Again, highbrow groups reaffirm cultural boundaries with *local* and *urban contemporary* taste groups.

#### **4.7.2. Eclectics and social differentiation**

In all four countries we find a group that tends to display broad taste. However, as will be shown, only Israeli and Serbian eclectics seem to behave according to traditional definitions of cultural omnivores. Moreover, it is important to notice that tepid likes and dislikes (and even neutral opinions) are not absent among omnivore-oriented groups in these countries. Table 4.4 summarizes patterns of preferences for eclectics in each country, highlighting the genres liked and disliked by the majority (at least 50%) of group members in descending order.

In Austria, the only genre liked highly by eclectics is rock music; in terms of intermediate levels of taste, about fifty per cent of this group express a less intensive like of jazz, classical, world music, and hip-hop. Other genres (such as

volkstümliche/schlager, traditional folk and techno) are strongly disliked among Austrian *eclectics*, culturally distinguishing them from *local* and *contemporary urban* groups. They therefore appear to cross some symbolic boundaries, but at the same time to reinforce and identify themselves as listeners of global taste (with the exception of techno), rejecting musical genres with local roots. It is noteworthy that this is the biggest taste group in Austria. These findings concur with Binder (2012), who expresses scepticism of the existence of musical omnivores in Austria. English *eclectics* on the other hand display a stronger like of rock and urban, while their preferences towards world music, jazz, and classical music are rather tepid. Interestingly, this group has high levels of acceptance of heavy metal. Previous work has confirmed the existence of several patterns of musical omnivorism in the UK (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a, 2010b; Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal, 2007; Tampubolon, 2008b; Warde and Gayo-Cal, 2009; Savage and Gayo, 2011). However, detected patterns of likes and dislikes show that *eclectics* in England are able to cross boundaries drawn by *urban contemporary* and *highbrow* groups but not those set by *local* groups. The lack of clearer strong preferences makes it impossible to relate this group to any of the traditional definitions of omnivorism.

**Table 4.4.** Eclectic group preferences sorted by conditional probabilities (descending order).

<b>Eclectics</b> (sample %)	<b>Austrian</b> (29.3)	<b>English</b> (25.1)	<b>Israeli</b> (23.9)	<b>Serbian</b> (3.7)
<i>Liked by the majority</i>	Rock music out of charts	Rock	Songs of the land of I.	Blues and jazz
	Jazz	Urban	Hebrew music	Rock / pop
	World music	Electronic	Middle eastern	Dance / House
	Classical		Classical	Classical
	Hip hop / black music		Religious music	Rap / hip-hop
				'Old-town' folk Traditional folk music
<i>Disliked by the majority</i>	Volkstümliche and schlager Traditional Austrian folk Techno	Country and Western		

Consistent with previous research, we recognise the existence of omnivorism in Israel (Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Israeli *eclectics* share certain tastes with *highbrow* and *local* groups, however, they also express a considerable frequency of neutral opinion in regard to a wide variety of global musical styles (dance, rock and hip-hop). The figures are considerably higher than the 'don't know' response (no

more than 4% in every genre except for dance and hip-hop). Our findings therefore indicate that Israeli eclectics might behave like omnivores by composition. Serbian eclectics are the smallest taste group within Serbia and significantly small compared to other countries (3.7% of the sample). However, this group seems to be the most consistent with the definition of omnivores in terms of volume, expressing strong taste for all musical genres except turbo-folk. This small group is the only one able to cross all symbolic boundaries of their national musical domain. Cvetičanin and Popescu (2011) propose that Serbian omnivores are internally divided. We found no other taste group in any of the four countries that appears to behave like musical omnivores.

#### **4.7.3. Taste and distaste groups: Who are they?**

The next step is to understand the influence of stratifying variables. In this section, we interpret results by focusing on *eclectics* and how they differ from other groups, with the objective of characterising eclectics in economic, social and personal terms. Where eclectics have a higher social position, we find evidence of cultural omnivorism in terms of social differentiation. For this, estimated coefficients from the structural model are interpreted (Table 4.5). In Austria, all variables except sex and immigration are statistically significant, with age being by far the most important explanatory variable of taste and distaste groups. *Eclectic* tends to be older than *urban contemporary* but younger than other groups. *Highbrow* is the only group other than *eclectic* who are better educated and belong to a similar occupational class. Additionally, they are over-represented in the north of the country where the capital city Vienna is located. In contrast, *local* and *urban contemporary* groups are defined by their lower educational attainment. The Austrian *eclectic* thus seem to hold an advantaged social position across groups, but not the highest.

Table 4.5. Structural model coefficients.

Covariates		Austria				England				Israel				Serbia			
		U cont vs. Eclec	L Folk vs. Eclec	High vs. Eclec	L Pop vs. Eclec	U Cont vs. Eclec	High vs. Eclec	Loc vs. Eclec	Loc U vs. Eclec	High T vs. Eclec	High C vs. Eclec	Loc vs. Eclec	U Cont vs. Eclec	U Cont vs. Eclec	High C vs. Eclec	High T vs. Eclec	Loc vs. Eclec
Age <sup>a</sup>	36-50	-1.586**	1.811**	4.529	1.255**	-0.434	1.598***	2.723*	2.586**	0.739	0.295	0.586	-2.120***	-1.706***	0.021	2.552***	1.53***
	>50	-4.458	4.864***	6.812*	1.238*	-2.572	2.147***	8.119***	7.865***	0.888*	-1.501***	0.026	-11.169	-2.693***	-1.814***	4.069***	1.933***
Education <sup>b</sup>	ISCED 3	-0.832	-0.958	-0.145*	-0.497	-0.408	0.176	-2.573**	-2.708**	1.084**	0.988*	-0.048	0.990*	0.364	0.317	0.672	-1.247
	ISCED 4-6	-2.548**	-1.425	1.805*	-1.154	-2.146***	-0.039	-1.816*	-1.610*	1.525*	2.398***	0.254	0.811	-0.702	0.944	0.966	-2.036*
Occ. Class <sup>c</sup>	Interm + P bourg	0.133	-2.135***	0.062	-0.904*	-1.31**	0.208	-0.460	-0.796	0.005	-0.381	-0.941*	-1.243**	-0.701	-0.206	0.597	-0.6
	Service	-0.844	-2.258***	0.017	-1.463*	-0.764	0.293	-1.240	-1.264	0.637	0.119	-1.566*	-0.976*	0.098	1.504*	0.808	-0.797
Sex <sup>d</sup>	Female	-0.403	0.395	0.657	0.032	1.479**	0.638*	1.231*	1.250*	0.305	0.028	0.219	-0.075	-0.017	0.093	0.787*	-0.233
Ethnicity <sup>e</sup>	Other					0.808	-0.345	2.376*	2.750**								
	Adhkenazi									1.528***	1.59***	-1.673*	-0.108				
	Israeli									0.814*	1.347**	-1.361*	0.675				
	Other									0.826	1.453	-12.701	0.496				
Place <sup>f</sup>	North (incl Vienna)	0.934**	-1.148**	-0.861*	-0.202												
Place <sup>g</sup>	Rest of country					0.047	-0.627*	-0.449	0.001								
City size <sup>h</sup>	Largest cities									0.551	0.190	0.238	0.168				
Nationality <sup>i</sup>	Not born Austria	-0.282	0.064	0.266	-0.557												
Nationality <sup>k</sup>	Not Serbian													-0.387	0.436	0.4	-0.034
<i>Intercept</i>		0.220	-0.581	-5.372	0.215	-0.581	-1.509**	-3.579***	-3.070***	-3.166***	-1.986**	-0.118	1.150*	2.771***	0.831	-2.913*	2.606***

\* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001 (two-tailed tests)

Reference category: a: 18-35; b: ISCED 1-2; c: labour contract; d: male; e: English white; f: Sephardic; g: rest of the country; h: London; i: small/medium city; j: born in Austria; k: Serbian.

In England, all other variables except place of residence are highly statistically significant. Again, English *eclectics* tend to be younger than *highbrows* and *local* group members but older than *urban contemporary*, sharing a higher occupational class with the former, but being more ethnically diverse. *Local* groups are characterised as less educated<sup>29</sup>, being from a lower occupational class and (in the case of the uninformed subgroup) having the highest proportion of non-white members. English *eclectic* and *highbrow* share the same social and economic advantages; however, the former tend to be younger, ethnically diverse males from London, while the latter comprise more exclusive, middle-aged whites from the rest of the country. Similarly to Austria, English *eclectic* is at the top of the social hierarchy, but cannot be distinguished from the *highbrow* taste group.

In Israel, all variables except city size and sex are statistically significant. Ethnicity, age and education are the most important explanatory variables of taste and distaste groups. In contrast to Austria and England, older age groups (mostly within the Sephardic Jewish community), intermediate occupational class and education are the features that define Israeli *eclectics*. In comparison, Israeli *urban contemporary* is mainly young people with no higher than secondary education and belonging to a lower occupational class. *Eclectics* here are not the ones with social and cultural advantages, and appear to share a social position with the *local* group. Both *highbrow* groups (contemporary and traditional) have higher levels of education and belong to higher occupational classes, and at the same time are older and mostly Ashkenazi<sup>30</sup>. In Serbia, all variables except nationality are statistically significant, the most important being age, education and occupational class. Individuals of a young age, highly educated but from a middle occupational class tend to display *eclectic* taste. *Eclectics* in Serbia have attained a higher educational level and belong to a higher occupational class than *urban contemporary* and *local* groups. However, as in Israel, traditional *highbrow* groups (and especially contemporary *highbrows*) appear to be part of the national elite, displaying higher levels of educational attainment and higher occupational class.

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<sup>29</sup> However, 23.34% of *local* and 29.48% of *local uninformed* groups have tertiary education. This highlights internal divisions among people that prefer country and western and classical.

<sup>30</sup> Previous research in Israel highlights the importance of ethnicity in shaping cultural engagement (Katz-Gerro, Raz and Yaish, 2007, 2009).

#### **4.8. Omnivorism, distinction, and beyond: a cross-national perspective**

At a comparative level, eclectics in each country seem to share a number of features. For example, they have broad tastes but do not express a strong like for several musical styles. Although some of the detected patterns of eclecticism may fit with definitions of omnivorism by volume or composition, eclectics do not cross every cultural boundary. There is no clarity if the benevolent indifference detected in eclectic groups could be interpreted as tolerance or disdain<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, it is questionable if this involves a new cultural aesthetic (Lahire, 2008; Lizardo and Skilles, 2012). It is not possible to establish that omnivorism represents a change of culture-structure relationship, but it does at least appear to be a different musical discursive orientation, reflecting the increased availability of and access to different cultural forms.

Furthermore, social meanings of eclecticism vary according to national stratification structure and go beyond occupational class, education and age. It is particularly striking that although eclectics in Israel and Serbia appear to display preferences similar to traditional definitions of omnivorism, they do not necessarily belong to any national elite; only English and Austrian eclectics share socially advantaged positions with other taste groups. Several taste groups with narrow preferences and strong distastes hold the most socially disadvantaged positions, but some are also advantaged. However, understanding these groups as part of more complex judgemental discourses (Frith, 1996), we argue that their meaning goes beyond that conveyed by the terminology of univores as suggested by Peterson (2005). The evidence shows that eclectics try to differentiate themselves from lower groups by displaying broad tastes or at least by accepting several genres. However, the same mechanism is also used by other groups to reinforce social and economic boundaries through strong rejection of various cultural practices, a stance which concurs with Bourdieu (1979).

It is broadly recognised that Peterson's conceptualisation offers a partial explanation of the distribution of musical likes and dislikes (Lizardo and Skiles, 2012, Prior, 2013), but no research has proved before that omnivorism/eclecticism does not work in the same way in different social structures. Music, like other cultural form, is a domain where national repertoires collaborate in shaping boundaries, tying musical works and artists in terms of similarities and differences expected from the audience.

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<sup>31</sup> Thanks to the anonymous referee who helped to clarify this.

Although an interpretative tool such as *Art*, *Folk* and *Popular* judgemental discourses proved to be useful to provide a common ground to understand patterns of taste and distaste across countries, different local contexts provided by the history of a nation, the educational and stratification systems, mass media and cultural institutions are aspects that contribute to reveal their meaning (Lamont, 1992; Regev, 2011). These differences come to explain how symbolic boundaries are locally shaped and blurred, and how they lead to different musical distinctions across countries. Moreover, our findings suggest that musical indicators are not as stable across countries as some claimed (for instance Peterson, 2005). In this regard we consider particularly pertinent to mention the influence of levels of interaction between mainstream and foreign cultural influences, and more traditional or locally produced genres.

In the case of Austria, while German-language folk and classical music represent both ends of musical hierarchies, from the early 1970s musicians adapted foreign American and English rock and pop creating hybrid genres, grouped under the *Austropop* label (Larkey, 1992; Reitsamer, 2014). Israeli-Jewish culture combines and adopts signs from over a 100 countries (Kaplan, 2012). For instance, one of the most popular genres (songs of the land of Israel) combines Russian and Yiddish melodies with Romantic classical and French Chanson (Regev, 2000). Same as Austria, American and British rock, folk and pop, influence local music, to what is possible to include Middle-east and North-African musical forms (Regev, 2000; Kaplan, 2012). Due to its closeness to European mainstream, Serbian musical forms are heavily rooted in different folk styles, commonly charged with political meanings (Hudson, 2003). A clear example of this is that during the 1990s, local music influenced by ‘western’ styles such as rock and dance music acquired opposite political and social sidewalks. While the former critiqued Slobodan Milosevic regime (Mijatovic, 2008) the latter (as turbo-folk) embraced its life-style and values (Kronja, 2004). In England however the process seems to be different. Rock and roll and pop musicians, prior to the 1964 ‘first British invasion’ to America (and the rest of the world), imitated sounds from their American counterparts from places such as Memphis and Chicago (Cloonan, 1997; Morra, 2013). Nowadays some commentators recognize that popular music in England has taken the place and

properties from folk music (Cloonan, 1997; Morra, 2013), changing evaluative dynamics and cultural hierarchies<sup>32</sup> (Lena and Peterson, 2008).

#### 4.9. Conclusion

The main motivation of this research is to adopt a comparative perspective in order to cross-nationally revisit the omnivore thesis. From a conceptual point of view, this article understands musical taste groups as forms of social distinction (Tampubolon, 2008b; Lizardo and Skiles, 2012) with meanings based on specific discursive practices (Frith, 1996) and historical national repertoires (Lamont, 1992). Empirically, we analysed data from Austria, England, Israel and Serbia to develop these ideas in detail. The analytical strategy implemented consisted of detecting grouped patterns of taste and quantifying the impact of sociodemographic variables on the construction of these groups (LCA MIMIC models).

This research has focused on answering four research questions. Regarding the first and second, our results show that in every country analysed it is possible to find individuals with different levels and composition of musical likes and dislikes. As claimed by Frith (1996) but with caution, in the four countries examined in this study it is possible to detect in higher social positions the cultural elites of Frith's *Art* discourse coexisting with *Popular* and *Folk* in interchangeable middle and lower positions, to which it is also possible to add a group of cultural *eclectics*. The inclusion of country-specific variables allows us to understand how the distribution of respondents' dislikes and likes reflects cultural differences and defines the strength of cultural boundaries. Broadly speaking, Austrian, English and Israeli *urban contemporary* taste groups are quite similar in their preference of hip-hop and electronic music. However, the Serbian group expresses dislike of hip-hop and a positive opinion of folk. English, Israeli and Serbian *local* groups voice a strong like of traditional folk music and dislike of popular; however, Austrian *local folk* appear to be remarkably tolerant or indifferent to classical music while Austrian *local popular* prefer folk-rooted schlager. Austrian and English *highbrows* prefer jazz and classical along with rock and some local styles. Meanwhile, Israeli and Serbian *highbrows* are subdivided into those oriented to tolerate *contemporary* or *traditional* style.

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<sup>32</sup>A quantitative analysis of genres' trajectories to test this statement using historical or longitudinal data would be an interesting endeavour for future research.



In answer to our third research question, *is musical eclecticism a feature spread across different societies?*, our results suggest that in all analysed countries it is possible to detect a group of individuals with broad musical taste, defined as the intersection of these three discourses. However, conclusions regarding their composition and social positions cannot be directly generalised across countries. Having demonstrated that eclecticism is present in our analysed countries, we can provide an answer to our remaining research question. *Are Austrian, English, Israeli and Serbian eclectics holders of higher social positions?* Cultural omnivorism, as originally defined by Peterson and colleagues, it is not necessarily a widespread phenomenon. Austrian and English eclectic groups express constant probability of displaying any level of distaste or taste, evidence of openness but also of less intense feelings towards the music they like. Israeli and Serbian patterns suggest openness to liking a broader combination and amount of genres. Although eclectics in Israel and Serbia appear to display preferences in a similar way to traditional definitions of omnivorism, they do not necessarily belong to any national elite; only English and Austrian eclectics share socially advantaged positions with *highbrow* taste groups. *Do they differ in terms of sociodemographic characteristics?* They differ not only in terms of social and personal characteristics, but also in the way their tastes and distastes structure these groups. Although some of the detected patterns of eclecticism may fit with definitions of omnivorism by volume or composition, eclectics do not cross every cultural boundary.

In Austria and England eclectics tend to be middle aged, with a higher educational attainment and occupational class, mainly residing in Vienna or London. In Israel, being from an older age group, mostly Sephardic and from an intermediate educational level and occupational class are the features that define Israeli *eclectics*. Finally, in Serbia individuals of a young age, highly educated but from a middle occupational class tend to display *eclectic* taste. Clearly, age is the most important variable that defines how musical tastes and distastes are distributed across society. Again, to fully understand the meaning of this distinction and how it differs across countries, national historical and cultural repertoires are the key interpretative tool. It is clear that Austrian and English taste groups reflect tension between young people with a preference for popular emerging styles as opposed to the more traditional tastes of folk and classical of the more adult population (Savage, 2006; Reitsamer, 2014). However, Israeli and Serbian groups are structured differently. In the case of

Israel, this tension is also expressed in terms of the western-influenced popular styles preferred by young age cohorts and traditional music influenced by strong ethnic and religious roots (Regev, 2000; Katz-Gerro, Raz and Yaish, 2009). In the case of Serbia, younger age groups more frequently prefer globally known popular musical, but also some of the highly diverse popular folk expressions. Older age groups diverge regarding the selection of musical folk forms closed to western influences (Cvetičanin, 2008).

Without a doubt, differences across eclectics patterns between countries, and their positions within social structures, could be explained by several other aspects, including historical ones, that define and shape national repertoires and cultural identities. This is the path to follow for future comparative research in cultural stratification. So far, this research has shown that the meaning of patterns of musical likes and dislikes, and particularly the one of eclectics differs according to locale. This corresponds to an accurate picture of one national cultural domain, only possible to detect using a combination of common and country-specific cultural indicators that adequately reflect the diversity of social structures of each country analysed. The results of this research echo the call of several authors to question the use of the concept of omnivorism (Lahire, 2008, Atkinson, 2011; Lizardo and Skiles, 2012) and to extend cross-national comparative research (Katz-Gerro, 2011). From a quantitative point of view we believe that the use of more elaborated conceptualisations alongside more refined methodologies helped to elucidate how culture is socially stratified in four advanced societies. The next step is therefore to assess to what degree we can extrapolate our results to other cultural domains and national social structures, and to expand the research to other domains and dimensions of cultural practice.

## 5. Musical preferences and technologies: contemporary material and symbolic distinctions criticised<sup>33</sup>

**Abstract:** Music as a mechanism for social distinction is well established (Bennett et al, 2009). Yet, perhaps more than any other form of cultural expression, it is music which has been systematically transformed by emerging technologies. From the gramophone, radio, cassette, and CD, through to portable devices and shared through social media, music is in constant flux. To separate taste for music from its various acquisitional forms, is to deny its role in society. In this paper our aim is to integrate within taste and cultural consumption analysis a salient dimension, such as technologies to acquire music, conceptualized as modes of musical exchange and formats used to listen to music. We argue these are components of musical consumption practices which enhance the understanding on symbolic boundaries are shaped today. Using multiple factor analysis, this study provides a simultaneous analysis of musical tastes and technological engagement in Chile. We find that uses of technologies share a unique relationship to musical taste. Musical taste remains a relevant process of distinction, but modes of exchange proves to be an emerging property for distinction. They however do not create new symbolic boundaries; rather they are important in reinforcing those that exist.

**Keywords:** Musical taste, Technologies, Distinction, Practices, Chile

### 5.1. Introduction

Our research is framed on a combination of elements such as cultural taste and consumption, technologies, and practices, providing a theoretical account and empirical evidence of the social stratification of musical practices, as a combination of taste and two aspects of technological engagement: modes of exchange; and formats. Today how individuals interact with various cultural items is not perfectly consistent with theoretical frameworks of influential scholars on cultural consumption, such as Bourdieu (1979), Gans (1999[1974]), and Peterson and Simkus (1992). One such variation is in the ever increasing variety of technological modes to acquire and listen to music (Pinch and Bijsterveld, 2004). However, as a consequence of digital divides (van Dijk, 2006), technological items may not be distributed equally among social groups. At present, the value of status-making through a preference for different genres of music extends itself to different forms of consumption and ways of experiencing music. We are yet to fully understand the power these practices have on generating status. This article is therefore motivated by the need to integrate within quantitative frameworks of taste and cultural consumption, an analysis of individuals' technological engagement. These two

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<sup>33</sup> This chapter is based on the following article: Leguina, A., Arancibia-Carvajal, S. and Widdop, P. (forthcoming). Musical preferences and technologies: Contemporary material and symbolic distinctions criticised. *Journal of Consumer Culture*.

dimensions, integrated as components of musical practices, enhance our understanding of cultural boundaries across different social groups.

The objective is to bridge a gap detected in the literature, addressing the following questions: Are technological modes to listen to music related to musical tastes? Individuals' cultural preferences draw symbolic boundaries (Bourdieu, 1979; Lamont, 1992), reflecting personal and social differences. In common with musical preferences, modes of musical exchange and formats to listen to music are related to individuals' locations within social structures (López-Sintas et al, 2014). Surprisingly, little has been said about this relationship and its strength. In this regard, theory of practices provides the link to simultaneously analyse taste and technologies (Warde, 2005, 2014). Therefore, as second and third research questions, we ask: How strong is the association between musical technologies and social stratification axes? Does the strength of this relationship surpass that of the relationship between musical taste and social stratification? Salient technological forms of consumption modify listeners and listening practices and cultural rankings (Wright, 2011). Indeed, several authors have noted the way individuals interact with culture could be today a more important status marker than selection of specific cultural objects (Tampubolon, 2008a; Prieur and Savage, 2013; López-Sintas et al, 2014). In this regard, we do not yet know the value that alongside taste, technological engagement has as a form of distinction.

This study provides an analysis of musical tastes and technologies in Chile, the first time such analysis has been carried out. In 40 years and based on one of the most open market economies in the world, Chile has been transformed from one of the poorest to one of the fastest growing and economically stable countries in Latin America, but at the same time is the OECD state member with the highest income inequality (ECLAC, 2011; OECD, 2013). Indicators of musical taste and technologies, operationalized as methods of exchange (ranging from buy on streets to free Internet downloads) and technological formats and devices (from radio stations to portable digital reproducers) to listen to music, are analysed through a multiple factor analysis (MFA), an extension of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). This is an update to the statistical method commonly preferred for this type of analysis (chapter 2) which overcomes some of MCA pitfalls in cases where researchers are interested in comparing the contribution of different groups of variables (Escofier and Pages, 1994). Our analysis expects to provide an extra layer

of information on the relationship between musical practices and social structures, elucidating how music consumption practices interact with cultural boundaries.

## **5.2. Cultural and technological stratification**

Despite being constantly revisited and criticized, Bourdieu's seminal work *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1979), continues to attract the attention of cultural sociologists around the world with an interest in understanding the way in which individuals' cultural practices are used to draw, reinforce or cross symbolic (cultural) boundaries (Bennett, 2011; Prior, 2013; Lizardo and Skiles, 2012). According to the Bourdieusian framework, the judgment of what is good or bad taste, or habitus, closely relates social structure and aesthetic preferences. Habitus is defined by Bourdieu as reproduced and inherited dispositions that generate the capacity to produce judgment and action. Furthermore, during the life-course different types of capitals are accumulated. Four basic forms of capitals (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) are species of interchangeable power that allow individuals to obtain certain profits. Homology implies that cultural taste (cultural capital) is socially structured from a position of domination and symbolic violence, where members of the higher classes tend to prefer more sophisticated, 'difficult' art forms and a rejection of popular culture, while the middle classes (or *petit bourgeoisie*) aspire to and imitate the tastes of dominant groups, while simultaneously struggling to differentiate themselves from the dominated working classes. These struggles for different social positions take place in fields, which are systems of relations where individuals display and exchange their resources to access advantaged positions.

An important aspect of cultural consumption is the ranking of cultural items. To verify whether individuals' tastes delimitate or cross boundaries, these have to be defined according to a hierarchy. This normally assumes that some pieces of art are recognised as being of high aesthetic value – good taste – provided by dominant institutions and individuals with the highest levels of cultural capital. Any hierarchical system however faces difficulties with diversification of cultural items. Among the many criticisms to Bourdieu's thesis, and there are many, it is relevant for our research to highlight the assumption that tastes of socially advantaged individuals always imply highbrow cultural items (Warde, 2011). An individual's taste however might not be consistent across fields and practices. In this regard, the work of Peterson and colleagues showed to be particularly influential (Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson, 2005). The authors argue that cultural distinctions no longer

display a high-to-lowbrow hierarchy but an opposition between individuals simultaneously preferring several highbrow and lowbrow musical genres (omnivores), and preferring one or few lowbrow genres (univores) (Peterson, 2005).

A further critique that we must consider is the fact that the Bourdieusian framework neither gives particular attention, nor concedes positive significance to lowbrow culture. The denial of popular culture is seen in the little emphasis that the author gives to phenomena such as commercial systems, music-based youth groups and subcultures, and changes in cultural hierarchies (Prior, 2013). Additionally, and probably due to the reduced importance they had in his time, there is no special focus on technologies to acquire music. The choice for the necessary is how Bourdieu (1979) defines cultural consumption of the lower classes, and it is best understood as the expression of class habitus rooted in the lives of the working-class. Bennett (2011) believes that this prevented Bourdieu from giving positive meaning to their cultural activities, denying the working-class any ability to make aesthetic judgments. Frith (1996) claims that knowledge in popular music can also be an expression of superiority, just as classical music is. In fact, the detailed study of Bennett et al (2009) in the UK shows that classical music is not the field where biggest struggles amongst position-takers take place, but it is in popular music where the major disputes and tensions are most noticeable.

Several authors argue that extracted results and conclusions derived from most quantitative research inspired on Bourdieu's framework, especially when analysing survey data about cultural preferences, have limited scope (Holt, 1997, 1998; Lizardo, 2008; Daenekindt and Roose, 2014). These kinds of indicators, referred to as objectified taste (Holt, 1997), lead us to commonly assume that the way of listening to music constitutes an inherent characteristic of individuals. Indeed, it is recognized in the importance of quantifying differentiated styles of consuming, namely embodied tastes (Holt, 1997). In this regard, technological advancements are constantly changing the way individuals think, feel, and adopt them (Lehtonen, 2003), and more generally the Internet and information and communication technologies (ICTs) play an important role on people's lives (Castells, 2001). Devices and networks are indeed accessible to an increasingly large number of people, however as noted by some commentators, there are growing digital divides in terms of attitudinal aspects about technology usage; and not just the number of people with access to these technologies. As a result of these conceptualizations,

digital divides have been detected not only between individuals' social positions, but across age, gender, ethnicity, and other sociodemographics (Attewell, 2001; van Dijk, 2006, 2008; Tsatsou, 2011).

If both, musical taste and use of technologies, are socially stratified, are specific musical preferences associated to specific technologies used to access to them? Alternatives available to access and consume music are more heterogeneous than ever. Music can be listened through a digital device (computer, MP3 player, mobile phone), physical format (vinyl, CD, cassette), free on radio stations or simultaneously watched through video clips, performances on TV shows or live concerts. As noted by DiMaggio (1987), as people are becoming technologically more advanced they become more mobile and live in many overlapping social worlds, which are now both online and offline. This has implications for those not technologically mobile. Technologies facilitate access, on the one hand, to non-highbrow culture that many would not normally engage in because of the feeling of embarrassment, and on the other to a broader range of activities to disadvantaged social groups (Lahire, 2008). At the same time, digital divides might collaborate on accentuate musical distinctions, limiting access to music forms exclusively available under certain formats. As with taste, technologies imply different practices generated from not only social differentiation and habitus, but also in attitudes, motivation, practical competence, and involvement (Sterne, 2003a). In this article we therefore provide a theoretical account and empirical evidence about the simultaneous cultural stratifications of musical taste and technologies.

### **5. 3. Technologies and musical practices**

Musical technologies offer consumers a great number of aesthetic alternatives. Some suggest that consequences of this phenomenon are shifting socialization scenarios into new technological contexts and the blurring of cultural boundaries (Peterson, 2005; Wright, 2011). New forms to consume cultural items allow individuals to engage predominantly in private, changing structures of cultural rankings (Lahire, 2008). Additionally, as Magaudda (2011) argues, technological advancement on digital music produce a reconfiguration on the relationship between materiality and culture, playing an essential role on consumers practices. Several authors from different traditions such as social history, science, technology and society studies (STS), musicology, and sound studies recognize that to understand the social dimensions of music and its consumption, is necessary to focus on practices and

relevant actors, as well as technical and material dimensions (Sterne, 2003b; Pinch and Bijsterveld, 2004; Magaudda, 2014). They have made strenuous efforts to understand the relationship between different music technologies and sociocultural formations, documenting the origins and evolution of sound reproduction technologies ranging from socio-historical accounts of the early days (Sterne, 2003b; Taylor, Katz and Grajeda, 2012), the historical and cultural context of radio broadcasting (Crisell, 2002, 2003), the development of the Mogg synthesiser (Pinch and Trocco, 2002), and the evolution of the MP3 as music format (Sterne, 2012) to more specific social phenomenon such as the genderisation of hi-fi systems in American postwar households (Keightley, 1996), the vinyl and its persistence on the market (Bartmanski and Woodward, 2013), personal stereos in the everyday life (Bull, 2000), and the iPod and its usages (Bull, 2013; Prior, 2014).

A theoretical framework commonly adopted by research in the subject, including some of previously cited research, is theory of practices (Schatzki, 1996; Reckwitz, 2002; Warde, 2005), and its connection to STS perspectives (Magaudda, 2011; Warde, 2014). In our case, to integrate the technological dimension to musical taste, Warde (2005) is a particularly pertinent source that introduces relevant concepts from theory of practices to cultural consumption. According to the author, cultural taste does not imply practice by itself because it is a moment of almost every practice and it is engagement in different practices that explains the nature and process of consumption. Individuals are carriers of practices in the form of bodily behaviour and routinized ways of understanding, knowing how and desiring. Taste, and technologies are embedded in consumption practices; they cannot be separated from their uses and functions, and grounded in social networks of individuals. Whilst not a new concept, this does open the debate for considering different forms of cultural distinctions, based on not considering tastes or technologies subjugated to the other.

To date however, quantitative research on cultural consumption that integrates dimensions of musical practices beyond objectified taste is rather limited. Traditionally, research integrates indicators of musical knowledge (Erickson, 1996; Savage and Gayo, 2011) or differentiates between the consumption of recorded music and the act of attending a live concert (for instance, Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007a; Tampubolon, 2008a; Roose and Stichele, 2010). Taking a different approach, Rössel (2011) analyses modes of listening to opera during live performances (individuals' engagement with and experience of music), conceptualizing them as



indicators of analytical and cognitive mastery and states of aesthetic pleasure. Regarding to research that integrates technologies, some present a detailed description of practices for accessing music using digital technologies (López-Sintas, Zerva and García-Álvarez, 2012; López-Sintas et al, 2014) and methods of learning about new music (Tepper and Hargittai, 2009). The research performed by López-Sintas, García-Álvarez and Filimon (2008) is unique in this respect; they focus on patterns of musical preferences and their relationship with purchases, collections of CDs, and technologies which people use. Their results show tension in socioeconomic terms between advantaged consumers who prefer highbrow (sometimes alongside lowbrow) music that acquire CDs frequently (through several channels and using several technologies) and socially disadvantaged consumers with more restricted preferences, methods and collections.

In summary, we argue that research on cultural and social stratification should not only emphasize how social differences are shaped around personal taste judgements, but must also not forget how culture is acquired and shared. Listeners and music fans find pleasure in diverse forms such as knowledge accumulation, live experiences, or collection of artefacts, aspects that may not have power outside musical domains that define its symbolic existence (Crossley and Bottero, 2015). Moreover, when there is no fear of disapproval and negative judgment, Lahire (2008) questions, what happens to cultural norms? We do not know the value that selected technologies have on different forms of distinction.

In this regard our analysis proposes to integrate taste and technologies as a whole part of consumption practices. To address our research questions, we give special emphasis to the study of two dimensions of musical technologies: ‘musical exchange’ and ‘musical formats.’ Although these cover different consumption practices, they can be roughly grouped all together under the umbrella of ‘technologies’ and is a way to identify potential differences between how music is acquired and how it is actually listened. The former refers to ‘how individuals nowadays get into music, either of which can be market or social exchanges’ (López-Sintas et al, 2014: 56-7). Here we cover aspects which might imply or not technological involvement such as buying music in stores or acquiring it through gifts, free Internet downloads, and informal markets (Tepper and Hargittai, 2009; Sezneva, 2012; Bustinza, Vendrell-Herrero, Parry and Myrthianos, 2013). For the latter, we recall Sterne’s (2012) definition of format, which ‘denotes a whole range of decisions that affect the look,

feel, experience, and workings of a medium. It also names a set of rules according to which a technology can operate' (Sterne, 2012: 7). This is particularly useful to capture differences between analogue and digital modes to listen to music, especially relevant after major changes to the music industry since the late 1990s (Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Wright, 2011).

#### **5.4. Chile: material and symbolic differences**

Thanks to the increasing availability of data to extend research beyond western societies, studies in the area of culture and social stratification have reached great popularity. This study is part of this tradition and provides an analysis of musical tastes and ways to access music in Chile, the first time such analysis has been carried out. Over the last 40 years the country has experienced several economic transformations, both as a result of international contingencies and prevailing internal policies. These have derived in changes in the economy; from a relatively closed state controlled model during the 60s, to one of the most open economies in the mid to late 90s, with a decreasing state influence in production and regulation. From being one of the poorest countries in Latin America, Chile currently ranks as one of the richest in the sub-continent. The poverty rate, which reached levels above 40% in 1987, was reduced to close to 20% in 1996 (French-Davis, 1999). Despite sustained growth, income distribution does not appear to have been significantly altered; and today, Chile is the most unequal among the OECD members (OECD, 2013), with a population that is also extremely centralized around the capital (Santiago) which contains 40% of the national total population (INE, 2002). Socioeconomic differences have a noticeable impact on many dimensions of an individuals' life, and ICTs are no an exception. According to the National Institute of Statistics, household Internet access reaches only 62% (12% below OECD members average), and unlike all other OECD countries, in Chile Internet is accessed mainly from educational institutions or workplaces, rather than households.

For music consumption, according to the *3rd National survey of cultural participation and consumption* performed by the Consejo Nacional de la Cultural y las Artes (2012) among the usual means of listening to music, the most popular is radio stations (43.1%). In the country it is possible to find 180 AM and 64 FM stations (NationMaster, 2014). The second and third media usages are CDs or DVDs (25.5%), followed by the digital files (25.1%). It should be noted that piracy is popular activity among Chileans; 20.8% declared purchasing their records from

street vendors. According to a study by the Business Software Alliance, Chile is the third highest consumer of illegal software, with 59% of total consumption, just behind Turkey (60%) and Greece, which tops the list (62%) (Viollier, 2013). Illegal Internet downloads also provides an important access to music, with 28.6% of the total population declaring that they download music for free online.

The Chilean musical domain has historically been formed through various expressions that mix folk traditions related to life conditions on countryside in the centre and south, subsequent migration to big cities (cueca), and the different sounds found in the north Andean region of the country (andina) and different Latin-American roots (Gonzalez, 2011). In this regard, Mexican music (ranchera) from the early twentieth century has been immensely popular for the working-class rural population in the south of the country (Mularski, 2012). Foreign genres from Latin America such as salsa, cumbia and sound (often grouped as tropical), Cuban bolero, Argentinian tango, and Puerto Rican reggaeton have been largely included in the local urban music mainstream (Rivera, 2011; Gonzalez, 2011; Karmy, 2013). As any culturally open country, romantic ballads, pop, rock and classical music from Europe and the USA, are not only popular but form new mixed and hybrid styles (Gonzalez, 2011). In fact, according to NSCPC data, 47.7% of the population prefer Latin American music, while 24.2% national music; only 13.7% and 7.3% noted tastes for music from USA and Europe respectively. These political, economic and cultural features go some way in explaining the symbolic differentiation in Chile, reflected by several patterns of cultural consumption previously detected in the literature (Torche, 2007, 2010; Gayo, Teitelboim and Mendez, 2009). Chile is a melting pot of different musical genres and tastes; furthermore given its complex relationship with means of acquiring music and its economic disparity, it makes an excellent test bed for exploring research questions of this article.

### **5.5. Research questions and hypotheses**

Different forms of consumption have the potential to modify practices and re-structure cultural classification rituals. However, we do not know the value that selected ways of acquiring music have as forms of distinction (Prieur and Savage, 2013; Crossley and Bottero, 2015). Similarly to the process of taste, chosen musical modes of exchanges and formats are not only related to habitus and social structures, but also to other factors such as necessity, favouritism, and competences (Sterne, 2003a; Warde, 2005; Lahire, 2008). As a consequence our first research question

**(RQ1)** is laid out as follows: Are technological modes used to listen to music related to musical tastes? We expect to observe positive association between some combinations of taste and technological modes of access to music. Furthermore, we hypothesize that these dimensions of cultural practices are part of cultural hierarchies and they shape forms of distinction that are as of yet, to be conceptualized, for example free-paid and technological advanced-not advanced. These are found in correlation with different demographic characteristics, but mainly with age, education and social class (Tepper and Hargittai, 2009; López-Sintas, García-Álvarez and Filimon, 2008; López-Sintas et al, 2014).

According to some scholars in the field, the way people interact with culture could be more important today than preference for certain cultural items (Warde, 2005; Tampubolon, 2008a; Magaúda, 2011; Prieur and Savage, 2013). However, the association between musical taste and technologies, and its joint ability to draw symbolic boundaries across social groups has not been empirically quantified. Therefore our second and third research questions read **(RQ2)**: How strong is the association between musical technologies and social stratification axes? **(RQ3)**: Does the strength of the relationship between technologies and social stratification super-exceed that between musical taste and social stratification axes? Simultaneously analysing various dimensions of cultural consumption practices, it is expected that in Chile, a society where material differences are still important, technologies delimit cultural bounds at least as strong as taste. Additionally, we expect to find some degree of consistency between distinctions that taste, musical exchanges, and formats are able to reflect, especially related to differences between age cohorts and those in different social classes.

## **5.6. Data and method**

### **5.6.1 Data**

This article draws on Chilean data from ‘3rd National survey of cultural participation and consumption’ (Consejo Nacional de la Cultural y las Artes, 2012). The survey was conducted during the 2012, to 8,200 men and women over 15 years old belonging to urban areas from the 15 regions of the country, with a national sampling error of 1.08%. They were asked about 26 different areas of cultural consumption. After excluding from the analysis people under aged (15-17 years) and people that do not listen to music, the effective sample size to analyse is 7,530 individuals.

**Table 5.1.** Descriptive statistics of sociodemographic variables.

	<b>Sociodemographic variables (%)</b>					<i>Missing</i>
<b>Age (in years)</b>	<i>18-29</i>	<i>30-44</i>	<i>45-59</i>	<i>&gt;=60</i>		0
	19.3	25.6	28.6	26.5		
<b>Sex</b>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>				0
	54.4	45.6				
<b>Ethnic group</b>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>				0
	10.5	89.5				
<b>Education</b>	<i>No/Basic</i>	<i>Sec. inc.</i>	<i>Sec.comp.</i>	<i>Ter. inc.</i>	<i>Ter. comp.</i>	0
	25.6	15.1	36.1	9.1	14.1	
<b>Income (in thousands)</b>	<i>&lt;= \$245</i>	<i>\$245 - \$440</i>	<i>\$440 - \$670</i>	<i>&gt;=\$670</i>		3.3
	27.2	27.6	18.5	23.4		
<b>Socdem. group</b>	<i>Lower</i>	<i>Lower middle</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Upper middle</i>	<i>Upper</i>	4.0
	16.9	36.7	19.7	16.1	6.6	
<b>Place of residence</b>	<i>North</i>	<i>Centre</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Metropolitan (Santiago)</i>		0
	30.6	27.1	30.0	12.3		

### 5.6.2 Sociodemographic variables

Some of the most frequently analysed sociodemographic variables in the literature were included in the analyses (table 5.1 provides descriptive statistics). Age was codified on four categories to broadly illustrate tension among young-middle-older age groups. Sex (female-male) is treated as categorical. A dichotomic variable indicates respondents' self-declared belonging to any ethnic group. Educational level is divided on five categories. Secondary and tertiary were subdivided as complete or incomplete. Household net income (pesos per month) is divided into four categories. As proxy of occupational class, we use individuals' socioeconomic groups, based on a combination of household educational level, house characteristics and possession of several items, characterization which especially distinguishes gaps between lower middle and lower segments (Asociación de Investigadores de Mercado, 2013). To retain the peculiar distribution of Chilean social groups, we retain the original classification: lower (E), lower middle (D), middle (C3) and upper/upper middle (ABC1+C2). For place of residence, we include a variable that describes the region where respondents are located.

### 5.6.3. Taste and technology variables

Regarding indicators of musical taste, respondents reported on up to three most favourite genres selected from a list of fourteen options. This list adequately covers the previously described characteristics of the Chilean musical scene. Table 5.2 presents the genres sorted by their popularity level defined as the total percentage of individuals who claim to prefer them regardless of their order. To take into account

the range of tastes that individuals have, it has been decided to keep the order. Given the structure of the questions about musical tastes, it is not possible to consider in our analysis aspects as dislikes or more detailed measures regarding cultural omnivorism.

**Table 5.2.** Musical taste indicators.

Genres	Preference (%)			Mentioned any order
	1st	2nd	3rd	
Romantic ballad	23.9	16.8	8.6	49.3
Tropical <sup>1</sup>	6.9	12.4	10.7	30.0
Folk	7.0	9.0	12.5	28.5
Bolero	13.3	7.8	4.9	26.0
Mexican	9.6	8.6	5.0	23.2
Pop	7.1	6.5	3.8	17.4
Rock	9.5	4.5	2.4	16.4
Classical	6.3	4.6	3.0	13.9
Reggaeton	3.4	3.9	3.4	10.7
Tango	1.7	4.1	2.9	8.7
Electronic	1.4	2.0	3.4	6.8
Fussion <sup>2</sup>	1.4	2.4	2.7	6.5
Hip hop	1.5	1.8	1.5	4.8
Heavy metal	1.2	1.4	0.6	3.2

1: Includes salsa, merengue, cumbia and sound; 2: Includes jazz, bossa nova, soul and blues.

Table 5.3 presents a summary of variables related to musical technologies available. One question asks about the most frequent method of 'exchange.' To facilitate the analysis, it was decided to merge several categories. The category 'borrow' (5.2%) were merged with gifts. Two questions add information about the most frequently used format and device to listen to music. In the case of formats, due to low frequency, cassettes (1.0%) was merged to CD/DVD, and on the category 'other formats', music television networks (2.5%) and vinyl (0.3%) were included. Regarding devices, record player (0.4%) and walkman (0.1%) were merged to 'other' category. Format and device variables included in the survey are highly related. Indeed borders between them have been blurred over time, with devices that constraint or open format choices (Sterne, 2012). To retain as much information as possible about technological engagement, we therefore decided to group them under the previously defined label of 'formats.'

#### **5.6.4. Analytical strategy: Multiple factor analysis**

Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is one of the most commonly used techniques to study the relationship between culture and social stratification (Bennett et al, 2009). Bourdieu himself argued that quantitative analysis tools in sociology

must be multidimensional, relational, and should not reduce variable interrelations into dependent-independent hierarchies (Lebaron, 2010). MCA is a multivariate technique used to analyse categorical data, structured as *Individuals x Variables* tables. Summary values, plotted as clouds, aid to visualise interrelations among variables and individuals. Typically, an MCA solution is derived from one set of variables, called *active*, and a second set could additionally be included as *supplementary*, which is not part of dimension reduction, but included to complement interpretations. To study the impact of groups of variables on the overall solution, a common practice is to sum the contribution (per cent) of each set of variables to total variance explained by each dimension. However, the influence of each set of variables strongly dependent on the number of variables and categories that each group has. In our case this is especially important as our active variables are divided into three heavily unbalanced groups: ‘taste’ (14 variables, 3 categories each), ‘formats’ (2 variables, 4 and 5 categories each), and ‘exchange’ (1 variable with 6 categories).

**Table 5.3.** Frequencies for acquisition and technology usage variables.

Music acquisition and technology usage variables (% most frequent)							Missing
Methods of acquisition	<i>Don't have</i>	<i>Borrow or gifts</i>	<i>Buy on street</i>	<i>Copies</i>	<i>Free Internet</i>	<i>Buy on stores</i>	
	12.6	18.1	18.4	2.6	21.8	26.5	0.0
Format	<i>Radio stations</i>	<i>CD/ DVD/ Cassette</i>	<i>Digital format</i>	<i>Other</i>			
	48.1	28.3	19.1	4.2			0.3
Devices	<i>Radio/ Boombox/ HiFi</i>	<i>Computer</i>	<i>Cell phone</i>	<i>MP3-4/ iPod</i>	<i>Other</i>		
	75.4	10.4	8.0	4.1	1.9		0.2

While we acknowledge conceptual and analytical advantages that MCA has for the study of cultural stratification, we believe it is not the only alternative to perform what those from the Bourdieusian tradition call *field analysis* (Savage and Silva, 2013). This method, except from rare occasions, has been the orthodoxy for the last 40 years. Therefore, we substitute a regular MCA, in favour of a multiple factor analysis (MFA). The MFA method, an extension of MCA, proposed by Escofier and Pages (1994), allows analysing indicators structured in groups, weighting them to prevent a group having dominant influence in the first dimension, thus allowing a

more precise comparison of their contributions within the overall solution. This is performed on two stages. Firstly, consider  $j = 1, \dots, J$  groups of variables, with  $k_j$  variables each, that divides the total number of variables,  $K$ . Then, to each *Variables x Individuals* contingency table ( $Y_j$ ) is applied a MCA and first eigenvalues of each  $Y_j$  are retained ( $\lambda_1^j$ ) to be used to weight each group of variables. Secondly, MCA to the new matrix  $\mathbf{Y}$ , product of merge weighted tables, is performed:

$$\mathbf{Y} = \left[ \frac{1}{\lambda_1^j} Y^1, \quad \dots, \quad \frac{1}{\lambda_1^j} Y^J \right]$$

Consequently, using MFA it is possible to quantify groups' weighted contribution and graphically visualize overall answer patterns. Akin to MCA, groups of variables can also be defined as supplementary. This is performed using the package FactoMineR (Lê, Josse and Husson, 2008), part of the R statistical software (R Core Team, 2013). After performing preliminary analyses including missing values as an extra category and excluding them, their reduced amount and lower impact on results lead us to exclude them from final analysis.

### 5.7. Results

MFA allows us to provide a snapshot of individuals' musical tastes and technologies, breaking down more precisely contributions of each group of variables, balancing them according to the number of variables and categories that compose them, and plotting everything on a highly intuitive map where distance between categories represents the degree of their association. Initially we found that the percentages of variance show that taste, musical exchanges and formats are indeed important components of the Chilean cultural map (table 5.4).

On the first axis, which retains 18% of the modified total variance, the three sets of variables contribute approximately one-third of its construction. However, from axis 2 to 5 (which holds between 6.3% and 5% of the modified total variance) importance of musical exchanges increases. It is only in the sixth axis that the importance of musical formats and taste is revealed. Due to scarcity of space, here we only develop detailed interpretation for the first three axes, retaining 30.2% of the total variance of the data. The first axis (horizontal), to which contribution to its variance is 36.1% from formats indicators, 32.1% from taste, and 31.8% from exchanges, substantively differs from the second (vertical), for which methods of acquisition contributes the



majority of its variance (76.6%) (table 5.4). To facilitate our understanding, we simultaneously interpret the first and second axes, dividing figure 6.1 on four quadrants.

**Table 5.4.** Results from MFA.

	<b>Axis</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
	Eigenvalue	1.875	1.129	1.083	1.011	1.007	0.752
	% retained	6.2	3.7	3.6	3.3	3.3	2.5
<b>Variance</b>	% mod. retained	18.0	6.3	5.8	5.0	5.0	2.7
	Cumulated %	18.0	24.3	30.2	35.2	40.2	42.9
	Taste	32.1	7.8	17.3	2.4	1.2	56.0
<b>Contribution</b>	Methods	31.8	76.6	79.9	97.3	98.5	4.7
	Technologies	36.1	15.5	2.8	0.3	0.3	39.2

The first quadrant (upper right), groups individuals who predominantly use digital formats and devices such as cell phone, computer and MP3/4 player. Their tastes are hip-hop, reggaeton, electronic and pop (as a third option), and the most common way of acquiring music is copying. In sociodemographic terms, individuals in this quadrant are mainly young (18-29 years), with incomplete post-secondary education (unfinished diploma or university degree). Individuals positioned in the second quadrant (lower right) are also characterized by listening to music via computer and MP3/4 player, but they are more likely to use physical formats (CD/DVD/cassette). Perhaps this group see value and a sense of identity by having tangible formats of the music, but also active in embracing emerging structures of technology. Individuals located here have musical preferences based on fusion, pop, rock, heavy rock and classical music as a third option. Their musical exchanges tend more often to be copying or buying in shops. Similar to the first quadrant, they are young and young adults (20-44 years) with complete tertiary education with income over \$670,000 and belonging to higher socioeconomic groups (ABC1-C2).



Individuals from the third quadrant (lower left) use mainly CD/DVD/cassette and radios to listen to music. Their musical tastes consist of classical, folk, romantic ballad, and tango as a third option, purchased in stores, but also prone to acquiring this from the street. Concerning demographic variables, individuals who prefer classical music share similarities with the second quadrant, while individuals preferring folk and ballads as first choice are adults aged 45-59 with secondary education. Although the nature of taste measures does not allow us to test more elaborated measures of omnivorism, dissonance and other tolerant types (Lahire, 2008), it is between quadrants two and three where we find not only the socially advantaged individuals, but also those who seem to prefer a greater variety of musical genres, being able to mix classical and fusion with rock, pop and romantic ballads. Besides buying in stores, they are not characterized by the selection of more specific exchange methods and formats to listen to music. Finally, the fourth quadrant (upper left) primarily concentrates individuals who listen to music through the medium of radio. Their tastes are mainly based on tastes most aligned to the working classes, namely Mexican, tropical, bolero and tango. These individuals claim not to acquire or possess music, but if they do, they are through loans and gifts or from buying it from street vendors. They belong to the poorest social group (E), with lower education (no/basic), lower income (<\$245,000) and older age (+60).

Third axis variance is predominantly accounted for by methods of acquisition (79.9%), reaffirming our results described above. Individuals who claim to prefer hip-hop and reggaeton, tend to acquire music mainly through copying and downloading it from the Internet and consuming it through a cell phone. Those who prefer rock, heavy rock, pop, and fusion also use the Internet, but additionally buy music in stores, and most frequently use PC and digital formats. Classical music and folk listeners also acquire it in stores and through borrows and gifts, while those who prefer tango, Mexican and tropical music, listen to the radios, and might acquire music through loans, gifts or purchased on the street. This indicates that technologies are not necessarily defining new boundaries but reinforcing those that already exist. Cultural boundaries extracted from our analysis reveal they are structured by both symbolic and material aspects.

As noted throughout this article, the inclusion of technological engagement through exchanges and formats allow us to detect different forms of distinction. In this regard,



we observe how different types of material distinctions, or digital divides, are identifiable. Indeed, it is clear that technological distinctions are correlated to specific taste patterns and social groups. The first axis of MFA reflects not only tension between music preferred by young age groups (hip-hop, reggaeton, rock and heavy rock) and adults (tango, Mexican, folk and classical), but also tension between the selection of digital technologies (downloads, PC, mobile phone and digital formats) and analogue formats or non-technological exchanges (radio, borrows and gifts and buying in the streets). This, we argue, reflects the user/non user dimension of the digital divide (Tsatsou, 2011). The second axis shows differences between individuals with lower educational levels, income and socioeconomic status, who prefer tango, Mexican, hip-hop and reggaeton; against preferences for classic, rock and fusion from those individuals higher in the social structural hierarchy. This same tension, is present among individuals who use free alternatives to purchase or listen to music (radio, free internet downloads or simply do not possess any musical work); in contrast to individuals who obtain their music in stores and use physical formats such as cd/dvd/cassette. Tension is reflected through musical engagement and appears to be related to the most elemental inclusion/exclusion from technological advancements (Tsatsou, 2011), but also through strategies used to cope with lack of resources to access music. The third axis, relative to musical taste, shows the same differentiation as the second axis, but predominantly consists of differences in musical exchanges: some acquire music from buying it on the streets or copying, whilst others do not possess music or acquire it in stores. This indicates subtle differences between legal and illegal exchanges, a salient aspect that bridges cultural consumption and digital divide research, which requires further investigation.

## **5.8. Discussion and conclusion**

This article, motivated by the need for integrating new analytical dimensions to taste and cultural consumption analysis, explored the relationship between technologies and musical taste in Chile. Our analysis focused on bridging a gap between these concepts, understanding them as part of cultural consumption practices. Firstly, we were concerned with how musical exchanges and formats are related to musical taste (**RQ1**). Our results lead us to conclude that technologies are indeed related, and from our analysis we can derive several important conclusions. Musical taste remains socially stratified following the low-to-highbrow cultural distinction, but modified to account for contemporary contexts (Tampubolon, 2008a; Lahire, 2008; Bennett, 2011; Prior, 2013). In the case of Chile, these boundaries appear to be related with

different digital divides, a reflection of a society where material differences are much more marked than in more advanced societies. Unfortunately, being this the next step, we were unable to use robust measures of broadness of taste to contrast our findings with theories of cultural omnivorism (Peterson, 2005) and dissonance (Lahire, 2008).

Secondly, to quantify the value that different technological aspects of musical practices have as forms of distinction (**RQ2**), we applied a multiple factor analysis, which identified three axes? We have found that the first axis of the MFA map shows tension between the selection (or accessibility) of digital and analogic or non-technological modes of acquisition. The second axis contrasts individuals who use online methods to listen to music, measured against individuals that acquire their music in stores or on the streets, with a prominence for physical formats. Interestingly, the third axis shows differences between legal and illegal methods of acquisition. There appears to be consistency between musical genres and practices that different social groups deploy: use of technological advanced methods in younger age groups; use of radio by adults; free media use by groups from lower social positions; use of paid media by higher social positions; and the use of legal or illegal methods depending on consumers' resources and skills. Although these results are specific to the Chilean reality and reflect the characteristics of a particular society, we believe that these still provide tantalising evidence about how complex the relationship between culture and social structure has become, and how emerging technologies can reinforce and restructure cultures use in society. Economic and educational barriers to accessing technological goods still represent major obstacles for the Chilean population (perhaps a reflection of all societies), where it is possible to detect positive association between specific taste patterns, exchanges and formats.

Thirdly, comparing the three sub-groups of variables, we believe that musical taste is important, but not the only relevant process of distinction (**RQ3**). Neither musical preferences nor usage of technologies and different methods to acquire music are products of unified social backgrounds and dispositional sets (Prior, 2013). Yet surprisingly, formats do not seem to offer much explanation; it is modes of exchange which prove to be an emerging property for (technological) distinction. Perhaps it is that methods to acquire and listen to music are associated, and probably one conditions the other. Regardless, we find that beside radio stations and borrows and gifts, it is buying music on the street (piracy) which is the only method of acquisition that implies a monetary transaction related to preferring folk, Mexican, tropical and

romantic ballads, music commonly considered in Chile as lowbrow. Similar to Sezneva's (2012) account of accessing music in Russia, this kind of illegal practice is socially accepted and conducted openly in urban areas and markets. Other practices also related to piracy, are free Internet downloads (Bustinza et al, 2013), which appears to be used more frequently by individuals preferring hip-hop, electronic, rock and heavy rock. Access to both practices offer similar outcomes (acquire music cheaper or freely), however they require the deployment of very different resources and skills. A future analysis, testing causal hypotheses regarding the relationship between taste, modes of exchange, and formats (such as the strategy followed by Yaish and Katz-Gerro (2012), to test the relationship between taste and participation) would be an interesting endeavour.

Thanks to new data and more specific cultural indicators, we are increasingly able to address more elaborated research questions. In recognition of these complexities, it is now necessary to adapt surveys and research methods to integrate these new dimensions to more detailed analysis about the contemporary forms of social distinction. Fifteen years ago very little access to music was through online methods, but this has rapidly changed, with the growth of the internet and social media communities. This growth has also seen cultural boundaries being, in some cases reinforced, in others redefined. Our results indicate that there is an emerging technological cultural capital (Bennett et al, 2009) of music that embraces the Internet, as a process which potentially alters music acquisition and sharing, but also tastes. This ongoing phenomenon is likely to become increasingly influential as symbolic boundaries are drawn, become obsolete and are subsequently redraw in very short time sequences. As our results suggest, the digital divide effectively reinforces musical distinctions. This means that cultural distinctions will increasingly become polarised, as individuals without access to technologies (possession and also been capable to use them adequately) become increasingly marginalised.

## **6. Conclusion**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This thesis emerges from literature developed during the last forty years and suggests that individuals' musical preferences remain strongly related to social structures in a number of nations. The two theoretical positions addressing the shape and strength of this – Bourdieu's homology and Peterson's cultural omnivore – have led to this proposal of alternative operationalisations and updates to existing theoretical standpoints, which dominate much of the debate around the globe. Starting from a perspective accepted in the literature, this study recognises that these two views are neither mutually exclusive explanations for the stratification of cultural items nor do they deliver a definitive answer to the debate (Holbrook, Weiss and Habich, 2002; Tampubolon, 2008a; Bennett et al, 2009; Lizardo and Skilles, 2012). Rather than focusing exclusively on whether the data shows evidence of homology or omnivorism, this thesis has demonstrated the more ambitious objective of reviewing and updating theoretical and methodological perspectives used to study the relationship between culture and society. Acknowledging that musical engagement is in constant evolution and varying across countries, in order to understand its meaning it is necessary to question how different social groups perceive cultural hierarchies and symbolic boundaries. This thesis has, through a series of published journal articles, dealt with some of the key positions in the literature.

Through several quantitative analyses of survey data on musical engagement from Austria, England, Chile, Finland, Israel, and Serbia, this thesis has developed four research articles to:

- determine if conclusions extracted from different statistical methods and operationalisations are consistent;
- explore the meaning which patterns of musical taste, participation and knowledge have as distinctions, alongside quantifying their degree of association;
- extend the search for musical taste and distaste groups to cross-nationally revisit the omnivore thesis; and



- integrate modes of musical exchanges and formats and listen to music as a dimension of technological engagement to music consumption research.

Generally speaking, this thesis shows that musical engagement, regardless of how and where it is measured, remains socially stratified. Not surprisingly, and consistent with a vast amount of previous research, age is the primary stratifying factor for musical engagement, highlighting the distinction between popular music preferred by the younger age cohorts, and the classical or traditional music of the older age groups. Both are reinforced by the factor of educational level. Beside this, there is still a strong association between social class and preferences, implying that individuals displaying broader musical preferences are more likely to be in advantageous positions, that is, one which allows broader access to cultural items. In this regard, the overall main finding concurs with arguments about cultural openness and the boundary crossing of some, where it is possible to detect (in some countries) omnivorism as a manifestation of cultural homology in the classic Bourdieusian sense, as previous research confirms (Tampubolon, 2008a; Bennett et al., 2009; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2010a, b; Lizardo and Skiles, 2012).

## **6.2 Key findings**

Each article which composes this thesis is focused on answering a set of research questions derived from the literature review. Each article is a stand-alone piece of work, exploring the literature relating to its purpose and drawing its own conclusions. Therefore, the main findings of each chapter are presented here as a summary of the answers to the relevant research questions and discussed in parallel with motivations expressed in the literature review.

Chapter two aimed to provide a methodological grounding for the thesis. Both operationalisations of homology and omnivorism, and statistical techniques commonly used for their evaluation, were tested and compared by analysing data on English musical taste and distaste. The results demonstrated consistent and affirmative evidence of homology and omnivorism. For the first research question, *Do different statistical methods and operationalisations offer consistent results?* it was found that in the case of omnivorism by volume, regression models based on Peterson and Kern (1996), Bryson (1996) and others show affirmative evidence regarding the homology hypothesis, but are only partially supportive of the notion of omnivore by volume. Applying different types of regression models for count data (Poisson and negative binomial) and comparing them with the linear regression

model (the method commonly used in this area) it is observed that results are not always consistent. Specifically, it is interesting that in the case of volume of dislikes, Poisson and negative binomial regression detected no impact of the respondent's sex. Moreover, negative binomial regression detected no effect of educational level over volume of preferences. Linear and Poisson regression results are consistent within each other and provide support of an omnivorous trend. The cultural legitimacy ranking proposed by Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009), analysed using logistic regression shows results consistent with the homology thesis.

In addition, respondents who are over 40 years old and have higher levels of education tend to display all three patterns of taste, as omnivorism by composition presupposes. However, there are doubts about the usefulness of this type of operationalisation, as the possibility exists that they might be influenced by how taste patterns are defined in terms of the educational level of the respondents who prefer them. Results from classification techniques (MCA and cluster analysis, LCA and MIMIC LCA) appear to be highly consistent. Differences can be explained by their different theoretical constructions and data processing methods. The most notable difference between outcomes occurs between MIMIC and other techniques. Analysing gradational scales of preferences (and moreover, with additional information from covariates), the MIMIC model is the only technique able to detect a group whose taste combines genres which can be related to what is today considered highbrow musical form (classical, jazz and rock) and whose members are from a higher social strata.

After determining the consistency between operationalisations and statistical techniques, it is possible to show that each of these allows the effective detection of at least one group which tends to like more music, or at least to choose two or more genres which cross cultural boundaries, while individuals with more limited preferences are in upper and lower social positions depending on their preference for music respectively considered high or lowbrow. This evidence confirms the compatibility between the two theoretical positions which motivate this research. Despite this, the selected operationalisation and the statistical techniques used to test them have impact on the interpretation of the results. On the one hand, MCA maps (or biplots) are graphical representations of individuals' positions, but in their traditional application they are not classified in groups, and symbolic boundaries derived from musical preferences are understood as distance between them. On the

other hand, classification techniques based on the logic of Peterson, focus on grouping individuals into cultural classes. Similarly, cultural legitimacy scales are used to manually classify individuals. In both cases, clusters obtained enable the definition of tangible symbolic boundaries between members of groups with different musical preferences. The definition of omnivore by volume can be considered as a supplementary addition which adds information not considered by previous operationalisations. Having found that statistical techniques deliver consistent results, it is possible to support the conclusion that the three views and related methods are compatible and complementary.

The answer to the second research question of the chapter, *Which are the advantages or disadvantages of different analytical strategies?* allows us to conclude that although certain theoretical assumptions might seem built to adapt to methods, each technique has its own advantages and disadvantages, and a good statistical analysis should detect overall data trends and response patterns, regardless of the sets of tools used. Firstly, MCA has the advantage of being an exploratory technique where results are summarised in the form of intuitive and easy-to-read maps, which makes it ideal to quickly identify interdependencies between indicators and sociodemographic variables. As previously reported, consistency and usefulness of regression models depends on the hypothesis to be tested. These procedures have an advantage through their ease of application, wide availability in statistical packages and extensive validation in the literature. Secondly, LCA and MIMIC facilitate the study of both hypotheses side by side, having the advantage of defining groups based on a probabilistic framework from latent variable modelling. A disadvantage is the comparative complexity of these techniques, where statistical assumptions and data requirements might negatively influence final results, and where sometimes it is not possible to obtain a solution because of the difficult convergence of complex models. Consequently, it is concluded that methods and operationalisations are indeed compatible, confirming that regardless of the selection, a good analysis should reflect overall data trends.

Chapter three explored the forms taken by social distinction across different dimensions of musical practices, characterising them in three dimensions: taste, participation and knowledge.’ To perform such a comparison, data from the Finnish musical domain was analysed. The model consisted of detecting grouped patterns of engagement, quantifying the impact of sociodemographic variables on the

construction of these groups (using latent class analysis MIMIC models, LCA MIMIC), and studying the relationship between musical taste, knowledge and participation (using multiple factor analysis, MFA). In summary, the chapter concluded that quantitative research needs to consider individuals' musical distinctions as multidimensional, where how strongly they are preferred, how they are consumed or accessed, and how well are they known are necessarily interrelated processes which simultaneously define and shape symbolic boundaries between social groups.

For the first research question of this chapter, *in the contemporary Finnish musical domain, is it possible to detect patterns of taste, participation and knowledge consistent with Frith's (1996) worlds?* evidence demonstrated that patterns of engagement for each dimension are broadly consistent with the definitions of (fine) art, popular and folk worlds derived from Frith (1996) macro-genres. Determining whether individuals cross symbolic boundaries between macro-genres, results are consistent with previous findings, confirming that musical engagement can be understood in terms of common aesthetical elements. *Among them, is there a group within each dimension that could be labelled as eclectic, voracious, and expert?* Effectively, groups which are possible to define as taste eclectic, participation voracious and knowledge experts exist; these are the ones with higher levels and variety of engagement. Moreover, they are more frequently found in higher social positions. However, the answer to the second research question, *Do different socio-demographic variables impact differently on explaining patterns of taste, participation and knowledge?* is only partially affirmative. Although age, education, gender, and place of residence are the most important variables in all cases, not only the possession of the right cultural resources facilitate access to cultural items. Place of residence plays a more important role in explaining concert attendance (Widdop and Cutts, 2012). Conversely, education is a more powerful explanation of taste (Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Knowledge is explained by a combination of place of residence and education.

The third research question, *Do individuals tend to belong to consistent musical worlds between and within dimensions of musical practices?* concludes that individuals are not necessarily consistent in their musical engagement across dimensions. Some degree of consistency between taste and participation is found, and to a lesser extent between knowledge and other dimensions. Individuals

belonging to groups with similar judgemental discourses across the three dimensions are only about a quarter of the sample. Moreover, individuals who simultaneously display eclectic taste, voracious participation and expert knowledge attain the highest educational level, social class and income of the sample, and at the same time are a very small proportion of it (2.95%). These results show that theoretical frameworks addressing how cultural items are socially distributed based on only one dimension, especially as it has been previously defined as objectified tastes (Holt, 1997), commonly measured in surveys of cultural consumption, offer only a partial, restricted view of consumption. In the case of Finnish society, it is possible to detect that musical practices as a whole are socially stratified as follows: members of the cultural elites are indeed in higher social positions (*art* mixed with some *popular* and *folk* music forms), coexisting with combinations of *popular* and *folk* in interchangeable middle and lower positions. To this it is possible to add at the top of the social hierarchy a minority of *omnivores*. Undoubtedly, there are various explanations and motivations for music consumption very different from the measurements made through current available data.

Previous chapters unveiled the existence of several patterns of musical engagement in England and Finland and among them it was possible to identify one of broad cultural preferences, frequently located in higher social positions. Next it was necessary to confirm this across countries with different social structures. As shown in chapter one, only a small amount of research has focused on comparative analysis in the subject; this has not directly compared more than two countries, and has either failed to propose more refined comparative strategies, or has not developed specific schemes for the analysis of musical consumption. Using this as motivation, chapter four adopts a comparative perspective in order to cross-nationally revisit the omnivore thesis. Acknowledging that it is possible to understand musical taste groups through art/popular/folk discursive practices, the article composing this chapter extends this to a comparative perspective, showing that boundaries and distinctions are not only defined in terms of individuals' social positions, but also social, political and cultural contexts, and reflection of different historical and cultural repertoires (Lamont, 1992). The analytical strategy implemented in this chapter was one of detecting grouped patterns of taste and quantifying the impact of sociodemographic variables on the construction of these groups, adjusting LCA MIMIC models to data from Austria, England, Israel, and Serbia.

For the first research question of the chapter, *Is it possible to detect groups of musical preferences across Austria, England, Israel, and Serbia?* supportive evidence was found. In each country it was possible to find individuals with different levels and combinations of musical likes and dislikes. As in Finland, the second research question, *How are they composed in terms of musical likes and dislikes and how are they structured across several axes of social stratification?* shows that it is possible to detect in higher social positions the cultural elites of Frith's *Art* discourse coexisting with *Popular* and *Folk* in interchangeable middle and lower positions, to which it is also possible to add a group of cultural eclectics. However, there are differences in the way which genre preference patterns are socially structured across countries. Testing a set of explanatory variables including age, education, class, gender, ethnicity, place of residence, city size, and nationality, it is found that the first three are among the most important across countries. However, in Austria and Israel, gender is not statistically significant and nationality is not in Austria and Serbia. Ethnicity is important in England, but in the case of Israel its impact substantially exceeds that of social class. These differences infer a reflection of different levels of interaction between mainstream and foreign cultural influences, and more traditional or locally produced genres. For the third research question, *Is musical eclecticism a feature spread across different societies? Is eclecticism evidence of cultural omnivorism?* results suggest that in each country analysed it is possible to detect a group of individuals with broad musical taste, defined as the intersection of three musical worlds.

However, the social meaning of eclectics across countries varies within local social structures and reflects different distinctions. Considering these differences as part of national historical and cultural repertoires (Lamont, 1992) it has been possible to demonstrate that, consistent with previous studies which question the relevance of the concept (Lahire, 2008; Atkinson, 2011), cultural omnivorism (defined as individuals with broader musical preferences in higher social positions) is a phenomenon that cannot be observed everywhere. Austrian and English eclectic groups express constant probability of displaying any level of distaste or taste, evidence of openness but also of less intense feelings towards the music they like. Israeli and Serbian patterns suggest openness to liking a broader combination and range of genres. Moreover, as the answer to the following questions suggests *Are Austrian, English, Israeli and Serbian eclectics holders of higher social positions?*

*Do they differ in terms of sociodemographic characteristics?* conclusions regarding their composition and social positions cannot be directly generalised across countries. Although eclectics in Israel and Serbia appear to display preferences in a similar way to traditional definitions of omnivorism, they do not necessarily belong to any national elite; only English and Austrian eclectics share socially advantaged positions with *highbrow* taste groups. They differ not only in terms of social and personal characteristics, but also in the way tastes and distastes structure these groups. Although some of the detected patterns of eclecticism may fit with definitions of omnivorism by volume or composition, eclectics appear to be selective of the cultural boundaries they cross.

The previous chapters have focused on establishing the existence of patterns of musical preferences through various comparative strategies – operationalisations and methods, dimensions of cultural practices, and across societies – successfully achieving their individual goals. However, research so far, especially from a quantitative point of view, has not updated the indicators used to study methods of acquisition and the potential this has to reflect different social distinctions. In an effort to integrate new analytical dimensions with taste and cultural consumption analysis, chapter five explored the relationship between technologies and musical taste, using Chile as a case study. This article, unlike others, adopts an exploratory perspective through the use of MFA in order to quantify the degree of association between musical tastes and two aspects of technological engagement (modes of exchange and formats) as a way of identifying potential differences between how music is acquired and how it is actually listened to. This, as argued in the introduction and throughout the chapter, seeks to bridge a gap between these concepts, analysing them on common ground supplied by the theory of practices. As a general conclusion of the chapter, it is proposed that the growth in the variety of ways to access music has seen cultural boundaries being in some cases reinforced, in others redefined. The digital divide effectively reinforces musical distinctions, as individuals without access to technologies become increasingly marginalised.

More specifically, findings from the first research question, *Are technological modes used to listen to music related to musical tastes?* show that musical taste remains socially stratified following the low-to-highbrow cultural distinction, and is effectively associated with technological exchanges and formats used to acquire and listen to music. In the case of Chile, a society where material differences are much

more marked than in more advanced societies, taste and technology are able to simultaneously reflect symbolic boundaries which contemporary consumption practices draw in the form of different digital divides (Tsatsou, 2011). To answer the second research question, *How strong is the association between musical technologies and social stratification axes?* multiple factor analysis allow the accurate quantification of the value that different technological aspects of musical practices have as forms of distinction.

Patterns of technologies used for musical consumption appear to be consistent with musical genres that different social groups deploy. The first axis of MFA reflects not only the tension between music preferred by younger age cohorts (hip-hop, reggaeton, rock and heavy rock) and adults (tango, Mexican, folk and classical), but also tension between the selection of digital technologies (downloads, PC, mobile phone and digital formats) and analogue formats or non-technological exchanges (radio, borrowing, gifts and buying in the streets), aspects related to the access-no access digital divide. Axes two and three reveal further insightful results. The second axis shows differences between individuals with lower educational levels, income and socioeconomic status, who prefer tango, Mexican, hip-hop and reggaeton, measured against preferences for classic, rock and fusion from those individuals higher in the social structural hierarchy. The same tension appears to be related to the most elemental *inclusion/exclusion* from technological advancements (Tsatsou, 2011), but also through strategies used to cope with lack of resources to access music. While some individuals use free alternatives to purchasing or listening to music (radio, free Internet downloads or simply not possessing any music), others obtain their music in stores and use physical formats (such as a CD/DVD/cassette). The third axis, relating to musical taste, shows the same differentiation but indicates subtle differences between *legal* (not possessing music or acquiring it in stores) and *illegal* (buying it on the streets or copying) exchanges, a salient aspect which bridges cultural consumption and digital divide research. This requires further investigation.

Having established an association between the two dimensions of musical practice, it is pertinent to ask as a final research question, *Does the strength of the relationship between technologies and social stratification super-exceed that between musical taste and social stratification axes?* Comparing the three sub-groups of variables and their contributions in the elaboration of MFA maps, it is observed that neither tastes nor formats seem to offer much explanation; rather, it is the modes of exchange



which prove to be an emerging property for distinction. The relevance of aspects such as piracy, and social tensions which practices such as buying music on the street and free Internet downloads are able to detect, allow us to conclude that musical taste, although pertinent, is not the only relevant process of distinction. Access to different practices offer a similar outcome (the acquisition of music); however they require the deployment of very different resources and skills which also are markers of social position.

### **6.3 Theorizing contemporary musical taste patterns**

As previously stated, the central motivation for this thesis was the desire to understand patterns of musical taste and consumption through the lens, from a quantitative perspective, of two frameworks that have inspired a vast amount of work in the field: Pierre Bourdieu's homology and Richard Peterson's cultural omnivore. At this point, it is necessary to emphasize, as shown by the results of the empirical chapters, musical engagement is a field where symbolic and material resources remain socially stratified. This section briefly discusses, based on results from previous chapters, the theoretical insights explored across the empirical chapters that builds a contemporary conceptualization of musical taste and consumption.

Despite criticisms, Bourdieu's framework remains as the most comprehensive study to date on taste and cultural consumption. In this sense, this thesis considers it central. However, to take into consideration today's peculiar forms cultural consumption takes, his approach demands not only to be revisited but also updated. Furthermore, Bourdieu's theory needs to be complemented by other theories, which together contribute to building a holistic view of the place of musical engagement in society, and in fact transmits to culture in society in general. The greatest achievement of Peterson's cultural omnivore was to open a door to the acceptance of the existence of different pattern of consumption, apparently inconsistent with high-low culture distinctions derived from Bourdieu. Peterson and colleagues inspired a plethora of new research, providing an updated vision of consumption based on these apparent 'new' patterns. Their contribution is without doubt critical to the development of the discipline. However, the cultural omnivore as a standalone theoretical framework is not able to provide a complete answer, especially in relation to processes of social distinction. This research concludes that similarly to different operationalisations and scales of legitimation tested in chapter two, the cultural omnivore perspective is

useful only at an analytical level. Moreover, compatibility across perspectives is demonstrated though the entire thesis, confirming this.

Although this research did not directly focus on the study of habitus, this concept is one of the central elements of the Bourdieusian framework. Habitus generates the necessary mechanisms to judge what is good and what is bad in cultural terms. A contemporary reading of Bourdieu's oeuvre offered by Lizardo and Skiles (2012, 2015), as proposed in chapter one and developed in more detail in chapter three, recognizes that beside the commonly accepted value as social distinction present on the association between higher social position and what conventions dictate are highbrow culture, patterns of broader engagement such as the cultural omnivore are also an expression of distinction. This accepts the fact that the value of displaying the correct set of likings and dislikings does not come from declaring exclusive highbrow preferences, but from individuals' command of *aesthetic dispositions*. Acquired through exposure to formal education, but mainly through advantaged conditions in households and formal education, or what Bourdieu calls habitus; the appropriate set of aesthetical dispositions provides the ability to appreciate form in partial separation from function/content and the capacity to constitute common objects or experiences in an aesthetic way. This enables contextualization of the cultural omnivore as an element of distinction. However, available data do not allow isolating the effect of aesthetical dispositions from others variables such as age and socialization. Despite this, the study of aesthetic dispositions as elements of musical distinction has great potential and offers an interesting extension to the study of patterns of cultural engagement.

A useful theoretical perspective for linking different aspects of musical engagement is the theory of practices. As Warde (2014) argues, practices are beyond the mere taste for something, and engagement in different practices explains consumption. Although this may appear minor, the importance of the theory of practice for this research is central in two-ways. On the one hand it allows conceptualize under the same umbrella different elements of musical engagement, as the taste/participation/knowledge trio (chapter three) and taste and technologies for listening to music (chapter five). On the other hand, it ties them as elements which could also be affected by processes of distinction.

The approach of cultural boundaries this research uses, inspired by Lamont (1992), makes imperative vigilance on the way cultural items are labelled and ranked. To verify whether preferences delimited or cross boundaries, these had to be defined according to a hierarchy that ties together musical works and artists in terms of aesthetic expectations from the market and audience. As shown across previous chapters (particularly two and four), traditional low-highbrow or legitimate-unauthorized hierarchies are not the only ones present, and others such as local-global and old-new can also be found. Moreover, their composition differs across nations. In this regard, the comparative approach proposed by Lamont (1992) extends the scope of the study of cultural boundaries, recognizing that differences in how cultural items are socially distributed are explained by the existence of social, historical and political differences between countries. The concept of national repertoires, used in chapter four, has proven to be useful in extending the study of patterns of musical engagement to cross-national research.

A final feature, specific for the study of music sociology, ties some of the previously described approaches to define a cohesive framework. Simon Frith's judgemental discourses (Frith, 1996) provide a unique perspective which postulates that musical evaluation is not different across hierarchies, but rather, it is rooted in different symbolic and material contexts. As chapter three and four elaborate, it is possible to recognise a link between Frith's conceptualization of musical evaluation and Bourdieu's aesthetical dispositions. Moreover, detected patterns of musical engagement seem to tie genres and works consistent to Frith's judgemental worlds (or macro-genres). This, together with the idea of national repertoires, makes it possible to interpret patterns of preferences in a way which is comparable across nations. In this regard, Frith not only provides a ground for comparative research on musical engagement but also breaks Bourdieusian reliance on habitus as the main explanation for taste.

#### **6.4. Gaps in the thesis**

There are a number of gaps and limitations which could potentially restrict the scope of the findings of each of the articles which compose this research. Overall, this thesis has been clear in its justification of the motivation for exclusively focusing on music consumption, but the reduced number of indicators available in datasets from any one particular cultural domain in isolation restricts generalisations to other cultural domains. Despite this, it is precisely the fact that by only focusing on music,

it has enabled the development of a more refined theoretical and empirical justification than is currently available in the literature. Other limitations are contextualised as part of the challenges which comparative research faces. Again, as each chapter is a stand-alone article, together they are synthesised into general aspects which might limit the scope of the thesis as a whole.

In the methods comparison of chapter two, analyses did not focus in depth on the violation of statistical assumptions, inclusion of interactions on regression models, treatment of missing values or other more sophisticated improvements to reviewed techniques. Although these might indeed have an important impact on the construction of more elaborated hypotheses, and subsequent results and interpretations, it was necessary to limit the scope of the comparison to replicate the way they have been utilised for empirical research in the sociology of taste and cultural consumption.

The biggest challenges for cross-national research were methodological difficulties which limited the strength of comparisons and the limited data available. The most basic of these was the fact that different databases were analysed, measuring different sociodemographics and musical genres through surveys carried out within different timeframes and collected through different research purposes. To facilitate a comparison, official statistics or literature validated standardisations were used where possible (such as UN-ISCED for education and Erickson and Goldthorpe occupational class), but others like place of residence and ethnicity were analysed in their original form, retaining national peculiarities. By including different musical genres between countries, we were able to characterise each national music scene, improving the ability to test unique cross-national hypotheses which extend the search for musical omnivores around the world. However, the fact that musical indicators were measured according to different scales (5, 6, and 7 points), and in some cases using a different conceptualisation of 'do not know' categories, made direct comparability difficult. Furthermore, surveys spanned a five-year period, preventing the capture of musical preferences during the same timeframe, which restricted capturing global trends which might modify cultural hierarchies. The same constraints limited comparisons between results across articles. Unfortunately this is a problem inherent to research using secondary data. However, an awareness of this by the author meant that conceptualisations and methodologies used across this thesis aimed to minimise the impact of these limitations.

The comparison of musical practices presented in chapter three also suffered from data limitations, particularly because of different operationalisations across dimensions. Taste was measured through nine indicators, but participation only through six, and one (nightclubbing) was not a genre included in the taste questions. In the case of knowledge, instead of genres, indicators were defined as a list of musical works. Moreover, the 'known-not known' scale also included information of been liked or not. Unfortunately this caused instability in the measurements of musical knowledge, reflecting the difficulty of interpretation and comparison of other dimensions of musical practices. In the case of Chilean data analysed in chapter five, it was not possible to draw robust measures of broadness of taste in order to contrast and compare findings with theories of cultural omnivorism, or to integrate its study with the use of technologies. The peculiar way that the Chilean survey was designed – asking for up to three most popular genres, the exclusion of 'dislikes' and other dimensions of musical practices – precludes direct comparisons with results from other chapters.

#### **6.5. Next steps**

This thesis has proposed an extension of the frontiers of research in sociology of taste and cultural consumption, placing special emphasis on the study of musical engagement in various forms and societies. Clearly this has opened up a variety of opportunities for future research, leaving much work to be done in increasing the understanding of the ways in which music and consumption are elements of social distinction. In general, this thesis considers that more efforts are needed to deliver specific theorisations and methodological tools for the study of musical engagement. In this regard, my research has the potential to be expanded beyond the limits of traditional cultural consumption research, to revisit and update classical standpoints to capture the peculiarities of the musical domain.

More specifically, it is possible to extend the comparison between methods (chapter two) to different conceptualisations such as dissonance (Lahire, 2008; Hanquinet, 2013) and beyond taste indicators and the musical domain. However, a new line of research with greater relevance to the discipline has emerged, namely the discussion of the theoretical and empirical implications of choosing a particular method over another. In this regard the *social life of methods* perspective offers an alternative framework by which to facilitate the integration of methods with substantive social issues (see Savage, 2013). There is no systematic account and review which

addresses these issues under the context of the sociology of cultural taste and consumption, beyond some critical arguments such as those by Wuggenic (2007). Undoubtedly, quantifying the degree of consistency across cultural practices (chapter three) offers an interesting new perspective which unveils a potential new path for research, designed to conceptualise individuals' engagement as multidimensional. More efforts are needed however to correlate multidimensional patterns of cultural practices with different sociodemographics, to understand how and why they reflect multiple distinctions. It would also be interesting to expand research to include longitudinal measures to determine how the value of different practices changes during the lifecourse of an individual.

The cross-national research developed in chapter four suggests that the meaning of the various patterns of musical preferences differs according to national repertoires. The next logical step is to assess to what degree it is possible to extrapolate our results to other cultural domains and national social structures, and expand cross-national research to other domains and dimensions of cultural practices. On this last point, it would be interesting to analyse historical data to model the trajectories that genres follow over time, relative to their positions in cultural hierarchies, and to gather data from more countries with varied national repertoires to understand their impact on symbolic boundaries, musical hierarchies, patterns of preferences and distinctions. These aspects are some of the missing links in the subject which would enable a fuller understanding of the social meaning which patterns of contemporary musical practices have.

Chapters three and five present a call for the need to extend research to broader aspects of practices, answered by a focus on the study of the relationship between technology and musical tastes from chapter five. Although these results are specific to the Chilean reality and reflect features from a particular society, they nevertheless provide tantalising evidence of how complex the relationship between culture and social structure has become. A future analysis, testing causal hypotheses regarding the relationship between taste, modes of exchange, and formats would be an interesting endeavour. The next stage should extend this study to other dimensions of musical practices such as physical and virtual social networks.

## **6.6. Final thoughts**

To conclude, this research has shown that musical engagement in each country analysed remains socially differentiated, and that this continues to reflect tensions

between genres commonly recognised as high and lowbrow, in concordance with the framework proposed by Bourdieu. However, more informative cultural classifications (such as the legitimate-common-unauthorised hierarchy and art-popular-folk macro-genres) proved to be interpretative tools valuable to the understanding of the association between patterns of preference and different axes of social stratification. Among these patterns it has also been possible to detect one with wider musical engagement. Its meaning, however, is not always as predicted by Peterson and colleagues. Regarding the social differentiations which these patterns of musical engagement are able to reflect, it was possible to find that across analysed countries, age is the most important explanatory variable, followed by education, social class, gender, and in some cases, place of residence. These overall results are a valuable contribution to the field. However these are not the most relevant. As closure to this research, contributions which each of the articles make to the current taste sociology of culture and literature consumption are summarised.

- Although ideas regarding compatibility between homology and omnivorism have been present in the literature for some time, no previous research took as its focus the methods used to explicitly test it. Chapter two is the first systematic review of the statistical techniques used for the past thirty years in the sociology of cultural consumption, offering unique insights for future empirical research.
- Exploring the meaning of distinctions across musical taste, participation and knowledge, chapter three showed the limited extent to which individuals with broad engagement in one dimension display the same in an alternative dimension. Having found differences among the factors which explain patterns of engagement for each dimension, results show that explanations might go beyond analysed sociodemographics, and that other factors also motivate or restrict contemporary cultural engagement. Furthermore, this contributes tantalising evidence about how small the proportion of the population is which can be classified as pure omnivore (that is, simultaneously eclectic, voracious and expert).
- Through a cross-national comparison, chapter four made it possible to understand that cultural hierarchies are not static across countries, and their meaning is related not only to individuals' social positions but also to

historical, economical, and cultural aspects which shape a nation's identity. Furthermore, a conceptualisation such as cultural omnivore does not carry the same meaning in different societies. Consequently, it is found that individuals with broader musical preferences reflect multiple axes of social distinction which are heavily dependent on national repertoires.

- In response to the need to update the variety of analysed cultural indicators, chapter five proposes that like taste, technological methods which individuals possess to share and listen to music constitute elements of distinction. This integration is conceptually achieved using theory of practices and other concepts from ICT and the digital divide, STS studies and musical research taken from a broader spectrum. The main finding is that musical taste remains a relevant process of distinction, but modes of exchange prove in Chile to be an emerging property of distinction. Technology seems to be a natural extension to the analysis of production, sharing and reproduction of musical items.

As has been illustrated through this research, questions of social structures, boundaries and culture have a rich tradition. The innovative analysis of available data and the use of more specific cultural indicators made it possible to address more elaborated research questions. In recognition of these complexities, it is now necessary to adapt surveys and research methods to integrate these dimensions with more detailed analysis of the contemporary forms of social distinction. From separate intellectual traditions have emerged research agendas concerned with the study of music and its place in society. To truly understand music from a consumption perspective, it is essential to recognise its peculiarities. Knowledge from disciplines such as sociology of music, musicology, STS studies, social networks, and geography could lead the way towards a sociology of musical consumption.



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## Appendix A

### A.1. Musical genres to be analysed and percentages.

		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Missing</b>
<b>Classical<sup>a</sup></b>	%	20.9	10.4	10.0	14.5	13.2	13.4	17.5	99.9	0.1
	3 cat %		41.3		14.5		44.1			
<b>Heavy metal<sup>b</sup></b>	%	56.1	11.3	7.7	9.0	5.6	6.2	4.1	99.9	0.1
	3 cat %		75.1		9.0		15.9			
<b>Modern jazz<sup>b</sup></b>	%	30.0	16.1	14.2	12.6	13.9	7.8	5.2	99.9	0.1
	3 cat %		60.3		12.6		26.9			
<b>Rock<sup>b</sup></b>	%	29.6	9.5	8.4	13.4	12.8	12.0	14.1	99.7	0.3
	3 cat %		47.5		13.4		38.9			
<b>World music<sup>b</sup></b>	%	35.3	13.8	12.7	15.1	10.5	6.4	6.0	99.8	0.2
	3 cat %		61.8		15.1		22.9			
<b>Country and western<sup>c</sup></b>	%	24.2	12.5	11.9	13.4	13.3	12.3	12.4	99.9	0.1
	3 cat %		48.6		13.4		38.0			
<b>Electronic<sup>c</sup></b>	%	44.4	13.7	8.9	14.7	7.3	5.4	5.2	99.7	0.3
	3 cat %		67.0		14.7		17.9			
<b>Urban<sup>c</sup></b>	%	32.0	11.0	10.9	17.1	11.0	8.1	9.6	99.7	0.3
	3 cat %		53.9		17.1		28.7			

**1 - Do not like it at all; 4 - Neutral + don't know; 7 - Like very much indeed**

**a: Legitimate; b: Common; c: Unauthorized.**

### A.2. Volume of preferences.

<b>Volume</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Missing</b>
Likes	8.3	23.8	27.4	19.6	10.8	5.7	2.8	.7	.2	99.2	0.8
Dislikes	1.7	2.7	7.6	14.4	19.1	21.7	19.9	9.9	2.3	99.2	0.8
Legitimate likes	59.8	44.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	99.9	0.1
Common likes	39.3	28.9	20.4	8.7	2.2	-	-	-	-	99.6	0.5
Unauthorized likes	35.3	46.8	15.1	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	99.5	0.4

### A.3. Distribution of hierarchical patterns of taste.

<b>Taste patterns</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
Common	60.1	39.9
Unauthorized	64.3	35.7
Legitimate + common	27.3	72.7
Legitimate + unauthorized	26.7	73.3
Common + unauthorized	40.7	59.3
Legitimate + common + unauthorized	17.5	82.5
No taste at all	8.6	91.4

#### A.4. Covariates

Covariates		%
Gender	Male	44.9
	Female	55.1
	<i>Missing</i>	<i>0.0</i>
Occupational class	Working class	44.3
	Intermediate class	30.6
	Professional-executive class	22.8
	Never worked	2.2
	<i>Missing</i>	<i>0.2</i>
Education	No education	28.7
	Secondary basic/intermediate	23.8
	Full secondary	12.2
	Lower tertiary	10.6
	Higher tertiary	23.2
	<i>Missing</i>	<i>1.4</i>
Age (years)	Mean	48.9
	Std. Deviation	18.1
	Range	18-95
	<i>Missing</i>	<i>0.2</i>