ACROSS AND BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF TASTE

On Cultural Consumption Patterns in the European Union

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I have written this chapter over a dozen times. In my opinion the forewords are probably the most fun part of the whole research process. I have revisited this section whenever everything else had become far too heavy to handle or digest. Furthermore, Acknowledgements have been updated whenever there have been memorable moments of joy. Thus, the first pages of any doctoral thesis not only provide a description of the research process but they also enable a peep into people's personal lives.

I have a confession to make. Ever since I was a child I have been fascinated by space. If I was not a sociologist I would probably be an astronaut. Consequently, the TV series *Star Trek* (that of the first spin-off sequel of The Original Series, *The Next Generation*) has long been included in my omnivorous cultural repertoire. Concordant with Star Trek's renowned theme, I too believed that during this *enterprise* I would be going *where no (wo)man has gone before*. At times I actually thought I was in that place. That proved to be an illusion, though, as many of my antecedents know; no doctoral thesis is written without help of the crew-members, and very, very seldom you actually touch the ground that no one has ever walked on before. Several times I thought I had fabricated something very unique just to find out later that other minds have wandered the same paths. I look up to these minds and consider them as my mentors. They can be found in References.

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Turku, the city that brought me up, late October 2007
Taru Virtanen

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1 INTRODUCTION

> ”*There is an economy of cultural goods, but it has a specific logic. Sociology endeavors to establish the conditions in which the consumers of cultural goods, and their taste for them, are produced, and at the same time to describe the different ways of appropriating such of these objects as are regarded at a particular moment as works of art, and the social conditions of the constitution of the mode of appropriation that is considered legitimate*.”
>
> Bourdieu 1984, 1

As the opening words of probably the most renowned work in the field of the sociology of culture and arts Pierre Bourdieu’s *Distinction* (1984) suggest, one of the field’s unsolved mysteries remains in the core issues of taste and the perceived value of certain objects, be they material or immaterial. In brief: Why have some forms of culture and leisure become appreciated over others? What are the social conditions that determine the consumption of more highly valued objects? What is the logic of taste and in what kinds of processes is it produced and reproduced? These issues never cease to fascinate after decades of research on the issue. The essence of cultural patterns are in a constant state of flux and the devaluation or mere death of some forms of cultural goods and the birth or re-emergence of others makes the realm always topical.

Here, a narrow, but still an immense, slice of consumption is studied. This dissertation deals with *cultural* consumption, i.e. the consumption of items related to the cultural, artistic and entertainment aspects of leisure. Not all consumption objects can be taken into consideration; it is fairly impossible to include all possible items that one derives cultural inspiration from. Still, an emphasis has been made in order to put forward a more detailed conception of the field of cultural consumption, and to try to capture the essence of cultural consumption.

1.1 Theoretical background for the research

The research on cultural consumption is situated in the middle ground of the sociology of consumption, the sociology of the arts, consumer behavior and cultural history, anthropology and leisure studies. Since we are dealing rather

closely with matters of taste the disciplines of philosophy and aesthetics are also touched upon.

Consumption entered the field of sociology as a valid object of research over a century ago. Formerly consumption was seen as an automatic opposite of production, but it did not take long for scholars to realize what an enormous source for analysis and interpretation the phenomena of dealing consumption alone can be. The social, cultural and aesthetic aspects of consumption that extend beyond the realm of mere transaction add depth, colour and nuance to its study. Consumption seems to have laws of its own, which makes it both an interesting and a challenging object of study. The question of why some people become cultural aficionados has fascinated the minds of scholars across the disciplines of marketing, consumption, social stratification and inequality as well as those of cultural producers (e.g. Bourdieu 1984; DiMaggio 1987; Shrum 1991; Peterson 1992; Peterson–Kern 1996; Mark 2003; Montgomery – Robinson 2006).

The sociology of consumption accounts for every aspect imaginable that involves the social bases of consumer behaviour. Consumption can be based on physiological needs, but nowadays that occurs to a lesser extent. Needs and wants get mixed, people find out who they are and let the others know that too via consumption. Consumption is used as a medium to inform and express. The purpose of consumption in general has become less and less based on utility, or at least other functions and purposes are rather elaborately given to the equipment and house-hold appliances "needed" in daily routines. There has been a visible shift from the importance of the use value and the exchange value of consumption to the symbolic, aesthetic and experience values of consumption, in which aesthetics and experience play ever greater roles, be it grocery shopping, clothing, grooming etc. (c.f. Gronow 1997). One example is the increasing demand for and supply of home-centred consumer goods and services: the number of hi-tech audio-visual devices in single households, the use of interior designers for private homes, the growing amount of so called lifestyle programmes (cooking, building, redecorating, health, etc) on TV and glossy magazines for similar topics.

Consequently, the enjoyment of leisure time in one's daily life is constantly emphasized as, or even though, people seem to be busier and more stressed out while at work. The seriousness with which leisure (performance) is taken is demonstrated by (post)modern Western societies where people are often evaluated not based on what they *do for a living* but rather on what they do away from work i.e. *how they live*. The tastes an individual exhibits in the process of selecting leisure pastimes or goods related to it interestingly reveal much about their various social, economic and cultural features. The more affluent society has become, the more emphasis and relevance is placed on the

non-obligatory and leisure consumption (Toivonen 1992). Even though the variety of lifestyle composition has become greater, social conditions still set boundaries and guide people's interest in similar directions to their peers' and other important reference groups (see for example Gans 1999, 92, Räsänen 2003; Wilska 1999). Cultural consumption is a part of lifestyle and a way of organizing one's leisure. Within leisure, cultural practices are among those that have the most variety and which are shown in very fine-grained and detailed forms.

Cultural consumption and cultural taste patterns have been under social scientist review for decades. How and under what social conditions one's taste is formed is a question that has interested scholars who have approached it with the help of many individual cultural items and cultural domains. Reading habits (e.g. Kraaykamp 2003; Kraaykamp – Dijkstra 1999), music genre preferences (e.g. Peterson 1992; Peterson – Simkus 1992; Relish 1997; Katz-Gerro 1999; Van Eijck 2001) and cultural participation (e.g. Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998; López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002; 2004; Van Eijck – Knulst 2005; Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007) all form a stream of research of their own, within which active debate has been on-going for long time. Media researchers are keen to reveal the contrasts between consumers who prefer watching TV to those who prefer reading (e.g. Hendon – Hendon 1991) or other similar juxtapositions (e.g. TV consumption and leisure activities in Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000). Cultural consumption and cultural production has also been of interest in cultural taste studies (Van Eijck – Van Oosterhout 2005). A more recent approach to cultural consumption is the utilization of information and new media technologies used in the process of consumption and the digital divide that has been brought about by this trend also concerns researchers (e.g. *Poetics* issue 4–5, 2006). Consumption – also cultural forms – in the virtual realm has received a lot of interest (Wilska 2002; 2004; Järvinen – Räsänen 2005; Räsänen 2006a; 2006b). It may be argued, that these new forms have lured new potential to the traditional fields of consumption. On the other hand, critics see that new media technology only enforces the existing gap between those who are culturally advantaged and those who lack access to its new mediums. (C.f. Räsänen 2005; Virtanen 2005b.)

Rather often the above mentioned discussions on the different domains of culture consumption are engaged independently of each other. Nevertheless, we can see convergence and connections in the findings all these studies have provided. Same social bases affect in multiple domains and rather often with similar kinds of mechanisms.

Pierre Bourdieu was among the first sociologist who found out that the schooling system reproduces diverging possibilities across the classes with the stratified system of mass higher education (DiMaggio 1979, 1463). Several

studies have shown, in accordance with Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984; see e.g. DiMaggio 1982; Peterson – Kern 1996; Van Eijck 1997; Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000; Emmison 2003), during the past decades that we should anticipate that people who have the most educational credentials and formal schooling go on to be the ones that shape the patterns of overall cultural consumption trends. That is to say, that the topmost layer of cultural consumers, traditionally considered as highbrows and later on as omnivorous (Peterson – Simkus 1992), has usually formed of the advantaged, and their patterns have been considered as a means of distinction, and the object of emulation. It would seem, that generation after generation the general level of education has increased creating in consequence better standards and opportunities for the youngest cohort. However, according to the findings and expectations that have been provided by social scientists that potential of education's positive influence on especially the highbrow cultural taste has not been fully realized. (Van Eijck 2000, 209.)

1.1.1 Research gap

Attending high art events seem to have lost some of its significance as a means of distinction for, as well as a marker of, one's social status. Several studies have shown that while status distinction has been clearly marked, a taste for fine arts is not among those which has universal recognition (e.g. Bourdieu 1984; Peterson – Simkus 1992; DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004). This means, that even though most of fine arts participants in fact tend to belong to the higher status ranks of a society, having "high culture" taste is a premium for only a minority of this fraction social segment. (Peterson – Simkus 1992.) Hence, some of the traditional markers have obviously been replaced and this study aims to contribute to answering: *what are the new status markers or boundaries and are they consistent across countries and social strata?*

Cultural taste and leisure preferences have been researched to a relatively great degree (e.g. DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Hughes – Peterson 1983; Bourdieu 1984; Lamont 1992; Peterson 1992, 1997a, 1997b, 2004; Toivonen 1992; Bryson 1997; Kern 1997; Van Eijck 1997; Katz-Gerro 2002; Emmison 2003; Van Eijck – Bargeman 2004; Kane 2004; Chan – Goldthorpe 2005; 2007a) but until very recently the coherent and systematic scrutiny of the definition and composition of those taste patterns and their items were mostly omitted from research into cultural consumption. As several studies show, the multi-faceted spectrum of various leisure and cultural items has been subsumed under the concepts of taste pattern and cultural participation. The inclusion of those items has seemed random, even though musical tastes and

rather fixed categories of cultural activities are among the most popular and prevailing objects of research. Outdoor activities, cultural interests, reading habits and favourite literature genres have also attracted interest to some degree (e.g. Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998; Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000; Kraaykamp – Dijkstra 1999; Bennett et al. 1999). However, not too many writings show an elaborate fusion of the above mentioned in a single study. Increased consistency in terms of correspondence between theoretical concepts and empirical measures would also enhance our understanding of the common mechanism in the field of cultural consumption research. (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007, 125.)

Current academic research in the field of cultural consumption lacks an exhaustive description of the prevailing mechanisms in different social and cultural settings. Peterson (2004) presents an overview of what has been going on in the sociology of culture during previous decades by pointing out that little attention have been paid to comparing cultural practices across the domain boundaries and even further across societies. Several scholars in Europe and throughout the world have aimed at explaining the patterns of cultural consumption. Most of those studies however concentrate on one single society (e.g. Bourdieu 1984, Katz-Gerro–Shavit 1998, Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000, López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002; 2004; for exceptions see e.g. Lamont 1992; Katz-Gerro 2002, 2006). In this study, in contrast, taste patterns are to be compared over nation states' boundaries.

Literature on cultural preferences and realized taste patterns shows to some extent mixed results, potentially because of their culture-specific examination and probably also due to differing conceptualizations (López Sintas – García Álvarez 2004, 480). Furthermore, most of the studies concentrate on a limited range of cultural items, chiefly on a single, or a few cultural domain(s) at a time. The studies have also been lacking in a balanced emphasis on all kinds of cultural items, often at the cost of so called low status culture or lowbrow cultural forms. (See also Van Eijck 2000, 208.) Some researchers have demanded for the broader inclusion of cultural domains in the research strategies (Erickson 1996; Peterson 2004; 2005; López Sintas – García Álvarez 2004) that takes into account a multitude of domains (or "cultural subspaces" as López Sintas – García Álvarez 2004 describe them), ranging from traditional participation and musical genres to less studied forms that may reveal new mechanisms. Erickson (1996, 249) suggested, that instead of just examining one, general aspect of cultural consumption, several points need to be scrutinized in the research: high-status culture, field-specific forms of dominating and coordinating culture, and cultural variety. Cultural participation, which is mostly studied within the literature alongside musical taste, is regarded in many accounts as being a strong representative of high

status culture. This leads to biased results emphasizing upper statuses in the first place because of the research design, and in some cases also strong value expressions, be they implicit or clearly articulated.

The measures in the field of cultural consumption are rather difficult to apply cross-nationally. Previously the lack of data has been an obstacle to comparative research into the subject, although some cross-national studies exist. The lack of equivalent categories, which would enable comparisons, have been seen as the main challenge. In this study data, which allows comparisons over 15 nations and several cultural domains, is used.

1.1.2 Research objective

The motivation for this study is derived from the conditions which have to be met when unveiling the essence of the patterns presented by Van Rees and colleagues (1999). They observe that most of existing studies lack data that covers several cultural domains. In addition, within these domains information on a broad range of cultural items needs to be available. Thirdly, actual behaviour instead of preference should be studied. They also make a request for research that studies changes over time and which would shed light more on the evolution of the mechanisms involved. Most of the recent studies have failed in meeting the conditions proposed, either by concentrating too much on a single cultural sector or form of consumption, or by addressing preferences rather than actual behaviour (this problem is especially addressed by Peterson 2004 and 2005, and Katz-Gerro 2004). Moreover, fluctuations within a pattern's content according to time and to the society in question have proven to be a difficult task to overcome (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007). The aim here is, firstly, to answer thoroughly the request presented by Van Rees and colleagues (1999, 350). However, due to the nature of the available data, the present study cannot present any opinions on changes that have occurred over time. Secondly, the aim is to concentrate more on defining patterns, something which has, according to López Sintas and García Álvarez (2004, 465–466), been almost non-existent in previous research. These tasks, regarding methodological choices, are embedded in the general purpose of the study.

The purpose of this study is to develop a multifaceted view on cultural consumption and its relation to socioeconomic determinants in the European Union. This purpose can be broken down into two distinct aims. The *first aim* is to theoretically isolate the field of cultural consumption by taking into account the context in which this phenomenon occurs. This aim is mapped out by bringing together the plethora of competing theories and concepts that currently exist in the literature. A general conclusion and the framework of the

study are formed on the basis of these views. The framework emphasizes the characteristics that are most relevant when approaching the social questions related to cultural consumption patterns and cultural taste. The framework thus aims at identifying the social mechanisms, which are closely related to or entangled with cultural consumption.

The *second aim* concerns the implementation of the empirical research. The purpose of the empirical analyses is to explore the strength of the suggested cultural consumption patterns in relation to some social mechanisms and to do this within the specific cross-national context of the EU. Furthermore, in order to interpret and explain the studied mechanisms this study also provides a picture of cultural consumption patterns in the contemporary European Union. As a result, comparative notions will be presented regarding the consumption of distinct cultural domains and cross-national contexts. In addition, the importance of the suggested mechanisms found in the analyses are further discussed.

1.2 Structure of the dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a dialogue between the conceptual notions proposed in both the previous and present (this study) literature and empirical attempts to measure, quantify, specify and define issues concerning cultural taste patterns[1]. Since conceptualization and the measurement of taste is demanding, and because taste is such a blurred concept exhaustive dialogue is required. This affects the structure of the work inasmuch as distinct empirical notes will be provided in conjunction with theoretical notions on any specific issue valid to the discussion at the time.

Existing literature shows that cultural consumption consists of several components, which are both supplemental to each other and mutually exclusive. Chapter 2 outlines and discusses these components and defines the core concepts of the study. In addition, Chapter 2 presents several proposals for why culture is consumed.

Chapter 3 introduces social mechanisms and determinants that are found to be of importance in terms of cultural consumption. Here, several propositions as to why cultural consumption patterns come in so many forms and why tastes between individuals differ significantly yet reflect one's social origins are presented. This chapter thus gives what may be called a structural view on

[1] "Taste pattern", "cultural consumption pattern" and sometimes "cultural *choice* pattern" are used as equivalents in this study.

cultural consumption and taste. In essence; this chapter lays ground for the design of the empirical research.

In Chapter 4 the process of conducting the empirical research is described. In addition, some notions are provided concerning the validity of the methodological choices and the approach, which is rather widely used in terms of data on cultural consumption in general. In other words, the content of the information the data provides and the knowledge derived from that is analyzed in terms of its validity.

In Chapters 5 and 6 empirical analyses are carried out. The results presented Chapter 5 are descriptive in nature and thus they form a basis for further analysis in the subsequent chapter. Chapter 5 concentrates on depicting national features for all the cultural items domain by domain. In addition, national characteristics for cultural consumption patterns are presented. Chapter 6, on the other hand, deals only with the three consumption patterns derived from the single cultural items. Chapter 6 begins with a description of pattern construction. Each pattern takes into account different aspects of cultural consumption: They are highbrow, heavy-user and omnivore. *Highbrow* highlights the aspect of quality, the *Heavy-user* pattern takes into account the intensity of consumption, and the *Omnivore* pattern takes into account the breadth of taste in a person's cultural consumption repertoire. Each pattern is analyzed with respect to its structural determinants in order to reveal the social mechanisms they interface with. At the end of Chapter 6 the results are considered.

Chapter 7 provides a concluding discussion for the study. The conclusions draw upon the results presented at the end of Chapter 6 and discusses them at a more abstract level. The approaches utilized in the analyses and the construction of the three taste patterns, are also discussed. The reasons for the vast differences between some countries and apparent similarities between others are discussed in the light of the provided notions presented in the theoretical part. The emerging tendencies that prevailed in the cultural consumption field at the time of the survey are discussed and suggestions for future research are proposed.

2 CULTURAL FRAMEWORKS – DE GUSTIBUS *EST* DISPUTANDUM

The amount and variety of concepts emerging in the literature on cultural participation never ceases to amaze. This chapter lays out the pieces of the cultural consumption puzzle by presenting and defining the focal concepts used in this study, as well as outlining the development of cultural consumption from a sociological perspective. Even though very hierarchical in nature, the concepts related to cultural consumption are very contextual and fluctuate significantly, thus making the research very challenging.

2.1 Cultural consumption – a subject and an object

Research in the field of the sociology of culture, became truly recognized in the 1970's (Ryan 2000). Then the dominant stream of research in the field was quite heavily structural-functional resulting in culture being seen as something in the background playing only a minor, supporting role. At that time, it is argued, research on, for example, the consumption of popular culture was appreciated even if the research mostly considered pop culture's negative effects on massification. (Ryan 2000, 92.)

According to the so called anthropological approach the concept of *culture* is understood in a broad way by regarding all that is man-made, i.e. physically altered from its natural state by human beings, as culture. Also actions that shape one's own understanding or those people that are socially similar are included in this concept A narrower concept of culture is to consider all the actions that do not directly contribute to sustaining existence to be cultural. Some theorists extend the narrower conception with the stipulation that cultural actions do not advance economic or social standings. (Larmola 2005, 30.) Nevertheless, most of the theories and studies on the sociology of culture assume that at least some advantage is gained when culturally involved practices are engaged in, even if the advantage seeking was not consciously striven for.

Culture has been defined in a three-fold way in order to distinguish the major interconnected senses it includes. First, culture can be seen as a vital

part of the cultivation process of, for example, intellectual, spiritual or aesthetic perspectives on life. Secondly, culture is perceived as including all the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity, and thirdly, culture is the way of life of a particular group of people in a particular period. Cultural consumption has been considered for long time as the cultivation of the self. Thus, cultural consumption becomes a quintessential part of the process of one's intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic mental development. (Bermingham 1995, 3; Lovell 1995, 23). Culture and art are seen to also refer to works and practices that sustain aesthetic development. (Bermingham 1995, 4.) According to Scitovsky (1976, 226) culture is "knowledge which provides the redundancy needed to render stimulation enjoyable." In other words, a degree of superfluity and a lack of necessity characterizes the realm of cultural consumption.

This study understands culture primarily as being defined by the first two formulations, as a process of self-cultivation and as practices of artistic activity, cultural participation and similar activities. Within a process of cultivation culture is enjoyed, taken part in, or consumed and cultural activities are engaged in. All of the aforementioned actions are referred to in this study as cultural consumption. In addition, cultural consumption is highly sensitive in social terms. In other words, this study understands culture and cultural consumption as a socially associated process.

Cultural *consumption*[2] is a widely recognized expression, yet its message can arouse conflicting thoughts. The term seems to lack reciprocity. In another words, its flow is usually seen to go from the art (or whatever form of culture is in question) to the *receiver*. Also, consumption suggests that something is worn out after enough of it has been consumed, in other words, consumed until eroded. On the other hand, consumption also suggests some level of activity, which mere receiving does not. In order to consume, one needs to take action into one's own hands, whereas in order to receive one can passively open all one's senses, and wait for content to be sent one's way. However, cultural consumption as a process of cultivation is indeed a very fluid and interactive practice.

The object of cultural consumption is thus culture. It can include "works of imagination and the elegance of arts" (Brewer 1995, 341, 350) whose purpose is to stimulate the imagination of their consumers and thus render pleasure. Cultural consumption consists of cultural goods, preferences, and activities which are "aesthetically valued objects" (Lury 1999, 55) or "publicly available

[2] Many studies use the term 'cultural *participation*' as an equivalent to cultural consumption. Here, cultural participation is regarded as one cultural domain among many other domains. All these domains together are included in cultural consumption.

symbolic forms through which people experience and express meaning" (Swidler 1986, 273). Traditionally 'cultural' in relation to consumption refers to some forms of art or institutionalized (established) ways of performing, expressing or portraying. The 'purpose' of a piece of music, a work of art (a painting for example), a play, a ballet performance, an exhibition or a museum of any kind is to express meanings, to convey information or to arouse emotions. That function alone is hard to link to any other form of object in consumption. Hirsch (1972) regards most non-material consumer goods that have primarily aesthetic value or sign-value as cultural products, i.e. objects of cultural consumption. He specifies though, that aesthetic or expressive value can be determined depending on the context, and that the boundary between a utilitarian and cultural product is blurred, hence immateriality is presented in the way the product comes about: "…it embodies a live, one-of-a-kind performance and/or contains a unique set of ideas." (Hirsch 1972, 641–642.) Even though Hirsch expresses his view on the importance of immateriality he names rather material forms, such as movies, plays, books, art prints, phonograph records, and professional football games as being predominantly cultural products (1972, 642). Most of these forms also have a significant exchange value in the market.

Bourdieu (1993) defines the existence of an object of cultural consumption, a work of art to be precise, as dependent upon its recognition. Thus, cultural goods are symbolic objects that are laden with the qualities that are valued both by their creators and by its spectators, art connoisseurs or consumers in general. In other words, the value of a symbolic object is recognized and negotiated socially, i.e. they are "socially instituted as works of art" (Bourdieu 1993, 37). In addition to the recognition of value, a prerequisite for a cultural good to be consumed is appreciation or knowledge. In this sense cultural consumption differs greatly from material consumption, where goods can be consumed without greater knowledge or apprehension of their meaning. (Ibid.; Swartz 1997, 76.) The focal element in the process of cultural consumption is taste. Taste is "the faculty of perceiving flavours" and "the capacity to discern aesthetic values", which are directly "linked to a sense of the social structure." (Bourdieu 1984, 474.) Matters of taste and its association with social structures will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

The objects of cultural consumption come in many forms, both material and immaterial, and together they form a system, which is relatively unstable at any prestige level. This means that some forms may be appreciated over others, but the object of appreciation tends to shift in its prestige value according to the multiple logic contained within differing social mechanisms. According to Van Rees and colleagues (1999, 351), what predominantly characterizes cultural goods is that they "cannot be assessed from a single

perspective“ and thus no clear and infinite definition as to what to include in the space of cultural goods can be given.

Multiple factors affect the emergence of a cultural form and its appreciation. It is thus rather difficult to distinguish a form exhaustively, but its main characteristics are related to originality and the aesthetic form of its objects and their potential for creating a process of social distinction and status. The social position of a single cultural item at some point in time provides not only a challenge in the attempt to locate it but it is also very difficult to predict. (Lury 1999, 56; Van Rees et al. 1999, 351.) Cultural goods serve as mediators in the class structure formation by providing desired and beneficially regarded qualities for their consumers. Erickson (1996, 219) defines those forms of cultural resources which are relevant as those which “can be used to advantage in seeking a better class position or conducting class relationships”.

2.2 A historical perspective to cultural consumption

Before turning to a deeper conceptualization and the contextualization of cultural consumption, a brief look at the history of cultural consumption is provided. The history of cultural consumption is looked at from a sociological viewpoint and the most prominent events in history related to this study’s purpose are assessed. This helps us to recognize the circumstances and relationships that prove to have socially interesting impacts, outcomes or ties. It will also show that the meaning and the impact of cultural consumption have not remained the same during the decades and centuries.

The rise of a consumer society can be traced to a point in history where consumption *per se* was conceived of as a meaningful practice, whereby commodities were transformed into goods that carried other functions than merely those of use value and exchange value. The industrial production of goods with the help of technological inventions has set the pace of consumption to a large extent. Modes of production and forms of consumption have been seen to go hand in hand; societies are said to be altered by the power of industrialization. Factories have dictated both the time-use and the money-use (consumption) of their workers through the use of working hours and products. Even though the processes of the consumption of tangible, manufactured products and non-industrialized, (or late-industrialized) more intangible cultural objects differ greatly from each other, the mechanisms coincide to a great extent. (cf. Ilmonen 1993, 30–31.)

According to Mason (1998, 23) before the 17th century luxurious and ostentatious consumption was seen as being condemned by God because of its

excessive and wasteful nature, therefore the issue was more spiritually flavoured. On the other hand, after 1600, he continues, the debate changed from being moral to becoming more social and economic. During the 17th century, in The Netherlands the merchant classes "were prodigious spenders and had indulged a taste for luxury consumption and ostentatious display not seen elsewhere in Europe." This propensity existed in concordance with prosperous commerce. (Mason 1998, 3.) Vanity and luxurious consumption was condemned in the Mercantilist societies in the 18th century. "Vanity, argued Smith, produced an obsessive desire for the esteem and admiration of others and encouraged unnecessary levels of ostentation in an effort to secure this esteem. --- To Smith, those vain enough to want to emulate their betters were never rewarded for [it]." (Mason 1998, 8–9.) In effect, the ones with real status could sustain their conspicuous and ostentatious consumption to the extent which the lower-status groups could not (ibid.).

The first signs of a consumer society have been suggested as being when consumption become valuable for its own sake and also as a vehicle of power. The symbolic functions of consumption, as well as their use for social distinction, clearly emerged in the signs of consumerism displayed by Elizabethan England's aristocracy, where battles for status were rather apparent via symbolic uses of clothing. As Corrigan (1997, 2) notes, "distinction could [then] be indicated through the types of goods consumed". From that moment on not only did the quantity of goods matter but the quality attached to or attributed to them was considered to some extent to be even more important. This also triggered the growth of the market for symbolic goods, even though national economies were not to reach a level of affluence, which would enable a true consumer society for a long time. (Corrigan 1997, 1–4; Ilmonen 1993, 26.)

In parallel with consumerism, the ground for cultural consumption was also laid. On one hand cultural consumption can be seen as dating further back in history than the early attempts of distinction through symbolic goods, as culture had been undoubtedly produced and enjoyed in several forms already in pre-historical time periods. On the other hand, the cultural consumption the present study addresses, i.e. cultural consumption in sociological terms, is interesting only because of the era in which the social mechanisms are found to affect its patterning.

The histories of cultural classifications differ tremendously between Europe and the US. Ever since the earliest societies, the caste system and aristocracy and other ruling class strata were distinctively different from the classes below them as they had the wealth to splurge, waste and conspicuously consume unnecessary and pleasure providing goods just for the fun of it. (Riukulehto 1994, Veblen 2003, Mason 1998.) Taste based distinctions and highbrow-

lowbrow boundaries did not exist in the United States before the 1880's (Peterson 1997b, 81), whereas according to Bourdieu (1984, 2; c.f. also Shrum 1991) they had been apparent in the European context since the 17th century. Before the 20th century cultural consumption hardly existed for the purpose of creating social distinction in the US, as status was more tied up with social skills and knowing who was who. This was partly a social reality among the European upper classes, as well. But as etiquette lost its importance and utility gained from local associations and clubs proved to be outdone by an increasing national elite, there was a niche for the creation of a highbrow cultural strata. (Peterson 1997b, 81; see also Zolberg 1990, 139 for the difference between the European and American modes.)

A form of cultural consumption was naturally incorporated into the Grand Tourists' agenda, when members of the European aristocracy consumed their shared European cultural history and its valued objects during their travels. Travelling was a form of education and its purpose was, to a great degree, the same as today's cultural consumption's, whether it was consumed abroad or in one's own society. (Richards 1996). As the emphasis shifted more towards exotic cultures, Grand Tours also enabled a more common form of cultural consumption, namely museums. The cultural experiences of the Grand Tourists triggered an interest in the collection of foreign, exotic cultural artefacts and helped create the first museums. (ibid., 6.)

Peterson (1997a) summaries the history of cultural consumption and its function as status marker in an illustrative way in an article on the rise and fall of highbrow snobbery in the US. According to Peterson (1997a, 71) "[f]or most of the twentieth century, status honor was based in discriminating taste, that is, knowing what goods are to be consumed (and which shunned) as well as knowing the bases on which they are appreciated (or condemned)." In order to excel in the struggle over tastes one needed to be constantly be aware of the currents of legitimate taste because stable status markers hardly existed and both the principles of taste and the objects of appreciation fluctuated. Researchers have shown that while status distinctions have been rather clearly marked at given times, the taste for the fine arts is no longer among those with universal recognition.

The social order based itself predominately on distinction and emulation, which were reflected in highbrow taste and conspicuous consumption until the mid twentieth century. A change seemed to emerge and it presented itself in forms of pluralism in norms and increased tolerance towards difference and otherness. According to Peterson and Kern (1996), there were many signs of the potential eroding of high culture's dominance and therefore the power it provided the elite through the granting of social status. A factor in this was that the standard of living had been steadily increasing in Western societies

and affluence had also spread to other classes than merely the upper-class. Consequently, there were more goods to be consumed by more people, and furthermore, the abundance of cultural items made it even more difficult to draw boundaries between high culture and popular culture, as cultural items were used for distinction regardless of their 'status'. In conjunction with the broadening of education to all classes, national economic integration and the growth of large-scale corporations fostered converging tastes between the elite and the masses (Shrum 1991).

One reason for the blurring of boundaries was the emergence of totally new kinds of public taste, which was age-related. (See also Gans 1999, 91–99.) Youth sub-culture was supposed to be only a transitional stage, and the young were expected to acquire an "adult", more permanent form of taste after a while, which would conform to the old taste boundaries. However, the tastes adopted at an early age remained, which is regarded as the starting point of the erosion of the highbrow's taste dominion. The definition of legitimate taste became tangled and confused, not least because of the ever more omnipresent media and its boundary confusing messages. (Peterson – Kern 1996, 906–907; DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004). This means, that even though most fine arts participants today in fact tend to belong to higher status ranks in society, they nevertheless represent only a minority of this status (Peterson – Simkus 1992; Peterson 1997b). Only a minority of high status individuals reported solely a taste for serious, highbrow cultural goods and as a result the taste profiles of the socially and economically advantaged groups have become mosaic-like and non-uniform (Erickson 1996, 218–219). Thus, the base for the cultural omnivore was laid.

2.3 Who is a judge of high and low? Cultural consumption and hierarchies

> "*Virtually all general sociological accounts of capitalist societies assume a clear distinction between 'high' and 'mass' culture, between the bourgeois world of fine arts, academic music, serious literature, etc., on the one hand, an the popular world of TV, the tabloid press, ... on the other. [---] Embedded in the high/mass cultural distinction is the assumption that while high art meaning is derived from the artists themselves – from their intentions, experience and genius – mass cultural meaning lies in its function (to make money/ to reproduce the social order) [.--]-It is certainly arguable that high culture is itself simply now a mass cultural myth, a category created by specific state and market forces,*

> *specific middle-brow mass media – museums and exhibitions, poster and 'classic' book publishers, TV shows and radio programmes*." (Frith – Horne 1987, 1–3)

There is an evident hierarchy and categorization between legitimate, fine culture items and less 'serious' culture. This hierarchy was already apparent in the review on the history of cultural consumption dealt with in the previous chapter. This clear and strong dichotomy or polarization is also acknowledged by the literature on the field. The reason for such a hierarchical nature of culture (or "taste structure") has developed from the underlying socio-economic hierarchy of society (Gans 1999, 135). Concepts such as mass culture, popular culture, high culture and folk culture were introduced as hierarchical tools in the first place, which is why they cannot be detached from their value-laden nature. These concepts are used in categorizing both cultural domains or items and helping to draw lines between disciplines and their fields of interest. Cultural classifications are used "to refer to the process categorizing cultural goods and practices as well as to the results of this process" (van Rees et al., 1999, 361). The categorization not only of groups of objects of cultural consumption, but more importantly their subjects and consumers by classifying people based on "their likes and dislikes, their tastes, and their lifestyles." (ibid.)

This chapter has the role of presenting definitions broadly attached to cultural categorizations and the hierarchical nature of the cultural objects themselves. In addition, the purpose of this chapter is to sum up the discussion in the existing literature based on an underlying question in Pierre Bourdieu's work *Distinction* (1984): "who gets to be the judge of good taste and legitimate objects of preference"? Bourdieu developed an extremely elaborate framework aimed at finding the currency which determined supremacy in multiple social fields. In short, he wanted to decipher which groups are allowed, via which kinds of mechanisms, to define the taste that is regarded as legitimate in society. Furthermore, the question of how to set boundaries around the cultural items will be shed light on. On the other hand, Chapters 2.4.3 ("Social advantage arbitrated by cultural appreciation") and 3.3.1 ("Browship in perspective – Highbrow, middle-brow and lowbrow") emphasize the social structural viewpoint when dealing with the assumptions associated with cultural categories and the consumers.

A traditional take on the division of cultural phenomena has quite often ignored popular and mass culture as a legitimate object of study. The academic discipline of the arts legitimates interests based on cognitive, aesthetic and ideological criteria. (Koistinen et al. 1995.) It seemed that popular and mass culture did not suit being an academic object of interest.

(See also Gans 1999) On the other hand, the division of labour in academia has lead to situation in which literature science, art history, musicology and aesthetics examined the nature of high culture, whereas folklorists and ethnologists dealt with cultural issues pertaining to folk culture. The above mentioned disciplines were focused primarily, almost solely, on European and European origin (Western) cultural arts and issues. Non-European or non-Western cultural issues were left for anthropologists and religion studies researchers. (Koistinen et al. 1995.) Also, research in the sociology of culture has mainly focused on the Western world, which has also been criticized by some (e.g. Crane 1992, 65; Peterson 2005).

Studies on the sociology of the arts have held and defined the boundaries of the high arts and elite forms of culture and those which are targeted at the masses relatively constant over the past few decades. Definitions for art, popular and high culture and culture as an object of research are presented widely in various writings (e.g. Adorno 1991; Wilensky 1964; Levine 1988; Zolberg 1990; Crane 1992; Lahire 2004; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005). Table 1 below summarizes the juxtapositions of the qualities often regarded in the literature as being characteristic of either high culture or the lowbrow. These attributes can be regarded as applying to wider concepts such as highbrow culture, the fine arts and elite culture on the one hand, and lowbrow culture, popular culture and mass culture on the other. Sometimes the term middle-brow also appears in studies, where it generally refers to cultural forms that are in the mainstream of a commercial culture (López-Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005).

Table 1. Endemic antitheses of the cultural forms (Lahire 2004)

+	-
High culture	Low culture
Culture	Entertainment
Culture	Amusement
Art	Commerce
Refined	Vulgar
Complex	Simple
Sacred	Profane
Profound	Superficial
Rareness	Multitude
Educated	Uneducated
Serious	Frivolous
Restrained	Relaxed
Elevated	(Self-)abasement

"Highbrow" was originally used when referring to "intellectual or aesthetic superiority" in the late 19th century, whereas "lowbrow" served to describe the opposite qualities (Levine 1988, 221–223). According to Levine (ibid.), these terms were not supposed to be regarded as neutral in anyway, as they were derived from racially different bodily qualities. (See also Lahire 2004, 76–78.)

By the 1820s 'art' (especially high forms of art as opposed to other, more popular and entertaining forms) and 'culture' both refer to a non-commercial realm of free geniuses and their striving for refinement. In that era culture was considered as a means for struggling against the "vulgarity of mass or bourgeois culture" and Bermingham (1995, 4) notes that from 1850 on the term 'culture' had an intrinsic connotation of social exclusion rather than the previous social inclusion. Commercial success is one defining element that sets high culture forms apart from the popular ones. High culture distinction was born out of non-profit, patron funded enterprises, which presented and selected their organization of arts in a clearly different way to that which commercial entrepreneurs did. (DiMaggio 1992, 22.) The boundary between high art and popular culture was forbidden for commerce to cross. It was assumed, that even though commercial influence becomes ever more present in all aspects of modern life, the serious arts were not to be touched and tainted. Despite the noble aspirations for the serious arts' purity in terms of commercial markets the boundaries between high and popular forms have been blurred to a great extent.

High and low have changed their shape during modernity as the structures of society have been replaced yet again by new practices. The high cultural forms, like Shakespeare's plays or symphonies by Beethoven, were in the USA of the nineteenth century part of a less hierarchically ordered system and these works used to cater for wider audiences as a popularly embraced pastime. (Levine 1988, 7, 195, 229; Crane 1992; DiMaggio 1992; Lahire 2004, 76–77.) In 1800 opera, today widely recognized by its narrow elite audience, was "a widely available form of popular entertainment consumed by people of all social classes." (Storey 2002, 33.) Crane (1992, 64) notes a similar tendency also occurring with the canonization of classics in literature: most of today's classics were bestsellers when they were first published. They achieved the status of high culture instead of popular culture only later on. The reason why, for example opera is regarded as a form of high culture whereas television is labelled as popular culture is predominantly due, according to Crane (1992), to the fact that the urban elite wishes to place some forms of culture out of the reach of the working class. This view suggests that it is the accessibility of something to the average person that mainly distinguishes art between the hierarchies of culture. The forms of art considered to be high culture have been staged in a manner that created barriers to participation,

whether economic or social, for people from all class fractions.Crane (ibid.) sees this status-based exclusion as defining these genres more than their content or intrinsic quality.

Zolberg (1990, 53), on the other hand, defines art as a unique object made and conceived by a single creator who through their work expresses their genius. On the other hand popular culture aesthetics, or research concerning *mass arts*, deals with consumption that is embraced by a wide range of people, masses that is, and which is not considered to have the status or attributes or qualities of so called high culture, high arts. This division is by no means clear: sometimes forms of popular culture are consumed only by a small (elite) group or subculture and are thus esoteric. We also must note that wide recognition and popularity are not solely an attribute of popular culture items, as we know of the mass phenomena that surrounds some high art pieces like "The Magic Flute" by Mozart, or the Three Tenors. (Naukkarinen 1999, 2–3.) The extent to which popular forms of culture are to be considered as legitimate is scrutinized in subsequent chapters.

On the other hand the progress of blurred boundaries has also worked in the opposite direction. In some cases, "classic high culture includes works that were part of popular culture in the period in which they were created", for example the writings of Dickens and most of the 19th century operas (Crane 1992, 63.) Many might consider opera the embodiment of "high culture", but there is much evidence, which proves that on the contrary opera has become part of everyday culture (Storey 2002, 32–33). Advertising and many messages arbitrated by the media have brought the spectrum of the cultural field closer together. In consequence, we can gain knowledge about a much broader variety of cultural products and with much less effort.

In *Popular and High Culture* ([1975] 1999), Herbert Gans contested the idea that high art is to be judged as qualitatively superior to popular art forms. In so doing, Gans challenges normative ideas in which high art forms are seen as more legitimate, and the popular arts, if they are said to constitute culture at all, are seen as inherently inferior. This elitist model is replaced by his concepts of "taste publics" and their corresponding "taste cultures". The boundaries of taste cultures are demarcated by choice. Taste cultures are aesthetically different and they roughly correspond to the socio-economic position of their main consumers. In his research Gans isolates high culture, upper- and lower-middle culture, low culture and quasi-low folk culture.[3]

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[3] The number of patterns or taste cultures is naturally arbitrary, as each study will potentially find as many patterns as their analytical purposes will be suited to (Gans 1999; Peterson 2005).

In the most traditional sense *high arts* includes the visual arts, opera, ballet, theatre, and classical music. Also painting, sculpture and art museums have been included in that definition. These forms are seen as more demanding, austere and uplifting. (DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Zolberg 1990, 140; Heilbrun 1999, 31.) For most people high culture refers to cultural objects that gained their prestigious status in the past through the positive appraisal of previous generations (Crane 1992, 63). Literature on cultural consumption has widely accepted the high status of classical music. Bourdieu (1985, 138) sees attending (apparently classical) concerts or playing a "noble" instrument (such as a piano, Bourdieu 1984, 75) as the most distinctive practice and one that sharply distinguishes between the social classes and can be tightly associated with high levels of educational or cultural capital. High culture "is produced by or under the supervision of a cultural elite, operating within some aesthetic, literary, or scientific tradition." (Wilensky 1964, 175.) (See Table 2 for a presentation of genre categorizations into fine art and popular art [Zolberg 1990, 144]).

Table 2. Bipolar categorization of art forms by Zolberg (1990)

Fine art	Popular art
Original or live works	
Symphonic music, chamber music	Popular music, folk music
Opera	Musical comedy
Serious academic contemporary music	Jazz
Art works in museums and galleries	Works sold at art fairs or stores
Public monumental art	Cemetery gravestones
Ballet	Show dances
Modern dance	Folk of ethnic dance
Serious drama	Melodrama
Experimental theatre	Light comedies
Reproduced works	
TV – educational channel	TV- light programming
Art and classic films	Popular films for entertainment
Serious novels/ non-fiction	Mass market novels / non-fiction
Limited circular periodicals	Mass circulation periodicals
Poetry/ literary criticism	Advertising blurbs
Art comic strip books	Mass circulation comic books

Popular culture stands in opposition to high cultural art forms. Popular culture is shaped by "common taste" and produced for a wide mass "to please the average taste of an undifferentiated audience." (Wilensky 1964, 176.) Cultural forms such as television shows, comic books, movies and popular music are mainly referred to as popular culture, which is often delivered through the mass media or in forms that allow it to be produced in large quantities. (e.g. Heilbrun 1999) Popular culture is mainly produced for

markets and production and consumption have been separated from one another. These forms are characterized by reasonable prices as they were first targeted at the urban working class and lower middle class (Koistinen et al. 1995). According to Scitovsky (1976, 226) it requires little effort to learn to appreciate a popular tune. Actually appreciating is rather automatic as we are exposed to similar sorts of rhythms on TV, radio, practically everywhere. That is why, he argues, we do not consider a person cultured musically if they like popular music. "Indeed", Scitovsky (ibid.) notes, "the harder it is to learn a skill, the more it is respected, and that may be why some forms of culture are more highly regarded than others."

It is hard to ignore the Frankfurt School and its critical or pessimistic views on mass consumed culture. Adorno, Horkheimer and Benjamin are probably perceived as the best representatives of the School. The critical theory, which they all contributed to, sees a change in the relationship between art and its public occurring in parallel with the capitalization of society and the increase of mass-produced and technology-intensive modes of production and reproduction or art. According to Benjamin (cf. Eskola 1991, 183), the *aura*, the uniqueness the quality that deeply distinguishes art from non-artistic objects (see also MacCannell 1989, 47 or Zolberg 1990 on the uniqueness of a work of art), is at stake when the object being culturally consumed is duplicated in large quantities. Though, in MacCannell's opinion (*ibid*., 48) the work of art only becomes genuine at the moment the first duplicate is produced; thenceforward the first product is referred to as 'the original' and its successors 'the copies'. Also, the moment of duplication underlines the importance of the original, creating an *aura*, value and reputation for that object.

In Benjamin's opinion, mass culture produced by the culture industry offered the public the possibility of enlightenment, whereas Adorno and Horkheimer saw the culture industry facilitating a mass delusion of the public. Adorno's views are commonly regarded as being very critical towards and opposing of popular culture, whereas his criticism is targeted at industries producing culture. The problem with cultural industries was, according to Adorno, that they detach the audience from its production and prevent their participation in making culture, both within the spheres of high culture and popular culture. (Hautamäki 1999, 27.)

In the realm of popular culture the line between what is culture and what is not becomes more easily blurred. The penetration of popular culture seems vast in virtually every domain of everyday life, and we also need to take into account the role of entertainment, and the boundaries between leisure and non-

leisure. In this study the scope is the cultural consumption that takes place during leisure.[4] Another definition of popular culture was provided by Erickson (1996, 232), who formulated popular genres as "little related to class and well-known within each class." Genres that are widely recognized and probably also liked independently of class position and that do not reflect any class' taste in particular are considered as belonging in popular culture's realm. In her study, Erickson (1996) found all classes to be equally aware of sporting matters. Though, in order to be popular in the most specific sense, we would need to examine all the social fractions, not only those formed by class, individually. Other facilitators of inequality, such as ethnicity and gender divide preferences and cultural capacities, too.

The intrinsic content of the highbrow does not need to stay the same over decades even though the self mechanism remains. The legitimacy of some items may be in transition (Bourdieu 1990b; see also Ylätalo – Virtanen 2007), which was reflected in middle-brow or lowbrow forms such as photography, pop music and film gaining in legitimacy after the second World War (van Rees et al. 1999, 351). This suggests that more than merely looking at single items, we should place more emphasis on determining the relationship between the items and the structures of their consumers. (DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004.) According to Van Rees and colleagues (1999, 352), the upcoming change in legitimate forms of culture can be identified or predicted in the increased publicity and recognition allocated for them in the media and the emphasis placed on them in education.

Literature on cultural consumption does discuss matters of activity and passivity, and to what extent consumers express their preferences consciously and actively. The broad penetration of the mass media has brought about, through its existence, critical views because commentators, social scientists and policy-makers have been and are worried about the consequences of the negative influence of the mass media, and especially that of TV. Adorno's (1991) worry about mass culture's nature and ability to make its consumers passive receivers was not totally out of place if we consider the steady increase of hours spent watching TV over the last decade. This trend has been

[4] This view rules out people that produce culture for a living, such as musicians, actors and other artists, even though the boundaries between hard work, fun and leisure are surely sometimes crossed back and forth. The problem, which lies here, is that the propensity for consuming culture (during leisure) seems to be rather high especially among people working in the culture sector. We face yet another problem of how to categorize critics and other employees in the media industry, who need to be aware of the latest currents within their field because of their job descriptions. The line between an enthusiast and a professional in this case – and nowadays increasingly in other fields of business (cf. for example Kotro 2005) – is very obscure.

visible despite a growing number of other forms of culture, media and leisure consumption.

> *"For a long time, cultivated citizens have been oriented towards a classical ideal of civilization* (Bildungsideal)*. They were supposed to cultivate their mind by reading literary novels and poetry, visiting museums and attending classical music, opera, plays, and dance. Participation in such serious culture was encouraged for evoking reflection."* (Van Eijck – Knulst 2005, 513.)

The status of cultural objects is entwined with their consuming audience. The status of the audience, in turn, has affected the outcome of how the legitimacy of cultural objects is perceived. Moreover cultural classifications serve as "indicators of cultural [and social] stratification." (van Rees et al. 1999, 350, addition mine.) Legitimacy serves as a mechanism for social inequality and recreation and the maintenance of the unequal distribution of well-being in the form of social structures. Taste regarded as valuable or eligible is found to be directed towards esoteric forms of culture which are best enjoyed and deciphered by those with the most symbolic processing skills, that is to say the higher educated classes (Van Eijck 2000, 208) The highest classes have in their possession the ability to determine the legitimate forms of preference and thus their "culture helps them both to dominate and to legitimate their domination." (Erickson 1996, 218.) Following Erickson (ibid.), high culture would thus be by definition the taste of those belonging to the utmost stratum of society. The change of legitimate culture is naturally bound up with generational trends, even though the status of high culture and the forms of culture that are commonly accepted as included have been persistent over decades or even a century (Peterson – Simkus 1992, 157–159; DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004).

Classifications are embedded in the characteristics of a society, such as status diversity, attainable educational structures, and the degree to which the prevailing hierarchy dominates (Shrum 1991, 354). This complicates the comparability of structures between societies or even between localities and other salient groupings (Peterson 1979). Furthermore, this observation strengthens the view that the essence of cultural hierarchy cannot be thoroughly defined.

This strongly entwines the position of a cultural form in the hierarchy of items with the social standing of the consumer. "The higher status groups" according to Van Eijck (2000, 208) award their members "for reflecting desirable personal attributes" via consumption based on their taste. This would suggest that taste for elaborate forms of culture is merely one of the attributes

of an advantaged person and the side-effects of having good taste become visible in multifaceted ways in the social and economic spheres.

One question that arises from inequality and the classifications that cultural consumption itself produces is; why have cultural classifications gained, and still do, a lot of attention. The linkage between the upper status layers of society and highly prestigious forms of culture seem to exist. In addition, the mechanisms that enforce or erode inequality seem to make possible the dominant social position of elites as they have potentially the most power to determine their own position and that of others in the social hierarchy. The genres that are included in the cultural canon describe the society in question and by comparing the hierarchies or cultural categories that are perceived legitimate they allow us to gain an enriched view of parallel societies.

Many scholars have concluded that a hierarchical view of cultural items is outdated and too formalistic as societies have become more pluralistic and polycentric (Zolberg 1990, 147; Crane 1992, 58.) In addition, due to culture being embedded in each society's own aesthetic system, the qualities of particular cultural objects can only be evaluated within that society. (Crane 1992, 58.) Wilensky (1964, 176) usefully points out that, due to the ambivalent, arbitrary nature of core elements such as high culture and popular or mass culture and the strong rootedness of the social contexts in which they are created, these concepts have an essence, a "disadvantage" even, "of being difficult (but not impossible) to apply in empirical research" (ibid.). There are thus no universal standards for assessing the quality of cultural items (Crane 1992, 58), as both the social structures (DiMaggio 1987) and specific logics of each cultural field (Erickson 1996, 230) contribute to the hierarchy of a cultural classification system. These arguments suggest that some forms of culture should not be regarded as superior to others unambiguously only because other forms have appealed to larger and more heterogeneous audiences in the past (Crane 1992, 58). Therefore discerning the "real" boundary between cultural classifications is a very challenging task. The choices and procedures for defining the boundaries in this study are further discussed in Chapters 4.4, 5.1 and 6.1.1.

2.4 The function of cultural consumption

Why do people consume? Some writings on the sociology of consumption deal with the explanations of the gain the consumer receives when consuming culture. Thus, we could ask if it is possible to define and unveil cultural consumption through its function, i.e. what is the reason for cultural

consumption? What does the consumer receive in exchange for their investment?

Early sociologists like Marx ([1867]1948; [1957–1858]1986) have presented their views on the use value and exchange value of a product, a phenomenon that is linked with the objective of consumption. The function of consumption can thus be derived from the qualities that the consumed product is assumed to possess. A consumer may regard those qualities as being capable of being passed on, of becoming their own via the act of consumption. This can be argued to be held true also in the specific case of cultural consumption.

Central elements in the function of cultural consumption found by Stokmans (1999, 248) are individual development, (educational) utility, enjoyment and escape. Even though Stokmans analyzed reading, these characteristics also apply beyond the scope of her research. Yet another component, social distinction can be added to a list of functions for cultural consumption.[5] Even though reading is primarily seen as a private practice and may therefore be regarded as being beyond the reach of distinction (Bennett et al. 1999), some studies have found distinctive qualities and other social meanings attached to reading (e.g. newspaper readership in Chan – Goldthorpe 2007a and book reading Zavisca 2005).

Goods can be seen as having four broader aspects that describe their essence as a whole in relation to consumption. These are the aspects that are *economic* and *symbolic* (Ilmonen 1993, 203–208) and aspects that consider *social advantage* and *pleasure*. Economic value is embedded in the goods when they are primarily considered as a means of exchange, whereas the functionality, practicality and material conditions of goods form the basis for a commodity-related view on consumption. When cultural meanings are adhered to certain products and their consumption requires certain levels of skill and appreciation, as well as knowledge of the goods' cultural connotations and hence we can speak of the symbolic aspect of consumption. (ibid.)[6] The symbolical aspect incorporates themes of pleasure and social

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[5] Some health studies go as far as proposing that cultural engagement and leisure participation is beneficial to living longer. In a longitudinal survey carried out in Finland (Hyyppä et al. 2005), the social capital (and what can also be interpreted as partially cultural capital) invested in leisure activities increases the probability of survival much more among those who have a large variety of cultural engagements than among those with fewer activities.

[6] Goods and widely understood consumption can be used in creative ways, in (re)producing additional functions and more meanings than their 'original purpose' (not that there is always a certain correct way to interpret something). For instance, some products can be detached from their original context (say, a safety pin in health care) and to be given another meaning in new surroundings (a safety pin through one's cheek). This value re-creation is referred to as *bricolage*, and it is widespread today, even if it is not always as blatant as the symbols of youth sub-cultures usually are.

advantage. Some leisure activities, including the consumption of culture, also offer beneficial elements not only for consuming individuals but also for a whole society e.g. economic growth, or extended and strengthened citizenship, which can be promoted by participation and the prevention of socially degenerative disadvantageousness, which can be achieved through the activation of certain forms of leisure. (Roberts 2004.) As we can see, there are many ways to conceive of the value embedded in goods. The next chapters shed light on this issue by providing diverse views on the functions of cultural consumption.

2.4.1 Use value and exchange value in cultural consumption

Consumption is said to be the opposite side of the coin to production. The process that binds these two domains together is the flow of exchange. Products are exchanged (normally in the market or a similar system) to be consumed and consumption is hardly ever possible without pre-existing production. When an ordinary product is in question it normally starts to decline in value immediately after its purchase or point of implementation. This is the case with many goods in the market, but sometimes some products or meanings rise above the common laws of goods and contradict them. Today, production focuses not only on material preparation but to an increasing degree also on symbolic meanings, so called *content production*. In most cases, in order to be conceived of as a valuable source for exchange a good needs to have use value (Ilmonen 1993, 203). What exactly is useful for a consumer is a rather subjective issue. For example, in the food industry, grocery stores and many consumers rigidly define products as *useless* after they have passed their expiration date. On the other hand, there are groups of people, who regard other people's waste as edible or *useful* and thus they add use value and potentially also exchange value to these disposed goods. Cultural goods are less affected by expiration, but the laws of fashion and other value-decreasing mechanisms also touch the reality of cultural consumption. Some musical genres or isms in painting for example emerge from time to time then fade away after a while and are replaced by new genres and isms.

Following classical thinkers such as Marx and Adorno, we can argue that a work of art is subsumed under a dual logic: it has both exchange value and use value. It is very common to assume that only the cultural objects that are produced in vast quantities for the market, such as movies, pop music and other forms of popular culture are at the mercy of supply and demand. However Adorno, a known critic of cultural industry, argues that all works of

art are, be they popular or conceived as serious and 'high', are subject to the laws of exchange. In fact, social and economic conditions, by and large, enable the whole existence of art. (Hautamäki 1999, 31.)

The exchange value of a cultural object is determined by the material and social conditions used in its creation. According to Marx only in the process of exchange will the value of good will become clear. In addition, only in the process of exchange can objects truly become valuable as goods and acknowledged as useful. (Marx [1867]1974, 67–68, 111; [1857–1858]1986, 22.) Both the labour and materials needed for the production can be used as a means in determining the exchange value of a single piece of art. But there is more value than meets the eye to an object of this kind. The use value of a cultural object is constituted from all its aesthetic and intrinsic qualities and meanings. For Adorno use value is actually the *way of being* for a work of art, and he adds that the cultural (use) value cannot be measured in monetary terms. The actual value is instead in the pleasure and joy that an artwork or other cultural object engenders. (ibid.; Hautamäki 1999, 31.)

2.4.2 Symbolic and experiential values in cultural consumption

What constitutes the value or better quality of a symbolic and oftentimes immaterial object that is consumed as culture? Economists have made efforts to investigate the value of cultural assets and collectibles and their transformability in the market. Naturally, works of art and copyrights for their exploitation are sold frequently, but that alone does not fully cover the value that is contained in those objects. There are several possible ways to assess quality and value, the most commonly mentioned ones are aesthetic nature, originality, rarity, authenticity and historical value. (Lazzarro 2006.) The appraisal of a narrow group of specialists, for example movie critics' or a positive review in a quality newspaper is also regarded as a standard or benchmark for quality.

Cultural products carry symbolic properties within them, as they have a meaning beyond functionality in the world of consumption. Consequently, we are able to draw some conclusions about the ability of cultural forms to produce desired attributes that can serve as vehicles in obtaining one's life goals when desired items are consumed. (López Sintas – García Álvarez 2004, 464–465; 480.)

Let's take reading for example. By choosing the genre of literature that represents beneficial qualities, such as signs of intelligence, awareness or cosmopolitanism, a reader may be expressing a desire to possess those qualities, or be seen as possessing those qualities. Reading a lot in general

might manifest some qualities that are highly appreciated in some western societies. To be sophisticated one must be aware of multiple cultural phenomena. Traditionally comprehension and the appreciation of classical music and composers as well as a wide range of fine literature, fine arts, and theatre are considered to be the qualities of a cosmopolitan person (Peterson 2004). The avant-garde should also be aware of the latest trends in cultural flows and of emerging genres, styles and categories.

Throughout the course of history we have also detected that culturally involved actions are often targeted in the seeking of pleasure. Until the end of the eighteenth century being educated meant being cultured and possessing the skills and knowledge to be able to consume. Productivity could be learned through apprenticeship as it was regarded as less important to be taught during the progress of schooling. As education became universal, it also seemed that training in production skills was emphasized more and more. (Scitovsky 1976.) Some leisure activities provide enjoyment and experiences, and may be engaged because of the distraction they offer. Other theorists argue that pleasure drives people to consume items. In other words, the emotional storage can be created and maintained by enjoying lots of different kinds of cultural events and activities (e.g. Van Eijck 1997; Kraaykamp – Dijkstra 1999)

Sometimes both the process of consumption and the outcome render pleasure and are equally valued. This is very much true when we think of artistic activities such as sculpting or painting. The boundary between the process and the outcome is even more blurred in activities such as playing an instrument, dancing, acting or singing. Pleasure can be attained from the aesthetic end result, such as performing a piece of music flawlessly, but the practicing in order to produce a work of art and learning to know it may be as satisfying. The symbolic value of an object can be seen as experiential.

Consumption and the consumer society is said to have become more experience oriented today. The function of consumption would thus be the outcome, the experience. Experiences engage people on a personal level, they are “sensations that enchant the consumers” (Pine – Gilmore 1999, 12, 2). A product can either be a commodity, a good, a service *or* an *experience* depending on the context. If we place the product in a certain “heightened ambience” (Pine – Gilmore 1999, 1), we can turn even the simplest commodity into experience. That transformation does not happen without costs; costs that are paid by consumers, and oftentimes more than willingly (when it comes to the experience). This said, we can assume that many products and items possess at least the potential to become an experience, or a part of it. Cultural products are full of potential in their capacity to provide experience. They intrinsically consist of the qualities that are expected of

experiences: enjoyment, memorable events, personal engagement, moments that immerse the consumer in tales, adventures and quests.

In their intangible form experiences resemble notions regarding aesthetic value and immeasurability. Simmel presents an analogy between the value of money and aesthetic value. A similar kind of analogy is appropriate in relation to experience. He describes aesthetically valued objects according to their ability to provide pleasure and joy even though no rational grounds for the object's utility exists. The value of the object is contained in its ability to render feelings of joy and advantage time and time again. (Simmel [1978]1990, 73–75)

Aesthetic value is in fact not an inherent character of the valued object, but rather a projection of a consumer's feelings (Simmel [1978]1990, 73–75). The consumption of immaterial goods as experience and other objects that provide symbolic 'advantage' is often, in fact, the consumption of ideas. Nowadays consumption is strongly branded by the ethos of experiential objectives. Most valued forms of consumption are characterized by their capacity to provide the consumer with as much experience as possible, whether it is about grocery shopping, purchasing insurance or doing laundry. When looking at leisure pastimes, they may have remained relatively the same, yet the attributes and qualities expected from their consumption underline heightened ambience. For example, a few decades ago gyms were advertised for facilities that enhanced physical fitness. However, that focus is now often on mental fitness. It seems that the attributes that earlier best described some forms of culture are now attached on an even broader scale to the consumption of goods and services.

2.4.3 Social advantage arbitrated by cultural appreciation

Cultural consumption is also seen to produce value in another form, namely advantage in term of social status acquired in symbolic form. Some theories implicitly assume that people seek to consume culture for promotional purposes, to better their social standings and appreciation in the eyes of the other members of society. The function of culture, in this case, is to mediate the valued attributes that are inherent in cultural objects and transfer them to the consumer. With the qualities attained the consumer is seen to gain advantages of many kinds that for example help one cope with the diversity of social networks and situations (Erickson 1996). According to Erickson (1996, 219) "the most widely useful form of cultural resource is cultural variety plus the (equally cultural) understanding of the rules of relevance." This means that a wide spectrum of knowledge on all sorts of cultural phenomena can provide an individual with the possibility to adopt knowledge and use it in their favour

in different social situations. This will naturally provide the most advantage and thus it proves useful to have both a wide range of interests and an understanding of codes of conduct (i.e. rules) in differing situations. This makes sense, since the more tools we have at hand (and the knowledge to use them) the more problems we are able to fix. Sheer exposure or at least some level of familiarity increases a person's ability to use cultural variety for their own benefit (c.f. DiMaggio – Useem, 1978 on family socialization). Even though it is arguable that everyone wants to profit from their leisure activities, interrelations which link well-off people who have broad cultural knowledge have been proved to exist (cf. e.g. Peterson – Kern 1996). Erickson continues with a statement on the importance of cultural capital. A person who has is well-stocked on resources can be positively influenced by their quality. For example some choices, such as marriage or educational orientation, are to some degree directed by cultural capital, which in turn may have beneficial outcomes in other social realms. (Erickson 1996, 221.)

Not all kinds of consumption provide a consumer with advantage, though; the most rewarding is consumption of objects that are scarce, difficult to acquire and which require a level of sacrife (Simmel [1978]1990, 75). The above mentioned qualities are often tied up with highbrow consumption. Also, the theory of cultural capital stresses the importance of investment in the cultivation and the fine-tuning of the senses to respond to objects that are appreciated by only a few. Cultivation and becoming a cosmopolitan consumer of culture requires much effort and consequently some sacrifices. The valued tool needed in the cultivation process is also scarce; i.e. the time needed and devoted to the process of refining tastes is often limited. According to Katz-Gerro (2002) the new scarcities, relevant also to status struggles, consist today of information and time. (Katz-Gerro 2002.) The hurried class is seen as having less free time, or at least "less leisurely" leisure (Southerton – Tomlinson 2005, 219). Gershuny (2000) reports the steady increase of leisure-time in all the Western world nations from the beginning of the 50's, but it is also noted that more activities are crammed into daily routines and practices. (Southerton – Tomlinson 2005)

Preference, which is the base for distinction, is derived from attitudes and beliefs that a social setting has produced. The feasibility of distinction based on a preference for objects considered valuable according to their rank in the taste hierarchy are determined at each point in time individually. This means that the taste for some forms of art may provide a distinctive advantage in one era but this potential may vanish over time. In this sense taste is wrapped up with a purely relative perception of what is good and what is bad, and it becomes a currency of symbolic value within a particular social group at a

particular point in time. (Bourdieu 1985, 142; Kälviäinen 1996, 29; Jones 1991, 155.)

Paul DiMaggio (1987, 444) states rather interestingly that "the number of genres that a person consumes is a function of his or her socio-economic status". This reflects the notion that the capability to concentrate on multiple forms of culture is in fact a sign of an individual's ability to be creative and privileged in social situations, too. Different cultural genres require different kinds of capacities, which are prevalent in distinct periods of a person's life trajectories (Bourdieu 1984, 283–287). Some skills prove useful later in life, and some require earlier exposure and familiarity in order to be activated at the relevant moment. Also the values that are adhered to in some forms of cultural consumption are highly related to the prevalent values of the local culture. (Katz-Gerro 2002)

Advantage is thus gained from favourable conditions, those of high status and status honour. Honour may be based on a socio-economic position, but in order to produce advantage the status must be recognized by others as well (Pellerin – Stearns 2001, 2; Zavisca 2005, 1234). The features of status honour appear in two forms of capital: material and cultural (Pellerin – Stearns 2001). As others recognize and accept one's status honour both material assets such as income, but more importantly consumer goods and other signs of accumulated wealth (such as designer apparel, a prestigious address or the membership of a club) become valid in the process. In addition to visible symbols of wealth, non-material assets, such as familiarity with a code of conduct and etiquette, a knowledge of the arts or other forms of culture that are perceived as legitimate are an essential part of status honour identification. (Pellerin – Stearns 2001.)

Advantage can also be gained through the exercise of symbolic power. Bourdieu (1989) refers to this as the strategy of condescension, where the strata who occupy a higher standing in the symbolic hierarchy gain symbolic power by making the existence of distance appear and thus gain respect and appreciation from the other strata at the same time. In fact, what happens is that the occupants of the higher position reaffirm their power. (Bourdieu 1989, 16.) By exercising symbolic power over subordinate groups class position is reproduced and maintained, which also elicits the use of important resources, such as respect and admiration and economic benefits, as well. This also enhances class cohesion, as DiMaggio and Useem (1978) have suggested.

The proposition on class cohesion deals with the social solidarity of those who attend the same type of events. This of course increases the possibility of exclusion in the pursuit of inclusion. The members of the upper-middle or upper classes would like to maintain their position by erecting boundaries, which might by impossible for those of a society's other classes to surmount.

Thereby ideological unity is reinforced, and the class homogeneity of the participants ensures that social unity is also perpetuated. Also, the opportunity for an upper-middle class member to identify with the upper class can be one reason for attending an arts event. This can be called status maintenance or in some cases status elevation. (DiMaggio – Useem 1978) As seen in the above, advantage, and inequality appear in cultural consumption.

This chapter depicted the values that are linked to consumption in general, and in the particularistic field of cultural consumption. The most obvious value in cultural consumption is in its ability to arouse emotions, offer escape and diversion, and to serve as form of information and mediator of symbols. The profound values that are historically emblematic of consumption, use value and exchange value, were also viewed in the light of cultural consumption. In addition, the social aspect of value was scrutinized and it is argued that social (dis)advantage is potentially arbitrated by the (il)legitimate conduct of taste. However, the social advantage brought into being by cultural taste also as a form of value, even though it may not be deliberately sought after when taste patterns are being formed needs to be addressed. The process of choice is less direct and outcome oriented in the view presented herein, when we deal with tacit values such as social advantage. The undercurrent in the value-discussion is often socially slanted. However, the chapters above dealt more openly with matters of cultural consumption hierarchies, taste patterns, the characterizations of cultural consumers and the social structures directing them. Social structure is one prerequisite for an elaborate system of tastes, although cultural consumption does not solely exist because of its power to structure social formations.

3 SOCIAL MECHANISMS AND TASTE PATTERNS

Social research on cultural consumption can be divided into two competing strands based on the approach used and its emphasis. On one hand, there is a view that holds that consumer preferences are created in the interaction process of the personal attributes and the structural features of a consumer's social surroundings (e.g. Katz-Gerro 2002, 209). In this so called post-Fordist or post-modern view traditional class-related consumption patterns should be replaced by diverse lifestyles as people do not wish to associate with a mass but rather choose their own preferences and reference group (Tomlinson 2003, 98). On the other hand, some scholars maintain that cultural consumers mould their tastes according to the signals that are mediated by their surrounding social structures in the form of social rewards (e.g. Shrum 1991; Erickson 1996; Van Eijck 2000). This moulding process is seen to be unconscious and it is adopted in early socialization, which also contributes to the individual's understanding of his location in the social status hierarchy. The latter perspective represents rather strongly a view that stems from structural social science, whereas the former takes into account personality traits, including the cognitive and psychological features of an individual. The perspectives also differ on another point. The former view highlights an individual's possibility to choose and stresses the importance of personal preference, while the latter view stresses the dependency of consumer behaviour on extra-personal structural elements, that are not totally, if at all, in the hands of a consumer and their choices. In this sense the latter perspective sees a consumer as more structurally bound, subsumed under the complex elements that stratify individuals and groups. Since according to both views social space is an integral element in the taste formation process, we can conclude that no matter which perspective is applied, the fact remains that social reality influences the outcome, in this case the shape of cultural consumption patterns, and thus it must be regarded as a priority concern.

In this study, both perspectives are taken into account, yet the emphasis lays more on explaining taste according to the structural elements of a society. It is arguable though, as to whether preference and choice can be used in explaining cultural consumption, since the object of examination (the dependent variable) is in fact taste i.e. preference, while some of the structural elements are more related to personal history, life stage (lifecycle) and

personal traits, such as age, family relations and composition. Some elements more clearly shape life chances and are thus structural and less dictated by individuals, e.g. social standing, status and also, to some extent, education and occupation.

The content of leisure composition varies greatly between age-groups, based on other social characteristics, as well as cultural setting. Thus social status markers, in which cultural consumption can also be included, will change in form, volume and breadth of taste when shifted over time or national borders. The amount of leisure one has at one's disposal can also vary over time, and it is very much linked to other aspects of an individual's life than just his/her personal preference and taste. Cultural objects consumed are bound with the facts of availability, the capacity and/or capability to consume them, and rather often the preferences of one's peers play an important role. The cultural consumption of an individual is likely to change in tandem with changes in various life phases and in social surroundings. Furthermore, cultural consumption very much reflects the *zeitgeist* and is a product of consumer society. These issues are discussed next.

3.1 Social mechanisms in consumption

The sociology of consumption often relies on the impact of an individual's personal, social, cultural and demographic features when explaining the processes behind consumption practices. Consumer behaviour is part of a complex set of causes and consequences, of which cultural preferences form only a fraction. Social mechanisms refer to a relationship, often a relationship of a *causal* kind, between an observed phenomenon and the reasoning that is believed to explain that phenomenon (Räsänen 2003, 238). In addition to patterns of correlation between variables, mechanisms are "sets of entities and activities" which produce similar kinds of outcomes from similar starting points (Steel 2004, 57) or "observed association between events" (Hedström – Swedberg 1996, 281). Social mechanism is defined as an aggregate level social regularity that stems from various kinds of situations or processes involving interaction between individuals or groups. According to Steel (2004, 58) "the relevant behaviour of an individual is often assumed to be a function of the group into which he or she is classified". These mechanisms are studied empirically with socio-demographic background variables in order to discern their effect and the strength of each potential cause. The stress in mechanism-based theorizing lies in its ability to provide answers to why-questions (Hedström – Swedberg 1996, 281), such as why certain groups produce similar cultural items, or why some boundaries seem to exist, and be sustained

over time and place between some social echelons. One aim in this study is to explicate patterns of cultural consumption and to try to explain the social mechanisms that influence their coming about. Here, these groups are formed according to background variables such as age, gender and level of educational attainment.

One common social mechanism proposed to explain the formation of consumption preferences is distinction. Even though Bourdieu's views are mostly associated with this mechanism, distinction was put forward by earlier theorists as well when the issues of fashion and emulation between status groups were discovered. Status struggle by means of symbolic goods and consumption in general already existed in earlier societies, such as the Elizabethian court (Corrigan 1997). Fashion in clothing dictated the hierarchies between the nobles. Fashion has inevitably played a role in the conception the 'quality' and appreciation granted a cultural object. In market economies where effectiveness and economic success are striven for the cultural industry is forced to produce more goods or more varieties of cultural objects in order to succeed. The concept of fashion refers to various types of material and also immaterial culture that are highly valued momentarily, at least by some influential groups in a society. Also the whole system that is created in producing desirable goods and objects of consumption is referred to by this term. More generally speaking fashion serves as a means of adhering symbolic values to material culture (Crane – Bovone 2006), as a mechanism that transforms cultural objects that are considered high culture into popular forms. Popular forms appeal to a wider audience, and are also less unique and come in larger quantities, but similarly the shift of appreciation from one form to another leaves room for new objects or a set of objects to gain ground as future highbrow forms. One of the most influential sociological writings and picturesque depictions about fashion appears in Georg Simmel's essay *The Philosophy of the Fashion* (1986 [Philosophies der Mode 1905]), which sketches the mechanism of fashion from the viewpoint of a class and taste struggle between adjacent class fractions in a hierarchy. Over a century old the essay is fully applicable to today's world.

Distinction through consumption is a means of creating social distance between some groups, as well as simultaneously creating cohesion within preferred social categories (e.g. social class) (DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Bourdieu 1984). Trickle-down theory is one of the earliest, most widely recognized fundamental social mechanisms that structures the consumption of social classes or other niches. The renowned theory was first developed and theorized by Simmel ([1904]1986). The core assumptions in the theory involve status markers that are highly desired objects of consumption that carry symbolic or material benefits. The mechanism is a two-way process in

which the subordinate groups try to acquire the cultural items by imitating the consumption patterns of the superordinate. The superordinate groups on the other hand wish to differentiate themselves from their emulators (the one's who imitate their social behaviour) by re-directing their consumption, taste and demand to other objects. Thus they create the ground for the emergence of new status markers. It is not at all clear, whether this mechanism is perpetuated by the fashion-industry (in a broad sense including all forms of the production of culture) or by the tastes of the upper-classes, as the processes are today so deeply interconnected. The industry provides a multitude of potential new status markers for the market, from which opinion-leaders and the groups that are emulated choose the ones they wish to elevate to their taste spheres. McCracken (1990, 93) regards trickle-down theory as providing the means to understand "how the social context in which a fashion movement occurs will determine its directions, tempo and dynamics."

Similar mechanisms seem to also form the basis for the theory of the leisure class by American economist Thorstein Veblen (2003). He provided a theory of status and its display via leisure consumption. Veblen traces leisure as a means of signifying one's social location as far back as to (European) medieval societies. (Sullivan – Gershuny 2004, 81.) In a society where leisure is a scarcity it becomes highly valued and per se the highest possible status marker. An aristocracy is then emblematic of a leisurely structured society. For Veblen "the primary purpose of ownership is display as a means of asserting social status" (Sullivan – Gershuny 2004, 81). Wealth and power was accumulated at the top of a hierarchy and these groups were distanced from *necessity* (a phrase that is later used by Bourdieu (1984) in describing the taste of the upper classes) insomuch as that they had to figure out ways of spending their leisure time in futile activities. What was common to all the activities of the leisure class was their non-productivity. Even if it was possible to attach a productive motive to these activities, such as game hunting, the difference lies in its uselessness and purposelessness. Hunting was not for need but for entertainment. It was a sheer conspicuous waste of time. (Veblen 2003; Riukulehto 1994.)

The relationship, as was mentioned above, between leisure, time, social status and money is a topic that has gained relatively much attention in previous sociological writings, some of these are even regarded as classics today. Cultural consumption has many rivals today when it comes to budgeting time. Cultural goods and events compete with other time-consuming leisure activities that serve as lifestyle markers (Sullivan – Gershuny 2004). This has been seen as a consequence of post-modern consumption society, where consumption has become more intertwined with all aspects of social life. The emergence of a 'new middle class' has lead to a

situation where there is an opportunity for a larger layer of people to choose from among the ever growing variety of objects available to consume. Furthermore, there is hardly any struggle over material distribution, which makes choices even more salient and accessibility easier for all. (Katz-Gerro 2002.) The theories that address this relationship seem a little outdated though, (Sullivan – Gershuny 2004, 80) as the balance between working hours, as well as macro-economic structures both at the national and at the global level have undergone a dramatic change during recent decades. Nowadays leisure theorists emphasize the view that leisure and work are considerably intertwined and less easily seen as separate realms. Since the 1960's, it has been noted that the most affluent worker's layers in a society are also the ones who consume the least leisure. Yet, as Sullivan and Gershuny (2004) have insightfully found out, the well-off with seemingly little time to consume still keep on spending enormous amounts on consumption goods. (cf. Linder's [1970] "harried leisure class"[7].) Gershuny (2005) notes that, in fact, one of the current markers of status is being busy, which serves as a badge of a full and valued life.

But yet another aspect is attached to Veblen's view on class structures. It is a co-existing method of conspicuous consumption (i.e. the waste of money) that can be used separately or simultaneously with a conspicuous waste of time. Most of the time the social fractions that could not afford a leisurely life-style were still able to *buy* that lifestyle for their servants or spouses, who in turn served as their representatives. In this respect the currencies that are of most importance are money and time. By going a century forward in time yet another currency has entered into the field. As well as being pursued nowadays *information* is also a means for status competition and the emphasis has shifted somewhat from material goods to immaterial forms of culture. (See also Katz-Gerro 2002, 210.)

Distinction in a Bourdieuan sense refers to a set of acquired tastes that are associated mainly with the upper segments of society. Distinction is both about social difference and social differentiation, that is to say, the exercise of *good* taste sorts out the distinguished and socially 'high' from others who do not stand out due to their less refined taste. The difference is not only seen in the intrinsic aesthetic values of the cultural goods that are consumed but also, and more so, with the social contexts in which the cultural practices occur. In *Distinction* (1984) Bourdieu wishes to find out how culture is distributed, as it

[7] As Southerton and Tomlinson (2005) note, "Linder was the first to identify cultural changes in leisure practices and associate them with shifting cultural orientations toward time use. Turning Veblen's theory of the "leisure class" around, Linder argued that the relationship between status and leisure today rests on the volume of leisure experiences rather than on the conspicuous display of idleness".

seems to be structured rather regularly corresponding to other dimensions of the social structure. In other words, the bases of taste formation seem to lie first and foremost in social conditions, just as Simmel and Veblen found before. There seem to be clear status markers, a taste for certain kinds of cultivated and high minded works of art that clearly differentiate between class fractions. (Bourdieu 1984; Bennett et al. 1999, 9; Webb et al. 2002, xi.)

The dynamic of taste has been assumed to be generated by the very mechanism of trickle-down, chase-and-flight or wish to distinguish one's social group from other social groupings. Cultural objects have been the means of making that distinction and they have been subject to the uniform logic of being a sign of social superiority. The shape of these objects is however acknowledged to be in state of flux because of the imitative nature of the taste structure. This flux creates the assumption of variation in status markers, which in turn suggests that the browships are also indeterminate and subject to change over time.

3.2 Social and structural determinants and mechanisms of cultural consumption

Based on the existing literature we find different mechanisms at work behind different cultural domain preferences. Perceived or potential inequality, as well as structurally determined choices characterize the views present in these discussions. The consumption of cultural objects i.e. cultural consumption practices are predominately and traditionally used as upholding social boundaries and dividers. In addition, they are used as a means in the struggle over symbolic power. (Simmel 1905[1986]; Veblen 2003[1899]; Bourdieu 1984; Kane 2004, 105). Symbolic power is created with the help of legitimate patterns of practice, organized in the form of cultural capital, which consists of non-economic goods and services (Swartz 1997, 75; Kane 2004, 105). Symbolic power enhances an individual's position in several social domains, of which one is naturally that of cultural consumption and taste.

Individual preference is strongly shaped in three important social settings. The primary socialization within one's parental home is said to have the most impact on later life taste and preferences (e.g. DiMaggio 1982; Bourdieu 1984). Some scholars though disagree with such a strong emphasis on mere upbringing, because in modernity the power to socialize people into behavioural patterns seems to have shifted more and more to formal institutions (mainly the school system) and to informal institutions, such as personal networks (e.g. Erickson 1996). The latter mentioned is rather often neglected. An element that shapes both one's taste and social conditions

(networks) is very much influenced by one's partners, spouses and peers. (Upright 2004; Van Berkel – De Graaf 1995.)

A key phenomenon and concept to be described in the course of this study is taste. Taste has been found to be both an instrument of power and a building block of identity in many writings. Some theorists even see class positions as an equivalent to taste. (DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Bourdieu 1984; Gartman 1991; Erickson 1996; Peterson 1983; Peterson – Kern 1996; Bryson 1997; Gronow 1997; Holt 1997a; Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998; Kraaykamp – Dijkstra 1999; Warde et al. 1999; Wilska 1999; Van Eijck 2000.) In some cases, the power of the anti-taste is a greater driving force than taste itself. It is potentially easier to define what one does not like or prefer than what is especially pleasing. (Bourdieu 1985, 146; Bryson 1997.) The definition of taste depends on the purpose and the approach. Taste can be a characteristic of value embedded in all goods, items and objects of consumption, which can be detected via personal appreciation. A more sophisticated notion of taste needs to be applied to peoples' consumption of objects of high aesthetic value in a particular field. Taste is thus a vital determinant of cultural consumption and it can be considered as providing a holistic view on both cultural preferences and actualized consumption. On the one hand taste is used either intentionally or unconsciously in the struggle for power, or for some other objective that provides value or capital. There are plentiful of examples of this kind of interpretation of taste (e.g. Wilensky 1964, Bourdieu 1984; Kane 2004) and its usage in social context. On the other hand taste is an innate, even inconsistent and random feeling which guides behaviour to some extent, but has no grand goal or purpose to create or reproduce it's holder's social status (e.g. on routine consumption see Camic 1986; Ilmonen 1985).

What the specific mechanisms in the field of cultural consumption are and how they have been found to affect taste will be discussed in the following chapters. Each subchapter concentrates on one focal factor and how it affects tastes. The domain-specific mechanisms found in previous literature are contained in Chapters 5.2.1 – 5.2.6 in parallel with the descriptive results from several cultural domains.

3.2.1 Class and status

Several arguments have been presented for and against a strong association between class and cultural lifestyle (Uusitalo 1979; Peterson – Simkus 1992; Katz-Gerro 2002; López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002; Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007). In addition, boundaries drawn by class can also be found in many lifestyle choices (Lamont 1992; Räsänen 2002a; 2002b; 2003; Katz-Gerro

1999; López-Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005; Honkanen – Mustonen 2005; Toivonen 1992; 1997). Class is a concept which is very tightly tied up with the very essence of sociology, and thus it has the quality of being commonly understood within sociology and also has many definitions depending on the tradition or school of thought. Pierre Bourdieu (1990a, 231), whose legacy has been immense in the tradition of the sociology of culture and consumption has defined class as follows: "Classes are sets of agents who occupy similar positions and who, being placed in similar conditions and submitted to similar types of conditioning, have every chance of having similar dispositions and interests, and thus of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances." Bourdieu's definition of class fits to some extent the Weberian concept of status. Groups of people who share similar dispositions and interests are seen to also share a similar *lifestyle*, which in turn grows closer to the notion of status. Lifestyle is seen as being comprised of a complex combination of leisure pastimes and it can also be seen as a manifestation of preferences, which have been constructed in a process of classification and valuation. (Holt 1998, 4; Gans 1999, 92.) Status groups are also distinctive in their attribution of prestige and honour. Social class in the Weberian sense, on the other hand, unites groups who have similar resources and control over material property in markets. (Katz-Gerro – Shavit, 1998, 369; Swartz 1997, 45.) Class in a Durkheimian sense is a category in which its members share experiences and collective representations. This view is closest to a post-modern analysis of a non-class based society with other salient boundaries than those formed by social classes. According to DiMaggio (1979, 1470) Bourdieu sees class both in the above described Durkheimian sense and also as a Weberian notion "of sets of actors attempting to monopolize markets for different goods and services".

Some theorists maintain that the difference in observed patterns of behaviour, especially those related to culture, are not reflections of one's class but rather of their status (e.g. Chan – Goldthorpe 2004; 2007a; Alderson et al. 2007; Katz-Gerro et al. 2007). This is why for example Chan and Goldthorpe (2007a) consider social status to be related to cultural consumption to a greater extent than social class. Methods for measuring social status vary to some extent in the relevant literature. Social status can be understood as proposed by Chan and Goldthorpe (2005, 196) as a reflection of the "assessments of social superiority, equality and inferiority as expressed most directly in relations of social intimacy". These qualities are further shown by differences in lifestyle. In the US, on the other hand, Peterson and Simkus (1992) found an association between cultural groups and status groups, which they have derived from their respondents occupations. Alderson and colleagues (2007) elaborate on this by proposing a social status hierarchy that is derived from a person's occupation,

using a technique originating from a study conducted by Chan and Goldthorpe (2004)[8]. They found that professionals and managerial occupations rank higher than non-manual occupations (routine non-manual workers lower than non-routine workers). At the bottom of the status hierarchy they find unskilled manual labourers as well as agricultural workers. (Ibid.) Very similar hierarchies are found in the UK (Chan – Goldthorpe 2004). Status measures sometimes extend beyond Weberian notions, which take into account only an individual's position in relation to the material resources claimed from the labour market. For example Van Rees and Van Eijck (2003) distinguished three social status components: the respondent's level of education, the cultural status of the respondent's job, and the economic status of the respondent's job. However, most of the studies, whether they emphasize the role of class or status, still derive from occupation or status in the labour market (e.g. Chan – Goldthorpe 2005; 2007a; 2007b; 2007c where status is a function of an individual's occupation).

The class-based strategies that very strongly affect Bourdieusian analyses and interpretations are due to a potentially unconscious sense of one's own place, the innate knowing of one's own rank and the behaviour that goes with that, i.e. *habitus*. Bourdieu (1989, 17) suggests, that social distances (i.e. class differences, class-based social structures) "are inscribed in bodies or, more precisely, into the relation to the body, to language and to time" which are structural elements that affect all kinds of social relationships that have passed unnoticed in multiple subjective researches. He also criticizes, the far too straightforward manner of treating "the classes on paper" as though they would be real, existing classes (Bourdieu 1989, 17).

Culture and class are decidedly related. The realm of culture is formed from the entity that can be described as a variety of content, art streams, and aesthetically differing items, that are consumed, liked and engaged in[9]. These taste cultures, as Gans (1999) calls them, can be used for educational or entertainment purposes, or for providing a momentary diversion from everyday life or aesthetic or emotional enlightenment (ibid., 5). The

[8] The original framework of Chan and Goldthorpe (2004), which examines the status hierarchy of differenct occupational groupings, has grown into a larger cross-national comparative project on social status and cultural consumption ("Cultures of Consumption"). Many of the articles generated by that project were published in Poetics volume 35, issues 2–3 (Alderson et al. 2007; Bukodi 2007; Chan – Goldthorpe 2007b; Coulangeon – Lemel 2007; Katz-Gerro et al. 2007; Kraaykamp et al. 2007; Torche 2007).

[9] It must be noted, that even though we often consider these differences to be caused by the so called elite-to-mass theory, even the highest status groups or classes are not as enticed by the high status genres as they are a priori supposed to be. For example, the high status groups "tend to like non-elite music and be more active in non-elite leisure activities as well" (Eijck 2000, 211). According to Peterson (1992) for example classical music is best liked by only 30 % of the higher status group member, whereas opera music is even more unpopular (only 6% of the higher status groups members liked this best).

individuals that form taste cultures seem to share some social and economic attributes. Thus, even though the taste publics do not form real life aggregates they still enhance analytical generalizations that engender comparative research. The attributes uniting the taste publics, or cultural consumers sharing similar values and often making similar kinds of consumption choices (Gans 1999, 94), often collapse under the umbrella of class. For example, research on music type preferences in the US showed that higher status groups appreciated so called highbrow music genres more than other groups did, and on the other hand lowbrow styles were mostly appreciated by the lowest status groups. (Peterson and Simkus 1992.) On the other hand, popular cultural forms are less socially differentiated than so called high status forms (e.g. Kraaykamp et al. 2007). In a study on reading Kraaykamp and colleagues (2007) found that patterns of reading popular literature hardly differed across status groups, whereas several factors produced differentiated patterns when serious literature was examined. Differences between genders were found though, which suggests the more omnivorous inclinations of higher status men.

Class can be regarded as a multi-dimensional space of many social and economical background features, that structure the choices and possibilities of the individual. Class, or social standing or location in the social hierarchy, is dependent on the individual elements of one's occupation, affluence and educational resources, plus those of the current appreciation and emphasis of these elements in the society (see also Erickson 1996). These elements are tightly interconnected: occupation is received through certain educational patterns, and occupation dictates one's level of income. All these together form a highly complex concept, which affect cultural tastes and which are sometimes reflected in the broader concept of class or socio-economic status. However, Peterson and Simkus (1992) see that of all the determinants or measures occupation is the most valid and important indicator of social placement and status, since to a great extent an individual's values and tastes are seen to be formed in connection with one's work. This is first of all due to the actual time one spends in the working environment of total waking hours. Similarly, work has a great importance in shaping class cultures by importing attitudes and naturally also material resources.

Class and culture are then "hierarchical in mutually reinforcing ways" (Katz-Gerro 2002, 208). In other words class shapes personal preferences for culture, but engaging in cultural activities also reasserts one's conception of one's class position. This relationship is also reflected in the notion of homology between class structure and taste structure. According to Bourdieu the prestige of cultural genres corresponds with the status of their consumers, so that "higher-class people have higher-class culture" (Erickson 1996; 218–219; Bourdieu 1984, 230). Members of dominated classes have, on the other

hand, a lesser volume of capital and thus they are assumed to have a middle-brow or popular taste orientation. The homology argument assumes that structures of cultural stratification are based on the same logic and mechanisms as structures of social stratification.

The individualization argument stands in opposition to the traditional homology argument being a product of postmodernist frame of mind. The argument is briefly that, cultural taste and consumption have lost their grounding in social hierarchies; consumption cannot be explained by issues related to one's status. (Chan – Goldthorpe 2005). The stricter theorists suggest that structures of any kind can not be predicted to shape consumption, whereas the less strict theorists suggest that other structural bases have replaced class in the explanation of consumption. For example Erickson (1996, 218–219) has argued, with empirical support, that in the case of advantaged people (e.g. those in high labour market positions or with a high income or features related to omnivorousness) there is not one kind of taste profile that they share.

A base for the social reproduction of class and status and assuring taste inheritance between generations is assumed to be a condition of family socialization (e.g. DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Bourdieu 1984). According to Bourdieu, taste is closely associated with the socio-economic statuses of both one's own and one's parents (Van Eijck 1997, 197). Social reproduction refers to an individual life trajectory along which one continues to live during one's adulthood and which results in a similar social milieu to the one found in childhood and adolescence (Lahire 2004, 411). Thus no cultural mobility is detected, i.e. an individual reproduces or at least heavily draws from the cultural conditions of his parents in forming his own lifestyle. Again, status groups are also claimed to be inclined to maintain the status they have (Van Eijck 1997, 197). Preferences adopted at an early age are found to be very persistent, and much more than family heirlooms and material affluence is handed down by parents to their offspring. Children with higher status backgrounds learn "naturally" to like "the kinds of higher-status culture" that is appreciated in school and later in life in the form of accumulated cultural capital (Erickson 1996, 222). Values and practices are formed within a family and they are shaped in an intergenerational mechanism. This has been argued as reasserting and upholding class status. The adoption of 'beneficial' cultural consumption patterns may also be more effortless for people with a higher status origin, as they are more "'at home' in a prestigious status culture." (DiMaggio 1982, 190, see also Scitovsky 1976, 226–227.) However, as Peterson and Simkus (1992, 154) have noted, it may be impossible to determine whether higher status groups attend high culture because they have learned to appreciate it or whether they wish to affirm their status by doing so.

Along with other preferences, arts appreciation too can be trained (DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Scitovsky 1976). One must learn to read a work of art in order to appreciate it, in the same manner as we learn to decipher a language. This is achieved with a lot of training, but of course it becomes less hard if one was born in right kind of supporting surroundings. Thus we might assume that the children of visually or musically sophisticated families are greatly advantaged when it comes to later life arts appreciation. DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990) found that familiarity and comfort in settings in which the arts are presented is greater for those whose family class origin is of high status. DiMaggio and Useem (1978) see this as being caused by a mechanism of class cohesion improvement, that provides a feeling of social solidarity for those who attend the same type of cultural events. This of course increases the possibility of exclusion in the pursuit of inclusion. In other words, the proposition expects social solidarity between those who attend the same type of events. Members of the upper-middle or upper classes would like to maintain their position by creating barriers, which might be impossible for those members of other classes to cross. Thereby ideological unity is reinforced, and the class homogeneity of the participants ensures that social unity is also perpetuated. (ibid.)

DiMaggio (1982) isolates three strategies for elite social reproduction though the consumption of the arts. Firstly, art is to be displayed at venues that carry prestigious status, which, secondly, enforces the attendance of elite audiences and erects obstacles (at least psychological and symbolical) to the entrance of popular publics. And since it is assumed that upper-middle and upper classes are more familiar with those settings, this would also be the explanation (DiMaggio and Useem refer to a mechanism of "contextual arts appreciation") for their inclination towards those forms of consumption. (DiMaggio – Useem 1978, 142.) Thirdly, the elite generates redefinitions of legitimate art forms, which in turn enhance the scarcity and increase the economic appreciation of the pieces of art. (DiMaggio 1982; Zolberg 1990, 140.) However, there have been observations that sharp cultural boundaries are no longer being upheld as the preferences of the younger upper classes differ from those of the older generations'. The extension of preferences has also led to the appreciation and inclusion of new kinds cultural items in the legitimate domain. (Van Eijck 2000.)

Experiences and skills learned in a person's early years have some impact on later life, but not as great as some, as Bourdieu suggests in *Distinction*. Thus, parental influence's role diminishes over a life-span as other, "new cultural baggage" as Erickson (1996, 222) terms it, is found to be premium. Also, the opportunity for an upper-middle class member to identify with the upper class can be one reason for attending an art event. This can be called

status maintenance or in some cases status elevation or promotion. (DiMaggio – Useem 1978.)

The role of class in taste formation has been debated also for the reason that other markers have become more important nowadays, although its salience has not totally disappeared, as there is still some correspondence between social class and cultural consumption (Katz-Gerro 2002). Still, several arguments have been presented against the strong association between class and cultural lifestyle. According to Katz-Gerro (2002, 209) there is empirical evidence on differences between socio-economic boundaries and cultural boundaries and lifestyle differences within classes. One of these is formulated as the *new middle class* thesis, which assumes that a vast mass of people in post-industrial societies share similar life conditions and consequently lifestyles seem to differ between classes only a little, if at all. There is no struggle over material distribution, which makes choices even more salient and accessibility easier for all. (Katz-Gerro 2002.) This is also caused by the upward social mobility which has taken place in Western societies during recent decades. (Van Eijck 2000, 212.)

New middle class fractions are said to be able to move across the boundaries of high culture and low culture in a manner that enables them to include the consumption repertoires or lifestyles that benefits them the most (Lury 1999, 230). The new middle class are said to be rather young, well-educated, and upwardly mobile in terms of their social class. Their consumption patterns, in particular those regarding cultural consumption are very fluid in terms of traditional boundaries between the browships. In other words, their cultural preferences are very broad and they respect little of the potential distinction provided by the consuming legitimate, highbrow culture. (Van Eijck 2000, 214–215.) The members of the new middle class are found working in the media, design, and fashion fields (Lury 1999, 95).The new middle class resembles to some extent Florida's (2002) creative class. This class is foremost defined through their occupation, i.e. positions requiring the professional analysis of symbols and the knowledge processing skills to interpret those symbols, but it is heavily characterized by distinctive social and cultural preferences and unique social identity (ibid., 68).

It is also important to notice that class-based explanations are not equally valid universally, as the level of class structuration changes between societies. For example in their study on lifestyles among the Israeli Katz-Gerro and Shavit (1998) found that in a country where social classes are weakly structured other salient social cleavages explain emerging lifestyles. Also other relevant effects of class such as class-based political ideology seem to be "powerless" in Israel. In countries where class consciousness is weak other social bases become valid determinants of cultural tastes, which may cushion

the impact of family socialization and social reproduction. However the impacts of social cleavages might resemble those of class, like the effects of economic inequality in Israel's case proved (Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998).

In addition, according to what Katz-Gerro (2002) refers as a *new identities approach*, new markers gain more interest because societies become more complex, and identities become even more fragile and unstable. The proposed aspect of confronting the status based view on cultural tastes does still not fully overlap with class distinctions. Evidence of both class-related taste patterns and other determinants' strong impacts on cultural taste have been found. While position in the labour market has ceased to be the topmost definer of an individual in many Western societies, more stress has been laid on such characteristics as education, age, gender, ethnicity and religion (Peterson – Simkus 1992; Toivonen 1992; 1996; Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998; Wilska 1999; Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000, Van Eijck 2000; Räsänen 2003). This suggests that there are "old" (occupational class) and "new" (other determinants) inequalities that prevail in the reproduction of class structuration. (Katz-Gerro 2002.) Some effects are also interlinked, and it is difficult to discern the source of the effect. For example, most of the class inequality Katz-Gerro and Shavit (1998) found in their research on Israeli lifestyles was shown by differences in educational levels. Thus the socializing effect of class origin can be seen to interact with behaviour and choices, in e.g education, in later life.

Income and one's position in the labour market are significantly associated. Although some occupational segments are found to be more wealthy in terms of their cultural capital terms than that of their economical, high correspondence between these two categories prevails. Income effects on cultural capital research normally concur with those of class-related effects. However, in cultural domains where income plays a less important role (i.e. consumption is not expensive) divergence between class and income effects has been found. For example Chan and Goldthorpe observed that in the case of (omnivorous) cultural attendance at cinemas and theatres consumers were more likely to be more from affluent classes and also from higher class fractions (ibid. 2005). However, when it came to the music domain, income still influenced the participatory cultural form, whereas the broadness of musical preference was affected only by status and not by level of income (Chan – Goldthorpe 2007c). I have found elsewhere (Virtanen 2006b) that contrary to Chan and Goldthorpe's (2007c) findings, level of income was in a positive relationship with all the omnivore forms and also in those domains that are suggested as being less costly. However, the effects were strongest in the domains of cultural participation and Internet use. This suggests, that within class and status hierarchy the level of income varies significantly. Thus

the predicted consumption patterns determined by income may not always reflect directly one's position in the class hierarchy. Katz-Gerro (2002, 222) has observed the fluctuating role of class and income for highbrow patterns across several countries: "Class culture is not only about money [--], but also about more abstract forms of symbolic resources." This was also corroborated by Peterson and Simkus' (1992) findings of income not having much association with higher taste ranks, but in the Bourdieuan sense they considered taste patterns to be reflections of cultural capital and dissociated from income and economic capital.

3.2.2 Education and cultural capital

Georg Simmel ([1978]1990) found already in the early 20th century that distinctions based on education rather than economic wealth were becoming more important when instantiating lifestyles between groups of people. Education acquaints an individual with potential future preferences by introducing several forms of cultural ,products arts, literature, music and cinema for example, that can later on be assimilated into one's taste. Education also provides an individual with the tools to interpret, understand and eventually, render enjoyment from cultural consumption. Furthermore, education also increases one's possibilities to gain access to a greater variety of cultural and leisure choices as educational credentials are often a prerequisite for better jobs, higher income and appreciated status in society. (Erickson 1996.)

Socialization both at home and in school is found to influence the formation of cultural capital, which in turn predicts and parallels cultural consumption (DiMaggio 1979; Bourdieu 1984). Education is considered to be the most vital single attribute affecting cultural participation along with social status. The literature and research regarding cultural consumption has proved that in fact, education is a critical predictor of consumption of high arts but not the popular ones, suggesting that education is only important for understanding the more complex codes that prevail in highbrow arts. (DiMaggio – Useem 1978.)

DiMaggio (1982) points out that the schooling system tends to reinforce class reproduction by rewarding expertise in cultural forms that is acquired by children from a higher status origin. The most appreciated culture is regarded as 'high' and most often it is defined as being legitimized by the dominant class, thus being the dominant culture, or dominant good taste. According to DiMaggio (ibid., 1464) school socialization is to be perceived as an extension of parental socialization.

In fact, *cultural capital* is addressed as a vehicle or a mechanism serving as an important link between an individual's achievements (both intentionally achieved such as through schooling systems and those one has been socialized into such as family) and their taste for cultural products (Bourdieu 1984). Cultural capital shapes taste, and cultural capital is produced in favourable conditions, such as family, peer group and education (Bourdieu 1984; 2002 Scitovsky 1976; Alasuutari 1997, 5–6). Cultural capital is seen as an "ability to appreciate the distinctive aesthetic of wide range of cultural forms" which includes both fine arts and other forms of highbrow art and more popular expressions (Peterson 2004; Weininger 2003) and "a form of value associated with culturally authorized tastes, consumption patterns and skills" (Webb et al. 2002, x).

According to Bourdieu (2002), cultural capital exists in three different states, embodied, objectified and institutionalized. Capital incorporated in the culturally wealthy person is transferred from cultural goods and becomes accumulated as a part of one's personal disposition, in the form of "skills, sensibilities, embodied knowledge concerning the body, beauty, creativity" (Holt 1997a, 96), and can be used in future power struggles. Thus, cultural capital is embodied in people to a varying degree.

In addition to being a personal feature, cultural capital also exists outside person, in the form of cultural goods and services and also within educational institutions. Cultural goods, which require the kind of personal capability described above in order to be consumed, represent cultural capital in its objectified state.

Cultural capital's third state is incorporated in the institutions that maintain legitimate culture and provide rewards for appreciating legitimacy. Bourdieu regards schools as transforming social distinctions into educational ones, thus reproducing and legitimizing the stratified class structure (DiMaggio 1979, 1463). Much of this happens through the linguistic and cultural capital, which has been formed at varying paces for children in different primary socialization surroundings. (ibid.) "[Bourdieu's] concept of cultural capital covers a wide variety of resources including such things as verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, information about the school system, and educational credentials." (Swartz 1997, 75.)

Bourdieu's capital theory refers to four types of capital: "economic (money and property), cultural, social capital (acquaintances and networks), and symbolic capital (legitimation)." (Swartz 1997, 74.) Theory further assumes that capitals are exchangeable and that cultural capital serves as a means of transmission of social status (Georg 2004, 334). Characteristic for cultural capital is its subordinate position, with respect to economic capital. In fact, it can be stated that all the forms of capital stem originally from economic

capital, and they are merely transformations from it. “It is after all economic capital that makes possible the investment in cultural capital by making possible the investment of time needed to accumulate cultural capital.” (Swartz 1997, 80) Economic capital is though easier to manage rationally due to its more stable and calculable nature. According to Bourdieu, economic capital can be exchanged for cultural or social capital quite conveniently but not vice versa. (Swartz 1997, 80)

Cultural competence, a focal resource in cultural consumption, is formed by education and training. Scitovsky (1976, 225) stresses the importance of training and time investment in the process of appreciating the objects of cultural consumption. Van Eijck (1997, 199–200) sees having previous experience of cultural products as important, or potentially more important than education. For Bourdieu (1984) cultural competence as a part of cultural capital is the capacity to apprehend and appreciate art and it is thus a prerequisite for making a judgment on highbrow and high culture. In his words, “the capacity to see is a function of the knowledge.” (Bourdieu 1984, 2.) Like cultural capital, cultural competency is generally thought to be reproduced both within families and formal education systems, and inequality is a by-product of this development (see e.g. Kesler 2003, 469). Cultural capacity can be understood as the possession of good taste, which enables an individual to make distinctions, evaluate critically and understand the pleasure of the content found in an artefact (Kälviäinen 1996, 29; Jones 1991, 206). In a social context, taste only exists in conjunction with commodities and objects (Bourdieu 1985, 142).

Education is seen as a focal point for cultural consumption for two reasons. First, most scholars see that education intertwines in the process of cultural capital formation, and thus the accumulated cultural capital is a function of education. Cultural capital is in fact accumulated through the engagement of cultural practices, and thus experience in the field (rather than the knowledge or capacity to understand its codes) proves vital when predicting one’s cultural consumption. On the other hand, some scholars wish to distinguish education from cultural capital, which is also a product of other elements than merely the school system. Instead, education is seen as an information processing capacity. Van Eijck (1997) sees an association between highbrow consumption and individuals with higher education as being caused by cultural competence. People with more education are more likely to find pleasure or challenges in processing complex information, such as the fine arts or other forms of high culture, because similar skills were needed in schooling. (ibid., 199.)

Even though arguments have been presented for and against regarding education’s role in the formation of cultural capital and its implementation in

cultural engagement, it is challenging to distinguish education from cultural capital. In the end, cultural capital *is* the capacity to process information in the cultural field, no matter how it has been acquired. (Van Eijck 1997, 196.)

In Van Eijck's study (2000) education differentiated between cultural consumers only for those layers where schooling was more unevenly distributed. Younger cohorts meet all the prerequisites assumed by highbrow consumers, for example, but they have been found to be less inclined to express that tendency. Among the older generations though, it has been found that those with lower levels of education tend be more interested in electronic home entertainment, especially TV than the higher educated. (ibid, 209.) Studies that concern cultural consumption often reflect social inequality or social stratification and mainly focus on the consumption of highbrow culture. Typically the findings show that higher educated people attend arts events in the field of highbrow culture such as literary reading, museum visits, ballets, operas and theatre (Van Eijck 2000, 208).

In today's world we see that cultural capital has increased in institutional and objectified forms. We value educational credentials more than ever before and the fast pace of production has made it possible to continuously generate more and more goods, both cultural and others. (Fowler 1997, 161.) DiMaggio and Useem (1978) found that in the United States upper class members who lack economic capital but wish to maintain their position in the class structure tend to replace that lack with cultural capital. It seems that those individuals whose background is more educated (both their own and their parents'), who engaged in arts events at early age and whose parents rigidly provided them with opportunities to participate in such events and raised their appreciation have turned out to have a large amount of cultural capital. (DiMaggio – Useem 1978.) Not all observations concur with those of DiMaggio and Useem's, though. Van Eijck and Van Oosterhout (2005) studied changes in material and cultural consumption in the Netherlands. Based on the findings they propose that instead of compensating for economic capital with cultural capital , it now seems that both these forms are associated to the extent where distinction between them has nearly vanished (Van Eijck – Van Oosterhout 2005, 284).

In times of great social mobility, it is possible that cultural consumption is affected by the fact that members of the current upper classes have been brought up and socialized in lower status classes in the hierarchy, and thus have built up less cultural capital or familiarity with the variety of genres available. This explanation has been suggested by Van Eijck and Knulst (2005, 516) as results have pointed to the direction that young, well-educated fractions do not express as great a tendency for highbrow consumption nor omnivorousness as had been assumed. As Erickson (1996, 225) has noted, "the early influence of family of origin is just one influence among many and

not so powerful overall as the later effects of education and adult social networks." Hence, early life experiences and exposures do play a role in education, as for example Bourdieu (1984) and DiMaggio (1979; 1982) have suggested. DiMaggio (1982, 190) concurs with Erickson's view, which sees participation in legitimate forms of culture as a valid strategy for those who come from childhood homes and schools that had fewer resources.

3.2.3 Generational and periodical concerns

> *"As people move through their life trajectories, they move through different social settings in which different kinds of culture are salient, so there is no one life stage that dominates in learning all cultural genres."* (Erickson 1996, 224)

Preferences are intertwined with training and exposure. In other words, cultural consumers might gradually learn to like more genres or a wider variety of cultural forms and thus transform their taste patterns. People also naturally expose themselves to different forms of culture or genres at different points in their lives. This follows the notion that different determinants are of relative importance for different cultural forms. (Erickson 1996, 223.) One set of determinants has to do with age and issues related to period and generation. These are considered next.

Empirical evidence suggests that adult attendance in arts events and other types of cultural engagements are strongly influenced by adolescent exposure to the aforementioned (Upright 2004, 129). Some scholars, for example Holbrook and Schindler (1994, 412–413), also argue that adolescence and early adulthood play a crucially central role in the formation process of tastes. In their study they discovered that the peak age for being most sensitive to musical influences sets in at the beginning of adulthood, 23.5 years of age (ibid., 412). The accumulation of cultural capital occurs through exposure to cultural events, which in turn enhance one's inclination towards more cultural interests. (Van Eijck – Knulst 2005.) This argument supports the life-cycle approach in which a person is prone to become more experienced with age and also develop a more varied taste.

Age or cohort is one of the vital control variables and *explanands* in social sciences. Age is valid measurement when studying differing consumption patters, whether it is in the field of culture, leisure (e.g. Toivonen 2006; Beldona 2005) or consumption in general (Wilska 1999; Räsänen 2003) Generally speaking there are two main approaches in sociological research and types of explanations when it comes to age: those of cohort and life course.

The cohort (or generation) approach is based on the individuals' age and categories are formed by individuals who are born during certain time periods. Generation, in a Mannheimian sense, is a layer of people sharing similar historical conditions and societal experiences during their youth (or 'sensitive period'). On the other hand, sometimes an approach that utilizes a person's family structure as well as social factors is more useful. Consumption patterns are found to be associated not only with personal preferences (which reflect one's social status) but also with life cycle, since the diversity of constraints relates to age and dependency. (Toivonen 1999, 269–271; Wilska 1999, 19–23.) By using diverse information on respondents, with respect to their birth year, marital status and occupational status, we are better able to explain the mechanism of whether they are cohort or life course based.

Inevitably age has an impact on education, as educational expansion has become massive during recent decades. The number of low-educated people has drastically decreased, as a bigger proportion of the population takes part in the educational system. (Gesthuizen et al. 2005.) Van Eijck and Bargeman (2004) found the relation between highbrow taste and education to increase among older generations as they are potentially an elitist rearguard. Among the younger cohorts highbrow taste is becoming ever more rare, thus a level of education does not predict for highbrow tastes among the younger cohorts like it did. This might stand in opposition to the life-cycle argument, as the younger cohorts like to a decreasing extent higher forms of culture. Similarly, Van Eijck and Knulst (2005) found that an increasing level of education does not facilitate appreciation of highbrow culture nor does it evoke increasing omnivorousness. It was in fact the effect of age that mattered. People who attended higher education before 1955 were socialized into the firm belief of the superiority of the Western elite culture. This was reflected in the presentation of academic prestige through elite snobbery. Among younger cohorts the tendency for liking highbrow forms of culture diminished to the extent where, the authors (ibid.) claim, omnivorousness was in danger of disappearing as taste repertoires were totally lacking items from the highbrow-level. Instead of concentrating on highbrow culture, the younger members of the higher classes have started to consume more popular culture as well as material goods.

Virtanen (2006a) found several omnivore types, where the effects of age were very much in association with the cultural domain in question. The division between the cultural domains was clear-cut: based on the findings 'old' and 'new' realms of omnivorism had emerged and they were characterized by the average age of their consumers. The young omnivores were more likely to be active artistically, more open-minded towards various music genres and use the Internet for cultural consumption purposes. They

also preferred a wide variety of TV and radio programs. The middle aged (51 to 65 years) were omnivores in cultural participation, and in particular concert-going. The results resemble the suggestion made by Van Eijck and Bargeman (2004) with regard to a highbrow rearguard, which clearly defines and associates some cultural domains according with an older audience.

The young consumer is often seen as one of the most focal actors in today's consumption society, at least if one pays attention to the perception constantly given by advertising (see e.g. Wilska 2004, 241–242). This holds true despite the fact, that when looking at the economic resources, a young consumer is not the most obvious potential candidate for participating in the vicious circle of everlasting conspicuous consumption (Wilska–Virtanen 2002). The newest fads and trends seem to emerge amongst the youngest cohorts, and thus interest is directed rather often towards these groups, because of the potential new market niches for the producers. However, the results of arts studies persistently draw a completely opposite picture: Those who are the most eager consumers of the arts and other cultural pastimes are rather seldom the representatives of the youngest cohorts of a population. Highly-educated well-off middle-class women in their mid-forties crowd the theatres, museums, galleries and operas (Van Eijck 2000; Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000; López-Sintas – García Álvarez 2004).

The cultural convergence theory predicts for example that the gap between white and black participants is declining, and thus race would not play as important a role as it used to. Even though these findings are based on the assumption of racial differences, they can also be applied to explain other cleavages. The relationship between race, or any other structural determinant and taste is one of differentiation without segmentation: differing tastes, but not isolated or strongly bounded subcultures. Age was found to be the most significant variable in the convergence process, which reflects the fact that education engenders similarity among the youngest cohorts.(DiMaggio – Ostrower 1990, 765.)

Lopez Sintas and García Álvarez (2004) found in their analysis of Spaniards' tastes within the symbolic space of arts' attendance that cultural participation is highly structured in terms of one's generation. The age span of the consumers was cut across by what they called a "generational consumption axis", which divided (chiefly young) sporadic cultural consumers of popular art forms from cultural snobs and omnivores (over 35 years). The younger generation tended to like mostly popular forms of music genres (pop music and jazz) whereas the older cohorts projected their cultural tastes towards traditional arts forms, including folk art.

Clear cohort differentiation is also found by Van Eijck and Van Rees (2000) among the Dutch media consumers. The older cohorts are

”programmed” into watching TV and gathering information in the newspapers, and they remain loyal to their media choice over time. Thus, the ”old media” orientation is not age-affected but related to early age experiences. The younger cohorts who have adopted a wider media palate, or at least new modes do not have the ”burden” of old media, but they have in the first place adopted a method of media consumption that differs from those of their seniors. Thus experiences and exposure during a person’s youth is a central factor when media (as means of an information mediator) is considered. The content preferences also differ between the cohorts, but more emphasis is laid on the choice of media type and cohort-effect. There are also, if not substantial certainly notable, differences in the content preferences between the cohorts. Studies show that whereas the older generations use the media for information purposes the younger ones are more inclined to use the the media for entertainment. (Van Eijck – Van Rees 2000.)

3.2.4 Gendered genres and cultural consumption

Gender is one of the main factors found to be associated strongly with cultural consumption choices. Intuitively we know that many genres of cultural taste, participation and fields possess qualities that seem to appeal to one gender more than the other. Oftentimes males watch more sport, suspense, and crime series on TV and read male authors, especially thrillers (Kraaykamp – Dijsktra 1999, 205; Stokmans 1999) Women tend to participate more in almost every type of cultural events (with the exception of jazz concerts) than men (Upright 2004, 131).Women more often read romantic fiction and historical novels than men (Stokmans 1999, 250; Kraaykamp – Dijsktra 1999, 205). In an aggregate level of cultural taste patterns, Van Eijck (2001) found that women tend to be more highbrow in their tastes for music whereas men are more omnivorous.

Lopez Sintas and García Álvarez (2004) show variability regarding gender’s impact on cultural tastes. Several studies have shown that females tend to stack higher amounts of cultural capital – if we use cultural taste, participation and consumption in general as a proxy for cultural capital – as they are underrepresented in the higher layers of economical capital possessors. In many studies women have been found to be more active in cultural participation and their taste tends to be more highbrow than that of males (e.g. DiMaggio 1982; Bryson 1996; Lamont et al. 1996; Van Eijck 1997; 2001; Katz-Gerro and Shavit 1998; Katz-Gerro 1999; Bihagen and Katz-Gerro 2000; Katz-Gerro 2006). Women are also found to be more omnivorous than men (López-Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005). However, in addition to finding that women tend to lean more towards traditional highbrow

genres, Van Eijck (2001) found that men on the other hand expressed a more omnivorous taste when it came to music. Similar results were also found in a study on omnivorousness across multiple cultural domains (Virtanen 2006b), where males were clearly more omnivorous regarding music taste and Internet use, whereas the domains of cultural participation and artistic activity were more feminized.

Gender does play a very differing role in distinct areas of cultural choice. Some domains are much more influenced by gender than others. The organization of reading practices seems to be more clearly divided between genders than any other social factors (see Bennett et al. 1999, 146–149 for example). But genre lines are not the only boundaries existing in the literary consumption and research concerning it. Women and men are found to value different qualities in the books they read, women read more than men and they do so more often (women and men read different amounts). Attitudes towards reading vary also by gender. Women prefer aesthetic and literary forms whereas men tend to lean towards factual and documentary genres of literature. (Bennett et al. 1999, 148–149.)

Several proposals for gender differences in cultural tastes have been put forwards. For example, Katz-Gerro (2002) sees three general assumptions on for understanding gender related differences. The first one proposes that gender in fact only reflects class position. Since class determines lifestyles, and gender is treated secondary to class, this might be the cause for the detected behaviour. The second assumption is associated with women's relative lack of resources. Women's consumption is constrained by a lack of time, money and facilities. (See next chapter on family status constraints.) The third type of explanation has to do with educational structure changes, due to which women in the today's society have become more educated than men. As highbrow consumption is closely associated with higher education and as women have increasingly entered this cultural domain the feminizing of these activities may have occurred. This has potentially also lead to men to shift from the cultural area for other fields of distinction as they may consider culture a source which can diminish one's status. (Ibid., 220–221.) A critique of the male dominated literature canon has been provided, stating that men reproduce their more beneficial social standing by promoting cultural forms that appeal more to male than female tastes. This example on the other hand emphasizes the stratifying nature of gender, thus fostering its structural importance.

One line of argument believes that women's more active participation in high culture is due to their lack of economic resources. That is why they use cultural taste transformed into cultural resources in order to compliment for their smaller income or level of affluence. This would help people with

different kinds of capitals to be able to still compete within the same fields with similar material or symbolic goods, if we accept Bourdieu's (1984) suggestion of capitals' capacity to be mutually exchanged. It has been argued, that women's higher attendance rate at high culture events is due to its ability to create and maintain cultural capital. Cultural capital, again, is seen as an equivalent resource to economic capital, which has been in many Western societies until recently, and to some extent also currently, governed and possessed by males. The strategy of pursuing cultural capital is an alternative coping strategy and a source of social status for those who lack economic resources. (DiMaggio – Useem 1978; DiMaggio 1982; Bryson 1996; Van Eijck 1997; Katz-Gerro 1999; Bihagen–Katz-Gerro 2000; López Sintas – García Álvarez 2004.) Another suggestion taps into the same question of stratification mechanisms and status hierarchy. If we consider the dominant classes to be comprised chiefly of men we would expect that women trying to gain respect by employing their high culture consumption would try to turn it from symbolic status into socio-economic status. (López Sintas – García Álvarez 2004; DiMaggio – Useem 1978.) Women are found to be more related in status-seeking, which is reflected in behaviour that accentuates cultural practices. This would be a consequence of a male dominated work field, which in turn is more associated with class than status.(Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998.)

3.2.5 Network, family structure and the context of consumption

Networks, an individual's relationship and especially marital status affect consumption choices. Thus the context of consumption is also worth noticing when seeking explanations for facilitators for consumption. Before turning to cultural consumption patterns (Chapter 3.3), these determinants are discussed below.

Individual preference is heavily affected by mutual agreements on leisure time division and resource allocation. One's spouse and family are significant determinants that affect not only behaviour but also preferences. For instance, Kraaykamp and colleagues (2007) studied media preferences and spousal influence with reference to both highbrow (literature reading) and lowbrow (popular fiction reading and TV viewing) taste. They found evidence of male dominance, in which the female spouse was inclined to alter her tastes according to those of her spouse, whereas the effect did not occur vice versa. Usually decisions on cultural activities are formed in concordance and negotiation processes with potential co-consumers. The effect of spouses, other family members and friends was found to be extremely relevant (e.g.

Upright 2004; Katz-Gerro 2006; Kraaykamp et al. 2007). Thus, we need to consider that taste is developed not only as the outcome of parental upbringing but is also formed in interaction with spouses, peers, friends and other acquaintances. Studies have shown that spouses change each others' cultural routines, more often females change theirs than their male partners. (Upright 2004; Van Berkel – De Graaf 1995; Warde – Tampubolon 2002; Kraaykamp et al. 2007.)

Some of the relevant factors relating to potential constraints on cultural consumption were already addressed by presenting life cycle effects. For example, age and family structure are factors in interaction as is the amount of disposable income and the number of dependent persons in a household. According to DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990) married people attend less arts performances than singles, divorced or widowed people. Similar results are also documented by López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro (2005) and Virtanen (2006a) in their examinations of omnivorousness, although the effects were rather weak. In Spain the married and divorced, who are less avid arts consumers than unmarried people, were found to increase their attendance at fine arts events as their income increased (López-Sintas – García-Álvarez 2004). The association of lower attendance with being married is most often explained by the constraints produced by domestic duties, which are seen as greater amongst the married with small children (Katz-Gerro 2006). Being married is found to especially constrain high status women's high culture participation in Sweden and Italy, whereas in Katz-Gerro's study (2006) a similar effect was not present in Israel, the US and West Germany.

Some studies also take into account the division and different nature between public and private cultural consumption items. This division might seem trivial at first, but there are a number of reasons for considering public and private realms. For example, Peterson and Simkus (1992, 163) argue, that people in protective service occupations (such as policemen, firemen, social workers, hospital employees) consume arts privately since they loathe to be noticed in public and be confronted by former clients or customers. The private arts consumption of these occupation groups is much higher than their public one, and is more commensurate with their education and income. The explanations provided for this clear deviation in preferences emphasize the individual nature of consumption and a similar pattern also applies to reading. Since reading requires no negotiation or compromise in order to suit multiple tastes, like going to cinema or concert with a companion, some argue that this makes reading a field of more personal choice. (Bennett et al. 1999, 148–149.)

Also another account, namely the different amount of engagement and trouble (e.g. hindrances and obstacles of physical, social or psychological kind) required when consuming the object must be held significant. Van Eijck

(2000, 211) argues that, depending on the choice of the cultural discipline under examination, relativity in terms of socio-demographics varies greatly. For example, the audience for the high arts is quite homogenous whereas music interests a wider spectrum of people from multiple backgrounds. Music is easily accessible (via tapes, CD's and other media) and one can also choose the time and place for these kinds of activities (i.e. listening to music, being a consumer of music, be it high or low in aesthetic value) at rather a low cost or even for free. (Van Eijck 2000, 211.)

One's place of residence also affects cultural consumption patterns to some extent, mainly through the above-mentioned mechanism of accessibility. Alderson and colleagues (2007) have found in their study on omnivores in the US that for most popular forms of culture one's place of residence does not have a significant effect as this realm is readily attainable regardless of place. But when it comes to expressing a wide range of likes, the size (population) of a city is relevant (ibid., 205). City dwellers and urban residents are found to attend more highbrow events (Katz-Gerro 2002; Van Eijck – Knulst 2005) and be more omnivorous (López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005; Virtanen 2006a) than people from small towns or rural areas.

In tandem with other determinants, society's structures also need to be examined, as Katz-Gerro and Shavit's article (1998) points out. (See also Chapter 3.2.1 on class consciousness.) Political, social and economic factors at national and governmental levels have an influence on the shaping of cultural patterns in countries. Some societies are less bound to hierarchical divisions than others. In some countries, class-based divisions have cut across the whole society for centuries dictating not only economic but also cultural and everyday life issues in many parts. For example France and the UK have been regarded as homogeneous countries, where boundaries are rather clearly set along the lines of class hierarchies. Sometimes the US is seen as more heterogeneous, partly due its immigration patterns and less rigid class distinction. In these societies bases other than class are found to be relevant predictors of consumer behavior. (DiMaggio – Ostrower 1990, Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998; Katz-Gerro 2002.) For example the level of governmental support for individual affluence and welfare independent of one's status in the labour market have been found to affect cultural taste patterns (Esping-Andersen 1999, 79, 86; Katz-Gerro 2002). There are two competing views on how welfare state politics affect cultural choices. The first view sees welfare state politics as supporting class-based distinctions, because the more affluent strive to distinguish themselves from other groupings through the consumption of culture since the means for material distinction has been diminished. On the other hand, some believe that as the welfare state levels out class differences this will be reflected in more individual and less class-based consumption

patterns because disassociation from structural determinants will be sought. (Katz-Gerro 2002, 210.)

3.3 Cultural taste patterns

Cultural consumption is empirically analyzed mostly in the form of patterns. Cultural taste patterns have interested sociologists in search of the essence of the consumer society and the mechanisms of the consumption based status hierarchy. Theoretically isolated and empirically predicted patterns have gained awareness and been given multiple names and labels. Probably the most renowned are the highbrow pattern and the omnivore pattern. The pattern approach has been proposed especially because of its ability to show new social structures and hierarchies that are reflected through cultural consumption patterns.

Taste patterns are seen as a set of items having a general, constant character even though the actual items within the pattern may change over time (Peterson 1983, 424). The patterns are "regularities in consumer behaviours, operationalized as the consumption of particular categories of leisure activities." (Holt 1997b, 327.) A cultural consumption pattern refers to a procedure or idea that assumes certain leisure activities and consumption practices "go together", forming certain kinds of underlying lifestyles (Van Eijck 2000, 208). Lifestyle on the other hand can be regarded as "shared consumption patterns spanning a variety of consumer categories." In this respect lifestyle and the concept of a consumption pattern are intertwined. According to Peterson (1983, 430, see also Gans 1999, 92) most people have a rather similar "cognitive map of activities that fit together" i.e. the activities that belong to one lifestyle, even though they do not engage in that lifestyle themelves. For example, as Hughes and Peterson (1983) have found, people who visit historical museums are likely to visit science and history museums, but not necessarily art museums. Intuitively we can propose lifestyle combinations (cultural consumption patterns) also by assuming that an arts museum visitor might include in his repertoire art films and books and so forth. Lifestyle compositions are based on the shared values and aesthetic standards of the people engaging in those lifestyles or, as Gans refers to them, taste cultures (Gans 1999, 92). This view completes Peterson's (1983, 422) idea of cultural taste patterns, which can be identified by an "intellectually coherent" feature that can be expressed "as a single system of beliefs and values." Taste cultures and taste patterns are thus equivalent to each other.

"Instead of focusing on indicators of cultural capital" Van Eijck (2000, 209) suggests that we look at the patterns and to what extent distinct patterns

characterize each social category (status group) and to what extent these categories differ from each other. Thus, a shared pattern of cultural consumption, "cultural class" (a term suggested by Peterson and DiMaggio [1975][10]), would be a determinant for status rather than predetermined socio-economical categories. After isolating cultural classes we could tap into them to match correlates of social stratification structures in order to see to what extent the existing classifications depict social reality.

In a similar manner by defining his object of research as "patterns of cultural choice" Peterson (1983) wishes to highlight that he does not take any association suggested by the previous studies for granted. In his view it is rather constricting when researchers define their concepts "in such a way that the link to social class is more of a corollary than a correlation." (Peterson 1983, 424.) This in turn means that by doing so the researcher might prevent possible outcomes of the results from appearing because they have too narrow a perspective or too predetermined a conceptualization and operationalization. The use of the term 'choice' is thus evident in Peterson's analysis. He wants to explicate that we do not assume the consumption of culture to be totally predetermined by any social structural element of an individual. (Peterson 1983.) Peterson (1983) offers the terms "patterns of culture" and "patterns of cultural choice" for the reason, that we can assume that objects of cultural consumption are "functionally alternative to each other at any point in time" (ibid., 424). "And second, "patterns of culture choice" says clearly what we seek to search for, a plurality of distinct patterns of money and time use among which people may choose to some degree." (Peterson 1983, 426.)

The consumption patterns, latent representatives of similarly directed tastes and pursued outcomes, are found not only to be internally coherent but also to be socially structured. Thus consumption patterns, or the items comprising them are characterized by the persons or groups of people that consume them. For example, among the most renowned articles are the ones written by Peterson and colleagues (Peterson 1992; Peterson – Simkus 1992; Peterson – Kern 1996) present theories first about the patterns of elite "snob" consumers, who have later on transformed their cultural consumption into what can be regarded as a culturally omnivorous pattern. In addition, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) have contributed to the discussion on heavy-user omnivores (which they term 'voracious'), whereas Bryson (1996) has presented a version of a univore, who is the exclusionist consumer of "anything but heavy metal". Rather traditional highbrow taste patterns are sketched out at length vividly in

[10] Peterson, Richard A. – DiMaggio, Paul (1975) From region to class, the changing locus of country music: A test of the massification hypothesis. *Social Forces*, 53: 497–506. Primary source: Van Eijck (2000, 209).

Lamont's study on upper-middle class men's taste in various cultural and social surroundings (Lamont 1992). Highbrow univores and omnivores are frequently examined (e.g. Van Eijck – Knulst 2005) in cultural consumption pattern discussions; it should be restated, that the whole research strand began with a discussion on elitist cultural consumption (Bourdieu 1984), which can now be categorized as highbrow univorism. Also the non-consumers of culture have attracted interest as a peculiar embodiment of a univore (López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002; 2004). The next chapters deal with the peculiarities of three distinct pattern types. The social characteristics found to be associated with those patterns are also presented.

3.3.1 Browship in perspective – Highbrow, middle-brow and lowbrow

Finding that too often the dichotomous categorization of cultural forms into fine arts and popular culture was too constraining and did not yield a rich interpretation of the social reality of consumers, Russell Lynes addressed the boundaries of highbrow, middle-brow and lowbrow in his analyses made in the mid-twentieth century (Zolberg 1990, 148). At the same time the scope of the research was also extended to cover many aspects of lifestyles, including clothing, architecture and so forth. A similar trajectory is seen in the works of Herbert Gans (1999) and the taste hierarchies of the US in the 1970s America. Research has almost too often polarized taste characterizations into two extremes: highbrow elite snobbery and their opposites lowbrow mass consumer "slobs" (Peterson 2004). Still, the boundary between highbrow and lowbrow has produced feasible results, which have helped in shedding light on the social relations and phenomenon of cultural consumption in many Western countries, at least up to the end of the 20th century.

How have students of cultural consumption then approached browship taste patterns? By definition high-brow consumption can be said to be a culturally snobbish mode of conduct whereas middle-brow consumption is directed towards commercial and entertaining forms of culture, such as easy listening music or blockbuster movies (Peterson – Kern 1996). Lowbrow taste patterns on the other hand are regarded as consisting of cultural forms, which are rooted in socially marginal groups, such as ethnic minorities (ibid.) Attributes such as 'non-intelligent' or 'unsophisticated' are used to refer to lowbrow patterns although sometimes more neutral expressions of popularity are used. Middle-brow or popular (lowbrow) orientation is "a preference for less legitimate cultural goods or practices lacking prestige". (Van Rees et al. 1999, 350.)

Most of the studies on cultural consumption focus on arts participation and other forms of culture traditionally regarded as representing the higher extreme of the browship continuum (Van Eijck 2000, 208). Highbrow cultural patterns are a form of taste typical of the upper classes (Levine 1988; Katz-Gerro – Sullivan 2004). These cultural expressions are seen as elevated, desirable and sophisticated (Peterson – Kern 1996, 900; López Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005). Exclusive taste is the essence of snobbish taste and its expression. In this sense, snobbery is fundamentally what Bourdieu describes in Distinction (1984); a snob bases his taste on "rigid rules of exclusion" (López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002). In other words, a snob possesses highbrow taste and does not attend any other browship activities (Peterson – Kern 1996, 901; Levine 1988). On the other hand, terms such as "exclusive highbrow" or "purists" have been suggested for those highbrow consumers who shun all the other browship forms and for those more tolerant ("inclusive highbrow") who still mainly express a highbrow orientation (López Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005; Van Eijck – Knulst 2005 see also Bryson 1996).

Snobs are a specific type of univore (with a narrow taste repertoire), namely high-class ones (Peterson – Kern 1996; López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002). Their preference is aimed solely at high cultural forms, which represent the higher extreme of the "aesthetic spectrum" (Peterson – Kern 1996, 900) such as classical music, opera, plays, ballet, musicals, art galleries (ibid.). These genres are found to be 'difficult', 'serious' and 'high-minded' (Lahire 2004; López Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005) and also enjoyed mostly by those who have accumulated the skills necessary to interpret the meanings of these works and eventually transform understanding into enjoyment (Scitovsky 1976). The audience for the highbrow is seen to be interested in gaining desirable personal attributes via the consumption of such items, and in this process they also tend to legitimate the cultural forms they themselves consume. Social scientists have maintained that a highbrow cultural taste could be seen as a reflection of cultural capital, which in turn enables better life chances. (Van Eijck 2000, 208; DiMaggio 1982.)

Omnivores are also one kind of highbrow, but in addition to elite cultural forms they include non-highbrow forms in their cultural repertoire , or at least they are open to these forms. (The omnivore tendency is considered as a pattern of its own and discussed in the subsequent chapter.) Highbrows including other browships in their repertoire tend to favour the lowbrow forms that are associated with groups in a society's margins, probably because the difference between those boundaries is clearer as the brow-levels are further from each other and the relevant social groups in terms of status-seeking are less likely to be found among those in the margins of society. (E.g. Bryson

1997.) In fact, very few purists, i.e. someone only including high culture items in their taste repertoire, have been found among the highbrows.[11]

Being an apparent and conceptual opposite of the mass populated lowbrow, highbrow patterns are never found to any great extent in the studies. In 1982 in the US less than 5 percent of all the respondents attended an opera or ballet performance, whereas more popular forms, like visiting historical sites or watching plays on television were reported as being engaged in by more than 25 percent. (DiMaggio – Ostrower 1990) In a similar vein, in Spain (López Sintas – García Álvarez 2004), the share of the highbrow was very low (6%) but on the other hand so was the share of popular cultural attendance (9%) as well as that of the omnivorous taste group (2%). What mainly characterized the Spanish respondents was their apparent inactivity in the arena of cultural participation. (ibid.) In the Netherlands Van Eijck and Knulst (2005) in total isolated eight distinct patterns, which took into account the various extents of highbrow and lowbrow prevalence. They found a minor increase in the highbrow purist pattern from 2 percent in 1983 to 3 percent in 1999, whereas during the same period the popular culture purist pattern (lowbrow) decreased from 39% to 38% and no change occurred in the pattern where browlevels were equally represented. In their data, inactive consumers were a minority with a share of only 6 percent. (ibid.)

Typically the highbrow audience is found among the higher educated groups and the upper and upper-middle classes. Studies also found most highbrow consumers to be women and not among the youngest age cohorts. (e.g. Van Eijck – Knulst 2005; Katz-Gerro 2006.) Highbrow forms of culture are as seen being harder to learn to appreciate and requiring more skills, which make them and their consumers more respected (Scitovsky 1976, 226). Scitovsky's thoughts can be usefully applied even today, as the essence of objects of cultural consumption and appreciation has not changed, even though the value placed on each object shifts constantly. Factors, which are traditionally highly interrelated, that help in predicting attendance at high-

[11] Wilensky (1964) carried out an examination of the individuals that appeared as high quality media purists in his data. These 19 respondents have refrained from consuming nearly all the mass forms of culture available. Wilensky could not find a single individual in his sample of nearly 1400 respondents who was not exposed at all to middlebrow or lowbrow material. He then settled in using two criteria for highbrow purists: 1) some highbrow exposure to all the studied domains and preference for only the highbrow forms of literature, and 2) not possessing a TV set, or never watches TV, and some highbrow exposure to all the domains studied plus highbrow literature exclusivism. Being few in number, Wilensky also considered these respondents as poorly representative of any segment of the US population. A similar finding was observed in France. Coulangeon and Lemel (2007) found that highbrow taste is an attribute only applicable to a marginal group of higher status individuals and even among this group individuals refraining from all other than high culture forms are extremely rare.

culture events includes a combination of income, education and occupation (DiMaggio – Ostrower 1990).

The highbrow tendency also varies across countries. Katz-Gerro (2002) compared the patterns of leisure activities and tastes in music and reading in five countries (Italy, Israel, Sweden, West Germany and the US).[12] Each country was analyzed separately yet one cultural consumption pattern clearly surfaced: highbrow. In each country older people, women, the more affluent, and urban residents tend to lean more towards the highbrow. The only exception was young Swedes, who were more attracted to highbrow behaviour than other age groups. However, the main determinant above all others across the countries was found to be the level of education.

Research carried out in 1982 and 1992 in the US showed that highbrows tend on average to have about two years more education, earn thousands of dollars more annually, are about 10 years older, and most often they are also white (Peterson – Kern 1996). Females tend to feature more often among highbrows. During the ten year period highbrows chose ever more lowbrow items than others, thus making them even more omnivorous than before. Simultaneously, non-highbrows were increasing their number of musical preferences. (Peterson – Kern 1996.) In Spain, on the other hand, López Sintas and García Álvarez (2004) found that no sharp class boundaries between the highbrow and lowbrow inclination appeared, while in Israel a similar pattern was observed (Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998; Katz-Gerro 2006). Even though Israel doesn't have a strong class structure those who are attached to the upper part of the class hierarchy engage most often in highbrow culture, even though they do not shun popular forms of culture either (Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998).

Today, many changes at societal level and even globally have also rendered changes in cultural participation. Participation in what used to be perceived as highbrow forms of culture has declined almost everywhere simultaneously and lost its ground on social bases. However, the opposite trend also undermines the highbrow pattern's legitimacy. As Bourdieu (1984, 16) has noted, for example "classical music" has been "devalued by popularization" and thus its

[12] The empirical part consists of five separate data, with different questions regarding cultural consumption in each country This can be held as a defective matter against the results, but the lack of comparability is quite sufficiently argued for. Since items were measured slightly differently in each country, they are taken as representatives of distinct cultural and national features. Thus, Katz-Gerro (2002, 212, 217) explains, they reflect the society in which they have been measured, which to some extent, makes them valid and relevant. For example, in Sweden there were no questions on musical or literature tastes but only on leisure activities. In Italy the only taste measured was going to classical concerts (whereas going to concerts was measured for West Germany and the U.S., but they are places, as they in my opinion should be, in a leisure activity list). Reading is measured only in the cases of Israel and West Germany, though in Sweden reading books in general without stating any particular genre is included in leisure activities, as well as buying books (perhaps not reading?) in Italy. As we can see, even though well argued, some of the choices are rather inconsistent.

significance as a status marker might have lost power. This evolution is seen as eroding the elitist status of highbrow cultural consumption and left scholars to ponder the value or power of highbrow taste in stratification processes. (DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004; Peterson 1997b.) We might encounter socio-historical changes that affect social mechanisms, and thus a mechanism of highbrow distinction may be compensated for by another mechanism, say for example by one which stresses omnivorous qualities.

Many studies conducted across the Western world, show that highbrow cultural forms have gradually become less tied up with high education and a highly ranked social status position. Indeed, some have found that the younger cohorts of highly educated persons (at least in the Netherlands) have turned away from highbrow culture and are now more inclined to have vast knowledge of popular cultural forms, whereas the older cohorts have preserved their taste for the highbrow. (Van Eijck 2000, 209.) Thus the older cohorts with their higher education have been referred to as an elitist rearguard and the most likely highbrow audience (Van Eijck – Bargeman 2004).

Cultural snobs may also become an extinct group among cultural consumers, since the younger the cohort the smaller the proportion of elitist highbrow taste can be isolated (Van Eijck – Knulst 2005). There are though some considerations, that are wise to bear in mind. First of all, following the idea put forward by Simmel (1986[1905]) in his insightful essay *Philosophie der Mode*, we can expect that what is now considered as highbrow is very different from those forms several decades back, and also from those that are to come. In fact, most of the highbrow forms of culture today were at the time of their creation regarded as popular culture (Crane 1992, 63; Storey 2002, 33). Thus the form of highbrow culture changes, even though the idea of highbrow remains the same.

This obviously has an affect on the studies that are conducted in the field of taste related matters. If a researcher sticks to dated and outworn categories they might produce results that do not reflect the actual underlying mechanisms and qualities of the present society. We need to consider the fact that highbrow culture potentially presents itself in different forms for each cohort or generation. Distinction may be pursued but as a mechanism (or a tool) in status struggle it is oftentimes not targeted against the whole of the population but only against those that matter the most in relation to certain groups. In other words, the groups from which, via consumption, the distinction is wished to be made are only a fraction of all the potential sub-groups of a society. These groupings can be the elderly, young professionals working in knowledge and sign intensive industries, academics etc. It can be assumed that struggles are engaged in within rather narrow brackets of social groups, rather than at the macro-societal level. This means that the attention of

social scientists needs to be directed towards phenomenon-specific issues. In addition, as Bourdieu (1984, 1) suggested, special attention needs to be paid towards cultural forms "regarded at a particular moment" as "legitimate". That is why we can regard cultural classifications as *social institutions* and why we need to consider the possibility that the highbrow can and will change its content. In other words, these institutions pertain, they exist over time, yet their composition, attributes and forms are always subject to change.

3.3.2 Omnivore thesis – the variety of cultural forms is vital

Peterson and colleagues isolated a new status elite in pluralist omnivores emerging from the social changes of the 1950's onwards (Peterson – Kern 1996). The concepts of cultural omnivore and univore were probably first introduced in a follow-up study on highbrow cultural consumers, which began a series of influential articles (Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson – Kern 1996; Rossman – Peterson 2005) also eliciting a shift in the discussion over cultural consumption patterns (e.g. Katz-Gerro 1999; Van Eijck 1997; 2000; López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002a; 2004; Emmison 2003; Van Eijck – Bargeman 2004; Van Eijck – Knulst 2005; Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007; Chan – Goldthorpe 2005; 2007b; 2007c). The aim of Peterson and Simkus' (1992) article was to prove wrong the hypothesis that arts consumption no longer signified status in the US. They did this by concentrating on one marker of status, occupational position, and one kind of taste, musical preferences. The aim was to find out which items serve best as boundaries between occupational classes. They found a consumption pattern, which seemed to have replaced the previously legitimate and socially advantageous highbrow. Cultural omnivorousness now stood for "a standard for good taste" (Peterson 2004) and it represented personal qualities highly valued and rewarded in a contemporary social context (Van Eijck 2000, 208). Solid evidence has since been found in several studies across the western world that those who are well educated and have high status jobs are in fact more inclined to have omnivorous patterns of consumption (Peterson 2004). The initial assumption was that the more educated people are, the more inclined their tastes are towards a wide array of cultural genres, equally high and low. Many scholars have believed that omnivorousness would increase over time in parallel with mass education (Peterson – Simkus 1992) as omnivorousness had become more widespread during the period between 1982 and 1992 (Peterson − Kern 1996) but controversial findings have also been put forward. Van Eijck and Knulst (2005) (as well as Van Eijck – Bargeman 2004) expect the omnivores to be a fad and a more popular taste to gain more ground.

The research stream that emphasizes omnivorousness' significance takes into account both the quality of consumption i.e. the browship and the breadth of taste. Omnivorousness refers to a broad range in taste for leisure activities as opposed to a univore's much narrower and more monotonous taste. Peterson – Simkus 1992, 196). The omnivores' cultural repertoire cuts across the aesthetic spectrum as their taste is developed in an open and welcoming direction. (Peterson – Kern 1996.) To be specific, high status groups have not been found to participate in high-status activities much more than other groups, but they do attend more of all kinds of activities (Peterson – Kern 1996). A similar observation had previously been put forward by DiMaggio (1987, 444). He proposed that one's socio-economic status is closely related to the stated tastes or actualized preferences for a number of genres. The broadness of taste is linked to a wide familiarity with a number of cultural genres. Cultural omnivorousness thus refers to what Emmison (2003) dubs cultural mobility. It is an ability to consume culture "across the entire spectrum of cultural life" allowing the individual to choose his position in the cultural, and hence potentially social landscape. In this sense, omnivorousness can be perceived as increasing the means of inequality (see also Ylätalo – Virtanen 2007). Omnivorous taste is also shaped in interaction as an individual's breadth of taste is likely to increase under the influence of ties to kin and close friends. Tastes thus come to resemble the ones of those who we interact with in our network ties. (Mark 1998.)

The omnivores have typically been described with the following kind of expressions: they are said to be open-minded, well-educated, and situated in the middle and upper-middle class fractions of society. (Peterson 1992; Van Eijck 2000, 211; López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002.) The bases for omnivorousness are said to resemble those of the former highbrows, who instead are "higher educated, and rewarded within the higher status groups for reflecting desirable personal attributes" (Van Eijck 2000, 208). The omnivore pattern is typically found to be strongly associated with younger age (with the exception of López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro's [2005] findings on older cohorts' greater inclination towards omnivorousness), higher education, higher income and higher occupational status (López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002; Emmison 2003; Warde et al. 1999; Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000; Van Eijck 2001). At least in Spain, the omnivores are rather balanced gender-wise and they belong in the age group of 34 to 45 year olds. (López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002) Van Rees and colleagues (1999), on the other hand, found that omnivorous consumers (readers) in the Netherlands are older than their peers in Spain. In this respect a member of the new middle class and the cultural omnivore resemble each other as a group to the extent that it can be concluded that these terms refer to the same individuals (Van Eijck 2000, 215).

Omnivorousness is suggested not only to be a social feature but also a psychological one. Kraaykamp and Van Eijck (2005) found that of five important personality factors only open and curious individuals were able to consume culture irrespective of its content or browship. Their cultural repertoire was also the widest of all the personality types. Only the cultural forms that were least challenging emotionally were of less interest for open individuals. In a similar vein, Ratner and colleagues (1999) found that consumers sometimes tend to choose contrary to their preferences in order to broaden their consumption repertoire. In other words, even though the chosen activity was less preferred consumers were willing to experiment in the hope of gaining increased experience capacity. This finding implicitly conveys the idea of omnivorousness, which also would seem to contain the idea of the pursuit of variety. The true nature of the preference is hard to assess even though implicitly we assume that the items that are consumed by an individual (whether omnivore or not) are automatically also liked. Few studies other than Ratner and colleagues' (1999) scrutinize the relationship between likes and a deviating conduct of preference even though the explanation for the motives for a broad inclusion of consumption items would be an interesting topic for study.

When considering omnivorousness, it needs to be clarified that as omnivorousness draws heavily from the relationship between a stratified order and what is traditionally conceived of as the hierarchy of cultural tastes, an omnivore "exists only if these constituent types [traditional highbrow, middle-brow and lowbrow] are first established." (Bennett et al. 1999, 188–189.)

What needs to be noticed, though, is that the omnivores are a group of people who share a taste for a variety of cultural genres, both high and low. That still leaves us much room for the examination of those taste patterns. In Erickson's (1996, 247) words "this leaves us wondering why one omnivore may choose one cultural mix while another chooses something quite different."

The omnivores, as cultural consumption is in general, are studied mainly within one cultural domain (mainly cultural participation or music preferences). Very few studies on "true omnivores" across the domains exists, even though the notion of omnivorousness would also suggest this kind of inclination (Chan – Goldthorpe 2005; Virtanen 2006b). Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) have studied omnivorousness in the realm of music, where they isolated two types of omnivores. Their true omnivores were respondents who both attended many music events and possessed a liking for several music genres. In addition there was a domain-specific omnivore type, which was comprised of avid music listeners.

Peterson and Kern (1996) present a potential explanation for the shift from snobbishness to omnivorousness. The authors speculate the shift in highbrow culture is related to status-group politics influenced by changes in social structures, values, art-world dynamics, and generational conflict. Openness related to omnivorousness currently prevails in multiple areas of all social, political and historical domains of society. For example, due to racial issues being triggered by World War II an anti-racist attitude has proven to be a normative mode of social conduct, which has been adopted in cultural tastes, too. (Peterson – Kern 1996, 960.) Still, the question remains as to whether all highbrows adopted omnivorous tendencies, or whether a group of highbrows was transformed in some way. One possibility is that the older cohorts of highbrows have been replaced by the younger cohorts who are more omnivorous. (Peterson – Kern 1996.)

In a way that resembles the highbrow pattern, omnivore strata have not been too broadly represented in the previous studies (cf. López Sintas – García Álvarez 2004; Chan – Goldthorpe 2005; Van Eijck – Knulst 2005). Depending on the method of measurement the studies have yielded shares of omnivores ranging from 2 percent up to 36 percent. The share of isolated omnivores has mainly remained rather low, which suggests that this pattern has the ability to serve as a marker for distinction, as the highbrow pattern has done.

Antithetical to the omnivore is the *cultural univore*, a consumer who prefers a narrow cultural variety most likely embedded in the lowbrow or popular forms of culture. Univorism is exclusion-based activity. (Bryson 1996.) Univores are less frequently addressed in the literature on cultural consumption and taste preferences. They are commonly found to be socio-economically situated in the lower extreme of the status hierarchy. A univorous consumption pattern is the opposite of an omnivore in two ways. First of all the number of cultural objects liked and consumed differs, since a univore prefers only a narrow variety of cultural supply. Secondly, the quality of these preferences tends to be lower (Peterson – Simkus 1992). The quality of a univore's likings are not always depicted as being of lower status, but snobbish high-class univores are more commonly referred to than the original concept contained in Peterson and Simkus', one example of this would be the highbrow exclusivist (López-Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005).

Theorists regard univores as strongly inclined to define their tastes by one single genre or form, and thus they tend to exclude cultural forms that do not fit their consumer identity (Relish 1997, 122; Peterson 1992)

On the other hand, López Sintas and García Álvarez (2002) have applied the omnivore thesis by classifying the Spanish into classes according to their lifestyle. They define non-consumers simply as 'no cultural consumption

class', whereas other classes are popular class, highbrow class and omnivore class.

Bryson (1997) studied the bases of univorism in the US with reference to 16 music genres. As omnivorousness' thesis (Peterson – Simkus 1992) suggests, she wanted to test whether univorousness follows boundaries provided by typical taste formation boundaries (race, gender, age, religious and geographical location) when low levels of education are in question (as opposed to the higher levels of education that are associated with omnivorousness). In other words, the aim was to see, whether low levels of education dictated most of the exclusionary boundary drawing, and whether other social determinants were emphasized along with a low level of education. The assumption was, that not all music genres operate in a similar manner, that is to say that social groups relate to different genres and thus they also select varying genres as their means for creating boundaries, or even obstacles to inclusion. Bryson's work shows that race, ethnicity, religion and geographical region enhance their importance in less-educated groupings with regard to taste formation. All the genres studied were used as exclusionary tools by different low level educated sub-groups, except the two that are traditionally perceived as high-status markers: classical music and opera. In conclusion Bryson (1997, 149) states that, even though there is evidence that some genres are used in group identity creation more by the less-educated than those with high education, the construction of group identities is not restricted only to those with less education.

The relevant social aspects in univorism consider whether there are certain cultural forms that attract this type of consumption pattern more than others. Univores are mostly studied by looking at their reported dislike of other musical genres. The same method can also be applied with cultural participation and other determinants of taste. Studies have shown, that whereas their opponents, the omnivores, tend to form a unified social layer (for an opposing view see Erickson 1996), with a wide approval of multiple cultural forms, univores are scattered into smaller groupings, relatively far apart from each other and according to each specific boundary line that is rejected. In other words, the narrow taste of an univore is concentrated around a particular cultural genre, and each subgroup has opposing views not only towards omnivores but also to other univore types. (Bryson 1996.)

Although the discussion of omnivorous patterns is currently vibrant and rather ubiquitous, it still seems that scholars have not clearly identified the status of this social phenomenon. Some argue that omnivorousness is a strong means of distinction that can be used together with or as a compliment to a snobbish orientation (Warde et al., 1999), and others see that the omnivores' era may have already passed (Peterson 2005). In line with Van Eijck (2000,

211) we can conclude, that it seems that potential sources of inequality may also be facilitated by means of omnivorous patterns as much as traditional highbrow distinction.

3.3.3 Voracious consumer– an intense cultural enthusiast

Few studies have paid attention to the intensity of an individual's cultural consumption, e.g. the difference between those who consume very little culture and those who consume large amounts of culture. However, voraciousness (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007) touches on this issue with regard to the volume of consumption and its relevance in the context of a fast paced society. The issue of intensity has also been implicitly dealt with in some taste related studies, as some level of devotion to the cultural practices in question is assumed. In this sense, the intensity aspect of cultural consumption can be seen as parallel to the accumulation process of cultural capital. As learning to appreciate requires a great amount of training (c.f. Scitovsky 1976; Bourdieu 1984), we might expect to observe a heavy-user learning potentially faster and more efficiently.

Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) present an addition to the omnivorousness debate by introducing the concept of a voracious cultural consumer. Voraciousness has to some extent many things in common with the much cited omnivorousness. In the search for a voracious consumer, attention is also paid to the quantitative dimension and not solely the qualitative, as before. So, whereas an omnivore is unique because of the breadth of cultural tastes, a voracious consumer also has depth which we can look into. (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007.)

When analysing a voracious consumer orientation, the researcher emphasizes the *way* things are consumed rather than what objects are consumed. This is thus a new approach (for the methodological points see Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007). They point out that individuals with high levels of all the capitals also engage in a greater range of out-of-home leisure activities. Furthermore, they point out that even though clearly defined leisure time in society is being shortened, the pressure to conduct as many different activities as possible has become more important. The authors presume that less time is spent conducting a single activity in order to be able to sample from everything the consumers would like to consume, which leads to the increased fragmenting of leisure time. Thus they find a pattern, or rather a combination of the high capacity to spend, little free time in which to do so and the resulting outcome of a voracious profile. (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007.) Similar circumstances seem to influence omnivorous and voracious

consumption, as both are equally tied up with educational qualifications, occupational status, age and gender, according to Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007).

Heavy-usage or voraciousness seems to be a more interesting phenomenon than its logical counterpart, light-usage. Light-users have been implicitly referred to in studies discovering inactive or only slight cultural participation (e.g. López-Sintas – García Álvarez 2004; Chan – Goldthorpe 2007b). Here heavy-usage refers to an activity that is either very constrained with regard to the scope of one's interests (compared to snobbery), or it may bear the connotation of a compulsion of some sort. In any case, the intensity of consumption reflects other issues than the original references of snobbery, voraciousness and omnivorousness, and fills out the picture of multilayered cultural domains by contributing, for example, to the discussion on the accumulation of cultural capital.

Cultural voracity is yet another signifier of social exclusion and a cultural boundary-setter, since high status individuals, who control their disposable income and amount of leisure, exhibited more intense consumption patterns than others (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007). Voraciousness is associated with adults living alone or younger couples without children, as well as higher status individuals in terms of job and education. It is characterized by the hurriedness and fragmentation of leisure consumption; even though a voracious consumer may be enjoying a wide variety of cultural engagements by shifting between them at will, the amount of time spent on each activity is never immense. (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007) This contradicts the view related to highbrow taste, which argues that in order to really learn to appreciate a complex aesthetic form, one needs to limit one's taste repertoire to a few items, or better yet one item (Scitovsky 1976; DiMaggio 1982; Noah 2003). Perhaps what mostly depicts the essence of the cultural consumption field today is the superficiality that creates most advantage. The Information Society swamps people with signs, symbols and stimuli which require both a great analytical capacity and skills in order to process the information available.

3.3.4 Reconceptualizing the patterns

Three underlying qualities that appear in the existing literature characterize the discussions on taste patterns. These aspects need to be considered in more detail in order to provide a basis for the research design for this study. Thus, all the three aspects of consumption, namely; quality, variety and intensity,

must be placed under scrutiny if a multifaceted picture of the prevalence and construction of patterns is to be provided.

In terms of the quality or hierarchy of cultural items, we can make the assumption that an item's level of penetration, or to put it another way, the broadness of its appreciation can be seen as an estimate of an item's capacity to create symbolic power. This assumption follows the lines of thought suggested by the trickle-down theory and is also embedded in thoughts on the mechanism of fashion. (Simmel [1905]1986; McCracken 1990, 93.) For example, if appreciating a new art form is only an attribute a small group of people have (for instance so called avant-garde), and this particular knowledge bestows a high amount of symbolic power that can be used in controlling others (for instance by excluding taste forms regarded as lowbrow) or by gaining more social status, it can be assumed, that more people would like to possess that attribute. However, the more people pursue and attain the desired attributes, the more inflationary the effect is on the knowledge, which leads to a reduction in its symbolic power. Exclusivity includes explicitly (or implicitly) the idea of the social approval of highly valued i.e. legitimate consumption objects. In short we thus assume that the more popular an item is the less value it has to serve as a mechanism of distinction. Hence, it would be *the least popular items* which would have at least a hypothetical capacity to provide an expression of high distinctive value. (Naturally some items may be disliked for their internal quality as bad, defective, harmful, or they can also be regarded otherwise as uninteresting, but that still does not exclude their future potential to become valued as high again.) Traditionally, the less consumed (i.e. scarce) items have also been the most expensive ones, which was a pull-factor for the upper strata of modern societies striving after new markers of status (c.f. Simmel [1905]1986; Veblen 2003). Nowadays, it has been oftentimes proven that the capacity to pay a lot for an item is not the most crucial resource in social distinction, but rather the ability to construct the 'right' kind of constellation of lifestyle via consumption is what is most valued (Katz-Gerro 2002, 222).

Quality, whether cultural consumption is high or low in nature, can be considered to lean on the interpretations of previous literature. Several writings have categorized and assessed the 'value' of consumption items, usually according to the relationship they have to their consumers' social status or symbolic power. Items belonging to the lifestyle of a member of the upper social class have usually been associated with a certain high value themselves. For example, liking classical music, attending ballet performances or opera are traditionally regarded in literature as high culture and thus are a manifestation of high level taste (highbrow). On the other hand, lowbrow (or some times middle-brow) taste is exhibited by attending sports events, liking

popular music genres and reading specific popular genres of literature, because their audience usually comes from the lower social strata (Bennett et al. 1999, Kraaykamp 2003, Verboord – Van Rees 2003). However, a hierarchy must not be interpreted as being too static in nature, a fact also implied by Bourdieu (1984 ,16) in his observation on the devaluation of some high class status markers because they have become popularly embraced. The legitimation process of single cultural items has also been noted by other scholars in their research (e.g. an upward mobility with reference to the legitimacy of jazz music in the cultural hierarchy found by DiMaggio and Mukhtar [2004]).

An aspect that has been most often shunned, ignored or regarded as not valid in cultural consumption literature is that of the *intensity* of cultural consumption, which can also be labelled as the heavy-usage or light-usage of cultural items. It can be argued, that all three aspects presented above become valid fields of observation when considering the resources that have proven to be crucial in the taste formation process linked to cultural consumption. These are: time, money, the personal ability to appreciate the given forms of cultural items and the skills acquired in interaction with social networks, parents, peers, and one's surroundings. Intensity-based research (Peterson [2005] refers to intensity as a volume or frequency of activity) is less prevalent, but e.g. Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) have presented evidence of heavy-users in the form of cultural voracity, which measures the frequency of participation. Voracity theme stems from Peterson's tradition, which emphasized breadth of taste. However, the voracity aspect also takes intensity into account. 'Light-users' are normally referred to or mentioned as deviations or odd cases when studying consumption patterns as the focus is normally on more active consumer patterns. Even though the term heavy-user does not simply and only refer to distinctive and socially elevating consumer behaviour, it has certain advantages when discussing the formation of patterns and trying to solve their internal logic. It may be that today's means for distinction or bases of social inequality lie in a person's display of intense engagement in culture, as has been argued in a similar way for the relevance of the omnivorous consumption pattern.

Broadness of taste is merely an alternative to the classification of cultural consumers. Taste intensity and the "level" of taste are other vital alternatives for grouping consumers. An individual's level of taste was the predominant stream of cultural research previous to omnivorous discussions, and it seems that to some extent intensity is starting to emerge in the field as a relevant subject of research. Whereas breadth of taste indicates a person's capacity to use power or opinion in several fields, intensity tells of the devotion and enthusiasm that is related to one's cultural interests. It must be noted, that

these widely referred to studies mostly concentrate on music *preferences*, instead of a larger variety of cultural products or actual behaviour. (For a critique of empirical solutions see Van Rees et al. 1999, also López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002, Peterson 2004.)

The third aspect that is highly prevalent in the current literature has to do with the breadth or variety of tastes. The cultural menu that comprises all sorts of browships is the one that represents the taste (pattern) of an omnivore. It is contrasted with both the highbrow snob, who does not express a liking for non-elite goods and activities such as popular TV programs and movies, and the univore, whose taste is concentrated and most often considered to be lowbrow.

The continuum of tastes can be conceptualized as comprising several kinds of taste patterns. In other words, a consumption pattern is formed from many different combinations of likes, and thus there are several ways to approach taste patterns empirically. For example, some consumers might prefer only one type of cultural activity and thus be univorous. Others might be content in combining more types and thus enjoy a multitude of genres and lean more towards the omnivorous end of the continuum. Figure 1 below shows that there is no definite cut-off point for the shift from univore to omnivore. In the strictest sense we can conclude that those with a single stated preference are to be termed univore. Terms such as paucivore (those who consume moderately and have a paucity of tastes in their cultural repertoire) and the culturally inactive have been proposed in previous studies (e.g. Chan – Goldthorpe 2007b).

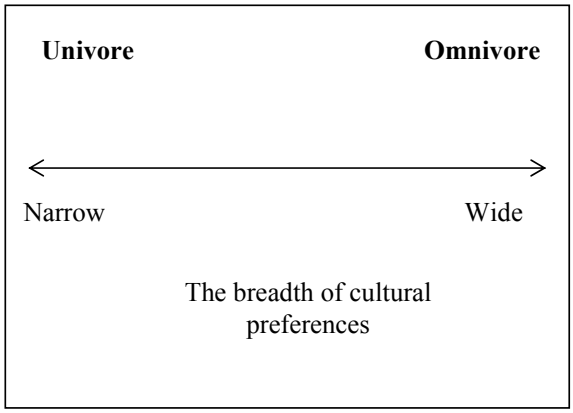

Figure 1. Univore – Omnivore continuum

Yet another problem emerges when conceptualizing, though this has gained much interest in the omnivorous discussion. The problem concerns the issue of **status** and **hierarchy** between the types of items. In fact, the discussion on the

quality of items *precedes* the idea of omnivorism. Cultural hierarchies, highbrow and elite consumption include the concept of quality, the value that is given to consumption items. *The idea of omnivorousness is based on the varying quality of the items, that is, the more different types of genres that are liked, the more their value should vary in terms of highbrow and lowbrow.* If taste is completely concentrated in genres that represent a similar status in the hierarchy of items, then the overall variety is not very broad even though the volume of cultural consumption is abundant. Thus it is rather difficult to describe omnivorous taste as a one-dimensional phenomenon.

The omnivore pattern is conceptualized by utilizing taste and variations in its level and breadth as determinants. Peterson (2005, 262) presents examples of research of taste patterns on three points spanning a time period of 20 years (1982, 1992, and 2002) he and his colleagues (Peterson – Simkus 1992; Peterson – Kern 1996; Rossman – Peterson 2005 respectively) studied. First, a model of two categories is shown, then two differing conceptions of a four-category model on taste and its form are presented. The first illustration presents a shift within highbrow taste from snobbishness to omnivore and within lowbrow taste from slob to univore. Thus, taste has only a vertical dimension.

A horizontal dimension was added in studies regarding the predicted increase in omnivorousness (see Figure 2). In 1992 three types of taste patterns were recognized. The highbrow taste varied from narrow to wide in breadth, whereas no fluctuation was assumed regarding lowbrow taste. Only a narrow lowbrow taste was hypothesized and thus a pattern with wide range of lowbrow tastes was left unexamined[13]. In the most recent research by Rossman and Peterson (2005) the 'fourth cell' (that of lowbrow with a wide variety of tastes) was included in the analysis. In addition, the content of previous categories had changed somewhat and what used to be regarded as snobbish was now presented as highbrow univore and the previous omnivore was now a *highbrow* omnivore. Consistent and similar change also followed the lower level taste categories: lowbrow univore and lowbrow omnivore. Thus univore is used in the sense of liking only a few genres and omnivore

[13] Highbrow was operationalized as liking both classical music and opera, and by choosing one of these kinds of music as best liked from among all. Among highbrows a distinct category of snobs were operationalized as not participating in any lowbrow or middlebrow activity. Another category of highbrow was the omnivorous consumer, who is at least open to one of these genres. Lowbrow was considered to be formed from these five musical genres: bluegrass, gospel, rock, country music and blues. The remaining genres, easy listening, Broadway musicals and big band music were considered middle-brow. (Peterson – Kern 1996.)

refers to being open to a multitude of genres. Thus we face the problem of defining the content and essence of high and low, again.

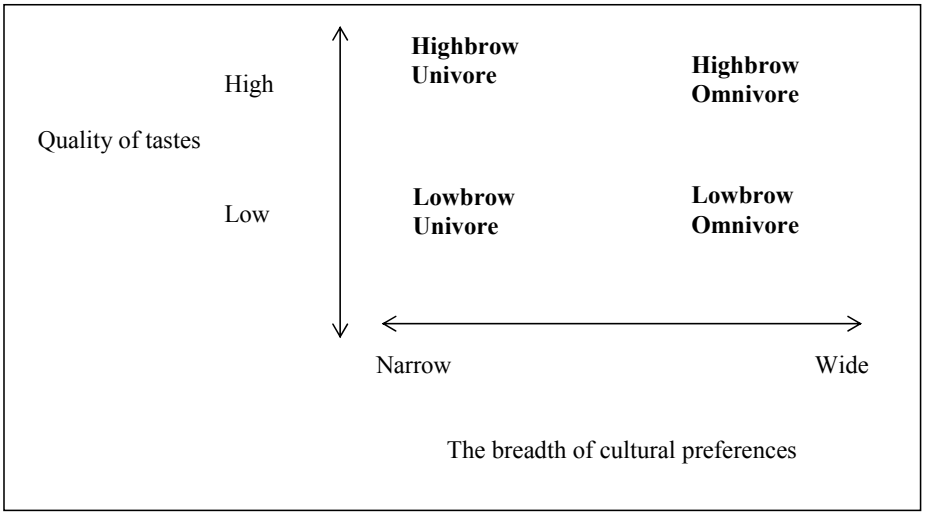

Figure 2. Two-dimensional space of tastes: Univore – Omnivore and Highbrow – Lowbrow

The original formulation of omnivorousness (Peterson – Simkus 1992) tries to capture the essence of a new phenomenon, the shift from snobbism to a variety of tastes. However, on the operational level more detailed information on consumer choice is needed as omnivorousness is operationalized in most of the studies as the range or breadth of different kinds of tastes. Some a priori assumptions on the quality of taste are included in the constructions, e.g. traditional fine arts versus mass produced and popularly appreciated cultural products. In the end though, the categories are rather fixed and the boundaries are rather normatively set by the researchers.

However, Peterson himself (2005, 264) notes that it is not wise to bind together the notions of breadth and brow-level, since this does not lead us to anything more than a vicious circle. This means, that **we would need another term for taste pattern that expresses only the variety (amount of different items) of taste, and whose quality we are unaware of.** Omnivore is too often at least implicitly linked with status-related issues. Omnivorousness seems to be an empirically inadequate *sine non qua*. Instead, it is possible to suggest that there are several **omnivorous strategies**, for example those of inclusive and exclusive (Lopez Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005). Other cultural items have proved to be more avoidable than others and the exclusivists appear to follow their own omnivorous 'styles' (Bryson 1996; Peterson 2005, 264). It needs to be noted, that omnivorous strategies refer to all the variants that are derived

from the omnivore thesis (univores, omnivore, paucivore etc.). As Van Eijck (2000, 211) has observed, the potential inequality regarding omnivorousness is demonstrated in the range of the leisure activities rather than the quality of them. By adhering to the views provided above this research will study the aspect of quality (highbrow) and variety (omnivorousness) independently from each other. This will lead to a less ambiguous operationalization of omnivorousness. Also, instead of a breadth of taste, we will refer to a consumer's *variety* in their taste range. Some semantic differences between the terms are acknowledged, even though in some cases breadth and variety are seen as equivalents in this study.

As Peterson (1983) suggested and as Van Eijck (2000) confirms it is necessary to take several dimensions, as well as patterns into consideration in order to discover the essence of cultural consumption. As if this was not a challenge on its own, there is also a need to focus on the actual items included in the potential patterns. Items of value are relative in terms of society, meaning that distinct items reflect distinct parts of society or distinct taste. We need to understand the embeddedness of those items in order to place them into any order or rank. In my opinion, this is one of the biggest challenges, even though excellent attempts have been made (as in Katz-Gerro's (2002) variables and Peterson and Simkus'(1992) ranking order). Multiple aspects must be taken into consideration in order to produce a comprehensive overview of cultural consumption.

This study will concentrate on cultural consumption according to the dimensions that have been discussed above. Attributes that become vital in defining the patterns are the value of the consumption object (highbrow, middle-brow, lowbrow), the number of likes, preferences and objects there are in the cultural repertoire of a consumer and the frequency or intensity with which the items are consumed (Peterson 2005, 262–264). We need to acknowledge, that within the three dimensions of quality, intensity and variety, there are several cultural consumption patterns and some elements of these patterns overlap each other (as shown in Figure 2). In addition, the patterns only partially represent the essence of the dimensions (e.g. by analysing only highbrows within the quality-dimension the characteristics of the other browship patterns, lowbrow and middle-brow are not highlighted). The consumption patterns that are empirically isolated are a form of stereotype or a caricature of the features that are most emphasized in the conceptualization of the dimension represented. Also, in real life we often deal with cultural consumption patterns that are not unambiguous in terms of their dimension. Hence, it is very likely that consumers could also be categorized as highbrow univore, heavy-user omnivore etc. However, in this study, the

patterns that are chosen to represent the dimensions highlight those qualities that mostly characterize the mechanisms associated with these dimensions.

3.4 Structures or choice?

This chapter will serve as a summary of the literature review by reviewing the most important features of cultural consumption in terms of carrying out the empirical analysis. The end of the chapter lays the ground for the implementation of the empirical analyses. What national characteristics of cultural consumption were found to be of interest by previous theorists? By scrutinizing the results of these studies it is possible to form a view of the prevailing cultural boundaries and their whereabouts in today's Europe, and in some other parts of the Western world, too. This will further clarify the factors that need to be emphasized in the empirical part of this work. This chapter, together with the statistics on cultural patterns in the EU (provided in Chapter 4.5), will help in positioning the present study in the European context.

The fields of leisure and cultural consumption have become polycentric in terms of cultural hierarchies. It is no longer possible to reduce social reality to one ruling hierarchy that dictates the structures of consumption. Instead possibilities are opened up by the introduction of many kinds of global 'cultural flows' that sit alongside national, public cultural monopolies. Steering clear of the unstable, open field of leisure has become more challenging and "reading" the field requires resources of all kinds.

The realm of cultural consumption is formed from several latent attributes each contributing to the fulfilment of a life-goal of their user. Consumption in general (and cultural consumption as one segment of it) can be seen as a path chosen by consumers via complex mechanisms in order to attain a desired life goal.

It must be noted that many of the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics can be defined as being both individually driven or structural elements. Age is as much a personal quality as it is tied to structural facts. Age can, for example, engender the process of musical preference (at some point in time certain genres or musical styles are mostly perceived as being youth music) and studies have found that musical preferences that are acquired during one's youth last over an individual's life time (Holbrook – Schindler 1994.). On the other hand age is a factor that affects individual access to certain resources; it is held that cultural competence, universal knowledge and even cultural capital is accumulated over time and cultural frameworks become more tolerated or at least more understood by people who have been exposed to a variety of experiences. (Erickson 1996.)

Research conducted in and analysed based on distinct societies provides us with views that can be utilized when information on national distinction is needed and a comparative research setting is designed. For example, Pierre Bourdieu vividly describes 1960's French society's finely-tuned cultural tastes in his *Distinction* (1984), as does Herbert Gans (1999) for the US, where he claims taste publics are less atomized and coarser than in France. Michèle Lamont (1992) elaborately points out the difference in the hierarchies of taste-related items and values placed on certain cultural practices that seem to be a world apart from each other in the case of French and US upper-middle class males. The Nordic region is brought into the discussion by Bihagen and Katz-Gerro's research (2000) on Swedish cultural boundaries that are drawn between the activities that are considered to be highbrow and lowbrow there. It is notable that most of these studies do not make comparative efforts cross-nationally, but instead focus on describing cultural consumption in one country. What is common to all the studies above is that they carry some implicit or even explicit message on what kinds of hierarchies of taste exist in these societies which have to a great extent converged during the era of mass media and information intensity. (For a more detailed list on those countries in which research on cultural consumption has been carried out see Appendix 2.)

As social origin plays a less important role and opportunities to choose one's educational objectives have been widened, people are also freer to choose from the available lifestyles (Van Rees et al. 1999, 353). The dissociation of cultural consumption, especially from the class structures found in several countries, seems to confirm this line of thought. The view holding tolerance and plurality as main the determinants of contemporary society also emphasizes choice and the role of individual preference. This is especially reflected in the ideology of omnivorousness. Van Eijck (2000, 208) proposes that rigid symbolic boundaries are fading away due to a weakening of the importance placed on the social connotations associated with cultural tastes. In turn, people feel freer to satisfy their "natural need for variety", which is sought in various forms of divergent lifestyles.

The studies summarized in Table 3 provide us with some key elements that are to be seen as focal when considering the course this study takes. The studies are ordered chronolgically in the table, and they represent only a fraction of the research that influenced the shaping of this research design. The results of the previous studies can be roughly condensed into a few main points. Firstly, the core elements in predicting the shape of an individual's cultural taste seem to be based on either class or education. Even though there have been arguments about the increasing role of choice in taste formation, class and education continue to produce visible boundaries across groups of people. Secondly, two particular taste patterns compete in literature: highbrow

and omnivorousness. Some studies have documented a decline in the former in favour of the latter. Still, in several studies the pattern of highbrow consumption repeatedly emerges. In the studies that find highbrow patterning, structural elements tend to play a similar role to that which they did in the past. In addition, the findings on omnivorousness report similar characterizations. Status or class, as well as gender and family status are factors that shape the taste of those individuals whose cultural consumption range is broad. The amount of different choices available and people's tolerance for them may have increased, but has probably not penetrated all cultural realms and the economy deeply.

Table 3. Summary of the key findings of the selected research on cultural consumption

Author(s)	IV	DV	Hypothesis/ question	Society	Findings
Gans ([1974]1999)	(Education, income, class, ethnicity, age, place of residence)	("Taste cultures" in total 5 distinctive, higher and popular (lower) taste cultures, that differ from each other aesthetically)	High culture and popular culture equal reflections of aesthetic values Suggestion: socially desirable taste cultures respond to the aesthetic demands of their consumers and the needs of their creators.	US	Taste cultures and publics are mainly determined by class and education
DiMaggio – Useem (1978) Note. Article utilizes results of 230 previous studies as its empirical material	(Social class, education, occupation)	(High, regular and popular arts)	4 proposals hypothesis: arts appreciation i) is trained ii) is contextual iii) enhances class cohesion iv) is a form of cultural capital	US	Participants in high arts and popular arts vary significantly according to social class. Education most central determinant.
Bourdieu (1979/1984)	Class fraction, gender, age, education, social origin	Tastes in several dimensions of life	"Unity of tastes of socio-occupational groups" (p. 506)	France (Parisians and provincials)	Power constructed by distinct capitals used in various fields
Lamont (1992)	(Social class = upper-middle, gender = male), place of residence, country	Cultural elements signalling status	Which symbolic (moral, socio-economical or cultural) boundaries are salient in status distinction?	US and France (provincial town and a big city in both)	In both countries moral boundaries equally important, in US socio-economic boundary and in France cultural boundary more salient
Peterson – Kern (1996)	Gender, age, family income, marital status, ethnicity, education, size of community	Liking of music genres, highbrow vs. others	Shift from elitist snob to omnivorous appreciation	US	Increasing omnivorousness among highbrows of all ages
Erickson (1996)	(Private sector security industry), own and parental education & class, own previous career, race, gender, network variety	Cultural resources i.e. familiarity with various genres	Which resources are vital when seeking to better one's class position in the workplace?	Canada	Most powerful resource is contact network in various class segments plus cultural variety.
Katz-Gerro – Shavit (1998)	Occupational class, gender, education, religion, ethnicity, age, parental highbrow attendance, standard of living	32 lifestyle indicators: leisure activities, musical and literature preference.	What are the patterns and magnitude of the association between classes and lifestyles in the social class structure of Israel?	Israel (Jews, residential, 18 years and over)	3 lifestyle clusters: highbrow, lowbrow and religious. Service class involved in the highbrow.
Bihagen – Katz-Gerro (2000)	Occupational class, education, age, urban status, marital status, sex, country of upbringing, cultural production sector, income	Leisure habits, television viewing	Significant gender differences in high/lowbrow culture? Are those differences stable across different sub-categories?	Sweden (18–80 yrs)	Gender differences are stable in cultural consumption independent of other socio-economic factors.

(cont.)

Author(s)	IV	DV	Hypothesis/ question	Society	Findings
Kraaykamp – Nieuwbeerta (2000)	Education, occupational prestige, former affiliation to the Communist party (own and parental), income, parental cultural resources	High-culture participation, reading, ownership of consumer durables, size of dwelling	Parental effect on children's lifestyle	Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia (25–70 yrs)	For children's high-culture participation, parental cultural resources are highly relevant.
Van Eijck (2001)	Gender, education, occupational status, playing an instrument, affinity with highbrow culture	Musical genre preferences	How are the number and type of appreciated genres and genre patterns associated with occupational status?	The Netherlands (aged 25 years and over)	Musical genres are structured into highbrow, pop and folk patterns. Omnivores or the new middle class consume all the patterns.
Katz-Gerro (2002)	Social class, religion, age, education, gender, family income, urban status	Leisure activities and tastes, music preferences, reading	How relationship between economic and cultural hierarchy is affected by other structural determinants independently and in association with class?	West Germany, US, Italy, Sweden and Israel	Older, urban, the more educated, women, the more affluent are more highbrow everywhere. Class effects vary across countries
López Sintas – García Álvarez (2002a)	Social class, education, marital and parental status, age, urban status	Cultural activities during last year	Classification of cultural consumers according to their behaviour? Any association between clusters of lifestyles and social stratification?	Spain (over 18 yrs)	Four distinct classes of cultural lifestyle: no activity, popular, highbrow, omnivore.
DiMaggio – Mukhtar (2004)	Age, gender, education	Participation in cultural events	Has high culture become less central to cultural capital from 1982–2002? What constitutes the change?	US (over 18 years)	Consumption of some elite forms declined some increased, general decline of live culture consumption.
López Sintas – García Álvarez (2004)	Socio-economic status (social capital), education (cultural capital), income (economic capital)	Attendance at performing arts events	How taste patterns relate to a consumer's social position? Which patterns prevail in Spain?	Spain	Four patterns of arts attendance: sporadic, popular, snob, omnivorous; two axes of lifestyles in the culture: traditional vs. popular and fine arts vs. folk.
Sullivan – Katz-Gerro (2007)	Education (human capital), occupation (economic capital) and newspaper type (cultural capital), gender, family structure	Voraciousness: range and frequency of different out-of-home leisure activities	Who are the voracious and how do they relate to the omnivores? Which social bases characterize the voracious?	UK	Voraciousness associates with high educational status, high job status and high cultural capital
Chan – Goldthorpe (2007a)	Status, education (information-processing capacity), gender, own class, father's status, friends' status	Readership of a newspaper (4 categories; represent high, middle and low levels of cultural taste + regional)	Exploring the social bases of cultural consumption via newspaper reading and its association with the proposed status order.	UK (aged 20 to 64)	Own status and those of significant others (even when education controlled for) are strong predictors of newspaper readership type.

Based on the literature review the aim of the study is further broadened to ask the following:

How has the increased level of affluence and education shaped the patterns of cultural consumption of today? And, what are the cultural consumption patterns along which the determinant boundaries are drawn in the eclectically structured societies of the Europe of today? Previous studies have shown some convergence of tastes between social groups, and some of these effects are seen to be derived from economic and educational democratization. The middle-classification of society has produced a vast layer of people, who share their level of affluence and possibilities. In addition, people are, in general, more educated and information-exposed in current societies, which on one hand broadens the opportunities for many, but on the other hand, creates another source of distinction and a coping mechanism based on the increased demand for information processing capacities in everyday life situations.

That is to say, that the topmost layer of cultural consumers, traditionally considered highbrows and later on omnivorous, has usually been formed by the most advantaged and their consumption preferences have been the base of distinction, and object of emulation. The "old" boundary expects homology between an individual's status and that of the cultural goods consumed. In other words, they are assumed to share their level of quality within the hierarchical social and commodity systems. Perhaps it is the broadened variety of cultural and leisure pastime objects available to a greater mass of people that has lead to a situation where traditional elites have now a greater propensity than before to more openly prefer all kinds of cultural forms and the "new" boundary has been settled between the tolerant and all-including upper status groups and the lower status groups who are more limited in their taste variation (cf. Peterson – Simkus 1992; Peterson 1997b). This phenomenon is said to have become a new kind of marker for high status in the class hierarchy, as omnivorousness (the preference for a variety of cultural forms) provides a person with or is related to an advantageous social context (Peterson 1997b).

Based on the views presented above, it assumed that there is not only one cultural hierarchy or display of tastes that engenders inequality. Instead, some cultural taste patterns can help distinguish some forms of inequality whereas others unite across the social segments. (Erickson 1996, 224). That is why it is important to look at more than one constellation of cultural taste patterns.

The overall conclusion from the studies referred to above leads to the expectation that those with higher educational credentials are more prone to the consumption of higher cultural forms. Secondly, that they consume with a

greater intensity and variety. It is also expected that older cohorts are more likely to engage in highbrow consumption whereas the younger generation are expected to sample a wider cultural menu. It now seems that the younger cohorts are more omnivorous within the upper classes, and that the increase in age correlates positively with highbrow likes. According to previous studies, we can expect higher education to be associated with highbrow tastes for older cohorts, whereas for younger cohorts highbrow consumption has been less differentiated by levels of education. (e.g. DiMaggio – Mohr 1985; Van Eijck 2000; Van Eijck – Knulst 2005; Van Eijck – Bargeman 2004.)

In addition, higher status individuals in contemporary societies originate to a greater extent from a lower status background than they did before. This so called upward social mobility might provide an explanation as to why a class-reproduction view can not be substantiated. Today, people with higher status apply their "home tastes" which they have acquired through parental socialization and depending on their origins these tastes may reflect more popular forms of culture. Second, in order to relieve the "status anxiety" caused by their newly acquired position in the status hierarchy they also consume taste forms considered more desirable for people with a higher status (Warde et al. 1999). This would lead to a broader combination of tastes, which in turn causes the blurring of boundaries between high and low. (Van Eijck 2001; Coulangeon – Lemel 2007.)

In conclusion it can be said that personal preferences on one hand and the prevailing (and sometimes seemingly unshaken) structures of society together form a framework that is intertwined in very elaborate and complex way. The direction of the causal mechanisms that exist in this framework may be difficult to detect, even if there was only one direction. The structures collapse occasionally causing a breach for new kinds of mechanisms to emerge into. New consumption patterns can be formed, but the most prestigious and appreciated form of culture in the eyes of society today may be banal by tomorrow, only to be rediscovered as a new distinctive tool in the future.

4 EMPIRICAL STUDY: DATA AND METHODS

4.1 Empirical research design

The existing studies that apply empirical research designs operationalize the same concepts in varying ways. High culture, omnivorousness and other relevant concepts are referred to, but the subjects of the studies differ to a great extent. As already mentioned in the first chapter the purpose of this study is to develop a multifaceted view on cultural consumption and its mechanisms in the European Union. The mechanisms associated with cultural consumption were already discussed above. This section contributes to the first aim of the study, which is to isolate the social context of the cultural consumption field. The second aim concerns the implementation of the empirical research. The purpose of the empirical analyses is to explore the strength of the social mechanisms suggested in the specific cross-national context of the EU. Furthermore, in order to interpret and explain the studied mechanisms this study also provides a picture of cultural consumption patterns in the contemporary European Union. As a result, comparative notions will be presented regarding the consumption of distinct domains and cross-national contexts and the importance of the suggested mechanisms found in the analyses will be further discussed.

The empirical purpose of this study is to identify dimensions of contemporary cultural consumption that are based on several cultural domains. This purpose can be broken down into further questions describing the consumption of the cultural items. "*In which ways do Europeans differ from and coincide with each other in their cultural consumption?*", "*What kind of cultural consumption patterns exist among the residents in the 15 EU nations of 2001?*" and "*Are there any differences in the amount and structure of cultural consumption among the consumers in the EU?"* are the questions that are answered in Chapters 6 and 7. The mechanisms that underlie cultural consumption are examined by taking into consideration the associations between consumption patterns and socio-economic background variables in Chapter 7.

The strength of the present research design is two-fold. Firstly, this study addresses several cultural domains by examining them individually, as well as

in the form of constructed patterns that merge the domains. Studies that take *several* cultural domains into account in one study are few in number. (For an exception, see Katz-Gerro and Shavit's (1998) cross-domain approach, as well as their inclusion of more than 30 cultural items. Some studies though address cultural goods from more than one domain, normally two, but the number of cultural items is rarely very large, see e.g. Chan – Goldthorpe 2005.) Some comprehensive books try to merge many aspects (see for example Bennett et al. 1999), but seldom have they presented comparative results. In this study various domains are approached and looked at through a single framework.

Secondly, the present study makes cross-national comparisons across these cultural domains. While most studies on cultural consumption focus on a single society (for exceptions see Katz-Gerro 2002; 2006; Coulangeon – Roharik 2005) in this study the purpose is to analyze and draw conclusions about several countries. The measures in the field of cultural consumption are rather difficult to apply cross-nationally due to the nature of the phenomenon itself and its close cohesion with the structures, hierarchies and power relations of the society in question. The measures have also been only slightly commensurate with each other (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007, 125.) Since the values and tastes we place upon certain objects, especially in the field on cultural products, vary greatly according to the meaning systems of a society they can not be considered universal and thus comparable, at least not very easily. (Gans 1999, 91.) Previously the lack of data has presented an obstacle to comparative research on the subject area. A very good example is presented in Katz-Gerro's article (2002), where five nations are compared in relation to their cultural consumption and cultural boundaries. The drawback of the data, is that it comprises varying sets of objects, with each country having different methods of measurement. It is difficult to draw conclusions based on several data, which are not very commensurate. Fortunately, this study does not suffer from the disadvantage of incomparable data.

The empirical part of this study consists of two larger parts. In the first part, the cultural consumption of the sample, residents of the European Union in 2001 is portrayed by providing general trends from across the different countries. Moreover, the structure and characteristics of the cultural consumption variables are brought out and presented. Cultural consumption is then studied both at the item-level and at the cultural domain-level. Socio-demographic characteristics that are considered central based on the literature review and discussion stemming from it will be contrasted with cultural consumption variables. The first part will already provide some tentative conclusions regarding cultural consumption patterns both at national and cross-country level in the EU.

The second larger empirical part addresses, more specifically and thoroughly, the cultural consumption patterns that are constructed in dialogue with the previous literature's suggestions and findings based on the first empirical section in this study. The aim in this part is to find the social, economic and situational factors that are associated with the stratification of cultural consumption patterns. A special effort is made to highlight country-specific or country-related issues in the empirical analyses and findings in both parts.

The techniques used in this study are examinations of frequency and contingency tables for descriptive purposes. In addition, the analysis of variance and also logistic regression analysis are used in order to distinguish significant factors associated with the given cultural consumption pattern in question. More detailed descriptions of the methods applied, as well as a discussion of their validity and fitness to provide answers to the questions of this study are provided in subsequent chapters. All the empirical analyses performed in this study were carried out by utilizing a statistical program SPSS, version 14.0.

4.2 Data, sample and variables

Cultural preferences were examined by utilizing a quantitative data set on communication technologies, financial services, and cultural activities collected by the European Commission (Eurobarometer 56.0 data; Christensen 2001. The questionnaire can be found on the GESIS website[14]). The cross-sectional survey data represents the 15 EU countries of 2001[15] covering the population aged 15 years and over, resident in all of the then (2001) EU member countries (exclusive of people residing in the Aland islands, a semi-autonomous province of Finland). The unit of analysis in the data is individual. The total number of interviews (i.e. respondents) in the data is 16200. The respondents were interviewed on their cultural participation, media use, as well as cultural and artistic tastes. The survey was carried out in a multi-stage stratified random sample or quota sample and it is thus representative of 15 years and older residents of the target nations. The national samples consist approximately of 1,000 cases, except for

[14] GESIS – German Social Science Infrastructure Services: <http://www.za.uni-koeln.de/data/en/eurobarometer/questionnaires/s3625bqe.pdf> Previous research using this data has been carried out for example by Coulangeon and Roharik (2005), Räsänen (2006a) and Toivonen (2006).

[15] The countries in the scope of the empirical analysis are referred here as the 'EU15-countries', 'EU 15 member countries', and the individuals in the data are referred as 'respondents', 'Europeans' or 'citizens of the EU 15 member countries'. All references in the course of reporting the results refers to European Union residents in 2001 even though ambiguous terms, such as 'Europeans' are used.

Luxembourg (600 cases). In the Federal Republic of Germany two separate samples were utilized for East Germany and West Germany (ca. 1000 cases in both samples). Also, there is a separate sample for Northern Ireland (300 cases) in the data, but in the analyses respondents from Northern Ireland are pooled together with the sample representing the UK. A similar pooling treatment was carried out for the German sub-samples.[16]

Since the data in question is secondary, i.e. not developed and constructed for the purpose of answering the particular research questions that are investigated in the course of *this* research project, there are some limitations regarding the scope and precision of the questions included in the survey. The variables in the data are to some extent coarse, that is to say that more specific categories or even sub-categories would have better suited this study's aims. In addition, the scope of the issues dealt in the survey was to some extent not broad enough. This refers to the fact, that in order to cover the whole spectrum of cultural likes and activities, less common and less thought-of domains would have had to be included. However, as has been noted before (Peterson 2005), social reality can never be portrayed as colourfully and as nuanced as possible when it is measured and reduced to numbers. In addition, some of the socio-demographic variables in the data do not provide sufficient information. (For example, in order to assess family socialization, data on parental socio-economic status would be required. Unfortunately, such information is not available.) However, most of the potential obstacles produced by the lack of information have been taken into account, and the solutions and choices considering variables (and their transformations) are discussed whenever questions arise. Having said all that, the data provides an excellent means to find out what kind of cultural consumption patterns and cultural consumers there were in the EU after the turn of the millennium.

[16] If the sub-samples of Northern Ireland and Great Britain as well as the two German (West and East) samples had been analyzed individually, some of the results may be different, especially for the UK. For example, in terms of cinema attendance rate there are no differences between the sub-samples of Northern Ireland and Great Britain nor between the West and East German samples. When it comes to preference for classical music, the UK sub-samples are clearly different; in Great Britain classical musical is far more preferred than it is in Northern Ireland. In the case of Germany no deviation occurs when classical music is considered. The preference for popular music is at the same level in both German samples and those of the UK. When it comes to photography, the German samples are similar to each other, whereas in Northern Ireland this artistic activity is considerably less frequent than in the Great Britain. These examples show, that there can be many national cleavages within a country that are characterized by ethnic, linguistic, regional or political-historical differences. Some studies do take into account these cleavages in terms of cultural consumption (for the cultural consumption of ethnic minorities see e.g. Heikkilä – Kahma 2007; Vander Stichele – Laermans 2006). In terms of consistency, however, this study addresses and analyses all the EU member countries as national states.

4.2.1 Dependent variables: Cultural consumption items and cultural domains

In this study, a cultural item refers to all kinds of cultural tastes, be it cultural consumption goods, cultural preferences or cultural activities engaged in. Hence, cultural item is used as a neutral definition for any single form of material or immaterial product of aesthetic culture that can be consumed (in a very broad sense), and that includes for example art museums, theatre plays, music genres and sculpting.

The essence of cultural engagement differs from domain to domain. Since attending cultural events ('cultural participation') differs to some extent from reading, watching and listening activities, we examine these activities separately. It is arguable that different social mechanisms are involved in cultural practices in which the consumer usually goes outside the home than in those which, on the whole, seem deceptively passive and take place at home, such as browsing through the Internet or reading books. The level of activity is sometimes referred to in studies where participatory (public) and private cultural engagements are examined. Even though rather often cultural participation is credited as active consumption, it can be argued that the forms of consumption that compel participation (going to concerts, museums or the theatre) are in fact more passive (follow-the-mass types of event) than the consumption which demands an individual's personal creativity and effort in order to be consumed (reading, searching for information, buying books).

Cultural consumption is measured by several kinds of variables at the level of cultural items. The frequencies of the items are shown in Table 4 under the cultural domain in which they are categorized. All the items are mutually inclusive i.e. a respondent can choose any of the items regardless of the items chosen simultaneously.

The first cultural domain is **cultural participation**. It consists of a set of variables that ask the respondents which cultural activities they attended during the last 12 months. Items within this domain are those, which are typically considered to be cultural participation items and often included in previous studies on taste and cultural consumption. The second domain is **artistic activities**, which measures respondents' artistic activity i.e. to which extent consumers in fact take part in producing art. Next, a more recent approach to cultural consumption is provided by assessing information on new media technologies in the process of consumption. This kind of consumption, **Internet usage for cultural consumption purposes,** is measured with reference to those activities that occur on the Internet, and which have a cultural air to them. It may be argued, that these new forms have created new potential for the traditional fields of consumption. On the other hand, critics

see new media technology as only enforcing the existing gap between those who are culturally advantaged and those who are not. (See e.g. Räsänen 2005; Virtanen 2005b; Poetics special issue, 2006.) The fourth domain also emphasizes the role of the media, which serves as a grounding or intermediate for cultural consumption. The domain of **TV and radio preferences** measures respondents' preference (i.e. like) for different kinds of TV and radio programmes. The last two domains cover the realm of music as both preferences and a form of actualized music taste are measured. The fifth domain thus measures respondents' **music genre preferences, while** the sixth domain on the other hand, measures **concert type preferences,** by taking into account the concerts the respondent had attended within the last 12 months. Within these domains a total of 57 cultural consumption items are studied.

There is yet another form of cultural consumption in this study: **leisure book-reading**, which was not included under any domain for two somewhat differing reasons: firstly, because reading is in essence particular in comparison to other items and secondly, because the variable was measured in a way which did not allow a straightforward juxtaposition with other cultural variables. Stokmans (1999) presents a two-fold definition of reading, an activity she sees as a form of cultural participation. The concept of reading consists of a person's reading frequency and what they read. Here, reading is viewed as a practice of consumption, as a form of leisure past-time and as a resource that might reflect cultural competence and be an indicator, for example, of cultural capital. In this sense genres of literature are discarded since the data does not allow the pinpointing of the specific types of literature people have read or have a preference for. Reading is measured first by a simple binary variable indicating whether the respondent reads during his leisure (at least one book read for leisure during the last 12 months). In addition, the volume of reading is measured by the annual number of books read (for leisure).

Table 4. Cultural domains and cultural items (in descending order of consumption/preference rate, %, within each domain), EU (n = 16 200)

CULTURAL PARTICIPATION	TV AND RADIO PREFERENCES
Cinema (55.5) Historical monuments, churches, gardens (46.0) Library (35.9) Concert (33.4) Museums and galleries in own country (33.3) Theatre (30.3) Museums or galleries abroad (19.8) Archaeological interests (16.4) Ballet (12.7)	Watch TV news (90.5) Listen to Music program (86.6) Watch TV Films/movies (80.6) Watch TV Documentaries (63.4) Watch TV Soaps/Series (45.7) Watch TV Music programs (43.7) Watch Other TV entertainment (cooking etc) (43.1) Watch TV Talk shows (40.5) Listen to Documentaries, plays, cultural affairs (9.3) Listen to Entertainment (9.3)

ARTISTIC ACTIVITIES	CULTURAL INTERNET USAGE
Photographing or filming (31.7) Dancing (22.1) Singing (20.6) Writing (16.2) Other (sculpture, painting, drawing, designing) (16.0) Playing an instrument (13.1) Acting (4.7)	Reading articles on newspaper sites (10.4) Listening to radio via the Internet (5.5) Buying books on the Internet (3.7) Buying CD's on the Internet (3.4) Visiting website of a museum (2.3) Watching TV on the Internet (1.5)

TYPE OF MUSIC LISTENED TO	TYPE OF CONCERT ATTENDED
Rock, pop (53.0) Easy listening (36.2) Folk, traditional (34.7) Classical (30.1) Dance, house (20.7) World music (20.4) Jazz, blues (18.7) Techno (10.6) Hard rock, heavy metal (10.5) Opera, operetta (12.1) Other type (9.8) Rap (9.4)	Rock, pop (48.9) Classical (24.8) Folk, traditional (16.5) Opera, operetta (11.3) Jazz, blues (10.9) Easy listening (8.3) Hard rock, heavy metal (6.8) World music (6.7) Other type (6.6) Dance, house (5.3) Techno (2.8) Rap (2.6)

LEISURE READING
Reads books for leisure (and not for work or studies) (46.2)

4.2.2 Independent variables

Few factors stand out as being amongst the most valid and fitting ways of understanding the taste formation process and the reasons for cultural

consumption. Those referred to relatively often in the research on the field are resources stemming from education (see e.g. Bourdieu 1984, 114, 186; Peterson – Simkus 1992; Van Eijck 2000; Honkanen – Mustonen 2005, 7–8;) and social standing (DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Katz-Gerro 2002; López-Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005).

There is much evidence of the effect of socio-economic factors on cultural consumption patterns, yet explanations and an emphasis on which factors are most crucial have been not very stable or congruent. Some theorists emphasise gender's significant role in highbrow and omnivorous consumption, especially with regard to women. (E.g. Katz-Gerro 1999; López Sintas – García Álvarez 2004.) Others underline the importance of age showing its effects to be vital in the taste formation process (e.g. Van Eijck – Knulst 2005).

The Eurobarometer survey data is measured at the individual level. All background variables, except the one measuring income, reflect an individual's charcteristics; income is a measured as the harmonized income of the respondent's household. The following eight (8) socio-economic and demographic measures are used as explanatory, independent variables in the analyses of this study: a) Education, b) Gender, c) Age, d) Socio-economic status, e) Income, f) Marital status, g) Place of residence, and h) Country. All the aforementioned have gained some support in the various assumptions and explanations given to cultural preferences.

The descriptive statistics of independent variables are presented in Table 5 below. All the variables are categorical (nominal with the exception of income, age and education which can be treated as ordinal). Age and length of education are applied in the analyses as categorical (ordinal) measurements, but in Table 5 means and standard deviations are provided for both of these originally continuous variables.

Table 5. Descriptive statistics of the independent variables

Variable/ Categories	%	*Variable*/ Categories	%	*Variable*/ Categories	%	*Variable*/ Categories	%
(Length of) education		*Occupation*		*Age in years*		*Income quartile*	
Still studying	10.5	Managerial	10.7	15–25	18.4	Highest (IV)	17.8
19 or more years	7.6	Entrepreneur	8.0	26–35	18.6	2nd highest (III)	17.0
13–18 years	25.1	Non-manual	17.5	36–45	17.9	2nd lowest (II)	16.7
10–12 years	31.5	Manual	14.4	46–55	16.0	Lowest (I)	15.3
0–9 years	25.3	Homemaker	11.9	56–65	13.5	Don't know	33.2
(Mean 11.9; std 4.7)		Student	10.5	66 and older	15.5		
		Unemployed/retired	27.0	(Mean 44.3; std 18.0)			
Place of residence		*Gender*		*Marital status*			
Large city	29.3	Male	47.6	Married/cohabiting	59.2		
Middle sized/ small town	37.3	Female	52.4	Single	40.8		
Rural	32.4						

Education has proven to be one of the most central variables affecting the patterns of cultural consumption. This indicator has proven to be valid and reliable in previous studies, as educational credentials are regarded as a reflection of the amount of cultural capital one possesses (e.g. Bourdieu 1984). Education is not as unambiguous a variable as age and gender, since it is very relational and various practices prevail between countries. The amount of years spent in education has been much used in empirical studies (Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998, 375; Peterson – Simkus 1992) and it has its advantages, even though its terms must be discussed in detail.

In the data, the variable measuring a respondent's educational credentials is the age at which full-time education is completed. The measurement is rather coarse, but quite valid both with respect to differing schooling systems across Europe. In order to better suit the purposes of this research the variable was transformed into the length of education. The varying school entry age (from 4 years to 7 years) across the EU was taken into consideration (see Appendix Table 1 for specifications for the coding of the education variable in each country).

The variable was further processed into five educational categories based on the length of one's education measured in years. The category that measures being a student appears twice in the data (in variables measuring education and socio-economic status). This is why, in some of the analyses, the category of students is omitted from the variable measuring education.[17] The remaining categories correspond somewhat with the education systems even though they vary to some degree between the countries: the first category (0 to 9 years) indicates that the respondent has either no degree or he has completed comprehensive school, the second category (10 to 12 years) refers to a certificate gained from secondary education level and the third category (13 to 18 years) refers to a degree from tertiary education. The fourth category (19+ years) refers either to extended university (or other) studies and either having or pursuing a post graduate study degree, or several degrees or occupations.

Over 25 percent of the respondents have the lowest educational qualifications, while at the opposite end of the spectrum less than 8 percent

[17] In the data, the respondents who have catergorised themselves as students at the time of the survey are coded twice in the data; they form the category "still studying" in the variable measuring education, and they are "students" in the variable measuring SES. In the analyses where both education and SES are included in the model the category of student is omitted from the education variable. Due to the nature of the data, the category of students cannot be recoded as missing in the case of the education variable because the exact same group of respondents forms a category within another variable as well. The recoding would cause the students to also disappear from the variable measuring SES in the models where SES and education are included simultaneously.

have an education that exceeds 18 years. 10 percent of the respondents are still studying. Due to the current progressive trend of the increasing level of education the more recent age cohorts are estimated as being a little more educated than their predecessors, which might yield a slightly better educated cohort (than the average in the data) when the current group of students graduate.

Gender is rather equally distributed in the data. As is rather usual in surveys, the proportion of females slightly outnumbers that of males (52% females, 48% males).

Age is utilized as a categorical variable in the analyses, but data provides information on the respondent's exact age in years. The ages of the respondents' ranged from 15 to as high as 86, the mean being 44.3. Age is categorized into six classes: 15 to 25 years, 26 to 35 years, 36 to 45 years, 46 to 55, 56 to 65 years, and 66 years and older.

In the analysis, a respondent's current occupation is used as a measure of **socio-economic status** (SES). Here, the terms class and socio-economic status are used as equivalents in spite of opposition to that classification in some previous studies. As most of the studies derive an individual's class or status from their position in the labour market no effort in trying to tell the difference between the two is made here. In order to increase the fit and validity of the SES variable, as well as make the variable more concise and comparable with previous research some of the original variable's 18 categories were merged (see Appendix Table 2 for details). In the construction of new categories previous classification schemas were applied with some alterations (for further information on the Erikson,Goldthorpe and Portocarero [Erikson et al. 1982] (EGP) class schema and the modifications applied in cultural taste research see e.g. López-Sintas – García-Álvarez 2002 and Chan and Goldthorpe 2004). In addition to the categories used in the above class schemas, groups with no active labour market participation (categories 5 to 7) were taken into account. As a result, the following seven SES categories are used as independent variables: 1) Managerial position in the labour market, 2) Entrepreneur, 3) Employed non-manual workers, 4) Employed manual workers, 5) Homemaker, 6) Student and 7) Retired or unemployed.

The category of retired and unemployed forms the vast majority of the respondents (27 %). This category also has the highest average age: 60.5 years. The second oldest category is homemakers followed by entrepreneurs and managerial occupations (the mean being 49.5 years, 43.6 years and 41.4 years respectively). Non-manual workers form the largest body (17.5%) of the labour force in the data and are also the youngest labour force category alongside the manual workers (14.4%) both averaging 37.7 years. Students naturally form a category that is young. The mean age for students was 20.1

years. The economically inactive i.e. the students, homemakers, unemployed and retired form a very heterogeneous group. They are remarkably different in terms of life-stages and age and thus they are examined in sub-groups rather than in a pooled category based on labour market inactivity.

Income is measured as the harmonized income quartiles of a household. Variable measuring income is problematic in this data because a considerable amount of respondents, 33 percent, did not report or were not able to report their income.

Respondents were invited to indicate their ***marital status*** by choosing one from a list of ten alternatives. Since merging some categories does not lead to losing seminal information, the original classification has been converted into two categories. 'Married or cohabiting' also includes those who are remarried (1.4 per cent of respondents) and consists of 58.3 per cent of the respondents. The remaining 43 percent are divorced, widowed or separated, or they live alone for another reason (i.e. they are single). In total 1.4 % of the respondents either did not report their marital status or it did not fit the given categories (other, spontaneous answer).

Type of community has three categories: large city, medium/small size city and rural. The answer is based on the respondents' own estimations of the type of community in which they live. For example, 50 per cent of the Greek respondents said they lived in a large city, as did almost 40 per cent of the French, Irish and British respondents. On the other hand, only 8 per cent of the respondents in Luxembourg said they lived in a large city. Countries where most people identified themselves as living in rural areas were Luxembourg (51 %), Austria (49 %), Belgium (41 %) and Spain (40 %), even though not all these countries are among the least densely-populated in the EU. The countries where living in a small or medium sized town is most typical are Sweden (51 %), Italy (49 %), Finland (47 %) and Denmark (43 %). In Germany, the Netherlands and the UK living in a medium sized city was given as the most typical type of residential community.

Country of residence is used as the main independent variable. The data was collected from all the then fifteen EU member countries in 2001. The countries are abbreviated in the following sections' tables and figures, when necessary, according to official guidelines: Belgium (BE) Denmark (DK), Germany (DE), Greece (EL), Italy (IT), Spain (ES), France (FR), Ireland (IE), Luxembourg (LU), the Netherlands (NL), Portugal (PT), the United Kingdom[18] (UK), Finland (FI), Sweden (SE) and Austria (AT) (Europe

[18] The United Kingdom (UK) comprises Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) and Northern Ireland.

Publication Office 2007). Country-related issues are presented in more detail in section 4.5.

4.2.3 Description of the respondents' socio-economic characteristics

The examination of the created occupational categories reveals some central differences between the groups. Naturally students tend to be rather young and retired persons older. In some societies, for example being a homemaker is more common than in others. The large share of homemakers in the data (over 11%) was the reason for classifying them in a separate category to the other economically inactive groups. We can make suggestions about the shared status of partners in a family where there is only one breadwinner (cf. Veblen's vicarious leisure class). In most of the cases the homemaker is a woman (housewife). What is particular about having reported oneself as a homemaker is the tendency of some retirement-aged women to choose "homemaking" instead of the alternative "retired".[19] A substantial proportion of women aged 65 or more are homemakers (24 %), even though the option of retired is also available (72 %). Among women aged 55 to 64 the number of retired (or unemployed through illness) is equal to those declaring themselves as homemakers. Male homemakers are rare in all age brackets.

Income varies greatly according to one's occupation. Most of the respondents in the managerial group have a yearly income that reaches the highest (harmonized) quartile. Members of other groups have a tendency to not know or not state their income. Half of the students, 45% of the entrepreneurs and 41% of the homemakers reported 'don't know' when asked about their income. Other groups (non-manual, manual workers and retired) reported income in the same way; almost 30% in each category, whereas in the managerial group, as much as 23 % were not aware of or were unable to state their income level. The amount of missing information is problematically large, and thus income cannot be used in the further analyses without caution. If we ignore the uncertain reports on income, we can conclude that entrepreneurs most likely fall into the highest (IV) income category, non-manuals or white-collar workers into two of the highest categories (III-IV) and manuals into the two middle categories (II-III).The groups with the lowest

[19] Lahire (2004, 197) solved the categorization rather elaborately: his category of homemakers consisted of homemakers under the (retirement) age of 60, and then the remaining homemakers were withdrawn and treated as retired. In Lahire's work, only female homemakers are considered separately, and the retirement age is set at the age of 60.

income are homemakers, who fall rather evenly either into the lowest or second lowest categories (I-II), students and the retired resemble each other by usually belonging in the lowest income bracket (I).

Education seems to be visibly associated with occupation. The mode category for the education of the managerial group is the second highest (13 to 18 years in school), which is typical for non-manual occupations, too. The second level education (10 to 12 years) is typical for entrepreneurs and manual workers, whereas homemakers tend to have either a first level (0 to 9 years) or secondary education. The retired, being the oldest group in the examination, also tend to have the least education (first level). The level of schooling for students cannot be assessed and so the category of 'still studying' was added and used in the analyses.

Place of residence separates some occupational groups as, for example, entrepreneurs and homemakers most often live in rural communities. Students, on the other hand are the 'most urban' in the sense that of all the occupational groups they are most likely to live in big cities (an equally large proportion of students also lived in medium sized towns and cities). A medium sized city is the most common residential place for all other occupational groups.

The central tendency regarding marital status is very clearly cut between the students, who are most often single, and the other six 'married occupational categories'. The gender-segregation of occupations is almost as clear. Managerial and entrepreneurial positions are typically held by men, as are manual jobs, whereas non-manual workers and homemakers are most typically female. The split between genders is equal in the case of students and the retired.

Besides the natural youth of the students (mean age 20.1) and old age or the retired (60.5) there are no great disparities between the mean ages of the occupational groups. Rather surprisingly homemakers tend to be the oldest on average (49.5) if the retired are excluded. The average age of the managerial group is 41.4 years, 43.6 years for entrepreneurial group, and 37.7 in both non-manual and manual worker groups.

The proportions of occupational groups tends to fluctuate across countries. If the mode category of each occupational group is selected, the occupation would be represented by following countries: The most managerial country is Denmark, whereas most entrepreneurs are found in Italy. In the Netherlands there are more non-manual workers than elsewhere in the EU, whereas the greatest share of manual workers in a population is found in the UK. In Ireland there are more homemakers than elsewhere, even though almost as many homemakers come from Greece and the Netherlands. Two countries compete for the top position when it comes to the largest share of students: Spain (9.1%) and Finland (9.0%). The number of retired is quite balanced between

the countries, but the UK has the biggest share (36 %) whereas in Ireland the number of retired is the lowest (14 %).

4.3 Methods of analysis

The techniques used in this study are analyses made by frequency and contingency tables for descriptive purposes. In addition, the analysis of variance and the logistic regression analysis are utilized in order to distinguish significant factors associated with the given cultural consumption pattern in question. The analysis will be carried out in a way that resembles Peterson's (1983) technique. Firstly, it isolates the patterns of consumption and then looks for the correlations found regarding social factors.

4.3.1 Analysis of variance (ANOVA)

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) compares the means of two or more groups to see if there are any statistically significant differences among them (Tabachnick – Fidell 2007, 37–42). In fact the procedure measures two sets of variance: the measure of differences among scores within groups and the measure of differences in the group means. If the two measures do not differ or they only differ slightly the assumption is that the differences between the compared groups are due to random error rather than actual dissimilarities in the distributions of the groups. The effect size or the strength of association in ANOVA is measured by Eta squared (Eta^2) or R-squared (R^2). Eta^2 measures the effect of a single variable in the model and R^2 measures the total effect size of all the independent variables in the model. The effect size reflects the variation in the dependent variable that is associated with the different levels of the independent variable. (ibid.) In this study only one independent variable is utilized in the ANOVA models and thus the value of the effect size coefficient would be equal. Here, Eta^2 is shown. Values for the Eta^2 measure can range from 0 to 1, and occasionally the measure is reported as percentages (Eta^2x100) for interpretative purposes. ANOVA is used to highlight differences between the countries in the descriptive analyses where the means of cultural items are presented for each cultural domain.

4.3.2 Logistic regression analysis

The dependence, direction and the significance of the background variables on cultural taste patterns are analyzed according to multinomial logistic regression. Logistic regression analysis belongs to the group of linear probability models that do not require a metric dependent variable. In the logistic regression analysis the dependent variable is most often binary, and due to the binary nature of the dependent variables (the respondent is either located in the consumption pattern or not) logistic regression was chosen as a tool for analysis. In multinomial logistics, as the name suggests, multiple independent variables are used together in explaining the fluctuation in a dependent variable. The analysis "determines the percent of variance in the dependent variable explained by the independents." (Garson 2006.) The advantage of using logistic regression is in its ability to predict not only whether the studied phenomenon occurred or not, but also to predict what are the odds of the phenomenon occurring and which factors are associated with the occurrence. In a binary logistic regression one of the independent variable's categories must be set as a reference, and the parameter estimates (i.e. odds or Expβ) should describe the direction and strength of the dependency. In other words, the values of the parameter estimates indicate the difference between the reference category and the category in question. Values above one indicate an increased risk (predicted probability) of being classified into the dependent variable (here: a cultural consumption pattern) compared to the reference category, and values below one vice versa. The reference category is always assumed to be a value of one. The significance of an independent variable is measured by Wald statistics, which resemble a similar procedure to that of the t-test in multiple regression. The significance level is set here at a 95 % level, and thus variables scoring values above 0.05 produced by Wald tests are omitted. If a variable itself is significant, in the formation of a model under these conditions, but its categories fail to meet the significant level, the parameter estimate values are shown in parenthesis. The effect size or the coefficient of determination for logistic regression is available through a pseudo R-squared measure, for example Nagelkerke, which is provided by the SPSS package. For instance, like R^2 for ANOVA the pseudo R^2 measure is reflected in the logistic regression models as the proportion of total variance in the dependent variable produced by levels of independent variable ranging from 0 to 1. Thus the pseudo R^2 statistic summarizes the strength of the relationship between the dependent and the independent variables. (Hair et al. 1995, 129–133; Mustonen 2006, 94–96; Garson 2006.)

Stepwise multinomial regression models are used in the determination of the included variables in the cultural consumption pattern models. Stepwise

logistic regression is also referred to as “statistic logistic regression”, because of its quality to include or remove “predictors from the equation based on statistical criteria”. (Tabachnick – Fidell 2007, 454.) The results produced by the stepwise method are used as additional information in parallel with the information provided by the size of the unadjusted main effects. In some cases, when valid information would otherwise be lost, a variable may be included in the model, even though the size of its effect would not support inclusion.

4.4 How to measure taste? Philosophical notions on conducting the study

It can be stated, that the cultural taste pattern theorists fall into two categories. There has been a reasoned debate on whether cultural consumption patterns were to be measured as taste or whether realized consumption practices should be applied. Much of the literature on cultural choice patterns is based on musical tastes and preferences; for example the omnivore thesis is a symbolic expression of an operational construction about what kind of and how many musical genres are preferred by an individual (Peterson – Kern 1996). This theoretical school stresses the importance of taste.

On the other hand, there are studies that emphasize action or behavior, that is to say, they measure realized consumption. The surveys (or other data collection methods as well) then ask whether the respondent has participated or whether he has consumed. There are downsides in both methods of measurement. (Chan – Goldthorpe 2005.) A respondent may overestimate or exaggerate their level of consumption, as only a respondent’s imagination can set limits to their answers. This is especially true in taste related methods, but also something to take into account when consumption is measured. Forgetfulness is a challenge that consumption researchers face. It is easier for a respondent to recall what kind of music or TV shows he prefers, than for example to summon up every visit to a cinema during the past year. In addition, when measuring realized consumption, there are obstacles that get in the way of taste actualization. Even though somebody has a taste for, say, visiting a lot of art galleries, other issues, like long working hours, family situation, income, lack of galleries near-by may hinder attendance. Thus taste does not always equal real life consumption patterns and vice versa. The present results (section 5.2.3 on music preference and going to concerts) show that sometimes behavior surpasses preference, which translates to the fact, that people sometimes do things they do not like that much. Or at least they do not *report* liking them.

Rather often when cultural knowledge, taste or practices are measured, the analysis is first based on questions regarding the respondent's preferences and taste, not actual consumption. (See also Chan – Goldthorpe 2005 for a critique.) Despite that, the interpretation goes straight on to involve consumption as a realized practice, without valid justifications. First and foremost if we are interested in cultural styles in processes of consumption we need to refer to action, consumption, per se, since it is a social practice of its own. Another problem came about in a study conducted by Peterson and Simkus (1992), in which they measured aggregate level taste patterns, yet conclusions were drawn that addressed individual taste patterns. Their results may have been biased in interpreting an illusion of broad taste, when in fact they reflected the narrow tastes of sub-segments among the heterogeneous upper-middle class groups. (Van Eijck 2000, 212.)

Many empirical studies face the question of juxtaposing knowledge and preference. For the purposes of validity it is vital to be informed about the distinction between preference for and knowledge of cultural genres. Often some respondent statements are interpreted as one or another even though the opposite has been asked. Knowledge and preference are both important, but they reflect issues that differ from each other. (See Bennett et al. 1999, 194.) When the respondents are asked whether they know certain musical genres, composers, authors, plays, etc., researchers most likely would like them to describe the amount and structure of their cultural capital. The approach is applicable to a certain extent, and impressive results are provided through such an approach. Sometimes being aware of the field proves much more useful than preference or stated likes. (Erickson 1996.) Being aware though provides little information about the respondent's actual preferences and likes. Matters of inclusion and exclusion are intertwined in taste formation processes, and the consumption strategy (be it innate, unconscious or deliberate) one has dictates which one of the two is in question: knowledge or preference.

The items that are not listened to or participated in may be disliked, but they can, as likely, be unfamiliar to the respondent and thus not consumed. Ignorance is though rather central when considering cultural capital and cultural competence, but there is an ideological difference between not knowing and not caring less. As Bryson (1996) has shown, there exist mechanisms that strongly underlie dislikes, especially among less advantaged groups and lower status classes. But then again, it is possible that some negative responses in the data are subject to availability. In other words, a respondent may be willing to consume some cultural items, but has not been able to find them. In this case assuming clear dislike would be a fallacy. A strong stated negative preference (dislike) may act as a hindrance to socio-economic resources, if the dislike is reported by a socially influential i.e.

legitimate source. The mechanism also works in reverse if the liking of a 'wrong kind of taste' is expressed by an individual from a lower status group. (Sonnett 2004.)

We need to be careful when drawing conclusions based on preference measurement, as many of the material obstacles or constraints can be ignored to some extent when an innate positive (or negative for that matter) emotion of an individual is associated with certain cultural goods, forms of art or pieces of work. Producing likes naturally links to many cultivation processes, which in turn can be very much subsumed under the stratification mechanism, as certain levels of exposure to given cultural forms normally precedes the formation of likes. Much of the exposure can be generated from within educational institutions, or during interaction with peers. Thus, social location, which on the other hand is very much dictated by stratification elements (such as income, social class, status and level of education) can direct likes very strongly in one direction or another. Still, we can argue that showing or expressing preference cannot be regarded as equivalent to participation, i.e. the active process of turning resources and willingness into practice. The distinction between preference and action needs to kept in mind. Thus, a researcher should be cautious when drawing conclusions about consumption based on information gained from preferences. Also, not all consumer's preference become visible in their realised consumption patterns.

4.4.1 Critical view on the research design

There is much argument on the issue of capturing the true nature of cultural consumption with quantitative data. At least three types of critique point towards the utilization of this type of data. First, quantitative data is able to capture only a superficial layer of the consumption, but does not reveal the meaning the consumer attaches to his consumption (Toivonen 1999, 184–185; Peterson 2005). Also, the context of consumption is not readily available, which could further add to the understanding of consumption practices. For example, knowing with whom one goes to cultural events would provide interesting additional information.

Secondly, the data sets that are collected by quantitative inquiries often rely on traditional and established categories, which does not allow for flux in contemporary trends, and thus it might also badly reflect today's societies' real structure. As was noticed already in the middle of twentieth century by Lowenthal (1959, 328) it remains a mystery "whether and to which extent modern social science is equipped to deal with modern social culture". This challenge however is not faced only by quantitative cultural consumption

research but it is also an issue that affects all social scientists equally. Pre-understanding and presuppositions are elements that are highly integral parts of any academic research, and it is the previous literature and prevailing research tradition that most of the data collection methods are based on.

Thirdly, because of the hidden agendas of policy makers and also academia, the categories that are considered highbrow are overrepresented in the surveys (DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004, 175). Constructions of elaborate empirical tools based on these data sets, such as highbrow or omnivorousness, do suffer from elitism or other fallacies from time to time. Even though the studies aim at describing the social constructions of cultural domains in a relatively objective manner, they fail to cover all the aspects with an equal emphasis. Tastes that are regarded as more up-scale or socially desirable are often overrepresented compared to lower status tastes'. Also, some domains are emphasized more than others (for example cultural participation is over-represented in studies, DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004, 176).

It is also a known fact that lower status groups engage disproportionately low and less frequently in "publicly appreciated leisure activities" (Van Eijck – Mommaas 2004, 373) that often comprise most of the categories in the survey questionnaires. Some of the important and relevant categories that are occupied by hordes of people today are shunned or otherwise not included in the scope of the studies. Another thing that concerns the categories that are used in the surveys is their coarseness or lack of detail. In interviews respondents are offered rather general categories such as 'pop/rock music', which seem to include a multitude of different levels and types of subcategories, all enunciating different kinds of meanings.

In addition, the data collection may be influenced if the respondent wishes to look good in the eyes of the information collector (Toivonen 1999, 184). The fallacy caused by this is referred to as a mechanism of social acceptance, and it is not only tied to one kind of data collection method, but on the contrary it is very relevant in all social science endeavours. In this case, answers would be biased towards socially accepted ways, and perceptions of what is normative in the surrounding society may be the cause of the bias.

The available data contains information on cultural practices, with some limitations regarding tastes and opinions and the detailed categorization of cultural items. This is not an impossible obstacle to overcome, and elaborate proxies can be constructed for several explanative purposes. The lack of detailed information has been an issue in previous studies, and yet valid results have been received and relevant conclusions were able to be drawn (e.g. Van Eijck – Knulst 2005, 516). The level of accuracy is considered adequate with the present data, as it allows for many multivariate methods in addition to a multifaceted depiction of today's cultural consumption patterns across the EU.

According to Van Rees and colleagues (1999), in order to be able to thoroughly analyse the predominant trends or tendencies in cultural consumer typologies we need to have data which meets several requirements. Cultural practices and preferences must be broadly covered, which means, that items such as music, reading, television viewing and film attendance must be included. What is of particular importance is the need to measure people's actual behaviour and not just preferences and this needs to be done on an individual level instead of the aggregate level. The data, which is used in this study, meets these conditions.

4.5 Country-level indicators and cross-national comparisons

Cultural consumption is facilitated by the national characteristic within which consumption occurs. Therefore, this chapter presents the various contexts of cultural consumption by reviewing the supply and attainability of culture in the 15 EU member countries.

Culture is subsidized to varying degrees across the European Union. The density of public services providing cultural experience and maintaining cultural knowledge also differs substantially. The countries are not equally sized and some cities are inhabited by millions of people and their cultural life is considered very active, even globally, whereas in smaller countries even the most densely-populated capitals cannot provide the multitudes of cinemas and theatres and specialty museums and cultural events that are found elsewhere (see Appendix Table 3 for population and density in the EU-15 countries).

With regard to cultural supply some demographic measures are provided in order to facilitate comparisons between the EU countries. When cultural supply is considered, the density of the population, as well as its absolute volume in some cases, plays a role in shaping consumer patterns and the cultural tastes of its citizens. Even though entry to European Union is regulated by some economic and societal measures, there still are differences between the urbanization level, educational structures (and the aggregate level of education) and the costs and supply of cultural services. Economies of scale are more efficiently reached in large nations and more variety in the cultural market has become lucrative. In order to draw conclusions on the differences between the countries, the divergent costs of consumption and other standards that prevail and affect cultural consumption in the EU-15 countries are presented below.

First, let us take a look at the example case of cinema attendance. The information in Table 6 on movie ticket prices is shown in statistics on comparable prices for services, as well as for the Purchasing Power Standard

index. Cinema ticket prices are presented in the same currency: The Euro (€) at its level in 2001. We notice that the Nordic countries alongside the UK are the most expensive in terms of movie attendance. In addition, by taking a look at the average prices for services these countries are in fact the most expensive of the EU countries. There is some variation in the order of countries, though, especially in the middle. For example, in the Netherlands movie tickets are more costly than would be anticipated based on the general price level of services. On the other hand, in Ireland the price level for services is relatively high compared with the EU-15 average but movie tickets are the fifth least expensive in the whole of the EU.

Price levels between countries shown in the table below can also be compared by using an indicator that describes the purchasing power of an individual. Purchasing power standards (PPS)[20] indicate price levels between countries and relies on facts provided by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) but levelled out for differences that are due to significantly different sized economies. The indicator is calculated based on per capita measurements. By expressing the PPPs (Purchasing Power Parity) in a common currency a measure of the differences in price levels between countries is provided. This is done by indicating the number of units of the common currency that are needed to buy the same volume of a given product group in each country.

[20] More information on the determination of PPP and PPS is found on the Database of Eurostat (2007). Another informative source is found on the OECD webpage (OECD on PPP 2006).

Table 6. Comparable prices for culture and services. Absolute and relative prices for cinema, comparable prices for services and the purchasing power standard index for the EU (Source: Eurostat Statistical Yearbook; Leetmaa 2002)

Absolute price for movie ticket in Euro (2001)		Relative price for movie ticket (€ x PPS index/ 100)		Comparable prices for services (by Eurostat)		PPS index (EU-15 =100)	
SE	8.0	FI	7.6	FI	121.8	LU	193.8
DK	7.7	UK	7.0	DK	121.0	IE	117.8
UK	7.3	FI	6.9	SE	115.3	DK	114.7
FI	7.1	DK	6.7	UK	107.9	NL	112.9
NL	6.5	DE	5.9	IE	103.8	AT	112.9
AT	6.5	NL	5.8	AT	103.1	BE	110.7
DE	5.9	AT	5.8	LU	102.3	SE	105.8
IT	5.7	EL	5.7	DE	99.6	UK	104.9
BE	5.6	IT	5.6	BE	97.3	FR	104.4
FR	5.6	PT	5.4	FR	97.2	FI	103.6
IE	5.4	FR	5.4	IT	96.8	IT	101.3
ES	4.5	ES	5.4	NL	90.7	DE	100.0
LU	4.3	BE	5.1	ES	87.0	ES	84.0
EL	3.8	IE	4.6	EL	86.8	PT	70.2
PT	3.8	LU	2.2	PT	81.8	EL	67.1
EU-15	5.9	EU-15	5.9	EU-15	100	EU-15	100

Differences between the EU countries do exist, but they are not considerably large. A rule of thumb regarding price level comparisons between countries is that, on the one hand, there is a positive correlation between price levels and GDP per capita, which leads on the other hand to the fact that the richer the country is, the higher its relative price level tends to be (and vice versa). That is why we can expect rather similar patterns for our example item, the movie ticket, with the structure of the comparable price level as well as with PPS (Purchasing Power Standard) index (see also OECD on PPP 2006).

By taking into account the economic situation in the country, a relative price for movie tickets is also calculated (second column in Table 6). This procedure is mostly affected by levelling the price gap between the extremes but does little to describe the self order of countries apart from the most and least prosperous countries. In Luxembourg, where the economy is in good

shape, the already inexpensive movie ticket price is set even lower, whereas countries such as Portugal and Greece climb higher when it comes to relative costs for attending cinema. When comparing relative prices for movie tickets with the costs of services in general, few countries stand out. For example Ireland has a rather inexpensive movie ticket in comparison to its price level for services. In the Netherlands, on the contrary the movie ticket price is priced at the EU average even though the cost for services in general is somewhat below the EU average level. In general movie ticket prices follow rather the same guidelines as costs for other services.

The availability of cultural institutions makes a considerable contribution to the fact that people are choosing to engage in cultural events and visit cultural sites and institutions. The availability of at least the basic infrastructure is mostly due to public support. Cultural institutions allegedly base their cultural policy and financial decisions to a considerable extent on governmental support. Public support for culture differs vastly across the EU making cultural landscapes vary considerably in different parts of the Union. In many countries, the funding for culture is mainly targeted towards maintaining high culture institutions. (See e.g. Katz-Gerro 2002; Cultural policies and trends… 2007.)

The budget for culture varies remarkably between the countries (see Table 7). The collection of the information in the table was organized independently by each nation, and no collective endeavour for the coherence of these statistics was reached. (Cultural policies and trends… 2007.) Although this renders data which is not completely comparable, some broad trends are visible. The proportion of culture and arts in the state budget varies between Greece's 0.35% to almost 5% of the Flemish community.[21] In Finland, the Netherlands and Denmark the shares were also larger than elsewhere. If we compare cultural expenditure per capita, Ireland and Denmark are clearly ahead of all other countries. Per capita expenditure is approximately 0.5 % of the GDP on average, although Germany and Greece lag somewhat behind (about 0.3% of GDP). Cultural institutions may also receive funding via other sources, such as national lotteries or other organizations governed by the state. (Cultural policies and trends… 2007.)

[21] The Flemish community does not constitute the whole of Belgium but information for the French community was not available. Based on the per capita expenditures, though, we assume that the share for culture is smaller to a degree. Unfortunately, data for Luxembourg and France is also lacking, while information is partial for Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden.

Table 7. Public support for culture and arts in the EU. (Source: Cultural Policies and Trends… 2007)

	Share of culture and arts expenditure compared to all public expenditure (year)	Cultural expenditure per capita (in currency) (year)
Austria	1.36% of public expenditure (2004)	0.87% of GDP (239,54€) (2004)
Belgium	4.99% of total budget in Flemish community (Flemish) (2005)	(145€; Flemish) (2005); (105€; French) (2000–2004)
Denmark	2.3% state allocated budget (2005)	0.97% of GDP (2639,35DKK) (2005)
France	-	-
Finland	Cultural expenditure on state budget 3% (2001)	0.56% of GDP (2004)
Germany	-	0.37% of GDP (97.,8€) (2003)
Greece	0.35% of public budget (2001)	0.32% of GDP (37,56€) (2001)
Ireland	0.26% of public budget (2003)	0.92% of GDP (42,8€) (2005)
Italy	-	0.57% of GDP (163€) (2004)
The Netherlands	2.5% of public expenditure (2005)	0.5% of GDP (118€) (2004)
Portugal	Expenditure of public authorities 1.2% of GDP (2001)	0.5% of GDP (9,55€ by central government) (2001)
Spain	-	0.63% of GDP (109€) (2003)
Sweden	1.3% of total budget expenditure (Proposal for 2007)	-
The UK	0.61% of the budget (Scotland)	(10,72£ in Scotland; 6,33£ in Northern Ireland; 9,12£ in Wales, 8,32£ in England) (2005/06)
Luxembourg	-	-

One of the cultural institutions maintained by the governments is the public library system. The role of the public library system varies across the European Union, as does the value placed on reading. There are mainly three factors that prove to be vital when measuring the utilization rate of public

libraries: the availability of the library service, the lending fee and the cost of the book when purchased in the market. In countries, where books and other printed material are widely accessible to all regardless of income level the public library system has a rather low demand. On the other hand, if the public library system is well-spread and functional with no, or a low, lending fee, the cost of purchasing books may well prove to be an obstacle.

Table 8 is based on UNESCO statistics (2006) on cultural services across the EU. The most recent figures cover the year 1999, but where information is lacking the second most recent year is applied. The aggregate level statistics provide information on library loans, and not just visits. In addition the density of the library network is presented, which serves an additional factor for enhancing reading practice. The table shows clear differences between countries in terms of their per capita borrowing. This refers to the fact that in some countries libraries are more readily available and also that library culture is more vibrant and popular. It is most likely, that in those countries which do not have such a lively library practice among their citizens other forms of leisure consumption thrive.

The availability of libraries i.e. the possibility to borrow books is dependent on the network system of libraries. The smaller the number of people one library has to offer its services to, the more dense the network. This means that there are potentially many alternatives for a library for one person, or there are so many libraries throughout the nation that no one has to overcome great distances and other obstacles in order to get to one. The density of a network is here measured by simply dividing population with library service points. In the UK, the network of public libraries has the most coverage: one service point has to cater for less than 3000 people. At the other extreme are Luxembourg, Italy, Portugal and France, which have over 20 000 theoretical clients per library. The relationship is rather strong when associations between borrowing and network density are compared. With a few exceptions, the countries with the densest library system already have the highest rates of library usage. Finland, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden are the most eager in terms of library loans, and the network is densest in the EU in the UK, Austria, Finland and Sweden. The least fervent library visitors are found in France, Greece, Portugal, and Spain.

Table 8. Public library network density and library loans in the EU (Source: Statistics Finland; UNESCO Statistics)

	Loans in total in public library (x1000)	Loans per capita[22]	Citizens/ service point[1]
Austria**	16 069	2.0	4043
Belgium ***	68 475	6.8	6803
Denmark *	72 997	14.0	6276
Finland*	99 268	19.4	4438
France ***	8 959	0.2	22561
Germany **	324 555	4.0	6730
Greece ***	1 829	0.2	12610
Ireland **	12 485	3.5	10371
Italy ***	257 962	4.5	26590
Luxembourg ***	1 990	4.9	40500
Netherlands ***	158 286	106	13232
Portugal *	2 747	0.3	24185
Spain **	24 117	0.6	7971
Sweden *	79 413	9.0	5552
UK *	460 010	8.0	2641

Note. *) Data are from 1999; **) Data are from 1998; ***) Data are from 1997

Finland and the UK serve also as good examples of the factors affecting reading patterns. According to UNESCO statistics (2006) the Finns made 19.4 loans per capita in 1999, which was the highest rate in the whole EU. On the other hand, in the UK the per capita borrowing rate climbed as high as 8 and was the highest after the readers in the Nordic countries. Still, the structure and organization of reading differs greatly between Finland and the UK. In Finland, most of the books read are not purchased. For one book sold 4 books are borrowed from a library. In the UK the ratio in 2005 was almost two books purchased per borrowed copy. (Eskola 1990, 22; The Booksellers Association 2007)

In addition, prices for books in Finland are the highest in Europe, and higher than in the US as well. Even compared to Sweden, which is rather similar in terms of reading, the prices of books sold in Finland are double

[22] Per capita lending rates were calculated as library loans in total/population of the country in the year 1995. Population statistics were provided by Statistics Finland (2006).

(Eskola 1990, 22). The success of the Finnish library network seems then to lie partially in the high cost of purchasing books. One potential explanation for the poor book markets are the linguistic minorities that the Nordic countries represent. In these countries the main official languages are spoken (and read) by only five to nine million people, and domestic authors can produce only so much of the material for the market. Sales for imported books are very small-scale and the translation process requires both money and time, and limits the selection of foreign books. Similar circumstances of course are found across the EU in countries which do not speak English, French, Spanish or German, but in most of those countries the population is far greater than in the north and better suited to catering for a wider audience and in greater quantities. (See Appendix Table 3 for the populations in the EU countries.)

An additional aspect worth considering is illiteracy. Even today illiteracy exists in Europe, even in the EU countries, though the candidate countries have to meet certain economic, political and social requirements. This fact is of great importance when studying social phenomena, which are either partly or completely dependent upon this sort of cultural capital and competence. In 2003 in Greece 1.4 percent of the male population was illiterate whereas corresponding figure for females was 3.6. In Portugal the same statistic shows 4.5 for men and even 8.8 for women. In the Netherlands, Sweden and Finland the illiteracy rate has been for several years (possibly for decades) zero. (Statistics Finland 2004.) Further discussion about illiteracy in the context of the library system and its effects on cultural competence can be found elsewhere (see for example Kraaykamp – Nieuwbeerta 2000; Toivonen 2005; 2006).

5 RESULTS ON CULTURAL CONSUMPTION ITEMS AND CULTURAL DOMAINS IN THE EU

Cultural consumption and the boundaries that intersect its domains are highly relational. It is practically impossible to draw conclusions on one society, or social group for that matter, and then apply the same categories and hierarchies to another. Cultural forms spring from local appreciation, national history, and from events in the political, economic, social and cultural life. (See also Gans 1999, 91.) Mass media also has an influence on the emergence of new art forms and the closer certain events take place to our lives the more impact we can assume them to have on our daily lives. Hence, the more we tend to emphasize those events in the news and papers and the more we are able to understand them. The boundaries of national states are inevitably crossed in today's shrinking world as television and the Internet constantly up-to-date information on current issues. Fear of local culture's disappearance has been openly expressed as the information society and its potential for omnipotence have emerged. We have to accept that the impact on our lives comes from both local and global sources today. However, local hierarchies and appreciation for local arts and the values placed on some cultural forms over others have roots that go much further back in history than the extent of any form of mass media. Therefore, we need to bear in mind, as Katz-Gerro points out, "cultural categories are embedded in particularistic sociocultural circumstances" (Katz-Gerro 2004, 15). That is why we now turn to examine national particularities and trends of cultural taste in various cultural domains.

Here, the focus is not only on musical tastes or cultural participation, but rather on a broader perspective, which includes old (TV and radio) and new (Internet) media technology related consumption, artistic activities and reading, in addition to the aforementioned domains. Here, cultural consumption is thus a mixture of *preference* and *behaviour*, and furthermore characteristics such as the *quality* of the consumed items and the *volume* of consumption as well as the *breadth* of the cultural menu are also taken into consideration. By looking at cultural consumption from so many varying angles we can form a view that is able to convey some of the nuances that this consumption space possesses. Within the limitations of the data, we can understand more of the composition and structure of European cultural fields, as well as the social and cross-cultural characteristics that exist. Though we

must bear in mind the fact that undoubtedly there is still much that remains unexplained and not covered by these examinations (these issues were addressed in Chapter 4.4.1 which discusses research design and the challenges related to it.)

A total of 57 cultural consumption items form the building blocks of the analytical space being studied. These items are classified under seven cultural domains, specified above (see section 4.2.1 on the dependent variables). An item that forms a cultural domain of its own, leisure reading, is examined individually. In addition, when cultural patterns are analyzed further in Chapter 6, reading is included in the analysis of the intensity of consumption.

Next, tastes for these cultural items are described *within* and *between* the individual EU-15 member countries. The structures of cultural tastes across the countries differ from each other to some extent, which is highlighted in subsequent sections. Moreover, trends in cultural consumption in general (Chapter 5) and constructed cultural choice patterns in particular (Chapter 6) are presented at the (cross-) national level of the EU. Some conclusions are drawn in the course of presenting results.

5.1 Boundaries of popular and rare cultural items across the EU nations

Cultural consumption comes in multiple forms, yet some forms are far more studied and legitimized than others. In addition, much juxtaposition has been made that polarizes highly legitimate, higher status cultural forms against lower status middle or lowbrow cultures. Studies on cultural taste are very much skewed to higher status forms, mainly due to academicians' and politicians' agendas. There are public campaigns that try to increase the general attendance of the 'common folk' at museums and galleries or other institutionalized art preserving institutions. On the other hand there has not been any public advertisements to spur people into watching more television, at least not political or otherwise explicit. Some forms of culture are then inevitably more appreciated than others. By consuming some specific and very highly regulated cultural items individuals can signal their status or accumulate a stock of cultural capital, or even social and economic capital.

All the 15 EU member countries are compared according to the national popularity of all the 57 cultural items. First the broadness of the cultural repertoire or the level of cultural inclusion is measured by using the means of taste as a measure (see Table 9). The term 'likes' in the table heading includes both preferences, as well as reported activities. The highest means are found in the Nordic countries and the Netherlands and Luxembourg. The means of taste range varies in these countries from about 14 to 17 items out of the 57 possible

cultural items. On the other hand the two lowest means are scored by the Greek and the Portuguese (10 and 9 items on average respectively). The number of cultural items the respondents included in their repertoires varies greatly within and across countries, yet the variations between countries are greater than those of within a country ($F = 139{,}714$; $p \leq 0.001$). In all countries there are people who do not state reading, liking or participating in any of the 57 cultural taste items and events that appeared in the survey (hence the minimum of 0 tastes). At the other extreme are the respondents, who, indiscriminately, like many kinds of cultural items across the board; France provided a peak with a total of 43 different likes checked. In other countries the maximum number of likes varied between 31 and 40, Belgium and Ireland have the smallest maximum within the EU.

Table 9. Means of the likes and range of cultural repertoire by country, (57 cultural items, n = 16 200)

Country	N	Cultural items in repertoire, β	S.E.	Min	Max
Sweden	1000	17.08	0.20	0	40
Denmark	1001	15.17	0.23	0	38
Finland	1023	14.80	0.21	0	39
Luxembourg	609	1447	0.29	0	34
The Netherlands	1047	13.83	0.21	0	39
Austria	1093	12.00	0.20	0	32
Germany	2047	11.91	0.14	0	33
UK	1346	11.42	0.19	0	35
Belgium	1031	10.64	0.20	0	31
Ireland	1002	10.56	0.18	0	31
France	1002	10.24	0.21	0	43
Italy	998	10.01	0.21	0	32
Spain	1000	9.86	0.20	0	33
Greece	1001	9.59	0.20	0	33
Portugal	1000	8.76	0.18	0	32
EU-15	16 200	11.95	0.05	0	43
	F-value	**139,714*** **			
	Eta^2	**.108**			

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) ≥ 0.05

The examination shown in Table 9 above puts forward the fact that a share of cultural items remains ‘not liked’. In other words the limits of taste for an

individual are reached at around 30 diverse cultural items. If many respondents would state that they liked all the cultural items available two alternative conclusions could be drawn. First, we might need a greater variety or greater amount of cultural items, as the present set leaves some space for unsaturated consumers and potential taste domain gaps need to be filled. Or secondly, we could suspect that there are errors in the data. The former point answers, to some extent, to Peterson's (1983) request to find out how many cultural taste patterns or cultural items are relevant for inclusion in studies in order to comprehensively isolate taste patterns.

By comparing the items that are included in popular and familiar, or minority and unfamiliar categories it might be easier to draw conclusions when we look at the consumption patterns in more detail. For example, an enduring tradition in the literature has divided certain items, such as liking classical or opera music and going to the theatre into high-brow ones whereas some items, or even domains (e.g. watching television or liking country music) are branded as low-brow genres. We might detect that the brow level boundaries are not similar everywhere and the composition of browship may fluctuate, even remarkably. In other words, what is considered highbrow in some places is regarded as lowbrow in other places. Rareness (or minority interests) (cf. Chan – Goldthorpe 2005, 'rare' is rare only in comparison to very popular items, this also undermines the individualization argument) can be considered as a hallmark for highbrow culture (this is also suggested by Lahire 2004, see Table 1). Therefore, this division could be labelled, with caution and some exceptions, a highbrow-lowbrow division of cultural items, and relative for each country. However, the issue of browship is not yet addressed in this chapter *per se*, rather, the division along rare-common lines is referred to as *popularity* (in previous researches broad classes of highbrow taste and popular taste are often referred to, Lizardo 2006, 788; Van Eijck 2001; Katz-Gerro 1999). First the study concentrates on portraying popular cultural consumption items from across the board (Chapter 5.1.1). Then the more infrequent and less popular forms are introduced, after which the focus is turned towards the specific domains which are discussed individually (Chapter 5.1.2).

5.1.1 Popular items across the countries

Next, the cultural taste items are examined in relation to their prevalence across the EU. The boundary, which defines popularity is determined based on the consumption rate specific to each country. The items are first ordered according to the consumption rate, and the means are calculated from the

range of these rates. This means that all the popular items referred to in this chapter are popular in terms of being widely embraced in that particular country. In addition, due to the determination procedure, the cut-off points for each country are relative. The first examination is based on the rank of items by their popularity, which also draws boundaries between the inherent tastes typical to each individual society (here, country) and those more uncommon. Taste descriptions that follow refer to typical, average tastes that are interpreted as being intrinsic by the residents of those countries because the tastes prevail so generally. Following Erickson (1997), we need to consider the potential lowbrow or at least the popular cultural quality of the items presented in this chapter. She (ibid.) suggested that, as opposed to highbrow forms of culture, popular culture does not characteristically differentiate between any stratifying elements, meaning that these forms are liked independent of socio-economic attributes.

Cultural consumption items that are universally popular in all the EU-15 countries (i.e. above the average boundary in each country) consist both of cultural participation – a domain often regarded as the most legitimate and highbrow – and various types of TV programs (see Figure 3). Some genres of music are very generally liked across the board as well. Going to the cinema, theatre and pop or rock concerts are among the average European consumer's cultural habits. The most popular item across the countries is watching TV news, with the exception of the UK and France, where TV film viewers outnumber news watchers, news still being the second most popular even there. Watching music programs on television is also a feature commonly shared by EU residents. After these categories some divergence in taste emerges between the countries. Clusters of countries can be detected if we concentrate on some particular domains, but we can state that each country is unique in terms of their cultural taste profile. (More detailed information on each country's consumption rates is found in Appendix Tables 4–13.)

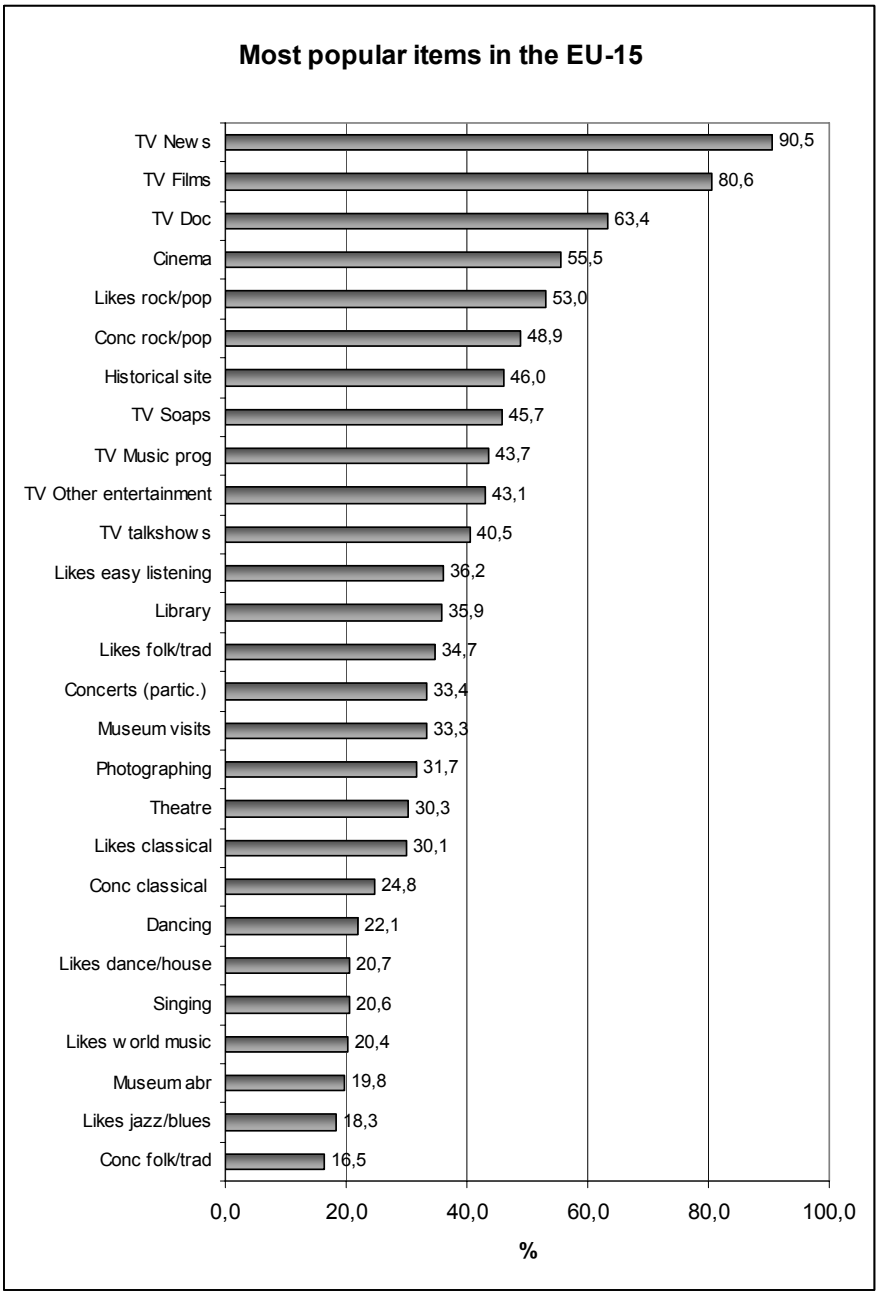

Figure 3. Most popular cultural consumption items in the EU (n = 16200; expect for the concerts n = 5207)

For example libraries are very generally visited everywhere else but in Austria, Greece and Luxembourg, whereas photography as a popular artistic activity is a shared feature by all but the Britons, the Irish and the Portuguese.

Museums are visited everywhere else but in Greece, where on the other hand visiting archaeological sites is very normal (and elsewhere it is not, even though visiting *historical* sites is again a universally shared feature). These kinds of rather natural peculiarities, derived from historical, geographical and sometimes also economic and political grounds, shape the cultural space that is typical of each society. This underlines the importance of taking into account each society *individually* even though a comparative and common ground seeking approach is applied.

When it comes to artistic activities there are two main items, which come after photography in popularity, namely dancing and singing. Singing is an artistic activity that is rather common in Finland, Sweden, Austria, Greece, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Of these singing countries, dancing is also embraced as an artistic past-time in Sweden, Austria and Greece. Other dance-loving countries are Spain, Italy and Ireland, whereas countries that totally lack both dancing and singing are France, Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Portugal and the UK. It is unexpected to see Denmark, otherwise very active in cultural activities and a leading land for European cultural taste in this respect, not having these artistic activities, which are rather popular elsewhere, among its 'average taste'. However, other artistic activity items seem to have a relatively large share in Denmark, compared to other European countries. This means simply that most of the Danish are interested in cultural consumption, but the taste patterns among them are dispersed, leading to the fact that some items 'fall off' the list of the most popular items in Denmark, even though they are very popularly embraced forms compared to the aggregate EU level.

It seems that jazz and folk music are mutually exclusive in the EU. In countries where jazz music is a popular realm there seems not to be any particular liking for folk music. Jazz-loving countries are France, Luxembourg, Italy and Denmark. In the rest of the EU countries folk music has achieved a more popular status. There are some exceptions, one being Denmark, which is also open to folk music along with jazz and the other countries being the UK and the Netherlands, although both jazz and folk are not generally embraced music genres. Both jazz music and folk music appear in literature where the quality and browship of music genres are being assessed. In more recent writings jazz seems to have claimed a slightly more prestigious status than it was regarded as having a few decades ago (e.g. DiMaggio – Ostrower 1990; DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004; Katz-Gerro et al. 2007). Folk music, on the other hand, is in many studies considered to be a core element of low status culture or very down-to-earth popular culture (Van Eijck 2001).

Classical music, on the other hand has had a rather stable status as a highbrow hallmark in cultural literature studies, even though it is a very

popular type of concert attendance, and even though a considerable cross section of people report liking classical music quite universally. In many of the studies the distinction between the qualities of cultural consumption patterns are determined by the category of classical music (e.g. Peterson – Kern 1996) and groups of people are formed by measuring their opinion on a sole indicator of this genre (or in some cases a very limited array of genres including classical music).

Here, liking classical music seems to be a very much shared quality across the EU. Only in Greece is classical music not among the most popular cultural items, instead folk and traditional music carry a greater meaning for the Greeks, as well as for the Portuguese. Attending classical music concerts, on the other hand, does vary between the countries more. In France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria and Belgium, as well as in Germany, classical music concerts are a natural part of the cultural space.

A specific genre of world music is popular in some of the EU countries; in the 'jazz countries' Luxembourg and France and in countries where classical concerts are often attended, namely Germany, Belgium and Austria world music is among the most liked music genres. There is also a notable share of world-music lovers in Portugal.

The popularity of the above mentioned cultural items is rather universal across the countries. There are some peculiarities that are good to note when it comes to the cultural features of European field. If we take only an illustrative example from all the countries we can characterize the Portuguese as folk music lovers, both in terms of listening to it and going to concerts. Dance and house music is popular in the UK, and writing as an artistic activity alongside going to easy listening concerts and listening to cultural programs on the radio are specific interests of the Finns. The Swedes excel in exploiting the Internet by reading newspapers on-line. They are also the most frequent visitors of museums abroad (the Dutch are also eager in this respect). The Spaniards are like the Portuguese in their love of going to folk and traditional music concerts, whereas in France techno music is most frequently listened to, alongside attending classical music concerts. Austria is a cradle for opera, where concerts of many kinds (mostly classical, opera and operetta as well as folk-traditional) are frequently attended. The Irish like to visit museums abroad as well, and as already mentioned Luxembourg is best characterized by its love for jazz music and singing. Of all the EU countries, only in the Netherlands is the category of other kinds of artistic activities reported above the average frequency. A similar oddity occurs with Italy, where the genre of "other type of music" is among the most popular cultural items. This category perhaps refers to *'canzone d'autore',* the Italian equivalent of *chansons*, *schlagers* and easy listening music which is much produced and listened to in

Italy.[23] The Belgians and the Germans share the feature of being avid classical concert goers, whereas, people from Denmark and Belgium are also prone to rather frequently visiting museums abroad. The qualities presented above are stereotypical in that they are based on the items that clearly stand out when compared to other countries. Still, the absolute rate of consumption varies greatly between the countries, and in many cases the popular items representing one country (say Portugal) may be consumed at lower rate than in another (say Denmark). This issue is further examined in Chapter 5.2.

Items that do not appear to be universally popular include, for example, ballet and playing a musical instrument, listening to techno music, or going to opera. Though they may be popular in some countries (as mentioned above) they are a rarity for most people in the EU.

5.1.2 Least popular items across the countries

Since the essences of different type of cultural items (that together form one cultural domain) differ rather significantly from each other in the way they are consumed, and in the way we can associate social, cultural and economic resources or capabilities with them, research based on less popular items is needed. The boundary, which defines the least popular cultural items is again determined based on the consumption rate specific to each country. The items are first ordered according to the consumption rate, and the quartiles are calculated from the range of these rates. The *lowest quartile (25% and below)* is considered to contain the *least popular cultural items* in that country, and hence they can also provide a potential means for distinction. It must be borne in mind that the least popular (or 'most unpopular') items referred to in this chapter, are unpopular only in that particular country.

It seems that whereas items from TV and participation domains gained universal popularity in the EU, some cultural domains, most notably Internet related and concert types are less broadly included in a typical consumption repertoire at the national level (see Figure 4).

[23] Santoro (2002) discusses the ambivalent essence and role of *canzone d'autores* as a genre being an intermediate between the categories of high and popular culture in Italy. This genre is perceived as a form of popular culture, yet it also carries an allusion of uniqueness and authorship in form of the reference to the creator of the work (*autore*) hence reference to high culture may be conveyed.

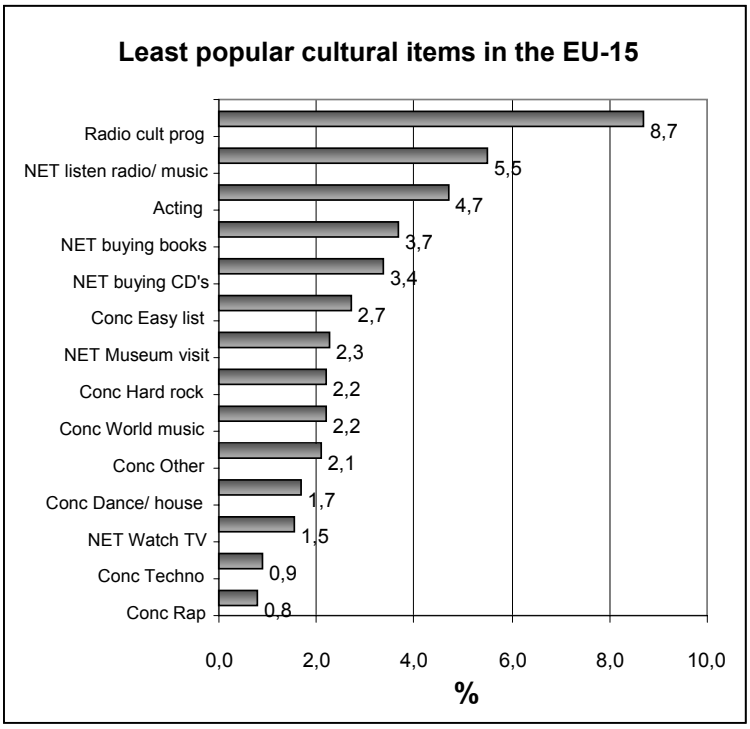

Figure 4. Least popular cultural items (the lower-most quartile) in the EU, % (n = 16 200)[24]

The countries are surprisingly similar when it comes to the least popular cultural forms. Internet related consumption has not yet established its position which is also reflected by the Internet items' rank at the bottom of the countries' cultural consumption and preference lists. (For details see Appendix Tables 4–13.) As was also stated before, attending concerts, as an item within the cultural participation domain, is rather ordinary (33.4%), but within the stand-alone concert domain only a few genres are popular, which may be partially explained by the supply of concerts. This leaves the rarest music genre concerts amongst the least popular cultural items in every country. Techno, rap and hard rock are concert types that are very seldom attended universally. Also, listening to some music genres are on some countries' least popular lists. For example, techno music in not very much listened in Greece,

[24] Legend for the Figure 5: Conc = Concert type; NET = Internet item; Radio cult prog = Listening to documentaries on the radio; Easy list = Easy listening; Museum visit = Visit museum web-site.

the UK, Ireland and the Netherlands whereas easy listening is unpopular in Austria and rap music is unpopular everywhere. As with popularity, there are some country-specific peculiarities when it comes to unpopular cultural forms. For example, Sweden and Denmark are the only countries where acting is an artistic activity that is *not* among the most unpopular forms and the same applies to buying CD's via the Internet in Sweden (everywhere else this is a very uncommon form of consumption). Additional artistic activities appear on the lists. For example, in Belgium writing is not a popular artistic activity, nor are the uncategorized ('other') artistic activities in Portugal.

In Spain and Greece it is rare to like opera music, but attending heavy rock concerts is *not* unpopular here, as well as in Portugal, whereas everywhere else that is the case.

It seems that foremost in Sweden, but also to some extent in other Nordic countries and the Netherlands cultural consumption has started to shift on-line, and this development is expanding. An example that further confirms this, is the fact that reading newspapers on the Internet has become more popular, and even though on average only 10% of the population reads on-line newspapers, in many countries this activity is above the boundary of the least popular cultural consumption items. Other Internet items are still amongst the least popular items at the EU level, and for example in Portugal all the cultural consumption Internet items are at the bottom of the popularity list.

Table 10 summarizes the results of Chapters 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 by showing the national characteristics of both liked (popular) and less liked cultural items in each country. The items appearing in the table are the ones for which the pattern deviates most from the average EU taste. In sum, in Italy the other type music genre (probably Italian music) is also very popular both in terms of attending concerts and listening preference. Also, the Greeks are less enthusiastic when it comes to listening to classical music, and the Portuguese, the British and the Irish are less avid photographers than their fellow-Europeans. The features that really stand out (in bold in the table) are the techno music preference in France, singing practice in Luxembourg, other types of artistic activities in the Netherlands and folk music's popularity in Portugal. In addition, in the UK, dance and house music is clearly more popular than elsewhere, whereas in Finland writing, easy listening music and cultural programs are widely appreciated. The Swedes, on the other hand stand out as the most avid Internet users when it comes to cultural consumption and they also frequently visit museums while abroad.

Table 10. Special characteristics of the cultural likes of countries[25]

Belgium	Denmark	Germany	Greece	Italy
+folk +museums abroad +classical concerts	+ jazz-lovers +folk + museums abroad	+ folk + classical concerts	– classical music + folk +archaeological sites	+ jazz-lovers + **other type of music both concerts and genre**
Spain	France	Ireland	Luxembourg	Netherlands
+ folk, genre and **concerts**	+ jazz – theatre + **techno music** + avid concert-goers	+ folk + museums abroad – photograph	+ jazz + **singing**	+ **other artistic activities (sculpting etc.)** – jazz – folk
Portugal	UK	Finland	Sweden	Austria
+ Folk music both concert and genre – photograph – theatre	**+ Dance and house (music genre)** – photograph – jazz – folk	+ **writing** **+ easy listening concerts** **+ cultural programs on the radio** + folk	**+ museums abroad** **+ avid internet users** + folk	+ folk + opera + avid concert-goers – easy listening

5.2 European tastes across cultural domains

Next, consumption at the EU level in each of the seven cultural domains is described, and the variety of cultural consumption is compared between countries with univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA). The parameter estimates come from the means of the different kinds of cultural items participated in (domains of cultural participation and type of concert), practiced (domains of artistic activity, Internet usage and TV and radio) or which there is a reported preference for (music type domain) in each country. Standard errors are presented for a mean. The F-value stands for the country effect for the dependent cultural domain in question and the p-value reports

[25] (+) stands for popular and (–) stands for not popular (in bold the types that countries deviate most from others).

the statistical significance of the observed differences between the countries. The reference country is Austria, but the p-values for each country are not shown since Eta^2 reports the amount of variance observed in the dependent variable produced by the country variable. Leisure reading is not examined through the ANOVA procedure due to its binomial nature (one either reads or does not read).

5.2.1 Cultural participation in the EU

Cultural participation is one of the most widely referred to cultural domains in the field of the sociology of culture. Findings have shown for example that engaging in out-of-home activities such as cultural participation is a rather feminized domain (Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000, 330). Others have also found women to be more active in participating in cultural pursuits (e.g. DiMaggio 1982; Bryson 1996). High levels of education (e.g. DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Katz-Gerro 2002), higher age (e.g. DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004) and high occupational status (e.g. Peterson – Kern 1996), have been found to determine those who engage in cultural activities, especially those forms that are traditionally considered to be highbrow. In addition, active cultural engagement is found to be a sign of cultural capital (DiMaggio – Useem 1978) or voraciousness (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007), for example.

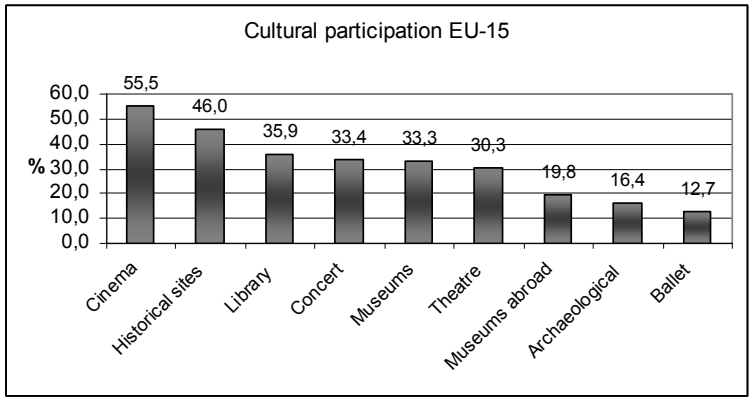

Figure 5. Cultural participation in the EU, % (n = 16 200)

More than half of the respondents have engaged in cultural participation, as we can see in Figure 5 above. The examinations in the previous section also proved that the domain of cultural participation is as a whole the most popular form of cultural consumption. Across the countries, cultural participation

items along with watching TV programmes consistently appear near the top of the most popular cultural items (See Appendix Table 4). Going to the cinema is by far the most popular activity, followed by visits to historical sites and monuments. The former represents a more everyday life dimension of cultural consumption whereas the latter is quite often perceived as an integral part of the ordinary consumption inherent in tourism. Going to the theatre is also a popular activity, but it is preceded by library visits, concert-going, as well as visits to museums. Ballet is the cultural form least participated in, which implies a connection to high status or prestige.

If cultural activities are encouraged by the state and access to these practices remains easy, we can expect a broad cross section of a society to attend. The more egalitarian a society is, the less symbolic boundaries it erects and people from all levels of society are able to attend, or at least their attendance is not restrained. Cultural participation tendencies across the countries are compared by ANOVA (see Table 11).

Table 11. Means of the cultural participation items attended by country (ANOVA)

Country	**N**	**Cultural participation items, β**	**Standard error of mean**
Sweden	1000	4.20	0.07
Denmark	1001	4.13	0.08
Luxembourg	609	3.39	0.10
Finland	1023	3.41	0.07
The Netherlands	1047	3.36	0.07
UK	1346	2.90	0.06
Germany	2047	2.79	0.05
Ireland	1002	2.71	0.08
Belgium	1031	2.63	0.08
Austria	1093	2.60	0.07
Italy	998	2.59	0.08
Spain	1000	2.44	0.07
France	1002	2.40	0.07
Greece	1001	1.73	0.07
Portugal	1000	1.45	0.06
EU-15	**16 200**	**2.83**	**0.02**
	F-value	**103.872*** **	
	Eta^2	**.082**	

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) ≥ 0.05

The Nordic countries along with Luxembourg and the Netherlands are according to this standard the most active cultural partakers (see Table 11). This trend was already implied in the above analysis on the means of the tastes across all the domains (Table 10). Sweden and Denmark clearly stand out with a mean above 4 items. The second most active group is formed by Luxembourg, Finland and the Netherlands, where the mean surpasses 3 items. Greece and Portugal are at the other extreme with a mean of less than 2 items. The rest of the countries, form a rather uniform front with a mean that fluctuates between 2 and 3 items. 8 percent of the variance (F-value 103,872) in cultural participation between the countries is produced by a country variable alone, when other sources of variance are not controlled for. This said we can conclude that enjoying various cultural participation items varies rather largely depending on the country.

5.2.2 Artistic activity in the EU

Artistic activities do not appear in the studies concerning cultural taste as frequently as cultural participation or music preferences. Artistic activity as a leisure past-time can be regarded in two ways. In the first, some artistic practices are seen as forms of elitist consumption or leisure, and often playing a musical instrument, painting or producing art is attached with notions of elite behaviour (Bourdieu 1984) and cultivating frivolous and unproductive labour. On the other hand many artistic and creative activities tend to be more everyday in nature such as writing letters, making handicrafts and photographing (Seppänen 1994). Still, for example in photography the line between art and simple recording is very blurred as everyday life has become more aestheticized (Gronow 1997).

DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990, 758) hypothesize that amateur arts production is affected less by status competition than other forms of cultural consumption since its production requires the intensive investment of time. They also suggest looser boundary drawing because artistic activities are to a great extent home-centered. What the authors fail to take into account is the fact that nowadays many commercial or public institutions provide courses in artistic activities for large groups. Attending courses and also discussing one's pastime interests undermines to some extent the private assumption provided by DiMaggio and Ostrower (ibid.).

In total seven artistic activities were measured in the data (see Figure 6). Artistic activities are either practiced individually or in a group. Photography is the most popular artistic activity and its engagement rate (32%) climbs rather high when compared to other domains. In general the domain of artistic

activities appeals only to a minority of respondents. Dancing and singing are rather popular activities as well as the uncategorized ("other artistic") activities that include for example sculpture and painting. Playing an instrument was considered to be among the culturally valued practices according to Bourdieu (1984), and if distinction was to be measured by marginality, playing an instrument and, in particular, acting would serve a distinctive purpose. (See Appendix Table 5 for artistic activity consumption rates per country.)

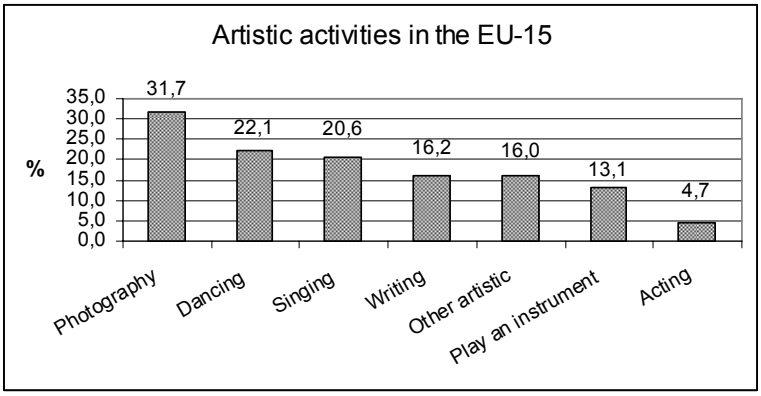

Figure 6. Artistic activities in the EU, % (n = 16 200)

The inclusion of artistic activities as a part of society's cultural resource or repertoire fluctuates remarkably between European countries (Table 12). At first glance the order of the countries resembles the table for cultural participation, but there are some discrepancies. By cumulating all the artistic activities taken part in, in each country, we see that Denmark loses some ground and falls to fifth place (means of artistic items 1.58). Furthermore, though Austria occupies the middle ground in participation it climbs to a very high position in the artistic comparison and the Greeks move higher up the ranking order.

What we need to consider more, is the apparent difference in the level of consumption of artistic activities. The means can range from Portugal's 0.45 to over 2.2 in Sweden. Several countries have a mean over 1, the Netherlands, Austria, Finland, and Denmark being above 1.5. The contrast between countries and 'their tastes' is highlighted in the case of artistic activities rather well. It seems that there are significant differences in cultural tastes when it comes to artistic activities and especially in the broadness and immensity of them between European societies.

Approximately 8 percent of the variation (F-value 95,050) in artistic activities between the countries is produced by the country variable alone

when other sources of variance are not controlled for. As with cultural participation the variety of artistic activities is rather heavily dependent on country of residence.

Table 12. Means of the artistic activity items by country (ANOVA)

Country	**N**	**Artistic activity items, β**	**S.E.**
Sweden	1000	2.23	0.06
The Netherlands	1047	1.75	0.05
Austria	1093	1.65	0.05
Finland	1023	1.65	0.06
Denmark	1001	1.58	0.05
Luxembourg	609	1.46	0.07
Germany	2047	1.23	0.03
Greece	1001	1.17	0.05
Spain	1000	1.15	0.05
Italy	998	1.10	0.05
France	1002	0.97	0.04
UK	1346	0.95	0.04
Ireland	1002	0.75	0.04
Belgium	1031	0.71	0.04
Portugal	1000	0.45	0.04
EU-15	**16 200**	**1.24**	**0.01**
	F-value	**95.050*** **	
	Eta2	**.076**	

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) ≥ 0.05

5.2.3 Listening to music and going to concerts in the EU

Like cultural participation, musical preferences have received much attention in the writings on cultural preferences (e.g. Bourdieu 1984; Peterson – Simkus 1992; Bryson 1997; Van Eijck 2001; Chan – Goldthorpe 2007c). For instance Bourdieu puts forward the view that differences in taste occur and can be detected most easily in musical preferences (Bourdieu 1984; Rahkonen 1995, 13). Many studies even draw a direct link between an individual's taste for music and his status (Peterson – Simkus 1992). The upper status groups are traditionally either expected to like musical forms with higher aesthetic

contents (such as symphonic music or opera, c.f. DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Zolberg 1990) or to be more open minded in liking rather heterogeneous categories or genres (Peterson – Simkus 1992). Music as a measure of taste also serves the practical purpose of avoiding the physical or social hindrances that respondents may have in actual attending events. Musical preferences describe a respondent's stated aesthetic preference and they have nothing to do with the fact, that the city one lives in is too small to offer a wide range of musical concerts. (Peterson – Simkus 1992.) This chapter though sheds light on both taste and actual behavior by also analysing concert attendance.

Going to concerts is an item within the cultural participation domain , but it is also the only sub-domain that provides more detailed information on its content in the data. The same level of analysis would have been interesting to view in terms of other participation items, such as movie types or theatre programmes. In addition, the type of museum or gallery visited would have facilitated a sharper image of taste structures in this respect but as that data was not available the existing variables must be focused on. We have two sets of variables at hand that measure the cultural consumption of music, one being an expression of preference and less related to participation, i.e. stating a liking for musical genres. The other being the realized behavioral pattern of those tastes, i.e. attending concerts. To what extent taste patterns and realized patterns are directly associated is disputable. In this section, we now take a look at both the domains, and see which convergences and divergences occur between the two domains and their structure, and more generally, examine the musical tastes of the Europeans.

It may well be argued, that taste has been measured most of the time by looking at one's musical preference, since so many studies on cultural consumption draw directly on one's taste for music. Some music genres are seen to reflect the attributes of traditional high culture, and they can be assumed to possess some qualities, the comprehension of which are challenging to most people (Scitovsky 1976). On the contrary, some genres are popularly listened to and thus they do not carry any particular distinctive value. The omnivorousness thesis was first isolated by examining musical preferences (Peterson – Simkus 1992). Ever since, many scholars have utilized manifest preferences for music types as the most valid way of measuring cultural consumption patterns. The validity of using a musical preference as an indicator of taste and a vehicle for social distinction is attested to by Van Eijck (2000, 211). Despite that, there are critical views on this measure's omnipotence (e.g. Van Rees et al. 1999).

If we look at the most popular music genres on the EU level, we find out that nothing threatens the status of popular music and rock (Figure 7). The categories of music that the Europeans report liking most are pop, easy

listening, folk and traditional music, classical music and dance/house[26] music. Jazz and blues music along with world music are among the middle range genres, and more marginal genres, mostly regarded as a part of youth sub-culture include techno, heavy metal and rap in descending order. The proportions range from 53% stating that they like the most popular genre, pop music, to around 10% who prefer techno, hard rock and rap. Also the category of 'other type of music' has a 10 percent share.

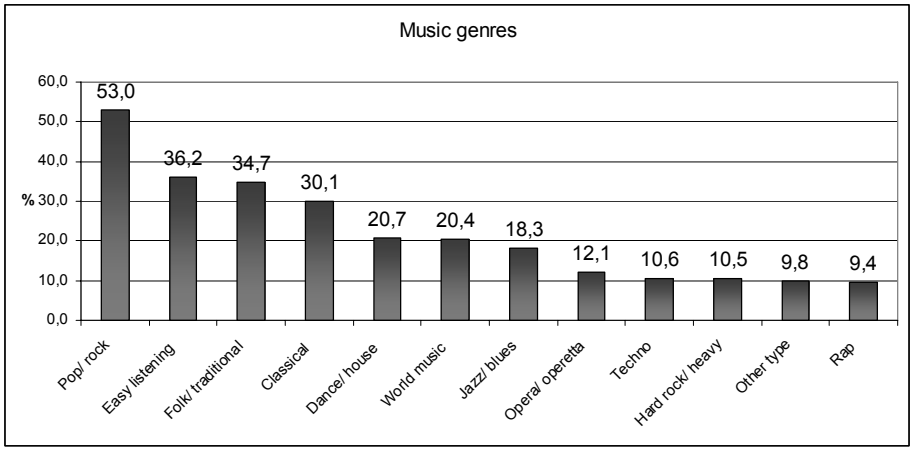

Figure 7. Music genre preferences in the EU, % (n = 16 200)

The order of countries deviates a little from the previous domains (see Table 13). Again, the three Nordic countries along with the Netherlands and Luxembourg are the most 'omnivorous' countries. France is ranked sixth and now claims a higher position, whereas countries such as Spain and Ireland have the narrowest range of musical taste. However, the differences between the countries are not vast, as is suggested by the Eta^2 coefficient (5.8%). Musical preference is indeed a cultural category, where multiple likes are more readily accessible. The means have a rather narrow range that goes from 2.04 to 3.27 likes (out of 12 possible items). (See Appendix Tables 6–7 for music genre preferences across the countries.)

[26] There is potential ambiguity in the category dance/house music in the data for some countries. In a study conducted on Finnish cultural preferences (Virtanen 2004) a surprisingly large share of the baby-boomer cohort reported liking dance/house music. Further scrutiny revealed that the category was half translated into Finnish as 'tanssi/house musiikki'. *Tanssimusiikki* (dance music) is mainly perceived as a category similar to easy listening (tango, schlager etc.).

Table 13. Means of the music genre preferences by country (ANOVA)

Country	**N**	**Music genre items, β**	**S.E.**
Sweden	1000	3.27	0.06
Luxembourg	609	3.22	0.08
Denmark	1001	3.18	0.06
Finland	1023	2.99	0.06
The Netherlands	1047	2.89	0.05
France	1002	2.61	0.06
Germany	2047	2.59	0.03
Austria	1093	2.46	0.04
UK	1346	2.46	0.05
Belgium	1031	2.38	0.05
Portugal	1000	2.15	0.06
Greece	1001	2.08	0.05
Italy	998	2.07	0.05
Spain	1000	2.03	0.05
Ireland	1002	2.01	0.04
EU-15	**16200**	**2.54**	**0.01**
	F-value	**70.90*** **	
	Eta^2	**.058**	

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) ≥ 0.05

When it comes to realizing the underlying tastes, if concert going can be so perceived, we see some divergence in the overall pattern of concert attendance (Figure 8) in comparison with musical preference (Figure 7). Even though classical music is the fourth most popular music on the EU level, going to classical music concerts turns out to be the second most popular type of concert, after pop concerts. Either there is something passive about easy listening music lovers, or the supply of concerts for this category is less established than it is for classical concerts, but for some reason only a fraction of the easy listening public goes out to attend concerts (8.3% of the respondents attended concerts, whereas 36.2 % stated liking the genre). Folk music and opera concerts are also rather popular, as are jazz and blues concerts. Other types of concerts were attended slightly less frequently, techno and rap events being the most marginal at around 2% of the overall attendance rate.

If we take popularity as a measure, the highbrow nature of opera found in many studies (DiMaggio – Useem 1978; Zolberg 1990; Crane 1992; Peterson – Kern 1996; Storey 2002) is contested. Although it need to be born in mind

that the attendance rate in opera and operetta concerts is measured from among those respondents who have gone to at least one concert during the past year. Figure 8 does not reveal whether the attendees at the opera also attended many other types of concerts, which would reflect more of an omnivorous pattern than that of a highbrow one.

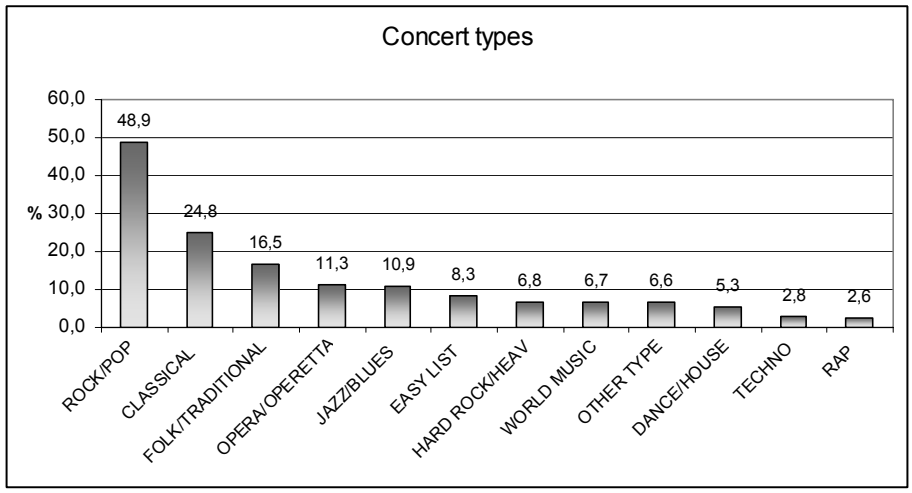

Figure 8. Attendance by concert type in the EU, % (n = 5207)

As shown in Table 14 attending concerts is rather rare at the national level. The range of concerts attended is narrow but the countries do deviate from each other significantly (a smaller amount of the variation, 3%, in this case, is explained solely by the country measure). Thus, we can consider the ranking of the countries based on the inclusion of different concert types. The pattern is already well-known from the domains presented above. The five North European countries dominate and Portugal and Greece are at the bottom. France, even though well positioned in terms of listening does not have a comparable concert attending culture, whereas Austria (see Chapter 5.1.1) is keen on attending concerts. (See Appendix Tables 8–9 for concert type consumption rates per country.)

Table 14. Means of the attended concert types by country (ANOVA)

Country	**N**	**Concert type items, β**	**Standard error of mean**
Luxembourg	609	0.85	0.05
Denmark	1001	0.77	0.03
Sweden	1000	0.73	0.03
Finland	1023	0.61	0.03
The Netherlands	1047	0.58	0.03
Austria	1093	0.53	0.03
Germany	2047	0.45	0.02
Spain	1000	0.43	0.02
UK	1346	0.42	0.02
Ireland	1002	0.42	0.02
Belgium	1031	0.40	0.03
France	1002	0.40	0.03
Italy	998	0.35	0.02
Portugal	1000	0.30	0.02
Greece	1001	0.29	0.02
EU-15	**16 200**	**0.49**	**0.01**
	F-value	**35.870*** **	
	Eta^2	**.030**	

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) ≥ 0.05

If we look at individual concert types and countries more closely we find the largest proportions of *Rock and pop* concert-goers are found in Spain (65,7 %), Denmark (64,4 %) and Ireland (58,8%), although this category is among the most popular across the EU. The countries where this genre is least attended are Austria (31,9%) Finland (34,3%) and Greece (32,5%). *Classical* concerts on the other hand are most attended in Luxembourg, Austria, the Netherlands and Germany (41 to 32%), and least in Ireland (10,4%), Portugal (11,6%) and Spain (11,9%). In rest of the countries, the attendance rate remains at approximately 20%. It thus seems that an appreciation for pop and classical is mutually exclusive: the most eager pop concert going countries attend the least classical concerts, and vice versa.

Folk concerts, a music category considered in some studies (e.g. Zolberg 1990; Van Eijck 2000; López-Sintas – García-Álvarez 2004) to be the embodiment of the lowbrow along with popular music. On the other hand this form is mainly appreciated in countries that are otherwise less culturally active, e.g. Greece and Portugal, where attending concerts in this genre is

notably stronger (35%) than in other EU countries (its popularity is generally around 15 to 20%). In Austria folk and traditional music concerts are rather popular (24%). This may be because what is perceived as traditional music in Austria approaches the genres of opera and classical, which are also popular categories there (25% and 39% respectively).

Opera and operetta concerts are the realm of Austrians (25%) but operas are also visited in Germany (19%) and Denmark (15%) to a markedly greater degree than elsewhere (about 5%). *Jazz* and blues concerts appeal in countries more universally, though a popularity above 15% of the respondents within a country is achieved only in Denmark, Sweden, France, Luxembourg and Austria.

Jazz music has been found to have a particular status among music genres (DiMaggio – Ostrower 1990; DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004) Since jazz music, as well as blues and (to lesser extent regarding distinction) R&B are of African-American origin they have a special meaning in building identity for Afro-Americans than others. That is why these genres carry two distinct meanings. For white people of European origin preferring jazz rather often refers to maintaining an upper class position or class consciousness, whereas for Afro-Americans jazz refers to roots and has a historical weight. DiMaggio and Ostrower's (1990) findings shows that white people of European origin were far more likely to attend activities traditionally considered white whereas Afro-Americans predominantly attended the field of Afro-American culture, jazz and blues in particular, in the form of concerts and television programmes. In this study, though ethnicity is not examined. However, we need to be aware of the meanings that the genres, not only jazz and blues, potentially carry due to their past connotations.

Easy listening is a category that; along with folk music; is distinctively characterized according to individual nations. This means that each culture probably has its own definition of the essence and content of this category because titles within this genre are usually of domestic-origin. In Finland above all, easy listening concerts seem to be the dominant form. Almost 30% of the Finnish respondents have attended an easy listening concert, whereas generally the proportion of respondents attending easy listening concerts is in single-digits. Apart from Finland, easy listening devotees who attend concerts are also found in Luxembourg (17%), Ireland (12%) and Belgium (12%).

Hard rock and heavy metal also carry some connotations or value-laden references in the literature (e.g. Bryson 1996; 1997). Fans of these genres are notably more univorous than in others. Findings of a lower level of education and exclusiveness in musical taste, among this audience, have suggested the nature of heavy metal is lowbrow (ibid.). In Luxembourg the active attending of concerts in general shows no exception when it comes to heavier music as

at least 13 percent of the Luxembourg respondents had been to a hard rock concert in the previous 12 months. There is no other clear pattern for countries in this respect; popularity varies between 4 to 9 percent across all other countries. *World music* concerts are clearly more popular in Luxembourg (14%), France (12%) and Austria (12%) than in other parts of the EU. The vague category of *other music genre concerts* are mostly attended in Greece (17%) and Italy (13%) whereas they were least attended in Belgium and Luxembourg.

Dance and house concerts were most popular in the Netherlands (11%) and Belgium (869%), whereas *techno* music concerts, another marginal genre, were most attended in France (7%) and Belgium (8%). France (7%) was also the leading country for *rap* concert-goers, with Portugal ranked second with (6%).

The gap between the reported liking and attending of similar types of concert might be useful when seeking to explain the dynamics of the musical domains (Fig. 10). There is always a level of imbalance between the concert genres that are available at any given time in given social localities. Some forms are institutionalized and publicly supported (e.g. classical, philharmonic concerts and orchestras, as well as operas), whereas others depend solely on the whims of fashion and popular opinion (and money flows). It is also very probable that resources come into play in this case: liking a music genre requires less *monetary* and *time budgeting* effort than actually checking the concert schedule, purchasing the ticket and going to the concert. Listening to the radio or a CD is more mobile and flexible, and it is easier to engage with whenever it suits one's own purposes. Also, sometimes the prices for concert tickets, not only symphony orchestra and opera, but also more popular types have become costly, whereas records usually cost the same independent of their alleged prestige or browship level, which could be one of the decisive elements between listening to music or attending concerts.

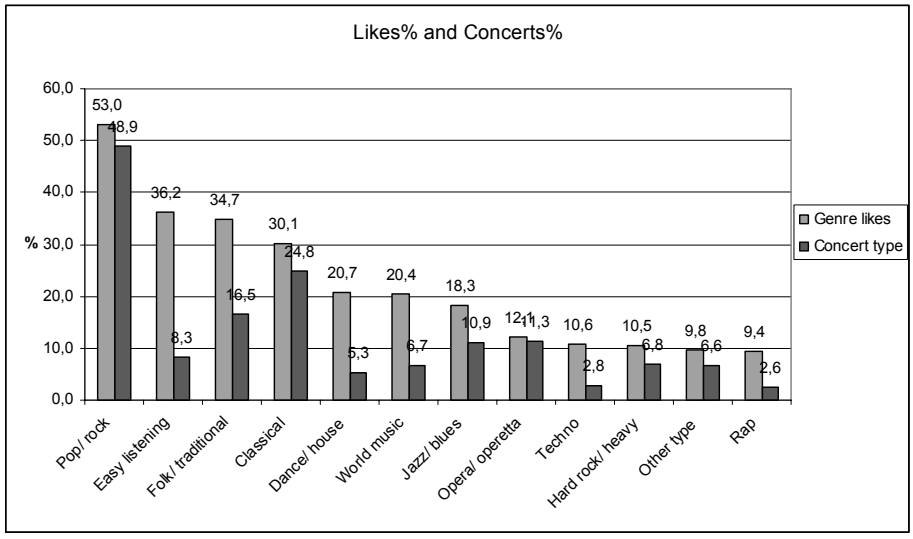

Figure 9. Comparisons between music genre preference and concert attendance, % (preference n = 16 200; concert attendance n= 5207)

As Figure 9 above shows, there are notable differences between concert-attendance levels and liking that kind of music across the genres. Here it must be must be borne in mind that the values presented are calculated from unequal sample sizes (for likes n = 16 200 and for attending concerts n= 5207), since only about one-third of all the respondents had gone to a concert. Thus, the figure suggests that genres can be divided into two categories: the ones that are *actively participated in alongside listening* and those that are *listened to without ever attending* that genre's concerts. The former group consists of pop, classical, opera, hard rock or heavy, and at some level jazz/blues and other type of music. The rest of the music genres, on the other hand, are listened to but there is a lack of concert participation. In the case of easy listening the gap between listening and going to concerts is remarkable. The patterns for folk, world and dance/house music categories behave similarly, although there is not such a wide gap. This might be suggestive of the fact that the groups that like these music categories are more likely to prefer doing things other than cultural *participation*, such as, sports activities, gardening, domestic hobbies, etc. In the case of folk music this conclusion could be a bit misleading, as the genre is the third most popular of all concert types, but for the other genres the explanation might be valid.

5.2.4 Internet related cultural consumption in the EU

The realm of the Internet offers many things for consumers, as a hunger for culture can be satisfied by its means if one has access and the knowledge to use the tools required (DiMaggio et al. 2001; Räsänen 2006). The Internet is not yet as universally distributed as TV but in some countries and in some segments of society the Internet has replaced some of the practices traditionally associated with TV. More time is used surfing, and studies suggest that for example younger generations might extend or compensate for their TV practices through eager TV-related Internet use (Van Rees – Van Eijck 2003). In addition, studies concerning Internet use are less abundant and only a few of them are reflect issues central to taste formation (see for example (DiMaggio et al. 2001; Räsänen 2006a; 2006b; Virtanen 2006a; 2006b). Despite the shortage of research, specifically on Internet use, some assumptions can be made based on the results of cultural consumption in general. Firstly, the skills needed in order to hook up to the Internet suggest that younger cohorts and the more educated are expected to engage in this domain than others are (e.g. Van Rees – Van Eijck 2003, 470). Studies show that possessing the current technology at home and possessing skills that are related to innovation, i.e. being pioneer, are also a source of status rewards among one's peers, as well as providing rewards in later life in terms of occupational gains. (Van Rees et al. 2004) This might also explain some aspects of Internet consumption. In a study of several kinds of omnivores in the EU it was found that Internet omnivores were more likely to be members of a higher class, have a higher education, male, to have a high income and to live in a city (Virtanen 2006b). They were also more likely to live in the Nordic countries than elsewhere in the EU. (ibid.)

Here, consumption activities that exploit the Internet as a media but which maintain content or objectives similar to the traditional cultural practices are regarded as *cultural consumption*. This category then consists of practices like reading, listening and watching; which are typical activities where cultural consumption is concerned.

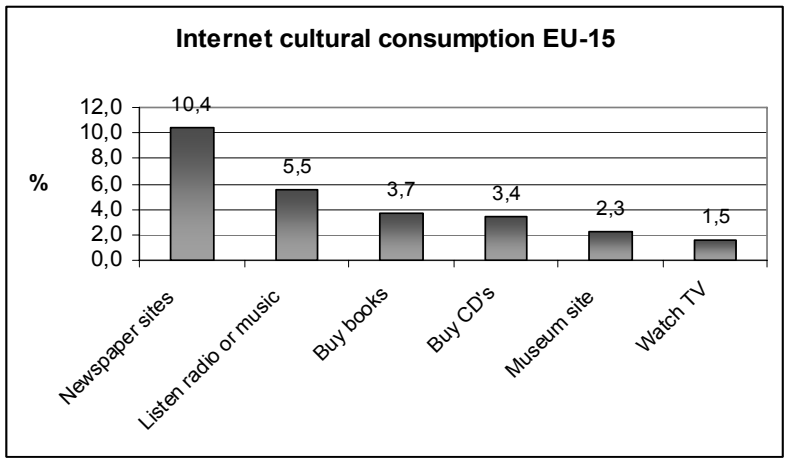

Figure 10. Internet related cultural consumption in the EU, % (n = 16 200)

E-newspapers are by far the most popular form of cultural consumption on the Internet (see Figure 10). Buying books or CD's via the Internet is less common, and almost surprisingly rare if compared with the rather unique consumption form of visiting museum websites. Listening to music via the Internet is also a more popular activity than the least popular form of watching TV via the Internet. We need to note the fact that the data was collected in 2001. Evolution in the realm of the high tech and new media has outrun that of traditional technology and will have altered these findings already. Internet and web-based solutions related to media and cultural consumption have also penetrated, in a short space of time, across wide layers of different audiences. This is further discussed at the end of this work.

Rather much of the variation (5.1%) between the adoption of different Internet items is explained by country (see Table 15 above). The range is somewhat similar to that of the above-scrutinized concert-going, yet the countries appearing at the bottom have less items in their repertoire. As many as seven countries remain below the mean of 0.2 whereas the mean for the whole of the EU is 0.27. On the other hand, in Sweden the mean is significantly high, above 0.7, which suggests the wide inclusion of the Internet as a domain of cultural practices. The patterns for Internet consumption are to a large extent similar in Sweden, Luxembourg Denmark and the Netherlands, where all the cultural items (except for museum websites) are rather extensively consumed relative to other EU countries. The rest of the countries adhere to rather similar Internet consumption patterns, except for Finland, where there is a more avid tendency to read newspapers on-line. (For consumption rates for each Internet items in the countries see Appendix Table 10.)

Table 15. Means of the cultural Internet items by country (ANOVA)

Country	N	Cultural Internet items, β	Standard error of mean
Sweden	1000	0.73	0.03
Denmark	1001	0.50	0.03
Luxembourg	609	0.43	0.03
The Netherlands	1047	0.40	0.03
Finland	1023	0.32	0.02
UK	1346	0.25	0.02
Austria	1093	0.24	0.02
Germany	2047	0.23	0.02
Italy	998	0.19	0.02
France	1002	0.16	0.02
Ireland	1002	0.15	0.01
Belgium	1031	0.14	0.02
Spain	1000	0.14	0.01
Greece	1001	0.13	0.02
Portugal	1000	0.12	0.02
EU-15	**16200**	**0.27**	**0.01**
	F-value	**61.796*** **	
	Eta^2	**.051**	

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) ≥ 0.05

5.2.5 TV and radio consumption in the EU

Some studies maintain that showing a liking for a wide range of TV programmes suggests that a person does not have time pressures, which mainly refers to the less educated and manual occupation segments of society (Sullivan – Gershuny 2000; Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000). In comparison high status individuals refrain from watching television to a greater extent than low status individuals (Kraaykamp et al.2007). Although, when it comes to combining all sorts of media content (be it light entertainment or serious literature and films), the young and more educated groups tend to be more omnivorous than others (Van Rees et al. 1999; Peterson 1992). TV has divided the socio-economic classes more in the past than it does today. In the US, already in the 1960's, television was found to be the "chief culprit" (Wilensky 1964, 190) for the taste of the cultural elite, e.g. professors, writers, and artists, converging with that of the typical audience for mass culture.

TV is nowadays undoubtedly the most common and popularly embraced realm of cultural consumption. Its wide reach and coverage has made watching TV an organic part of every day life that seems not to carry any connotations regarding the TV watcher's social origins. Still some social markers become valid in predicting the preferences people from different social strata possess. Highbrow TV programs, such as documentaries, news and programmes on cultural and political issues, are related to a young age rather than other socio-economic features (Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000, 337). On the other hand, TV programs regarded as lowbrow, such as sport and entertainment are strongly related to education, class and gender. In addition, even though TV watching is part of the daily activity of most people, the magnitude of watching varies greatly. (Van Rees – Van Eijck 2003; Knulst – Kraaykamp 1998.)

Even if watching TV in general was considered to be a low-brow activity amongst cultural consumption items, there is considerable variability within the type and legitimacy of available TV programs and genres. Some experts criticize the diminishing amount of quality content and elaborate drama, meanwhile new forms of TV programmes have emerged and replaced the old content. Some channels are traditionally associated with high quality programming (like YLE Teema in Finland and the BBC in the UK), whereas others concentrate on more popular programmes or ones that cost less to produce and purchase.

France and the UK are the only countries in the EU-15 where the news is not the most popular TV program. (See Appendix Table 11 for TV programme preference rates and Appendix Table 12 for radio programme per country.) In both countries the most popular category of TV preference is film. In the rest of the EU-15 film comes in second, with the exception of Ireland and Portugal, where soap operas are the second most popular form of television programme. Almost across the board the most popular form after the movies and news are TV documentaries, with the exception of the Portuguese for whom the documentaries rank as third *least popular* form. Also in Ireland and Germany documentaries are not among the most popular forms. On average, the least popular form is the talk show which still has approximately 40 % of all EU citizens watching them occasionally. The rate of talk show viewers though is remarkable when taking into account other domains and the rate of their most popular items (for example the artistic activity of photography with 32% and the Internet domain for leisure information search 13%). These substantial differences in the proportion of consumption between cultural items and domains underlines the importance of the domain-specific analysis that takes the nature of the consumption and thus also the variation of the legitimacy and status of the domain into account.

Radio is a less studied cultural domain, yet it seems it has some shared qualities with TV. At least a very wide coverage is achieved by music programmes aired on the radio. From approximately 70 percent (Spain) to 94 percent (Germany) of respondents reported listening to music on the radio. Other types of programs are more rarely tuned into. In the case of these items the countries are differentiated along common boundaries. For example entertainment programmes are listened to by only about 5 to 6% in all other countries except the five Northern European countries (Finland, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and Luxembourg). In addition to those, only in Belgium does the rate of entertainment listening climb above or around 15 percent. Items with a more 'highbrow' tendency seem to divide countries even more. So called cultural programmes (documentaries, plays and cultural affairs) are listened to above the ten percent boundary only in Finland (26%), Denmark (20%), Sweden (18%) and Luxembourg (14%). The reason for this type of segmentation may lie in the tradition of broadcasting these types of programmes or in the divergent preferences of audiences elsewhere in the EU.

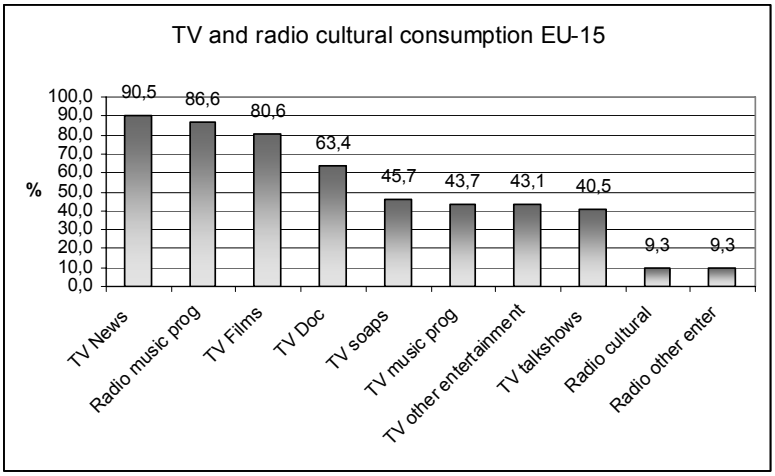

Figure 11. TV programmes watched and radio programmes listened to in the EU (n = 16 200).[27]

By looking at all the TV and radio items at the national level, we notice that the Finns have the widest range (see Table16). This does not indicate the time spent before the TV set or radio, but rather the average a person reports consuming from a variety of genres. Though there must be a seed of truth in

[27] Legend for the Figure 12: Radio music prog = Music programmes on the radio, TV Doc = TV documentaries, TV music prog = Music programmes on TV, Radio cultural = Cultural programmes on the radio, Radio other enter = Other entertainment on the radio.

the notion that if most of the people report watching many programme types that they also spend quite a large amount of time in front of the TV set. (See Van Rees – Van Eijck 2003 on the increase of time spent watching TV during the last decades.) On the other hand, channel and programme "hopping" might be an indicator of omnivorousness, a 'pick-and-mix' tendency, or even voraciousness, the ideology in which hurriedness and being everywhere-doing everything are a part of.

Table 16. Means of the TV and radio items by country (ANOVA)

Country	**N**	**TV and radio items, β**	**Standard error of mean**
Finland	1023	5.64	0.07
Sweden	1000	5.46	0.06
Denmark	1001	5.11	0.06
Luxembourg	609	5.10	0.09
The Netherlands	1047	5.00	0.07
Spain	1000	3.97	0.07
Belgium	1031	4.91	0.08
Germany	2047	4.75	0.05
UK	1346	4.60	0.06
Austria	1093	4.50	0.06
Ireland	1002	4.44	0.06
France	1002	4.38	0.08
Portugal	1000	4.30	0.07
Greece	1001	4.09	0.07
Italy	998	3.99	0.07
EU-15	**16200**	**4.68**	**0.02**
	F-value	**55.461*** **	
	Eta^2	**.046**	

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) ≥ 0.05

The order of countries shown in Table 16 above resembles those shown previously. This would suggest, that the domain of TV and radio is by no means to considered to be totally different in terms of its status amongst the other cultural domains. At least with cross-national comparisons the domains seem to be rather equal in status, even though their status would fluctuate in terms of other determinants, such as socio-demographic factors. What we can conclude is that since some countries repeatedly appear to have a more narrow

taste range than other countries, the whole realm of cultural consumption is contested, from the perspective of time-use, by another realm of leisure. It is possible that people potentially engage in other leisure past-times such as entertaining and visiting friends or eating out rather than consuming culture.

A closer examination of the status and popularity of three TV programme genres: news, soaps and talk shows

It seems that in some countries the universally popular category of TV news is a little bit less popular, but on the other hand in those countries soap operas are more popular. Could this be an indicator of social division and unequally spread opportunities? When looking at the most popular TV genres among the Europeans, the news is by far one of them. It also seems that genres that are rather often considered lowbrow, for example soap operas or talk shows, vary rather much in their popularity across the countries. Based on the general popularity of some genres, we can suggest that some countries are more 'talk show prone' than others, and often at the cost of genres of soap operas that are popular elsewhere.

In order to illustrate these cross-cultural differences, three simple ratios were constructed to measure the relative popularity of these genres: news/soap-ratio, news/talk show-ratio and soap/talk show-ratio. The ratios help us compare countries. (See Figures 12 and 13.) In Figure 12 the dark line with the diamond indicator represents the ratio between news and soap operas, and the light line with the square indicator represents news and talk shows. A value near 1 indicates that both genres in question are equally popular in the country in question, whereas values above one describe the news' popularity over the contrasted genre (either soap opera or talk show). Since the news is the most watched genre, there are no values below one.

Based on the Figure 12 it is possible to state that the news in some countries is far more popular than talk shows and soap operas, this is especially the case in Denmark and Sweden, where the ratios are 3.5 or above (though, in Sweden the news/soap-ratio is only 2). This means that relative to news, people here watch few soap operas and talk shows. Countries that also shun soap operas are Germany, Italy and Austria. In addition to the aforementioned Denmark and Sweden, Spain is also among those countries where talk shows are rarely watched compared to the news.

At the other extreme are countries where these allegedly lowbrow genres are being watched almost to the same extent as the news. For example, in the UK and Ireland the news/soap-ratio is very close to 1 pointing to the fact that as many people reported watching news and soaps.

Is it possible to make assumptions on the browship of these TV programmes? News, a category often considered as serious, would reflect qualities often associated with highbrow items. In contrast, soap operas are most likely mainly entertaining and lighter in terms of their content, and thus potentially regarded as a form of lowbrow culture. Talk shows vary in nature and they may be either highly informative or lean towards vulgar and frivolous content (c.f. Lahire 2004), which would also indicate a lower status genre.

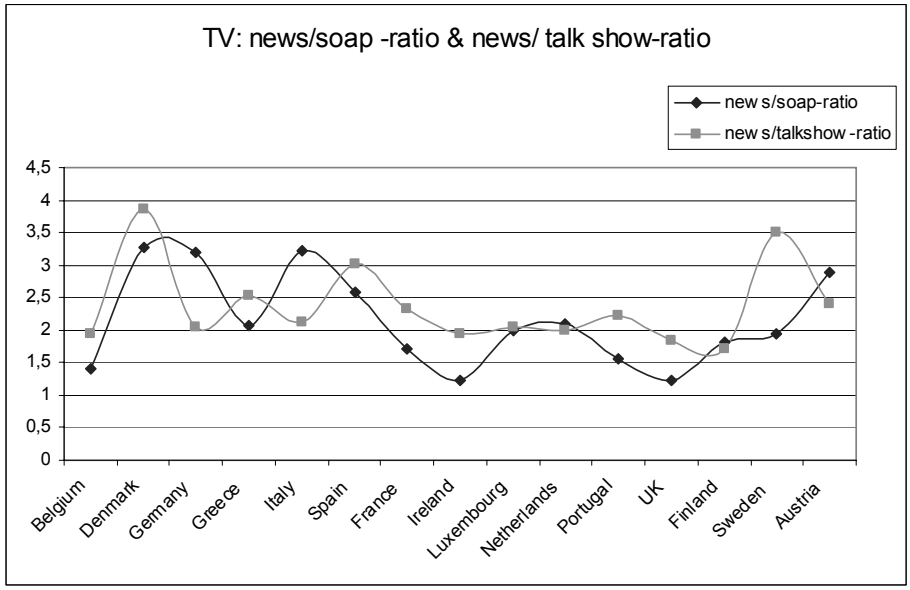

Figure 12. News/soap-ratio and news/talk show-ratio in the EU

On the other hand, if we concentrate on soap operas and talk shows without taking into account the category of news that is universally popular another kind of illustration is presented (see Figure 13). Based on the vast difference between the popularities of the news and the entertainment genres of soaps and talk shows, it is obvious that there is something that connects these latter forms. In some countries, soaps are more popular, whereas in other countries they are seemingly replaced by talk shows.

The values that are near one in Figure 13 below describe the equal popularity of the two genres in the country in question, whereas values over one speak for a more soap-friendly culture whereas figures below one indicate a talk show prone country. The Netherlands, Luxembourg and Finland are countries where both forms are equally popular (in this case 'embraced': in all the three countries, these shows are watched by 43 to 53 percent of the population). In Germany, Italy and Austria talk shows are far more popular than soap operas. In Sweden and Ireland, on the other hand, the opposite is

very much true. There the relative difference between the popularities is almost doubled in favour of soap operas. But in absolute terms, the story is slightly different as the most eager soap watchers are in fact the Irish, followed by the British, the Belgians and the Portuguese, leaving the Swedes in the seventh place.

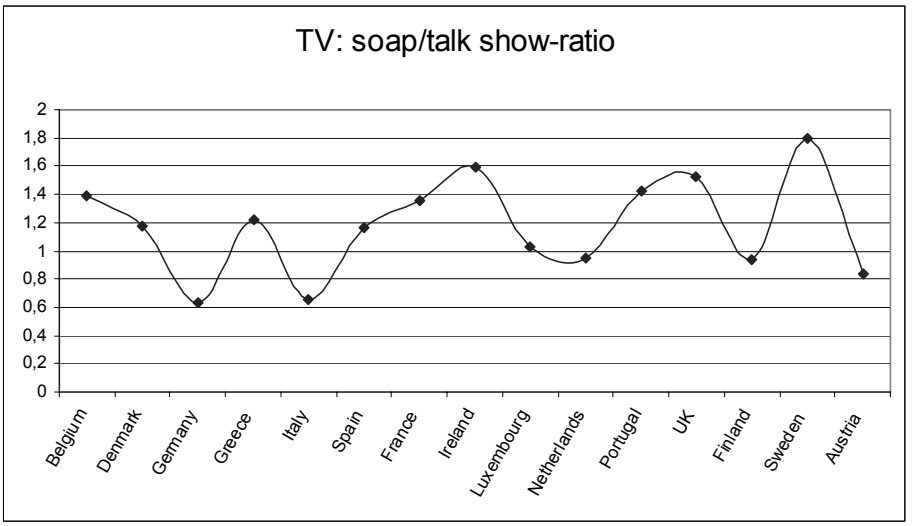

Figure 13. Soap opera/talk show-ratio in the EU

The ratios, both the ones contrasting the news with less serious content genres as well as the soap/talk show, can be taken as an indicator of a few things. First, these analyses explain, to some extent, the differences between European audiences in their TV watching cultures. The audiences, and probably the supply for the different kinds of programme genres differs quite a lot. This is reflected in the size of the cultural industries in each country or each culture (e.g. German speaking nations). Smaller nations may be more heavily reliant on multinational formats and the rate of their domestic content production thus remains lower.

5.2.6 Leisure reading

Writing and reading is a common sign of a developed, intellectual culture. The history of sophistication and also research on literacy are used to derive the assumption that literacy offers social advantage and protects a person from poor life opportunities and social inequality. The literacy rate was once a good indicator of a person's living standard and sophistication, and it has not ceased

to be valid in some societies. Nevertheless, in Western societies reading has gained the status of a human right, and even though reading should be everyman's right and granted to all, it is far more interesting to study reading from another perspective than mere ability. More recently the form of reading, i.e. what people read, who are the readers and what are the consequences of different practices of reading, has begun to interest researchers more and the focus of research has shifted to examine the social aspects of reading. (Griswold et al. 2005.) Reading behaviour consists of at least both the frequency of reading and information about what is read (Stokmans 1999, 246). The ability to read is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the practice of reading. Some forms of text are more valued than others and the value placed on distinct textual products changes across societies. Studying reading as a leisure-time activity is consistent with research and attempts to try to examine the social aspects of this practice. The focus has shifted from asking "who can read" to "how people read" and "who reads what". (Griswold et al. 2005, 127.)

Research on social conditions and the context of reading, reading attitudes and preferences is abundant (Knulst – Kraaykamp 1998; Stokmans 1999; Kraaykamp – Dijkstra 1999; Kraaykamp 2003; Van Rees et al. 1999; Bennett et al. 1999; Verboord – Van Rees 2005). A factor very prominent with respect to reading is gender. Even though gender based divisions are found in all the cultural realms, reading is most evidently pronounced. One reason for the differing genre preferences between men and women is said to be the individual nature of the reading activity (Bennett et al. 1999). Also, there is segregation in the book markets and book advertising is often conducted based on gendered images of genres. (ibid.)

Another natural factor behind reading behaviour is education. Reading is the object of a vast field of studies that wish to unveil the links between cultural capital and the bases of cultural participation. Reading often bears an implicit value of high culture status or is a marker of a well-educated person. Leisure reading is often considered to be a high-status activity and people who do not read at all may cause some resentment among certain groups (Kraaykamp – Dijkstra 1999, 204).

Literary socialization during childhood strengthens one's cognitive and motivational resources and this is seen as transmitting positive effects in fostering cultural development. Socialization takes place mainly in three favourable social domains: the home environment, the library and the school. (Kraaykamp 2003, 236.) An extensive knowledge of literature may provide an excellent source for many kinds of experience and also improve one's means in the struggle for positions of status just as any other knowledge in the cultural fields can do (c.f. Erickson 1996).

Leisure reading is a domain where only one item, namely reading books during one's leisure, is measured in the data. In addition, the intensity of reading is examined by measuring the number of books read (see number of books read in each country during the last 12 months in the Appendix Table 13). In total, 46.2 % of the Europeans in the data report reading as a leisure activity. The significant difference of the reading rates between the most active and least active countries needs to be noted (see Figure 14). In Sweden the share of people who do not read is almost the same size as the share of the reading Portuguese. The presence of books and attitudes towards reading as a preferable or beneficial cultural activity must also differ remarkably in these societies. The order of the countries that have occupied both extremes in previous analyses appears to remain rather stable in Figure 14, which presents leisure reading, yet some exceptions arise. First of all, the UK and Italy can also be labelled as book-loving countries, along with the usual Nordic countries and the Netherlands and Luxembourg. On the other hand Belgium, being more or less in the middle-ground in previous analyses, presents itself as a less eager book consumer. Belgium is second to last in the listing with only one-fourth of the respondents having read books for leisure purposes during the previous year.

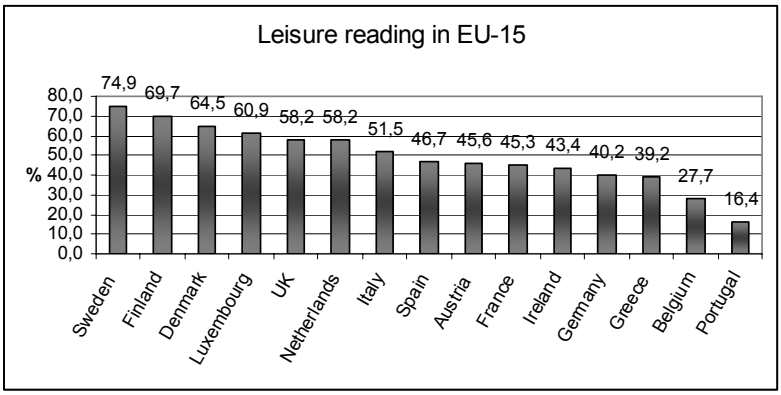

Figure 14. Leisure reading in the EU, % (n = 16200)

Book consumption is also approached by quantity of reading. The number of books one has read for leisure purposes varies greatly between the countries (see Appendix Table 13). Figure 15 presents the proportion of those who have either read up to three books and those who have reported reading at least 13 books. Some disparities emerge that are new to the general tendencies visible in the previous domains. The most eager readers, the ones who have read 13 or more books during the previous 12 months, come from the UK. Also the Irish improve their standing via the readership comparisons when the amount is the

issue at stake. The Irish are the sixth most eager readers in terms of the most voluminous reading category. In countries where there is a large share of eager readers also the number of books read by voracious readers (13 or more books) remains high, around 25 to 30 percent of those who read. At the aggregate level of the EU this proportion translates to around 10 percent (1672 respondents). The reader categories presented in Figure 15 reveal that in Spain the share of those reading up to three books is the biggest in the EU after Portugal and Greece. The reading level in Spain in general is at the average of the EU, but it seems that most Spanish readers are not voracious. A similar pattern occurs in Italy.

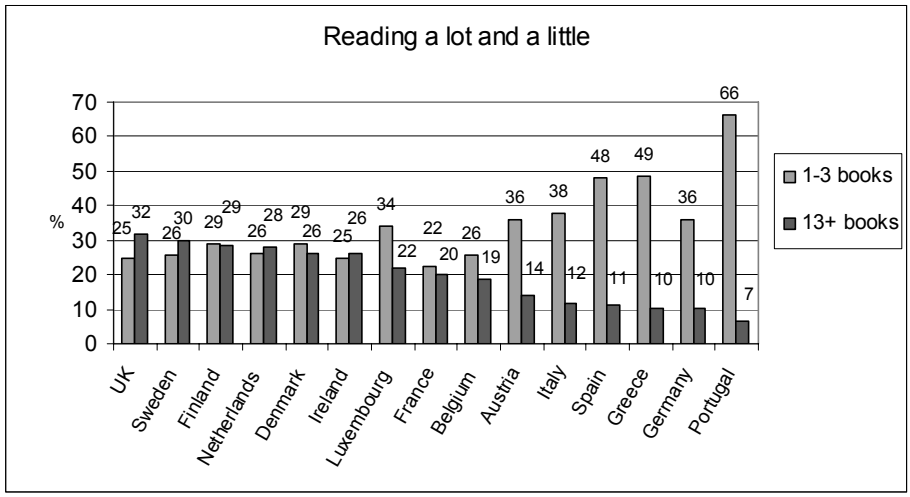

Figure 15. Reading 13 or more books per year and reading 1 to 3 books per year in the EU, % (n=16200)

An additional comment is in order. Reading is an activity, which, on the one hand, requires the investment of time, and on the other hand, it is a skill, which strengthens over time and generates more reading. (To an extent, this is also the case with all the cultural consumption) In this sense reading can be considered to be a representative of cultural capital accumulation (see DiMaggio – Useem 1978; DiMaggio – Ostrower 1990). It is probable that if one is to read a lot in order to be up-to-date with the currencies at work (c.f. Erickson 1996), one is also likely to be prone to read outside office hours. This time-consuming activity is also rather impossible to incorporate with other activities, if listening to music or travelling on public transportation are not included. This leads to the conclusion, that potentially the ones who cannot dedicate their leisure to reading many (or any) books, might either be engaged in work-related reading to the extent that any other kind of reading is not

possible due to time limitations, or they are not interested in reading in any form (neither for work nor for leisure). This is why the total amount of reading, which includes books read for work and education purposes, is considered next. Are there countries where work-related reading has exhausted people and left them unable to pursue book-related leisure activities, even though they would like to?

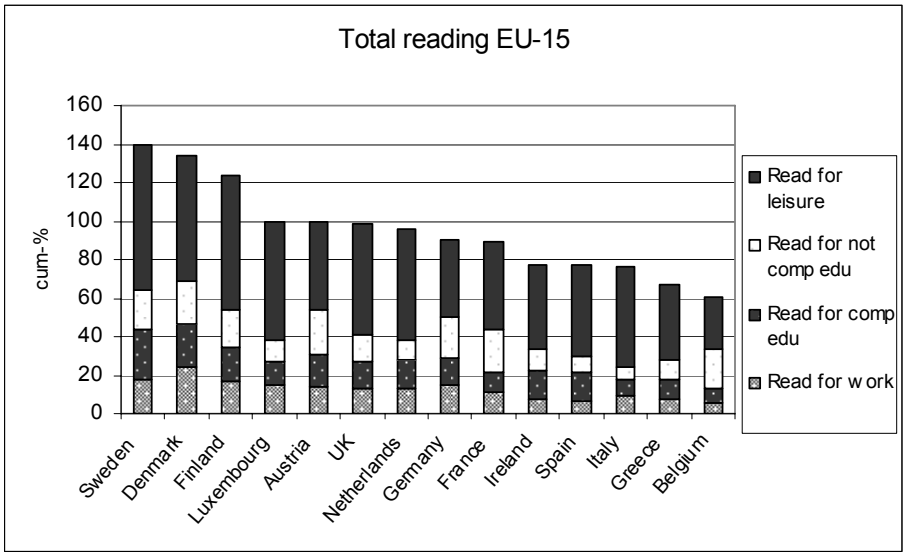

Figure 16. Total reading in the EU, countries, cumulative percentages (n = 16 200)[28]

Figure 16 shows total reading by summing up four reading realms: reading for work, reading compulsory texts for education, reading voluntary texts for education, and leisure reading. The figure indicates that in each country, the greatest share of total reading is constituted as leisure reading. This suggests, that reading is today, in the information society, still a matter of leisure and personal preference. In most of the countries the proportion of leisure reading even exceeds the sum of the three other reading forms. This said, it can be concluded that the level of leisure reading reflects rather well reading in general in each country, as the order of countries is rather the same for both leisure reading and for total reading.

Ownership of a book is a good indicator of, or proxy for, leisure reading (Eskola 1979; Kraaykamp –Dijkstra 1999; Toivonen 2006). Almost 97 percent of the leisure readers possess at least one book, and most own significantly

[28] Legend for Figure 16: not comp edu = not compulsory educational material, comp edu = compulsory educational material.

more books than that (Tables presenting other categories on the ownership of books than the one presented in Figure 17 are available on request). A smaller share of the non-readers own books (80%). The number of books at home better describes more about readership than mere ownership. It seems that 50 books at home is a critical point in classifying the respondents into readers and non-readers, as most of the latter own less than 50 books. We could also try and predict the intensity of reading by the number of books that are in the vicinity of the potential reader, but one thing needs to be noted. Books are consumer *durables* in the very strictest sense, and they tend to accumulate on the book shelves of fervent readers. People also inherit books, and books can be consumed several times over the years or even decades and they do not decrease in value as other products might do. This gives a book a special role among other cultural items, even though similar qualities can be attached to several 'recorded' forms of culture, such as paintings, sculptures, feature films and music. The presence of books is bound to increase with age, and this makes it challenging to compare the number of books with the intensity of reading with regard to people from different cohorts. Still, we can picture a rather linear relation between (eager) reading countries and the large number of books at home (many young readers may also have parents who read and thus have access to their books while living at home).

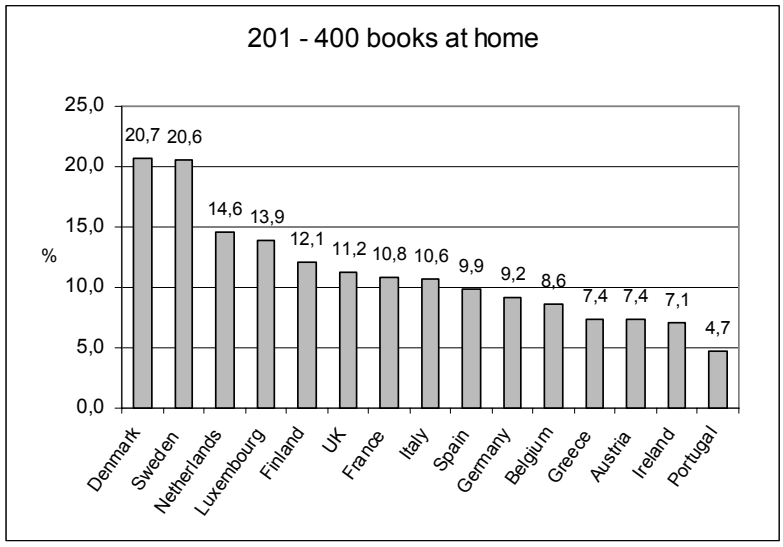

Figure 17. The number of books at home, countries, % (n = 16200)

The ownership of books is not the only necessary prerequisite for reading. Libraries among other facilitators engender reading, though the availability and pervasiveness of libraries varies greatly across the EU (see Chapter 4.5).

In some countries there are no lending fees (or they are modest) and library visits are tightly integrated and promoted in school curricula. In other countries nationally institutionalized public libraries are nearly non-existent as the library system is mainly maintained by universities or other similar organizations. Figure 18 illustrates the relationship between library visits and the likelihood of spending one's leisure with books. It also becomes evident, that in countries where libraries are visited most often leisure reading also reaches high rates. Finland, Sweden and Denmark are the EU countries where libraries are most popular. There, the level of leisure reading is approximately at a similar level, too, whereas in some countries, e.g. in Luxembourg and Italy, reading is a popular cultural activity but libraries are seldom visited. In Belgium and Portugal, on the other hand, the gap between library visits and reading is small, meaning that the institution of the library seems to support the activity of reading, but not as much as in the Nordic countries, perhaps due to a less pervasive library network.

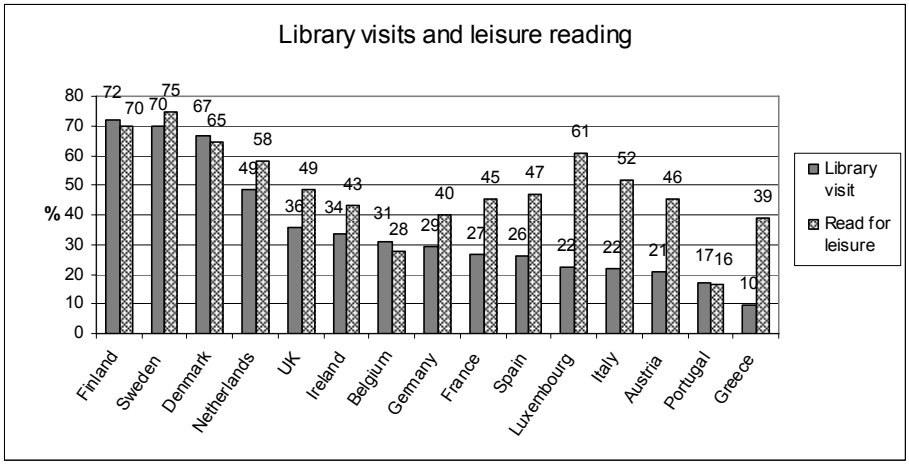

Figure 18. Library visits and leisure reading in the EU, % (n = 16200)

Again, in countries where cultural participation was varied, artistic activities were more abundant and reading in general was highly popular, a large number of books were also kept at home. This would indicate that in those countries, especially in the Nordic countries, the Netherlands and Luxembourg that is, cultural capital is accumulated in a variety of forms and in great amounts. The analyses of the previous chapters predicts that a broad strata of citizens in the above-mentioned countries are exposed to a great variety of cultural consumption possibilities.

6 RESULTS OF THE CULTURAL CONSUMPTION DIMENSIONS AND TASTE PATTERNS IN THE EU

6.1 Construction of patterns

The construction of the analytical tools for the cultural consumption patterns is discussed next. The process will be based on the needs presented in previous studies, theoretical considerations will be taken into account as well as the practical need for information. This means, that the construction of patterns involves intense dialogue with previous research results, but the patterns are not necessarily measured in the same fashion as previously done.

When referring to a consumption pattern, we need to be aware of the limitations and expectations placed on it. The literature review revealed gaps in the empirical attempts of the previous studies. We need, at least to some extent, to disassociate ourselves from previous assumptions related to the fixed status or value of each item or consumer. Those gaps previously presented are addressed here by more extensively covering various domains and essences of cultural consumption.

The three-dimensionality presented here is considered to be an approach that will provide a richer, broader picture of cultural consumption. Every dimension takes a distinct position on cultural choice patterns. If the hierarchy and exclusivity of the items, or the value they add to each other when consumed simultaneously is the interest, then the patterns have been approached from the viewpoint of the **quality-dimension**. This dimension is addressed in the literature under the heading referring to measures of browship or 'levels': highbrow, middle-brow, lowbrow, high culture etc.

If knowledge is required about how consistent consumers are when studying the repetition of cultural activities, then the **intensity-dimension** is used. This view is seldom addressed in the literature, except with cursory references to the training and time devoted to developing cultural skills, even though it would account for enthusiasm and the level of interest and resources allocated to a cultural activity.

If the quality of items and the breadth of a person's cultural consumption repertoire is under examination, then the **variety-dimension** is used. This line

of research typically refers to omnivores and the theoretical modifications that have come about from their study. This dimension has been discussed extensively over the past decade.

In the following sub-chapters the operationalization of the three taste patterns from the data are presented in detail. In short, the dimensions i.e. the patterns are operationalized as follows:

- **Quality of taste** – i.e. the browship of consumed items – is measured within each domain. The popularity of each item is defined by taking into account the more popularly embraced cultural forms (‘*lowbrow’ or ‘popular’*) and items consumed by the minority (‘*highbrow’*). The extreme quartiles are applied. [29]
- **Intensity of cultural consumption (taste)** – is measured only in the domain of cultural participation since data is not available for other domains. In addition one item, reading books, is included in the analyses. *Heavy-users* are defined using an applicable cut-off point for each item separately. Heavy-users attend the given cultural participation events well above average, whereas the rest (potentially ‘*light-users’*) consume at low or moderate levels.
- **Variety of tastes** – i.e. a broad or narrow scope of items in the consumption repertoire – is measured within each cultural domain separately. A sum variable is formed of each area. Each domain has a range of its own, and a variety of tastes is measured for each domain as the number of different items consumed. The inclusion requirement for an *omnivore* is to have a score within the top quartile bracket. A measure for cross-domain omnivorousness is formed in a similar manner: a sum variable is formed of all the cultural domains and an individual belonging in the highest quartile on this scale is classified as a *cross-domain omnivore.*

6.1.1 Quality of taste – Defining the highbrows (browship)

“Beauty is in the eye of the beholder”. The same applies to the quality or importance of aesthetic objects, such as cultural consumption items. Typically the browship of cultural consumption items is determined based on the prevailing appreciation system within a society and a researcher acts as an interpreter of this system. This leads to a method that usually lags behind, and is unable to predict the future, or even describe the present, browship of consumption items as any object of symbolic consumption is also affected by

[29] Only one consumer type in each pattern is scrutinized, the *highbrow*, the *heavy-user* and the *omnivore.* Their counterparts, even though not operationalized here, may be referred to briefly in the text.

the mechanisms of fashion. Most often, the ruling class are taken as a point of reference: their preference marks the highbrow, all else is middle-brow and lowbrow.

In the literature, the dominant practice is to apply predetermined criteria when including items or excluding items from the highbrow category. For example, this would suggest that items such as attendance at opera and ballet are highbrow ones whereas attending art and craft fairs and historical parks and monuments represent the lowbrow end of the scale (e.g. Peterson – Kern 1996). In some studies a preference for classical music is regarded as high culture and thus a manifestation of high level taste (highbrow). On the other hand, lowbrow (or sometimes middle-brow) taste is exhibited by attending sports events, liking certain popular music genres, country music and bluegrass, and reading specific popular genres of literature, such as romantic novels (Peterson – Kern 1996; Bennett et al. 1999, Kraaykamp 2003, Verboord – Van Rees 2003). That is to say, some forms of cultural consumption are regarded *a priori* as high quality i.e. representatives of high cultural consumption items.

However, in the literature the arguments for determining highbrow items stress not only the legitimacy but also the *exclusivity* of this type of consumption (Crane 1992; López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002). By consuming highbrow forms of culture the elite wishes to distance itself from other social groupings through a mechanism that can be termed exclusion (c.f also trickle-down). Thus, the highbrow is emblematic of two distinct elements: the elite consumers and exclusivity-based taste formation.

Instead of applying predetermined items, the browship of an item is defined here by using the rarity of consumption as an index. This will highlight the exclusive nature of the consumption pattern, which should also suggest the item in question's potential for serving as a highbrow indicator. In addition, this method also supports the view in which popularity is seen as one signifier of middle-brow or lowbrow forms of culture (Van Rees et al. 1999, 350). In addition, this procedure allows the mechanism to emerge more spontaneously than with the procedure of predetermination. Here, a solution for determining browship by taking *relative popularity* as a measure is proposed. Browship is thus assessed as the relative 'order' between the items in the data. This procedure enables the drawing of some conclusions on putative emergent boundaries between the highbrow (consumed by the minority) and the lowbrow (more popularly embraced) cultural forms.

Cultural items are divided into four categories, each category representing a quartile of tastes. There are, in total, 56 items (shown in the Table 17), and these items are categorized into four equal-sized groups of fourteen. Quartile divisions are shown in descending order, the fourth quartile (IV) with the least

popular cultural items representing the category of rare, or putative highbrow items.

Table 17. Cultural highbrow definition – Quartile division of cultural items according to popularity, % (n = 16 200)

I 25% The popular		II 25%		III 25%		IV 25% The rare	
TV news	90.5	Folk/ trad[M 5]	34.7	Archaeol.[9]	16.4	Listen ent.[R 15]	9.30
Music prog[R]	86.6	Concert[6]	33.4	Writing[A]	16.2	Easy listening[C]	8.30
TV Films	80.6	Museums	33.3	Other artistic[A]	16.0	Hard rock[C 12]	6.80
TV Doc's[1]	63.4	Photograph.[A 7]	31.7	Play instru.[A 10]	13.1	World music[C]	6.70
Cinema	55.5	Theatre	30.3	Ballet	12.7	Other type[C]	6.60
Rock, pop[M]	53.0	Classical[M]	30.1	Opera[M 11]	12.1	Listen radio[www]	5.50
Rock, pop[C]	48.9	Classical[C]	24.8	Opera[C 11]	11.3	Dance/house[C]	5.30
Historical m.[2]	46.0	Dancing[A]	22.1	Jazz, blues[C]	10.9	Acting[A]	4.70
TV soaps	45.7	Dance/house[M]	20.7	Techno[M]	10.6	Buy books[www]	3.70
TV music prog	43.7	Singing[A]	20.6	Hard rock[M 12]	10.5	Buy CD's[www]	3.40
TV other ent.[3]	43.1	World music[M]	20.4	Newsp.[www 13]	10.4	Techno[C]	2.80
TV talk shows	40.5	Museums abr[8]	19.8	Other type[M]	9.80	Rap[C]	2.60
Easy listen.[M 4]	36.2	Jazz/ blues[M]	18.7	Rap[M]	9.40	Visit museum[www]	2.30
Library	35.9	Folk/ trad.[C 5]	16.5	Listen Doc.[R 14]	9.30	Watch TV[www 16]	1.50

[R]) Radio listening item; [M]) Music type preference (multiple preferences possible); [C]) Concert type; [A]) Artistic activity; [www]) Internet item; 1) Watch TV Documentaries; 2) Visit historical monuments and sites; 3) Watch other entertainment on TV; 4) Prefer easy listening music; 5) Folk/ traditional music/concert; 6) Attendance at concert; 7) Photography and film; 8) Attending museum or gallery abroad; 9) Attending archaeological sites; 10) Playing a musical instrument; 11) Opera or operetta music/concert; 12) Hard rock/ heavy metal music/concert; 13) Visit newspaper web-site; 14) Listen to documentaries on the radio; 15) Listen to entertainment programs on the radio; 16) Visit museum web-site.

Highbrow taste is scattered and not identified solely with one single cultural domain[30]. It is clearly visible that the measure based on exclusivity differs somewhat from methods in previous literature. The cultural items that are traditionally considered legitimate such as attending classical music concerts and opera do no appear in the fourth quartile. This suggests that an exclusivity-based measure is more likely to reflect emergent forms of highbrow. In this sense the items in the fourth quartile would probably reflect an on-going legitimation process. Contrary to common belief and empirical evidence in the literature, attending classical concerts and a preference for classical music are not among the highbrow items defined here. Classical

[30] There were only three respondents stated liking 8 different highbrow items out of all the 14. Liking or consuming three or more highbrow items were reported 3.5 % of the respondents, which implies that the highbrow items are truly among marginal cultural preferences.

concerts are in fact among the most popular concerts, and expressing like to classical music seems to be a passé for the emergent elite, if that is how we can refer to the consumers of the fourth quartile. (However, preference for opera music and attendance in opera are in fact better indicators than classical music, if the quartile division is considered. Still, not even opera reach over the boundaries of the fourth quartile.) Despite the absence of classical concert in the emergent highbrow realm, other concert types are heavily concentrated on the fourth quartile as well as web-based cultural consumption practices.

In the subsequent sections, the least popular cultural consumption items are studied further in order to find out real distinctions in tastes. Henceforward this fourth (IV) quartile and the items it include are referred to as (*emergent) highbrow*[31]. On the other hand, we can assume, that the items that are included in the most popular quartile (I) are the ones recognized and consumed by the majority, with no regard to class-based tastes, thus this quartile can simply be ignored when defining browships.[32] Of course with the exception that some individuals possess the taste that only includes these items; then we can refer to this quartile as the most lowbrow, or popular cultural category.) In fact, the items within first quartile represent normal everyday cultural routines or practices of any citizen of a western society: listening to music in the radio, watching movies and documentaries in TV, going to cinema and liking popular music.

The logic used here for the highbrow is, to some extent, the inverse of the subsequent analysis of the heavy-user and omnivore classification[33]. As far as the highbrow is concerned, the less an item is consumed the better is its ability to serve as status marker and serve as a sign of distinction. In other words, the logic of being highbrow is to be in the margins or a minority, in order to be conceived of as elitist. Whereas the logic with heavy-user and omnivore emphasizes consuming intensively or abundantly. Some of those cultural items may be considered highbrow because of their limited popularity but others may as well be sub-cultural elements targeted at narrow audiences, such as rap

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[31] "The emergent highbrow pattern" will be abbreviated to "highbrow" if the context is apparent and clearly refers to the pattern constructed and further analyzed here.

[32] Consumers concentrating solely on highbrow items are hard to isolate, this was also found out by Wilensky (1964). He carried out an examination on the individuals that appeared as high quality media purists in his data. These 19 respondents have refrained themselves from nearly all the mass forms of culture. Wilensky could not find a single individual in his sample of nearly 1400 respondents who was not exposed at all to middlebrow or lowbrow material. He then settled in using two criteria for highbrow purists: 1) some highbrow exposure on all the studied domains and preference for only the highbrow forms of literature, and 2) not possessing TV set, or never watch TV, and some highbrow exposure on all the domains studied plus highbrow literature exclusivism. Being few in number, Wilensky also considered these respondents to represent poorly any fraction of the US population.

[33] Due to this fact, in Tables 19 and 20 on highbrow items the arrow signs presented in the other two patterns later on, are not shown.

and techno concerts. In order to discover the potential highbrow capabilities and social uses of cultural items for distinctive purposes, the association between socio-economic structures and the least popular cultural items are tested in Chapter 6.2. In addition, in order to test the validity of the constructed measure based on exclusivity, the emergent highbrow pattern is compared against an *a priori* constructed pattern that measures the traditional highbrow tendency.

In previous literature highbrow has been operationalized, for example, as a preference for classical music or opera (Peterson – Kern 1996) or attending plays and concerts, visiting museums and reading books, newspapers and magazines (Van Eijck – Bargeman 2004). Furthermore, the operationalizations have been argued to be valid because they reflected rather well the consumption patterns (or tastes) that are assumed to be those of highbrow consumers; respondents who prefer either opera or classical music are, according to Peterson and Kern (1996) also more likely than other respondents to attend plays, ballet, musicals, art galleries and opera.

In order to test the validity of the emergent highbrow pattern some items traditionally perceived as highbrow were analyzed further. This was done by constructing a measure for the traditional highbrow which was then contrasted with the measure for the emergent highbrow.

First, in order to find how the cultural items are related to each other a factor analysis was performed on all 57 cultural items. Although some of the coefficients and measures were not sufficient enough to be used in further analyses, the information produced by this method enabled some tentative assumptions. Based on an exploratory factor analysis (which yielded 17 factors explaining 51% of the total variance) a confirmatory factor analysis with a three-factor solution was performed. This analysis indicated that the space of cultural items can be characterized as having three underlying dimensions: one that is emblematic of cultural consumption i.e. traditionally considered to be highbrow (or cultural participation in general), one that contains cultural products that are either emblematic of popular culture or cultural forms traditionally regarded as the realm of younger cohorts, and one that strongly emphasizes all the artistic activities. The total variance explained by these three factors remained low (19%), and many of the items had communalities lower than 0.3 and most of the items (34 out of 57) had rather low factor loadings. The items loaded high on the factor resembling most what previous literature considers traditional highbrow were chosen to represent a pattern called “traditional highbrow”, which was contrasted with the so called emergent highbrow pattern (see Table 18).

Table 18 presents the proportions of all respondents as well as those respondents categorized as emergent highbrow in reference to cultural items

that can be regarded as traditionally highbrow. We notice that the share of the respondents who are emergent highbrows is far greater than that of all the respondents for all the traditional highbrow items. For example, whereas 30% of all respondents attended theatre the percentage was 56% among the emergent highbrows. Based on the information in Table 18 it seems clear that the emergent highbrows cam also be regarded as representatives of traditional highbrow consumption patterns.

Table 18. The proportions of traditional highbrow items for all respondents and emergent highbrow respondents, % (n = 16 200)

Traditional highbrow items	All respondents (n = 16200)	Emergent highbrow respondents (n = 2601)
Attended classical music concert	8	20
Attended opera concert	4	10
Like classical music	30	38
Attended ballet performance	13	26
Attended theatre performance	30	56
Visited historical sites	46	69
Visited archaeological sites	16	30
Visited domestic museum	33	55
Visited museum abroad	20	37

Nine cultural consumption items formed the base of the traditional highbrow pattern (see Table 18). The traditional highbrow pattern was operationalized in a similar manner to the emergent highbrow pattern, but this time the pool of nine traditional highbrow cultural items was used. First, an operationalization based on one or more items was attempted. However, it turned out that as many as 66 % of the respondents would be categorized as traditional highbrow by this method. That is why an operationalization taking into account two or more traditional highbrow items was chosen. By this standard 47.6 percent (7718) of the respondents were categorized as traditional highbrows.

What further emphasizes the salience of the new highbrow pattern created in this study is the fact that approximately 70 percent of the emergent highbrow respondents were also traditional highbrow consumers, i.e. their consumption repertoire includes at least two of the items traditionally regarded as highbrow. On the contrary, however, only 25 percent of the respondents categorized in the traditional highbrow pattern also included items from the emergent highbrow pattern in their repertoire. This suggests that the inclusion

of the emergent highbrow items into one's taste pattern does not undermine the role of current legitimate highbrow items. On the contrary this can be seen as a reflection of the direction the legitimation process is about to take, i.e. which cultural items may form the base or the pool from which future legitimate culture is derived. In addition, one purpose of this study was to find out potential new status markers and to study cultural consumption patterns that have been previously less studied. This point stresses the relevance of scrutinizing the emergent highbrow pattern instead of the isolated traditional highbrow pattern.

The association between the background variables and the two highbrow patterns is considered next. The higher the education the respondents have the more likely it is that they will be categorized as emergent highbrows. Only 6 percent of the least educated group (0 to 9 years) are emergent highbrows, whereas 25 % of the most educated and 34% of the respondents still in education are labelled as emergent highbrows. The trend is similar to the traditional highbrow, with exception of the students' position. The association seems to be linear in that the respondents with the least education are less highbrow in the traditional sense (21%) than those with the largest amount of education (60%). There is a considerable amount of traditional highbrows among students as well (38%).

In terms of their socio-economic status the emergent highbrow pattern and the traditional highbrow pattern are formed similarly. The higher an individual's occupational status is the more likely it is that they will be categorized as emergent highbrow or traditional highbrow. The managerial group stands out in traditional highbrow patterns, whereas in the emergent highbrow pattern students form the category that is most likely to be found there, although they are closely followed by managerial and non-manual groups. What is strikingly similar in both the patterns is the absence of manual workers.

As far as gender is considered, there is some divergence between the traditional and the emergent highbrow pattern. The difference between men and women is not very significant in both of the patterns, yet women tend to be highbrow in a more traditional sense, whereas men are slightly more common in the emergent highbrow patterns. This difference is most likely due to the archetypical fact often observed in the literature in which women form the audience for most the performing arts, especially those considered high culture, whereas men may be more drawn to the technological solutions that are represented in the Internet items within the emergent highbrow pattern.

Income affects everyone in a similar way with respect to both patterns. In the highest income bracket the share of both traditional highbrows and

emergent highbrows is greatest, and the proportion decreases, although very modestly, when moving down the income levels.

Age is a factor that differentiates between the traditional and emergent highbrow patterns. In terms of the emergent highbrow pattern age appears to be linearly associated in that the younger a respondent is the more likely it is that they will be categorized as emergent highbrow. On the other hand, in terms of the traditional highbrow pattern it seems that the middle-aged groups are the most predisposed in this sense. Nevertheless, the shares are almost at a similar level across the age groups and there is hardly any differentiation based on age as far as the traditional highbrow pattern is considered. Only the oldest cohort (66 years and older) are less predisposed to a traditional highbrow tendency.[34]

A challenge to the definition of legitimacy deals with the problem of how to judge it; if the qualities one expects to be connected to the highbrow are that it is complex, prestigious and elevated, on what grounds can we label some category as elevated without further knowledge of the quality that that category may contain? Many studies try to solve this issue by leaning on the suggestions provided by legitimate cultural forms. The drawback of this method is in its incapability to renew legitimate cultural items.

Another challenge or limitation that is often faced by quantitative measures on browship is that the measures do not allow very fine-grained definitions, which would further help to elaborate and assess the level of browship. Even though preferring classical music or opera may send very clear signals about legitimate highbrow taste, we would need more detailed information on the pattern, and for example the setting in which the taste is associated or embedded in order to make statements on its legitimacy. As Storey (2002) has pointed out some specific opera pieces are 'reduced' into popular culture, as they are widely used in advertising. In addition, several classical music pieces have been brought to the knowledge of the wider audience in form of the Three Tenors or similar artists, which have further blurred the boundary between legitimate forms of culture and popular culture. This is also why some people may include classical music and opera in their taste repertoire, and the taste patterns of two distinct persons may vary greatly in terms of legitimacy even though they are both understood to be highbrow, because they include traditional highbrow items. Since the data used here offers only

[34] This can be interpreted as a sign of change in the taste pattern formations, as well as more conventionally as the "natural" taste of people from different cohorts. Since the data used here is cross-sectional no analyses of a potential move towards a traditional highbrow pattern among the younger cohorts can be made nor conclusions suggested.

information on broad labels such as classical music or opera, we need to be aware of the facts presented above. This is why instead of using predetermined cultural categories when defining the content of the highbrow the level of penetration, i.e. the exclusivity (rarity) of cultural consumption, is taken into account.

Rare items may signal not only the potential emergent highbrow but also consumption patterns that are not attractive, that are of lowbrow or that are dying out in their potential to lure consumers. If this were to be the case with the pattern referred to here as emergent highbrow, it is assumed that these items would be consumed by people originating from all layers of the socio-economic strata, or alternatively these consumers would be from lower status groups (c.f. Erickson 1996, 232). However, the same qualities that are attached to traditional highbrow consumers are also attached to emergent highbrows, except for the age-effect.

In sum, most of the social determinants point in a similar direction for both the emergent highbrow and the traditional highbrow. It must be borne in mind that the essence and content of the two highbrow patterns constructed here are very different. This means that there is room for more in-depth analyses with respect to the highbrow patterns alone. However, as both the patterns are, to a great extent, also rather adequate mirrors of the qualities expected of the highbrow in the literature, we can move on to further analyze the pattern chosen to be representative of the emergent highbrow culture.

In Table 19 and Table 20 the shares of emergent highbrows for each item are compared across the countries. In the tables below the countries are arranged in descending order based on the rate of consumption of a given item.

The countries with most highbrow hits are very readily visible in the tables. The highbrow item columns are divided into three sections, each comprising five countries. The sections roughly divide the countries based on the level of highbrow immanence (high, medium, low) within the society. The Netherlands has the most ticks in the uppermost boxes, in total eleven out of fourteen. The Netherlands is followed by Sweden and Luxembourg (both 10 ticks), as well as Denmark (9 ticks) and Finland (8 ticks). At the lower end are countries where the cultural item is most unpopular. Portugal and Greece most often fall in the lowest box (in total 9 times each). Also in France and Italy (7 ticks both) highbrow items are consumed far less than in the EU on average.

The question of which countries are the most highbrow remains. Should the countries where the consumption is the highest for an emergent highbrow cultural item be considered to be the most highbrow or elitist ones, as highbrow is more widespread and more typical there? Or on the contrary,

should those countries in which EU-level highbrow items are least popular be considered as more prone and able to show distinction via these items?

In the subsequent analysis, when the highbrow pattern is analysed in Chapter 6.2.1, the highbrow is operationalized as follows: *in order to be defined as an emergent highbrow consumer a person must have reported one or more likes that fall in the top quartile (IV) of the least popular cultural items*. By this standard there are 2601 (16.1%) highbrow respondents in the data.

Table 19. Highbrow types by item (entertainment on the radio, radio listening on-line, acting, and buying books on-line, buying CDs on-line, attending easy listening concerts, visiting museum web-sites and attending hard rock concerts), in descending order by country, most 'highbrow-dense' countries first, % of highbrows in country (n = 16 200) Note. 'Nether' = The Netherlands, 'Luxemb' = Luxembourg.

Other entertainment on the radio		Listening to the radio or music via the Internet		Acting		Buy books on-line		Buy CD's on-line		Easy listening concert		Visit museum web-site	
Denmark	20.5	Denmark	10.2	Luxemb	9.5	Sweden	13.3	Nether	3.8	Finland	10.4	Sweden	3.6
Finland	15.5	Sweden	8.5	Sweden	8.1	Luxemb	9.9	Finland	3.0	Luxemb	7.9	Denmark	3.2
Luxemb	14.8	Finland	6.7	Denmark	6.6	Nether	8.9	Luxemb	3.0	Ireland	3.9	Nether	3.1
Sweden	14.5	Spain	6.6	Nether	5.8	Denmark	7.4	UK	2.2	UK	3.6	Germany	2.0
Belgium	14.2	Nether	6.4	Germany	5.8	Finland	6.0	Belgium	2.0	Sweden	3.2	Austria	1.8
France	13.3	Luxemb	4.9	UK	5.1	Italy	5.4	Ireland	1.8	Belgium	2.9	Belgium	1.3
Greece	7.0	Italy	4.6	Austria	3.7	Austria	5.3	Denmark	1.7	Nether	2.7	Luxemb	1.1
UK	6.0	UK	4.3	Finland	2.3	UK	4.7	Sweden	1.6	Denmark	1.9	Italy	1.1
Spain	5.6	Austria	4.1	Ireland	2.0	Greece	4.5	Greece	1.6	Italy	1.5	Portugal	1.1
Ireland	4.7	Ireland	4.1	Greece	1.5	Ireland	4.1	Spain	1.5	Germany	1.3	Finland	1.1
Nether	4.7	Portugal	3.8	Belgium	1.2	Spain	3.8	Germany	1.1	Greece	1.2	Greece	0.9
Germany	4.6	Germany	2.4	Portugal	0.9	Germany	3.7	Portugal	1.0	Spain	1.1	France	0.9
Austria	4.4	Belgium	2.3	France	0.9	Belgium	3.4	France	1.0	France	1.1	UK	0.7
Italy	4.1	Greece	2.0	Italy	0.7	France	3.3	Italy	0.6	Portugal	0.6	Ireland	0.4
Portugal	3.9	France	1.9	Spain	0.5	Portugal	2.7	Austria	0.5	Austria	0.2	Spain	0.3
EU-15	8.7	EU-15	5.5	EU-15	4.7	EU-15	3.7	EU-15	3.4	EU-15	2.7	EU-15	2.3

Table 20. Highbrow types by item (Attending world music concert, other type concert and dance/house concert, watching TV on-line attending techno concert and rap concert), in descending order by country, most 'highbrow-dense' countries first, % of highbrows in country. (n = 16 200)

World music concert		Other type concert		Dance / house concert		Watch TV on the Internet		Techno concert		Rap concert	
Luxemb	6.6	Nether	4.1	France	1.9	Sweden	12.4	Denmark	6.6	Sweden	1.7
Austria	3.7	Italy	3.6	Luxemb	1.8	UK	5.1	Sweden	4.8	France	1.7
France	3.2	Greece	3.5	Nether	1.6	Denmark	4.9	Nether	4.3	Portugal	1.4
Nether	3.0	Finland	2.9	Belgium	1.4	Nether	4.9	Luxemb	3.3	Nether	1.2
Finland	2.3	UK	2.7	Denmark	1.3	Luxemb	4.6	France	2.6	Ireland	1.1
Germany	2.3	France	2.1	Finland	1.2	Germany	4.3	Italy	2.2	Denmark	1.0
Belgium	2.2	Denmark	1.9	Spain	1.0	Finland	2.4	UK	2.1	Finland	1.0
Spain	1.9	Germany	1.7	Portugal	1.0	Austria	2.3	Belgium	1.7	Belgium	1.0
Denmark	1.8	Sweden	1.7	Germany	0.9	Ireland	1.9	Finland	1.7	Austria	0.8
Italy	1.6	Luxemb	1.6	Austria	0.6	France	1.5	Austria	1.6	Luxemb	0.5
Greece	1.6	Ireland	1.6	Sweden	0.5	Belgium	1.2	Germany	1.3	Germany	0.5
Portugal	1.3	Austria	1.6	UK	0.2	Italy	1.1	Spain	1.0	UK	0.4
Ireland	1.1	Spain	1.1	Greece	0.2	Greece	1.1	Portugal	1.0	Italy	0.2
Sweden	1.0	Portugal	1.1	Ireland	0.2	Spain	1.0	Greece	0.8	Greece	0.2
UK	0.8	Belgium	0.7	Italy	0.1	Portugal	0.9	Ireland	0.6	Spain	0.1
EU-15	2.2	EU-15	2.1	EU-15	1.7	EU-15	1.5	EU-15	0.9	EU-15	0.8

Note. 'Nether' = The Netherlands, 'Luxemb' = Luxembourg.

6.1.2 Intensity of cultural consumption – Defining the heavy-users

The intensity of cultural participation is measured by the frequency of yearly attendance at several cultural events and one additional cultural item. Unfortunately, information on the frequency of consumption is available only in one domain of cultural participation, in addition to the information on the intensity of reading (the number of books read for leisure per year). The analysis considering the dimension of the intensity of cultural consumption is thus a bit narrower than with the other two dimensions.

By this definition, one of the most frequent activities is going to cinema. Cinema-going is also a cultural item which is the most embraced across the EU. The number of yearly visits to a library though, exceeds the number of visits to the cinema. Cinema is attended at least once a year by 55 percent of all Europeans, whereas ballet is the most infrequently visited, with only 13 percent of respondents being yearly visitors.

The respondents who are enthusiastic participants in culture activities are labelled as heavy-users in this study. They could also be labelled 'enthusiasts' or 'voracious' but heavy-user was chosen because of its ability to reflect a more intense engagement in an activity than on average. The enthusiast was considered to have the connotation of a strong liking for something and less connotation with actual engagement in cultural consumption, which was the form of consumption referred to in terms of analyses of intensity. Also, voraciousness was considered as a potential label for the intense consumers, but since the type of measure used in this study deviated from the original (Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007), it was thought best to give the intensity-based dimension a new label. The cultural heavy-users thus "use" i.e. consume cultural participation items considerably more than the average respondents, or they are heavy-users of books.

We must bear in mind that intensity of participation regarding heavy-users varies in given circumstances. For example libraries are visited typically far more often than operas. Thus, we must set the boundaries individually for each item. *Heavy-users* are defined by using an applicable cut-off point for each item individually. Heavy-users attend given cultural participation events well above the average, and light-users consume at low or moderate rates (Table 21).

Table 21. Cultural heavy-user definition – The volume of cultural participation items and leisure reading, % (n = 16 200)

	Not participated	**1–3 times**	**4–6 times**	**7+ times (7–12 and 13+)**
	%	**%**	**%**	**%**
Ballet	87	10	1 Heavy-user	0.6 Heavy-user
Cinema	45	26	14	14 (8+6) Heavy-user
Theatre	70	23	4 Heavy-user	2 Heavy-user
Concert	67	24	5 Heavy-user	2 Heavy-user
Library	64	12	7	16 (5+11) Heavy-user
Historical monuments	54	29	10	6 (3+3) Heavy-user
Museum	67	24	5	3 Heavy-user
Museum abroad	80	14	3 Heavy-user	2 Heavy-user
Archaeological sites	84	12	2 Heavy-user	1 Heavy-user
	No books	**1–3 books/year**	**4–7 books/year**	**8–12 books/year (8–12 and 13+)**
	%	**%**	**%**	**%**
Reading for leisure	54	16	13	17 (7+10) Heavy-user

Table 21 above shows the heavy-user definitions. For example the ballet enthusiast attends a ballet performance at least four times in twelve months, whereas the definition of a cinema enthusiast is at least thirteen visits to the movies per year. The last column indicates the heaviest attendance frequencies (13 or more visits) (or a reading intensity of 13 or more books for reading) in parenthesis. If the heaviest category was used as the basis for the definition of a heavy-user both the figure indicating the proportion of attendance and the word "heavy-user" are underlined. In sum, ballet, theatre, concert, museum abroad and archaeological sites are cultural events that require at least four yearly visits by a consumer in order for that consumer to be classified as a heavy-user. On the other hand, stricter definitions apply with reference to historical monuments and museums (at least 7 visits per year) and the true movie enthusiast needs to go through the doors of a movie theatre at least thirteen times a year. In terms of reading, an enthusiast must read at least 13 books in order to be categorized as a heavy-user in this study. As seen in the Table 21, the proportions of heavy-users vary considerably due to the nature of these events. For example, the share of ballet heavy-users (1.6 %) compared to the share of movie heavy-users (6 %) is rather low. In general, the proportion of heavy-users within each cultural event is around 3 to 6 percent,

with the exception of the larger share of library heavy-users (11 %) and book readers (10 %).

Tables 22 and 23 show the shares of consumers of heavy-user items across the countries. The heavy-user type columns are again divided into three sections, each comprising five countries. The sections roughly represent countries that have high, medium or low levels of heavy-user consumers.

The heavy-user pattern is to some extent similar to the previous pattern, the highbrow. The countries, where heavy-users are the most abundant and clearly stand out are, for most part, the same as before. The most heavy-user countries are the Netherlands and Denmark, who fall into the top five boxes for all the ten items but one, cinema. Cinema seems to be the one item which produces a deviation in the pattern. After The Netherlands and Denmark the heaviest-using countries according the level of their cultural participation and reading are Luxembourg (8 ticks, all but reading and library visits) and Sweden (7 ticks, excluding cinema, theatre and archaeological sites). Then two 'new' countries emerge: the UK and Italy both appear four times in the top five leaving the remaining Nordic country Finland (three ticks) behind. In Italy, museums, theatre, cinema and archaeological sites are frequently visited, whereas in the UK reading and going to the library, as well as ballet and historical sites are among the most popular and frequented items.

When it comes to countries where a heavy-user pattern is least apparent, Portugal, Greece and Germany are noted. In Portugal, a perfect mirror image when compared to the Netherlands and Denmark occurs: In relation to all the ten items, excluding cinema, the Portuguese are among the (bottom five) least heavy-users in the EU. Greece and Germany both appear seven times in the lowest box. Ireland is the fourth least heavy-user country (5 ticks). The countries are clearly more scattered at the lower extreme than at the top.

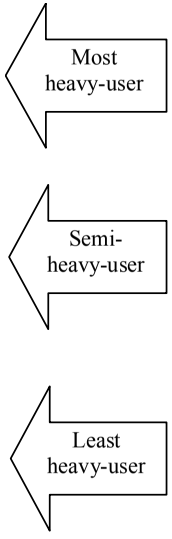
Table 22. Heavy-user types by item (library, museum, concert, cinema, ballet and theatre), in descending order by country, most 'heavy-user-dense' countries first, % of heavy-users in country

Reading		Library		Museum		Concert		Cinema		Ballet		Theatre		
Sweden	22.2	Finland	31.7	Spain	14.7	Denmark	12.3	Nether	9.9	Denmark	17.7	Luxemb	13.6	Most heavy-user
Finland	19.9	Denmark	24.8	Luxemb	12.5	Luxembou	10.5	Denmark	7.9	Sweden	12.8	Sweden	11.4	
UK	18.4	Sweden	22.8	Ireland	11.4	Sweden	9.6	Italy	7.8	Italy	11.3	Denmark	10.7	
Denmark	16.9	Nether	18.4	Italy	10.3	Nether	8.5	Luxemb	7.4	Nether	10.7	Nether	9.1	
Nether	16.3	UK	14.2	France	8.7	UK	7.3	Austria	7.0	Luxemb	9.4	Finland	8.9	
Luxemb	13.3	Ireland	11.0	Greece	8.2	Italy	6.6	Germany	6.7	France	8.9	Spain	8.1	Semi-heavy-user
Ireland	11.3	Spain	9.5	UK	5.6	Finland	6.5	Ireland	6.5	UK	8.2	Austria	8.1	
France	9.2	France	9.0	Nether	5.6	France	5.4	Greece	6.1	Finland	8.1	France	7.5	
Austria	6.3	Belgium	6.1	Austria	5.4	Spain	4.9	Finland	6.1	Spain	7.1	Germany	7.0	
Italy	6.1	Luxemb	5.7	Portugal	4.8	Belgium	4.4	Sweden	5.8	Austria	6.7	Belgium	7.0	
Belgium	5.2	Germany	3.4	Belgium	3.9	Austria	4.3	Spain	4.7	Germany	6.6	Ireland	6.8	Least heavy-user
Spain	5.2	Italy	2.9	Denmark	3.8	Germany	3.3	UK	4.7	Belgium	5.2	Italy	6.7	
Germany	4.1	Austria	2.7	Sweden	3.2	Portugal	3.2	Belgium	4.1	Greece	3.4	UK	6.2	
Greece	4.1	Portugal	2.5	Germany	2.6	Ireland	3.0	France	3.7	Portugal	3.2	Greece	4.6	
Portugal	1.1	Greece	2.4	Finland	1.4	Greece	2.8	Portugal	0.7	Ireland	3.1	Portugal	4.4	
EU-15	10.3	EU-15	10.8	EU-15	6.4	EU-15	5.9	EU-15	5.9	EU-15	8.0	EU-15	7.8	

Note. 'Nether' = The Netherlands, 'Luxemb' = Luxembourg

Table 23. Heavy-user types by item (historical sites, museums abroad and archaeological sites) , in descending order by country, most 'heavy-user-dense' countries first, % of heavy-users in country

Historical sites		Museum abroad		Archaeological sites	
Denmark	12.3	Luxembourg	9.9	Luxembourg	5.1
Luxembourg	10.5	Denmark	9.7	Greece	4.5
Sweden	9.6	Netherlands	8.1	Netherlands	4.3
Netherlands	8.5	Sweden	6.9	Denmark	3.7
UK	7.3	Belgium	4.4	Italy	3.2
Italy	6.6	UK	4.3	France	3.0
Finland	6.5	Italy	4.0	Finland	2.8
France	5.4	Finland	3.9	Ireland	2.3
Spain	4.9	France	3.5	Austria	2.3
Belgium	4.4	Germany	3.1	Spain	2.1
Austria	4.3	Austria	3.0	UK	2.0
Germany	3.3	Spain	2.8	Sweden	1.7
Portugal	3.2	Ireland	2.0	Belgium	1.5
Ireland	3.0	Greece	1.5	Germany	1.3
Greece	2.8	Portugal	0.8	Portugal	0.4
EU-15	5.9	EU-15	4.3	EU-15	2.5



The heavy-user pattern i.e. the cross-item intensity of cultural consumption is measured henceforward as follows: *if at least two items are chosen from the pool of nine cultural participation items and heavy-user book reading a respondent is classified as a heavy-user*. In other words, a consumer is termed a heavy-user if they show a heavy-user tendency for at least for two individual cultural items. By this standard there are 2594 (16.0 %) cross-item heavy-users in the data. This pattern is scrutinized more in Chapter 6.2.2 below.

6.1.3 Variety of taste – Defining the omnivores

Omnivorousness[35] as applied here is mostly in accordance with what is suggested in most other studies, i.e. it is representative of the variety or breadth of one's taste. Omnivorousness, if based on the variety of tastes, is rather easy to define and isolate. However, to be exact, the idea of omnivorousness refers to two dimensions: quality and variety (see Peterson 2004 and 2005, 262). When measuring ideal type omnivorousness, there is a need to consider both the browship of the item and the mutual balance and variety of the items with respect to their browship within one taste range. The variety of taste, in other words the broad or narrow scope of the items in a consumption range is separately measured within each domain by forming a sum variable of the items that comprise the domain. Each domain has a range of its own, and omnivorousness is measured for each domain as the *amount of different* items consumed. For example, within the cultural participation domain the range of activities would stretch from no items participated in to nine different items participated in. *Omnivores* are the respondents placed in the topmost quartile in each dimension.

First, the variety of tastes is measured in each cultural domain: cultural participation, artistic activity, music type preference, concert-going, cultural usage of TV and radio, and cultural usage of the Internet. An omnivore is defined here as the topmost quartile in each domain, as shown in Table 24. Table 24 shows omnivorous definitions and their share in the data. Thus, for example to be an omnivore in the domain of cultural participation, one would need to have participated in six or more cultural events.

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[35] In the context of omnivores a complete obliviousness to the discussion on browships would be difficult. The issues of the quality of taste ("highbrow/lowbrow") and the variety of taste ("omnivore/univore") overlap to some extent. The latter is derived from the former in the course of academic explorations, thus resulting in a rather similar kind of interpretation of the causes and consequences. Even though this section focuses on the omnivore theme, some matters are also applicable to the discussion regarding browships.

Table 24. Domain specific omnivore definition, % (n = 16 200)

	Number of items in the category	At least … items in repertoire, top quartile (cut-off point for omnivores)	% of omnivores
Type of music listened	12	4	23.0
TV and radio cultural usage	10	7	22.9
Artistic activities	7	3	19.8
Cultural Internet usage[36]	6	1	16.9
Cultural participation	9	6	16.8
Type of concert gone	12	2	11.3

Some remarks on Table 24 are necessary. Firstly, the percentage of omnivores deviates from 25% because of category boundaries. That is to say that the division between the topmost quartile and the rest most often *settles in the middle* of some category, but the cut-off point runs *between* categories[37]. This results in fluctuating quartiles, and that is also why the proportion of each omnivore type is shown in the table. This renders omnivore proportions that range from concert omnivores[38] at around 11 percent to music genre omnivores at 23 percent of respondents.

[36] The quartile definition is valid for most of the cultural domains, probably excluding that of cultural Internet usage. In the case of the Internet related cultural omnivore, the uppermost quartile definition produces an omnivore with just one Internet item. This does not reflect the idea of omnivorism, which is openness to multiple cultural forms. However, cultural usage of the Internet is still included in the analyses, as it represents a rather unique dimension, and is, in its own way, contributing to the final pattern of a cross-domain omnivore.

[37] For example, 47.5 percent of the respondents did not engage in any artistic activity, 19.4 percent reported engaging in one (the cumulative percentage of the respondents is thus 66.9), 13.2 percent engaged in two different artistic activities (cumulative 80.2%), whereas 9.3 percent have reported participating in three artistic activities etc. The boundary of 75% (top quartile) cuts across the category of two artistic activities. The cut-off point is defined as running **between** the category where 75 % is accumulated and the one preceeding it. Hence three or more artistic activities are selected as a base for defining the artistic activity omnivore. Since all the respondents who have engaged in three or more artistic activities are included in the artistic activity omnivore category the share of artistic activity omnivores in the data is 19.8% and not 25%, since this percentage would also include some respondents who had engaged in only two artistic activities. A similar treatment is applied to all the domain specific omnivore definitions.

[38] Concert omnivorousness is the weakest model in the omnivore analysis. This is due to the small size of the group, which in turn results from the fact that going to a concert is a variable subject within cultural participation. Also, it seems that the nature of concert going itself is very univore in nature: there is relatively little variety of concert types available, and even if the supply would be broad in respect of genres, variations most likely occur within a genre rather than between genres. Concert venues have certain feelings associated with them, and they are fields of their own and places of

The cut-off points are first of all EU-level aggregates and they are universally applied across the countries. This explains why, for example, almost half of the Swedish population is considered here as cultural Internet omnivores (43 %) and artistic activity omnivores (41 %), respectively.

Table 25 illustrates the omnivore types by country. The omnivore type columns are divided into three sections, each comprising five countries. The sections roughly illustrate the countries that are considered as most omnivorous, as well as the semi-omnivorous and least omnivorous groupings. If European Union countries are ranked according to their level of omnivorousness a clear-cut division emerges. Some countries thrive on being cultural omnivores in comparison to other countries. Even though omnivorousness is measured at an individual level, it seems that institutional or aggregate factors play a role in providing favourable surroundings for one's cultural tastes.

The most omnivorous countries are very readily visible. Three countries, Sweden, Finland and Luxembourg, appear in each cultural domain in the most omnivorous category. Both Sweden and Finland are twice ranked number one omnivores in a category. Sweden achieves that for music preference and the Internet, and Finland for TV and radio and artistic activities. In the case of artistic activities and Internet usage the gap between the leading countries and the rest is remarkably wide. The Netherlands comes close to Luxembourg, Sweden and Finland as an omnivorous country, scoring among the top five in all but the concert domain.

In addition, Belgium, is classified twice as being among the most omnivorous countries (for TV & radio and artistic activities). When it comes to the least omnivorous countries, some changes, compared to previous patterns, occur. Greece scores six times, i.e. in all of the domains for one of the least omnivorous countries. The Spaniards are not much more omnivorous than the Greeks, as they appear five times in the least omnivorous category (all domains except concert-going). Portugal, Italy and Ireland are the third least omnivorous, each scoring with four domains out of six.

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social reproduction, as DiMaggio (1992) has vividly described them. It might be, that the habit of going to a certain kind of concert venue (club, arena, symphony orchestra hall or opera) is hard to break, and crossing boundaries is more challenging in this domain than others.

Table 25. Omnivore types (music genre preference, cultural TV and radio, artistic activity, cultural Internet, cultural participation, and type of concert) in descending order by country, most 'omnivore-dense' countries first, % of omnivores in the population

Music genres		TV & Radio		Artistic		Internet		Participation		Concerts	
Sweden	37.2	Finland	37.3	Finland	40.8	Sweden	42.5	Denmark	31.0	Luxembourg	21.0
Denmark	36.5	Belgium	29.9	Belgium	28.9	Denmark	30.0	Sweden	30.8	Denmark	19.5
Luxembourg	36.3	Sweden	29.5	Sweden	28.5	Luxembourg	25.6	Luxembourg	23	Sweden	18.0
Finland	31.9	Luxembourg	25.5	Luxembourg	27.0	Netherlands	24.0	Netherlands	21.2	Austria	15.6
Netherlands	27.3	Netherlands	25.0	Netherlands	25.5	Finland	23.1	Finland	20.9	Finland	15.2
France	25.3	Denmark	21.9	Denmark	25.1	Austria	16.5	UK	16.8	Netherlands	13.7
Germany	22.9	UK	21.8	UK	20.5	UK	16.0	Germany	16.2	Germany	10.7
Belgium	20.9	France	20.7	France	18.5	Italy	13.0	Belgium	15.7	France	10.0
Austria	20.0	Germany	19.7	Germany	17.0	Germany	12.3	Ireland	15.2	Spain	8.9
UK	18.9	Portugal	16.7	Portugal	16.8	Ireland	11.8	Italy	13.8	UK	8.3
Portugal	17.6	Austria	14.6	Austria	14.3	France	11.5	Austria	12.6	Belgium	8.1
Italy	16.4	Ireland	14.5	Ireland	13.5	Spain	10.7	France	12.3	Ireland	6.9
Spain	14.1	Spain	12.2	Spain	11.4	Belgium	9.8	Spain	10.7	Portugal	6.4
Greece	14.1	Italy	11.7	Italy	8.6	Greece	7.7	Greece	8.8	Greece	6.4
Ireland	12.1	Greece	11.4	Greece	5.9	Portugal	7.6	Portugal	6.8	Italy	6.2
EU-15	23.0	EU-15	22.9	EU-15	19.8	EU-15	16.9	EU-15	16.8	EU-15	11.3

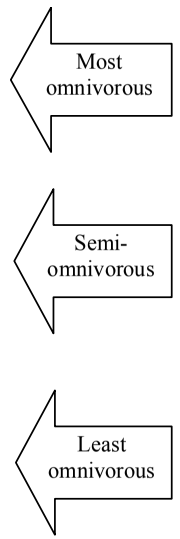

Table 26. Cross-domain omnivore definition, % (n = 16 200)

	Number of items in the category	At least … items in repertoire, top quartile (cut-off point for omnivores)	% of omnivores in the data
Cross-domain omnivore	6	3	13.2

Table 26 shows the definition of cross-domain omnivorousness, a variable formed from all the other sum variables. It combines multiple cultural domains into one construct, and thus represents a cross-domain cultural consumer suggestive of a truly open-minded and tolerant individual. Items that form cross-domain omnivorousness are the other omnivore types formed individually for each cultural domain[39]. A measure for cross-domain omnivorousness is formed in a manner similar to that for domain specific omnivores. A sum variable is formed of all the cultural domains and an individual belonging in the highest quartile on this scale is classified as a cross-domain omnivore. The values for the cross-domain omnivore range from zero (not an omnivore in any of the six cultural realms) to six. *The cross-domain omnivore pattern is measured henceforth as belonging to the uppermost quartile within the sum variable constructed from the other omnivore types*. By this standard there are 2138 (13.2 %) cross-domain omnivores in the data. This pattern is analysed in more detail in Chapter 6.2.3 below.

6.2 Social structures of the three cultural consumption dimensions

The next section looks at the associations between the socio-economic and demographic structures and the three patterns that were constructed. In Table 27 below, the reliability of the constructed scales measuring the dimensions of the cultural consumption patterns are shown. The reliability is tested with

[39] The number of actual cultural consumption items that the cross-domain omnivore pattern of an individual respondent contains by this measure can be calculated from the cut-off points of the six cultural domains (see Table 26 above). A cross-domain omnivore is an omnivore in at least three cultural domains. A further examination shows that the mean of the tastes of the cross-domain omnivores is 22.9 items, and taste ranges for the cross-domain omnivores from 12 items to a maximum of 43 items for an individual respondent.

Cronbach's alpha. Constructs measuring the heavy-user pattern seems to reach the level of being very satisfying ($\alpha \geq 0{,}7$), and the constructs for omnivorousness and highbrow are also acceptable, yet scoring somewhat lower alphas than the heavy-user. (Alkula et al. 1994, 97–99.)

Table 27. Reliability (Cronbach's α) for highbrow, heavy-user and omnivore pattern constructs

	Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items	Description
Highbrow	0.456	14	Includes all the items that are in quartile IV, in total 14 **cross-domain** items
Heavy-user	0.713	10	Items are all the **participation** items that are engaged in in the most frequent category plus the most frequent category of leisure **reading**
Omnivore	0.551	6	Items are all the omnivore types formed from **each domain**

Each pattern is examined individually by examining the associations between the socio-economic and demographic characteristics and the constructed cultural consumption pattern. The mechanisms underlying each pattern are examined both at aggregate EU level and at country level by comparing associations in the models including and excluding the country as one independent variable. The tool that is applied for statistical multivariate analysis is logistic regression.

Reference categories remain the same across the analyses, and they always have an odds value of 1. The other categories of the variable are thus compared with the reference category. The reference categories are: 0 to 9 years in school for *education*, female (*gender*), the highest (IV) *income* quartile, manual workers for *SES*, 66 years of *age* or older, being single (*marital status*), and rural or small village as a *place of residence*. The *country* of residence is also added to the analyses, Austria being the reference category.

6.2.1 Quality: highbrow pattern and structural determinants

The first cultural consumption pattern under scrutiny is highbrow. The proportions of consumers of single highbrow items were examined across the countries, and the general picture was rather clear: with a few exceptions the Nordic countries as well as the Netherlands and Luxembourg were among the

top five in all the highbrow item listings. This notion is further highlighted in the highbrow pattern (see Table 28), which is formed from the fourteen highbrow items (as was described in Chapter 6.1.1). In the table we see the proportions of the highbrows in the data for each EU country. They range prominently from Luxembourg's almost 30 % to Portugal's less than 10 %. The EU-average is approximately 16 percent, and only the above mentioned five "highbrow-prone" countries (the three Nordic countries, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) are above the average.

Table 28. The proportion of cultural highbrows by country (N = 16 200)

	N	% of highbrows in country
Luxembourg	1031	29.2
Sweden	1001	27.2
Denmark	2047	26.7
Finland	1001	24.7
The Netherlands	998	18.2
UK	1000	14.9
Austria	1002	14.3
Ireland	1002	13.3
Belgium	609	12.8
France	1047	12.8
Germany	1000	12.7
Greece	1346	12.0
Italy	1023	11.8
Spain	1000	11.5
Portugal	1093	7.9
EU-15	16 200	(2601) 16.1

First, the unadjusted main effects of each independent variable are examined individually (see Table 29). The independent variables are arranged in the table in descending order so that the variable for which the pseudo R^2 coefficient is the greatest appears on top of the table[40].

The main effects show that education plays the most significant role for the highbrow pattern (pseudo $R^2 = 8.7$). The more years one has studied the more likely one is to be highbrow. The effect of education is in this sense linear. The students and those who have studied 19 years or longer have the highest

[40] A similar format of presentation is applied in the subsequent logistic regression tables.

propensity to be highbrows. The gap between the two least educated groups is also rather wide; the odds for highbrow consumption are doubled for the 10 to 12 years of schooling respondents in comparison to the least educated group.

Table 29. Logistic regression, unadjusted main effects of socio-demographic factors on highbrow pattern

	Pseudo R^2 x100		**N**	
Years in education	**8.7**	Still studying	1707	7.57***
p-value 0.000		19 years or more	1226	4.96***
		13–18 years	4064	3.62***
		10–12 years	5102	2.08***
		0– 9 years (a)	4101	1
SES	**7.5**	Managerial	1728	2.45***
p-value 0.000		Entrepreneur	1296	Ns
		Non-manual	2831	1.58***
		Retired/unemployed	4373	0.70***
		Homemaker	1933	0.76**
		Student	1707	3.67***
		Manual (a)	2332	1
Age	**7.0**	15–25 years	2982	7.00***
p-value 0.000		26–35 years	3021	3.86***
		36–45 years	2897	3.02***
		46–55 years	2594	2.85***
		56–65 years	2194	1.86***
		66 and over (a)	2512	1
Income quartile	**1.1**	DK	5381	0.60***
p-value 0.000		Lowest I	2479	0.55***
		Second lowest II	2709	0.55***
		Second highest III	2755	0.70***
		Highest IV (a)	2876	1
Marital status	**1.0**	Married or cohabiting	9452	0.67***
p-value 0.000		Single	6501	1
Type of community	**0.1**	Large city	4750	1.22***
p-value 0.001		Small/ medium city	6048	1.15**
		Rural (a)	5247	1
Gender	**Ns**	Male	7718	–
p-value 0.201		Female	8482	–

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category.

Socio-economic status and age show almost as great effects as education (pseudo R^2 = 7.5 and 7.0 respectively). When it comes to socio-economic

status the most highbrow prone categories are students and those in managerial occupations. Socio-economic statuses that are not active in the labour market, i.e. the retired, the unemployed and homemakers are, in contrast, less likely to be highbrows than the reference group of manual workers. The effect of age resembles that of education. The linear association is, this time, negative; the youngest groups are far more likely to be highbrow than the older ones. This might be due to the fact that the younger cohorts are more educated than the older ones.

The effect of income on a highbrow pattern is not very strong if measured with pseudo R^2 (1.1), and the pattern of the income-effect is also rather random. The highest income bracket has the greatest likelihood of being highbrow whereas the likelihood among the other income brackets is rather equal and smaller. As far as marital status is concerned, it seems that being single would predict a slightly greater chance of becoming highbrow. Even though the coefficient of determination remains very low for type of community (pseudo $R^2 = 0.1$), the highbrows are more likely to be found in urban areas rather than in a rural settings. Gender does not have a significant effect on highbrow patterns.

Table 30. Summary of stepwise entered independent variables (logistic regression) for highbrow pattern, country excluded and included

		-2 log likelihood	**Chi-square**	**Df**	**Sig.**
Step 1	Education	6665,43	832,54	4	0,000
Step 2	Age	6458,05	207,39	5	0,000
Step 3	SES	6387,95	70,09	5	0,000
Step 4	Income	6345,27	42,68	4	0,000
Step 5	Marital status	6335,17	10,10	1	0,001
Step 1	Education	10786,26	832,54	4	0,000
Step 2	Country	10516,92	269,34	14	0,000
Step 3	Age	10267,03	249,90	5	0,000
Step 4	SES	10202,09	64,93	5	0,000
Step 5	Marital status	10188,27	13,83	1	0,000
Step 6	Income	10171,29	16,98	4	0,002

Three main determinants, education, age and socio-economic status, were selected in the multinomial logistic regression models for the highbrow pattern (Table 31) based on the information of the stepwise method (Table 30). These determinants were also the variables showing the most effect on the pattern on

their own. Stepwise multinomial regression models are used in the determination of included variables in the cultural consumption pattern models. The results produced by the stepwise method are used as additional information in parallel with the information provided by the size of the unadjusted main effects. Table 31 shows the unadjusted main effects in the second column, and then the odds for each model in the subsequent columns. The last row shows the pseudo R^2 coefficients for each model.

Table 31. Logistic regression models for highbrow pattern excluding country effect

		N	Unadj.	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Years in education	Still studying	1707	7.57***	7.57***	3.46***	3.81***
	19 years or more	1226	4.96***	4.96***	4.31***	3.51***
	13–18 years	4064	3.62***	3.62***	2.80***	2.44***
	10–12 years	5102	2.08***	2.08***	1.66***	1.61***
	0– 9 years (a)	4101	1	1	1	1
Age	15–25 years	2982	7.00***		4.16***	3.96***
	26–35 years	3021	3.86***		2.63***	2.40***
	36–45 years	2897	3.02***		2.21***	1.98***
	46–55 years	2594	2.85***		2.25***	2.03***
	56–65 years	2194	1.86***		1.63***	1.57***
	66 and over (a)	2512	1		1	1
SES	Managerial	1728	2.45***			1.91***
	Entrepreneur	1296	ns			1.17
	Non-manual	2831	1.58***			1.28**
	Retired/unemployed	4373	0.70***			1.12
	Homemaker	1933	0.76**			0.98
	Student (b)	1707	3.67***			–
	Manual (a)	2332	1			1
Pseudo R^2				**8.7**	**10.9**	**11.6**

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category, (b) redundant because included in another variable, *years in education*.

What is worth noting is the rather modest growth in the effect size when age and especially socio-economic status are added to the model. Education alone explained most of the variation in being highbrow (as did age and SES). When age is controlled the coefficients for education decrease and vice versa. Age and educational level are interrelated, not least in the category of students ("still studying"). But the effect of education remains despite controlling for

age, which results in only some of the less educated current students being filtered away. Throughout the models (2 and 3) the most highly educated (as well as the students in model 3) are also the most likely to be highbrows. When the other two variables are controlled for the disparities between the socio-economic status groups diminish. The homemakers start to resemble the reference category of manual workers and the retired and the unemployed become even more likely to be highbrows than manual workers. A managerial position is still the most likely category for a highbrow even though age and education are controlled for.

Table 32. Logistic regression, unadjusted main effects of country on highbrow pattern

	Pseudo R^2 x100		**N**	
Country	**4.4**	Belgium	1031	ns
p-value 0.000		Denmark	1001	2.19***
		Germany	2047	ns
		Greece	1001	ns
		Italy	998	ns
		Spain	1000	ns
		France	1002	ns
		Ireland	1002	ns
		Luxembourg	609	2.48***
		The Netherlands	1047	1.34*
		Portugal	1000	0.52***
		UK	1346	Ns
		Finland	1023	1.97***
		Sweden	1000	2.24***
		Austria (a)	1093	1

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category, value 1.

Next we add yet another determinant, country (see Table 32 and Table 33). The effect size (pseudo $R^2 = 4.4$) for the country variable is modest but still greater than those of income, marital status, type of community and gender when the unadjusted main effects for the highbrow pattern are examined. Since a reference country must be determined in the model, Austria was selected due to the "middle-of-the-road" qualities it exhibited in the previous analyses of highbrow items. Countries where the highbrow likelihood is

greater than average are Luxembourg, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands. At the other extreme is Portugal, where the likelihood of a respondent being highbrow is much lower than in Austria, and in many other countries.

This time four of the most effective determinants, education, country, age and socio-economic status, are chosen for further analyses (National patterns are looked at individually in the following paragraphs. This allows the pinning down of the mechanisms that are universal across the countries (convergent with the aggregate level pattern studied above), as well as patterns that are particularistic, national-specific (divergent from the aggregate pattern). Stepwise logistic regression models are constructed for each country, and Table 34 below summarizes the final models for each country by showing the most sizeable effects of the independent variables. The pseudo R2 coefficient is calculated for the final model by including only the significant effects (presented with asterisks). The unadjusted main effects for each country are shown in the Appendix (Appendix Table 14).

Table 33). The increase in the effect size between the models is slightly more visible than it was when the country was excluded. When country is controlled for the effect of education does not react significantly but it still produces the highest odds and widest differences between the students and the other categories. Thus, country alone does not affect differences between educational groups in the formation of highbrow patterns. However, as in the previous analysis, the entrance of age levels out the differences between educational groups, making the most educated the most highbrow category. Age also distinguishes between countries and makes the significantly less-highbrow countries, Italy, Spain, France and Ireland, emerge.[41] In the fourth model the effect of socio-economic status is entered. The adding of SES does not remarkably affect the other factors, but when they are controlled for the inactive statuses start to resemble the reference category of manual workers. Also, the pattern of entrepreneurs differs in a statistically significantly way from manual workers, thus making entrepreneurs more likely to be highbrows.

The increase in the effect size is somewhat greater through models 1 to 3 than that of models where the country variable was excluded. This suggests that country is in fact a relevant determinant for the highbrow cultural consumption pattern, even though the effect may be more indirect in nature.

National patterns are looked at individually in the following paragraphs. This allows the pinning down of the mechanisms that are universal across the countries (convergent with the aggregate level pattern studied above), as well as patterns that are particularistic, national-specific (divergent from the aggregate pattern). Stepwise logistic regression models are constructed for each country, and Table 34 below summarizes the final models for each country by showing the most sizeable effects of the independent variables. The pseudo R^2 coefficient is calculated for the final model by including only the significant effects (presented with asterisks). The unadjusted main effects for each country are shown in the Appendix (Appendix Table 14).

[41] One needs to bear in mind that “less” or “more”, when it comes to logistic regression, always compares to the reference category.

Table 33. Logistic regression models for highbrow pattern including country effect

		N	Unadj.	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Years in education	Still studying	1707	7.57***	7.57***	7.27***	3.09***	3.45***
	19 years or more	1226	4.96***	4.96***	4.03***	3.39***	2.78***
	13–18 years	4064	3.62***	3.62***	3.43***	2.57***	2.24***
	10–12 years	5102	2.08***	2.08***	2.10***	1.64***	1.59***
	0– 9 years (a)	4101	1	1	1	1	1
Country	Belgium	1031	ns		0.79	0.83	0.91
	Denmark	1001	2.19***		1.62***	1.85***	1.95***
	Germany	2047	ns		0.86	0.91	0.95
	Greece	1001	ns		0.89	0.87	0.92
	Italy	998	ns		0.73*	0.75*	0.79
	Spain	1000	ns		0.73*	0.71**	0.74*
	France	1002	ns		0.75*	0.75*	0.78
	Ireland	1002	ns		0.72*	0.73*	0.77
	Luxembourg	609	2.48***		2.12***	2.27***	2.36***
	The Netherlands	1047	1.34*		0.92	0.97	1.06
	Portugal	1000	0.52***		0.66**	0.61***	0.62**
	UK	1346	ns		0.94	0.96	1.02
	Finland	1023	1.97***		1.68***	1.81***	1.93***
	Sweden	1000	2.24***		1.98***	2.06***	2.14***
	Austria (a)	1093	1		1	1	1
Age	15–25 years	2982	7.00***			4.71***	4.41***
	26–35 years	3021	3.86***			2.93***	2.59***
	36–45 years	2897	3.02***			2.35***	2.05***
	46–55 years	2594	2.85***			2.32***	2.02***
	56–65 years	2194	1.86***			1.67***	1.56***
	66 and over (a)	2512	1			1	1
SES	Managerial	1728	2.45***				1.92***
	Entrepreneur	1296	Ns				1.33**
	Non-manual	2831	1.58***				1.28**
	Retired/unemployed	4373	0.70***				1.10
	Homemaker	1933	0.76**				1.09
	Student (b)	1707	3.67***				-
	Manual (a)	2332	1				1
Pseudo R^2				**8.7**	**11.5**	**14.0**	**14.6**

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category, (b) redundant because included in another variable, *years in education*.

Table 34. Highbrow patterns across the countries. Summary of the results of stepwise multinomial regression analysis, significant independent variables in the final model

	BE	DK	DE	EL	IT	ES	FR	IE	LU	NL	PT	UK	FI	SE	AT
% of highbrows[a]	12.9	27.4	12.7	11.9	11.7	11.5	12.7	13.3	29.0	18.2	7.6	14.8	24.2	26.5	14.1
Education	**		***	***	**	***	***	***	***	**	***		**		**
Type of community	**				*				**			*	*		
Income							**		*			*			*
Marital status					*			**							
Gender								*	*		**		**		
Age	***	***	***	*	**	***				***	***			***	*
SES		***					**					***	*		
pseudo R^2 x 100	17.6	18.4	9.3	17.6	17.0	20.0	13.9	9.6	12.3	9.5	34.3	11.4	10.9	8.7	10.7

[a]) indicates the share of respondents included in the logistic regression analyses. In some cases the number of highbrow cases per country has decreased somewhat due to subpopulation overlaps in the logistic regression models. Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$.

To some extent there is variation between the national patterns. However, few general patterns emerge. First, education is a very dominant determinant for the highbrow pattern, although the age-effect is as dominant. The effect of education on national level analyses is similar to that of the EU level; with few exceptions students are most likely to form the highbrow category and the effect is positively linear as regards the amount of education. In Belgium the most educated group are less highbrow than those who have 10 to 18 years of education and in Portugal the most likely highbrow group has 13 to 18 years of education. In Germany, Italy and Austria students are less highbrow than those who have the most education. There are only three countries (Denmark, the UK and Sweden) where education does not have a statistically significant effect to the highbrow pattern, and only five countries (France, Ireland, Luxembourg, the UK and Finland) where age does not have a say at all. Education is the most significant determinant for predicting highbrows in Germany, Greece, Spain, France, Ireland and Luxembourg. In Italy and Finland education is the most effective determinant although the significance level is $p \leq 0.01$ (**).

The age-effect is negatively linear at the country level, too. Age determines the highbrow pattern the most in Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden. The most significant age-effects are found in Belgium, Italy and Spain, whereas in rest of the countries the effect size resembles that found for the EU as a whole. Denmark is the only country where another determinant, socioeconomic status, is the most prominent predictor for highbrow cultural consumption.

As for other determinants, there is very much fluctuation. Type of community provides some explanation, but mainly very little and only for five countries (Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, the UK and Finland). No clear reason as to why community type matters in these countries is available as they represent very densely populated and large nations, as well as sparsely inhabited countries with few people and no cities over a million inhabitants.In Italy, the UK and Finland the larger the city the more likely one is to be highbrow, but in Belgium and Luxembourg, however, the medium sized city is the least likely place to live for the highbrows. Marital status, on the other hand, determines highbrow patterns in Italy and Ireland (single people are more likely to be highbrows), whereas gender has a significant effect in Ireland and Finland (where women are more likely to be highbrow) and in Luxembourg and Portugal (where men are more highbrow). Finally, the role of income is salient in France, Luxembourg, the UK and Austria and its effect is similar to that of the EU level income-effect.

6.2.2 Intensity: heavy-user pattern and structural determinants

The second cultural consumption pattern to be placed under scrutiny is the cultural heavy-user. The heavy-user proportions of the single cultural items examined above were rather clear: with only a few exceptions Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden and Luxembourg were mostly placed in the top five in the heavy-user item listings. In many cases the Italians and the British also appeared in the top five sections. Table 35 shows the proportions of the cross-item heavy-users in the data for each EU country. As with the highbrow consumers, the proportions vary greatly between the countries. This time the top three slots are occupied by the Nordic countries. They all, as well as the Netherlands, have a large share of heavy-users (almost or even more than 25 %). The EU-average is 16 percent. In addition to the above-mentioned Luxembourg and the UK are also above that average. Again, Portugal has the lowest share (6 %).

Table 35. The proportion of cross-item cultural heavy-users by country (n = 16 200)

	N	% of cross-item heavy-users in country
Denmark	1001	28.6
Sweden	1000	25.7
Finland	1023	24.7
The Netherlands	1047	24.5
Luxembourg	609	22.5
UK	1346	17.8
France	1002	14.9
Italy	998	14.8
Spain	1000	14.6
Ireland	1002	14.0
Austria	1093	11.2
Belgium	1031	10.7
Germany	2047	9.8
Greece	1001	8.9
Portugal	1000	6.0
EU-15	16 200	16.0 (2594)

First, the unadjusted main effects of each independent variable affecting the cross-item heavy-user pattern are examined individually (see Table 36).

Table 36. Logistic regression, unadjusted main effects of socio-demographic factors for cross-item heavy-users

	Pseudo R^2 x100		**N**	
Years in education	**10.0**	Still studying	1707	4.98***
p-value 0.000		19 years or more	1226	7.60***
		13–18 years	4064	3.68***
		10–12 years	5102	1.49***
		0– 9 years (a)	4101	1
SES	**5.8**	Managerial	1728	5.11***
p-value 0.000		Entrepreneur	1296	2.05***
		Non-manual	2831	2.54***
		Retired/unemployed	4373	1.99***
		Homemaker	1933	1.38**
		Student	1707	4.67***
		Manual (a)	2332	1
Income quartile	**2.2**	DK	5381	0.48***
p-value 0.000		Lowest I	2479	0.46***
		Second lowest II	2709	0.46***
		Second highest III	2755	0.55***
		Highest (a)	2876	1
Age	**0.8**	15–25 years	2982	1.84***
p-value 0.000		26–35 years	3021	1.24**
		36–45 years	2897	1.33***
		46–55 years	2594	1.59***
		56–65 years	2194	1.33***
		66 and over (a)	2512	1
Marital status	**0.2**	Married or cohabiting	9452	0.83***
p-value 0.000		Single	6501	1
Type of community	**0.1**	Large city	4750	1.68***
p-value 0.000		Small/ medium city	6048	1.29***
		Rural (a)	5247	1
Gender	**0.1**	Male	7718	0.88**
p-value 0.003		Female	8482	1

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category.

As with the highbrow pattern, education has the greatest effect on size for the heavy-user pattern, and the effect is linear. Although this time the students are not the most affected category. The highest likelihood of being a heavy-user is found among the most educated (19 years or more). The most visible

gap is found between the two least educated groups and the other categories. The odds of a respondent being very highly educated and a heavy-user are almost eight times greater than when one only has little (0 to 9 years) formal education.

Socio-economic status has the second greatest effect on the heavy-user pattern. Most heavy-users are drawn from the student, managerial, non-manual and entrepreneurial categories. Managers and students have remarkably higher odds of being heavy-users than other SES categories. The manual workers reference group are less likely to be heavy-users than any of the other categories.

The effect of income is stronger in the heavy-user pattern than in the highbrow, if measured by a pseudo R^2 coefficient. Yet again, the highest income bracket has the greatest likelihood of being a heavy-user whereas the likelihoods among the other income brackets are quite similar to each other and almost one half of the highest income category.

Age does not have a very clear effect on the heavy-user pattern; all the other categories can be said to be more likely heavy-users than the reference category of 66 years and older. As far as marital status is concerned, it seems that being single would predict a slightly greater chance of becoming a heavy-user. Still, the effect of marital status is very marginal for the heavy-user pattern (pseudo $R^2 = 0.2$) as are the effects of the remaining variables of gender (0.1) and type of community (0.1). With the caution of the low coefficients of determination in mind, we can expect the heavy-users to live in urban areas and to be females.

Table 37. Summary of statistics for stepwise entered independent variables (logistic regression) for heavy-users, country excluded and included

		-2 log likelihood	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Education	6582,39	960,03	4	0,000
Step 2	SES	6447,35	135,04	5	0,000
Step 3	Income	6385,72	61,63	4	0,000
Step 4	Age	6344,46	41,26	5	0,000
Step 5	Type of community	6309,79	34,67	2	0,000
Step 6	Gender	6281,16	28,63	1	0,000
Step 7	Marital status	6277,01	4,15	1	0,042
Step 1	Education	10788,39	960,03	4	0,000
Step 2	Country	10528,21	260,18	14	0,000
Step 3	SES	10393,45	134,76	5	0,000
Step 4	Type of community	10340,40	53,05	2	0,000
Step 5	Income	10294,04	46,36	4	0,000
Step 6	Gender	10269,91	24,13	1	0,000
Step 7	Age	10233,92	36,00	5	0,000
Step 8	Marital status	10226,77	7,15	1	0,008

Four main determinants were selected for use in the multinomial logistic regression models of the heavy-user pattern (Table 38) based on the information gained from the stepwise method (Table 37). These determinants, education, socio-economic status, income and age, were the variables that had the most effect on the pattern on their own. They are examined together and the results in Table 38 show the unadjusted main effects in the second column, and then the odds for each model in the subsequent columns. The last row shows the pseudo R^2 coefficients for each model.

Table 38. Logistic regression models for the heavy-user pattern excluding country effect

		N	Unadj.	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Years in	Still studying	1707	4.98***	4.98***	8.46***	8.83***	9.21***
education	19 years or	1226	7.60***	7.60***	6.34***	5.95***	6.25***
	13–18 years	4064	3.68***	3.68***	3.34***	3.20***	3.38***
	10–12 years	5102	1.49***	1.49***	1.53***	1.51***	1.57***
	0– 9 years (a)	4101	1	1	1	1	1
SES	Managerial	1728	5.11***		2.86***	2.61***	2.57***
	Entrepreneur	1296	2.05***		1.56***	1.57***	1.51***
	Non-manual	2831	2.54***		1.79***	1.75***	1.76***
	Retired/unemp	4373	1.99***		2.01***	2.09***	1.89***
	Homemaker	1933	1.38**		1.42**	1.50**	1.42**
	Student (b)	1707	4.67***		–	–	–
	Manual (a)	2332	1		1	1	1
Income	DK	5381	0.48***			0.60***	0.60***
quartile	Lowest I	2479	0.46***			0.70***	0.72***
	Second lowest	2709	0.46***			0.70***	0.71***
	Second highest	2755	0.55***			0.72***	0.73***
	Highest (a)	2876	1			1	1
Age	15–25 years	2982	1.84***				0.93
	26–35 years	3021	1.24**				0.75**
	36–45 years	2897	1.33***				0.87
	46–55 years	2594	1.59***				1.17
	56–65 years	2194	1.33***				1.14
	66 and over (a)	2512	1				1
Pseudo R^2				10.0	11.4	12.1	12.5

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category, (b) redundant because included in another variable, *years in education*.

The effect size does not grow anymore than slightly when more determinants are added (models 2–4). Education alone (as well as SES) explained most of the variation when the unadjusted effects were examined. The coefficients of education decrease except in the case of students when SES is controlled for. Throughout the models, students, as well as the most highly educated, were likeliest to be heavy-users. On the other hand, differences between SES categories remain almost unchanged through models

2 to 5 when the magnitude of the odds are at first slightly decreased from those of the unadjusted odds. Only the greater unadjusted odds of the managerial category decrease more sharply and thus the differences between the SES categories diminish. There is not much change in the income effects when other determinants are controlled for. However, when age is added to the models, we see fluctuations. With the other variables controlled, the seemingly (negative) linear association between age and the heavy-user pattern disappears. It is however replaced by an effect showing the middle-aged and older being the most heavy-user prone and the age-bracket 26 to 35 being the smallest heavy-user class.

Table 39. Logistic regression, unadjusted main effects of country for cross-item heavy-users

	Pseudo R^2 x100		**N**	
Country	**5.6**			
p-value 0.000		Belgium	1031	Ns
		Denmark	1001	3.18***
		Germany	2047	Ns
		Greece	1001	Ns
		Italy	998	1.39*
		Spain	1000	1.36*
		France	1002	1.39*
		Ireland	1002	Ns
		Luxembourg	609	2.31***
		The Netherlands	1047	2.59***
		Portugal	1000	0.51***
		UK	1346	1.72***
		Finland	1023	2.62***
		Sweden	1000	2.75***
		Austria (a)	1093	1

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category.

When country is added to the analyses (see Table 39 and Table 40) the effect size for this variable is the third largest if all the unadjusted effects are compared (pseudo $R^2 = 5.6$). The effect size also exceeds the one found in the case of a highbrow pattern. For the sake of coherence Austria represents the reference country in all the pattern examinations. This time Austria seems to be located near the bottom-end of the ranking as many countries are more

likely to contain heavy-user citizens. Denmark, Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands and Luxembourg are the most heavy-user prone countries. At the other extreme we find Portugal, where the likelihood of heavy-user citizens is half that of Austria's.

Four of the most effective determinants, education, country, age and SES are chosen for the further analyses. The increase in the effect size between the models is somewhat more visible in the next examination (Table 40) than when the country variable was excluded. When country is controlled for, there is a clear effect in the category of most educated. In other words, the entrance of country diminishes the gap between the most educated, who are more heavy-user prone, and the rest of the categories by bringing the highly-educated closer to those still studying. Otherwise the differences remain despite the inclusion of country. The controlling of age, as well as SES seems to have an impact on the gap between the educational groups. First, in model 3, the odds for students and the highly-educated rise. On the other hand, when the level of education is controlled for, the heavy-user pattern seems to turn around: the oldest respondents are most likely to be heavy-users. This mechanism was already visible in the examination that excluded the country effect. However, as in the country-exclusive model, the least heavy-user category was those aged 26 to 35 when all other factors were controlled for. The inclusion of SES in the model further widens the distance between the education levels. When SES is controlled for, the students appear most prone to a heavy-user pattern, and the odds for the two highest educational categories diminish. The odds for SES categories seem to resemble each other more when other factors are controlled for. The higher odds of the managerial category in the unadjusted effects can thus be explained according to education, country of origin and age. Other factors remain relatively stable in the last model.

Table 40. Logistic regression models for heavy-user pattern including country effect

		N	Unadj.	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Years in education	Still studying	1707	4.98***	4.98***	4.33***	5.11***	7.80***
	19 years or	1226	7.56***	7.56***	5.78***	6.24***	4.98***
	13–18 years	4064	3.68***	3.68***	3.17***	3.47***	2.96***
	10–12 years	5102	1.49***	1.49***	1.39***	1.47***	1.45***
	0– 9 years (a)	4101	1	1	1	1	1
Country	Belgium	1031	ns		0.85	0.84	0.93
	Denmark	1001	3.18***		2.04***	1.96***	2.11***
	Germany	2047	ns		0.83	0.81	0.85
	Greece	1001	ns		0.82	0.82	0.88
	Italy	998	1.39*		1.18	1.18	1.26
	Spain	1000	1.36*		1.30	1.32*	1.43**
	France	1002	1.39*		1.20*	1.21	1.26
	Ireland	1002	ns		1.07	1.06	1.19
	Luxembourg	609	2.31***		1.91***	1.89***	2.00***
	Netherlands	1047	2.59***		1.65***	1.60***	1.80***
	Portugal	1000	0.51***		0.62**	0.63**	0.66*
	UK	1346	1.72***		1.63***	1.63***	1.74***
	Finland	1023	2.62***		2.05***	1.98***	2.11***
	Sweden	1000	2.75***		2.18***	2.14***	2.22***
	Austria (a)	1093	1		1	1	1
Age	15–25 years	2982	1.84***			0.87	0.97
	26–35 years	3021	1.24**			0.76**	0.80*
	36–45 years	2897	1.33***			0.89	0.92
	46–55 years	2594	1.59***			1.16	1.19
	56–65 years	2194	1.33***			1.14	1.17
	66 and over	2512	1			1	1
SES	Managerial	1728	5.11***				2.94***
	Entrepreneur	1296	2.05***				1.69***
	Non-manual	2831	2.54***				1.84***
	Retired/unemp	4373	1.99***				1.87***
	Homemaker	1933	1.38**				1.43**
	Student (b)	1707	4.67***				–
	Manual (a)	2332	1				1
Pseudo R^2					12.6	14.0	14.5

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category, (b) redundant because included in another variable, *years in education*.

Table 41 below shows first the proportion of heavy-users in each country, and then, based on the results provided by the multinomial logistic regression models for each country, the effects that socio-demographics have on the heavy-user pattern. In addition, the variation that is explained by the tested background variables is presented in the column showing the pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke) values. The unadjusted main effects for each country are shown in the appendix (Appendix Table 15).

As was the case with the highbrow, heavy-user patterns are affected by different socio-economic structures in each country. One clear similarity across the countries appears, though. Education is a highly significant ($p \leq 0.001$) factor in all the countries except Denmark ($p \leq 0.05$) and Greece ($p \leq 0.01$). In Portugal, the effect of education is the only significant factor and yet it still produces a pseudo R^2 coefficient as high as 19.8. This pattern is duplicated in Spain and Austria, where the effect size is slightly smaller (15.5 and 10.4 respectively). Two patterns emerge in relation to the education-effect. In some countries (Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, Portugal, Italy, Ireland and Sweden) the students are the most heavy-users and then a positively linear association between the heavy-user pattern and the rest of the categories occurs. In rest of the countries, on the other hand, a pattern similar to that for the whole of the EU occurs as respondents with the most education are also likely to be the most heavy-users.

Income plays a significant role for the heavy-user pattern in Luxembourg and the UK (the bigger the income the greater the likelihood of being a heavy-user), whereas type of community proves to be of importance in Belgium, Germany and Ireland ($p \leq 0.001$ in all). As was the case with the highbrow in relation to type of community, again in Belgium (and Ireland) respondents living in medium-sized cities are the least likely to be heavy-users. In Germany, however, the pattern is similar to that found for the EU's average level, where rural residents are the least likely heavy-user category. Gender on the other hand is a vital factor in the Netherlands and Finland (women are more likely heavy-users). Age turns out to be of highly significant importance only in the final model for Denmark (the older one is the more likely one is to be a heavy-user). This explains the low effect size of age on the EU level analysis. In addition one should note, that in Finland only two factors (education and gender) appear significant in terms of heavy-user patterns, and the pseudo R^2 remains very low (4.6). Marital status proves to be a rather insignificant factor in terms of heavy-userness, as only in Greece does it play some role ($p \leq 0.05$; singles are more likely to be heavy-users as expected),

along with the type of community (the bigger the city one lives in the more likely one is to be a heavy-user) and education ($p \leq 0.01$ for both).[42]

[42] Marital status could be expected to associated more with a heavy-user pattern as we can expect the married to have more time constraints and thus less opportunities to engage in time consuming activities that the concept of heavy-user implies.

Table 41. Heavy-user patterns across the countries. Summary of the results by stepwise multinomial regression analysis, significant independent variables in the final model.

	BE	DK	DE	EL	IT	ES	FR	IE	LU	NL	PT	UK	FI	SE	AT
% of heavy-users[a]	10.9	28.3	9.8	8.8	15.0	14.5	14.9	14.1	22.6	24.5	5.9	17.7	25.0	25.9	11.0
Education	***	*	***	**	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Type of community	***	**	***	**	*		**	***							
Income	*		**						***	*		***			
Marital status				*											
Gender			*		**					***		**	***		
Age		***					**	*				*			
SES		***			*			**		**				***	
Pseudo R^2 x 100	15.5	11.6	14.5	17.2	18.9	15.5	19.3	18.0	18.2	10.3	19.8	9.3	4.6	10.2	10.4

[a]) indicates the share of respondents included in the logistic regression analyses. In some cases the number of heavy-user cases per country is somewhat decreased due to subpopulation overlaps in the logistic regression models. Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$.

6.2.3 Variety: omnivorous pattern and structural determinants

The third cultural consumption pattern to be placed under scrutiny is cross-domain omnivores. The proportions of omnivores in each domain were examined previously in the text across the EU-15 countries. The general picture gained was even clearer than with the previous patterns because with the exception of TV and radio omnivorousness the Nordic countries, as well as the Netherlands and Luxembourg were among the top five in all the omnivore type listings. In the case of TV and radio Belgium was the second most omnivorous country leaving the Danish in sixth place this time. Table 42 very much resembles the previous tables on the other patterns. The proportion of the cross-domain omnivores is highest in Sweden (34 %) whereas above the average of 13.3 % are Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Austria. Approximately 7 per cent or less cross-domain omnivores are found in Greece, Ireland, Spain and Portugal.

Table 42. The proportion of cultural cross-domain omnivores in the data by country (n = 16200)

	N	% of cross-domain omnivores in country
Sweden	1000	34.0
Denmark	1001	23.8
Finland	1023	23.2
Luxembourg	609	21.3
The Netherlands	1047	18.0
Austria	1093	15.0
Germany	2047	10.6
UK	1346	10.6
Belgium	1031	8.8
France	1002	8.7
Italy	998	8.2
Greece	1001	7.3
Ireland	1002	7.0
Spain	1000	6.7
Portugal	1000	5.7
EU-15	16 200	13.3 (2151)

First, the unadjusted main effects of each independent variable are examined individually (Table 43) for the cross-domain omnivore pattern.

Table 43. Logistic regression, unadjusted main effects of socio-demographic factors for cross-domain omnivore pattern

	Pseudo R^2 x100		**N**	
Years in education	**11.4**	Still studying	1588	8.05***
p-value 0.000		19 years or more	1128	7.54***
		13–18 years	3773	4.06***
		10–12 years	4668	1.64***
		0– 9 years (a)	3552	1
SES	**9.7**	Managerial	1614	4.32***
p-value 0.000		Entrepreneur	1179	1.57***
		Non-manual	2653	2.46***
		Retired/unemployed	3827	Ns
		Homemaker	1686	Ns
		Student	1588	5.32***
		Manual (a)	2162	1
Age	**6.0**	15–25 years	2809	6.77***
p-value 0.000		26–35 years	2796	4.12***
		36–45 years	2668	3.48***
		46–55 years	2361	2.89***
		56–65 years	1948	1.97***
		66 and over (a)	2127	1
Income quartile	**2.7**	DK	4873	0.41***
p-value 0.000		Lowest I	2106	0.48***
		Second lowest II	2463	0.42***
		Second highest III	2572	0.53***
		Highest (a)	2695	1
Marital status	**0.9**	Married or cohabiting	8680	0.67***
p-value 0.000		Single	5810	1
Type of community	**0.5**	Large city	4270	1.45***
p-value 0.000		Small/ medium city	557	1.38***
		Rural (a)	4785	1
Gender	**Ns**	Male	7056	-
p-value 0.265		Female	7653	-

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category.

As with the previous patterns education is again the most salient determinant for the omnivore pattern. The size of the education effect grows gradually when shifting from highbrow through heavy-user to omnivore. Students and the most highly educated are clearly the most omnivorous educational categories. The effect of education is again linear and the most visible gap is found between the two least educated groups and the other categories just as in the heavy-user pattern. The odds for the very highly educated and students being omnivore are approximately eight times greater than when one has only some (0 to 9 years) formal education.

Socio-economic status has the second largest effect on the omnivore pattern. The most heavy-user prone are students, the managerial and non-manual categories. The likelihood of omnivorousness for the manual workers (reference group) does not deviate significantly from those of the retired, the unemployed and homemakers. The entrepreneurs have only slightly greater odds of being omnivores than the reference group of manual workers.

The age effect is rather strong (pseudo $R^2 = 6.0$) on the omnivore pattern, and as with the heavy-user pattern the association is negative as the older one is the less likely one is to be an omnivore.

The effect of income is stronger on the omnivore pattern than on the highbrow and remarkably similar to the heavy-user. Thus, the highest income bracket has the greatest likelihood of being an omnivore whereas the likelihood among the other income brackets are almost one half of the highest income category.

As far as marital status is concerned, it seems that being single would predict a slightly greater chance of becoming an omnivore. Still, the effect of marital status is very marginal for this pattern (pseudo $R^2 = 0.9$) as is the effect for the type of community (0.5). Again, omnivores, as well the highbrow and the heavy-users, are more likely to live in urban areas than rural communities. Gender does not have a significant effect on the omnivore pattern.

Table 44. Summary of stepwise entered independent variables (logistic regression) for cross-domain omnivore pattern, country excluded and included.

		-2 log likelihood	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Education	5840,15	972,82	4	0,000
Step 2	SES	5660,21	179,94	5	0,000
Step 3	Age	5547,63	112,57	5	0,000
Step 4	Income	5428,39	119,24	4	0,000
Step 5	Gender	5418,53	9,86	1	0,002
Step 6	Marital status	5409,57	8,96	1	0,003
Step 7	Type of community	5402,55	7,02	2	0,030
Step 1	Education	9209,05	972,82	4	0,000
Step 2	Country	8749,35	459,70	14	0,000
Step 3	Age	8544,23	205,12	5	0,000
Step 4	SES	8430,71	113,52	5	0,000
Step 5	Income	8374,32	56,39	4	0,000
Step 6	Marital status	8350,20	24,12	1	0,000
Step 7	Type of community	8336,69	13,51	2	0,001
Step 8	Gender	8331,31	5,39	1	0,020

Four main determinants were selected in the multinomial logistic regression models for the omnivore pattern (Table 45) based on the information of the stepwise method (Table 44). These determinants, education, socio-economic status, age and income, were the variables that showed the most effect on the pattern on their own. Table 45 shows the unadjusted main effects in the second column, and then the odds for each model in the subsequent columns. The last row shows the pseudo R^2 coefficients for each model.

Table 45. Logistic regression models for cross-domain omnivore pattern excluding country effect.

		N	Unadj.	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Years in	Still studying	1707	8.05***	8.05***	8.77***	5.51***	5.84***
education	19 years or more	1226	7.54***	7.54***	5.05***	4.82***	4.61***
	13–18 years	4064	4.06***	4.06***	2.91***	2.52***	2.48***
	10–12 years	5102	1.64***	1.64***	1.41***	1.24**	1.25**
	0– 9 years (a)	4101	1	1	1	1	1
SES	Managerial	1728	4.32***		2.56***	2.86***	2.65***
	Entrepreneur	1296	1.57***		1.21	1.36	1.44**
	Non-manual	2831	2.46***		1.81***	1.86***	1.83***
	Retired/unemployed	4373	Ns		1.00	1.57***	1.62***
	Homemaker	1933	Ns		0.82	1.00	1.09
	Student (b)	1707	5.32***		–	–	–
	Manual (a)	2332	1		1	1	1
Age	15–25 years	2982	6.77***			3.96***	4.34***
	26–35 years	3021	4.12***			2.69***	2.75***
	36–45 years	2897	3.48***			2.41***	2.41***
	46–55 years	2594	2.89***			2.13***	2.12***
	56–65 years	2194	1.97***			1.72***	1.71***
	66 and over (a)	2512	1			1	1
Income	DK	5381	0.41***				0.47***
quartile	Lowest I	2479	0.48***				0.81*
	Second lowest II	2709	0.42***				0.71***
	Second highest III	2755	0.53***				0.73***
	Highest (a)	2876	1				1
Pseudo R^2				**11.4**	**13.6**	**14.8**	**16.2**

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category. (b) redundant because included in another variable, *years in education.*

The cross-domain omnivore pattern differs from the previous patterns in that it is better explained by socio-demographic factors. The effect size grows steeper, even though still rather modestly, when variables are included in the models. Education alone explained most of the variation when the unadjusted effects were examined. This is even more visible than with the previous patterns. When socio-economic status is controlled for the already visible differences between the educational categories increase. Students are most likely to be omnivores. If education is kept constant, the SES categories are

more like each other, though the managerial and non-manual occupations are still more prone to the omnivore tendency. When age is entered, the effect of education becomes less sharply defined, though the differences are still very apparent. Adding age to the models does not seem to affect the SES at all. In the last model income is entered but has only a few effects on the existing variables. In terms of age the difference between the others and the most omnivorous category, the youngest, becomes even more highlighted, when income is controlled for. It thus seems that the young would be more omnivorous if their income would allow. When other factors are controlled for it seems that the omnivore patterns across the income categories begin to resemble each other, even though the highest quartile is still the category most likely to be omnivorous.

Table 46. Logistic regression, unadjusted main effects of country for cross-domain omnivore pattern

	Pseudo R^2 x100		**N**	
Country	**7.7**	Belgium	909	0.63***
p-value 0.000		Denmark	930	1.96***
		Germany	1877	0.74**
		Greece	897	0.50***
		Italy	815	0.64**
		Spain	879	0.47***
		France	839	0.66**
		Ireland	977	0.44***
		Luxembourg	579	1.65***
		The Netherlands	962	1.38**
		Portugal	905	0.38***
		UK	1190	0.78*
		Finland	968	1.72***
		Sweden	979	2.93***
		Austria (a)	1003	1

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category, value 1.

The country effect is examined (see Table 46) next. Its effect size (pseudo $R^2 = 7.7$) is greater than it was in the other two patterns (highbrow and heavy-user). If unadjusted effects for the omnivore models are compared, the country variable is the third most powerful after education and SES. Again, Austria

represents the reference country. This time Austria possesses a very different rank to the one it had for the heavy-user pattern where it was at the lower extreme. Only five countries are more omnivore accommodating than Austria: the Swedes are clearly the most omnivorous EU-nation, followed by the Danish, the Finns, the Luxembourgers and the Dutch. The smallest odds for omnivorousness were scored by Portugal, Ireland and Spain.

Four of the most effective determinants, education, country, age and socio-economic status were chosen for further analysis. The increase in the effect size between the models is more visible in the next analysis (Table 47) than in the one where the country effect was excluded. When country is controlled for the effect of education does not react significantly. Only the odds for the most highly educated drop slightly. Thus, country alone does not affect the differences between the educational groups in the formation of an omnivore pattern. But as in the previous analysis the entrance of age levels out the differences between educational groups, this time to the extent that the most educated are more likely to be omnivores than the students. In the fourth model the effect of socio-economic status is entered. It mostly affects the impact education has, as controlling for SES once again deepens the gap between the students, who form the most omnivore-prone category, and the other educational categories.

Table 47. Logistic regression models for cross-domain omnivore pattern including country effect.

		N	Unadj.	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Years in	Still studying	1707	8.05***	8.05***	8.25***	3.77***	5.21***
Education	19 years or more	1226	7.54***	7.54***	5.89***	4.99***	3.77***
	13–18 years	4064	4.06***	4.06***	4.00***	3.03***	2.01 ***
	10–12 years	5102	1.64***	1.64***	1.68***	1.31	1.25
	0– 9 years (a)	4101	1	1	1	1	1
Country	Belgium	1031	0.63***		0.54***	0.56***	0.63
	Denmark	1001	1.96***		1.23	1.41**	1.53***
	Germany	2047	0.74**		0.72**	0.77*	0.81
	Greece	1001	0.50***		0.49***	0.48***	0.52***
	Italy	998	0.64**		0.48***	0.48***	0.52***
	Spain	1000	0.47***		0.39***	0.38***	0.41***
	France	1002	0.66**		0.53***	0.52***	0.55***
	Ireland	1002	0.44***		0.32***	0.33***	0.36***
	Luxembourg	609	1.65***		1.30	1.37*	1.46**
	The Netherlands	1047	1.38**		0.84	0.88	0.99
	Portugal	1000	0.38***		0.44***	0.41***	0.43***
	UK	1346	0.78*		0.69**	0.69**	0.75*
	Finland	1023	1.72***		1.30*	1.41**	1.53***
	Sweden	1000	2.93***		2.45***	2.61***	2.72***
	Austria (a)	1093	1		1	1	1
Age	15–25 years	2982	6.77***			4.82***	4.64***
	26–35 years	3021	4.12***			3.32***	2.99***
	36–45 years	2897	3.48***			2.86***	2.51***
	46–55 years	2594	2.89***			2.41***	2.10***
	56–65 years	2194	1.97***			1.79***	1.68***
	66 and over (a)	2512	1			1	1
SES	Managerial	1728	4.32***				2.86***
	Entrepreneur	1296	1.57***				1.64***
	Non-manual	2831	2.46***				1.83***
	Retired/unemployed	4373	Ns				1.50***
	Homemaker	1933	Ns				1.24
	Student (b)	1707	5.32***				-
	Manual (a)	2332	1				1
Pseudo R^2				**11.4**	**16.8**	**19.0**	**20.3**

Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$; (ns) = $p > 0.05$; (a) reference category. (b) redundant because included in another variable, *years in education.*

Table 48 below shows first the proportion of omnivores country by country, and then, based on the results provided by the multinomial logistic regression models for each country, the effects that socio-demographics have on the omnivorous tendency. In addition, the variation that is explained by the tested background variables is presented in the column showing the pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke) values. The unadjusted main effects for each country are shown in the appendix (Appendix Table 16).

The omnivore patterns of the EU countries are rather similar to the heavy-user patterns as education is clearly the most significant factor at national level. Again, education is a highly significant ($p \leq 0.001$) factor in all the countries except for Greece, Ireland and Sweden ($p \leq 0.01$). As with the EU level analyses, the effect of education is linear in that in most of the countries' students represent the category most likely to be omnivores, whereas the ones with the least education are the least likely category. Five countries (Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and Austria) provide an exception to this pattern; as in these countries the group with the most education is more likely to be omnivorous than the category of students. In addition, age provides rather viable explanations in many countries, most significantly in Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden ($p \leq 0.001$ in each) because the younger one is the more likely one is to be an omnivore. Also SES plays a highly significant role in Germany and Finland, and it has some significance in seven other countries (being a student or having a managerial position occupation increases the likelihood of being categorized as an omnivore).

Income proves to be a rather insignificant factor in terms of omnivorousness, as only in Germany, Luxembourg and the UK does it play some role, where the respondents within the highest income bracket are the most likely omnivores. Also marital status, type of community and gender appear to be only slightly significant for omnivorousness in a few countries.

Again, Portugal reaches a very high effect size (pseudo $R^2 = 29.4$) with only two explanatory variables (education and age). At the other extreme is Sweden, with a coefficient of determination of only 10.5.

Table 48. Omnivore patterns across the countries. Summary of the results by stepwise multinomial regression analysis, significant independent variables in the final model.

	BE	DK	DE	EL	IT	ES	FR	IE	LU	NL	PT	UK	FI	SE	AT
% of omnivores[a]	9.8	25.6	11.5	8.0	10.1	7.7	10.4	7.4	22.7	19.5	6.2	11.9	22.9	33.7	15.0
Education	***	***	***	**	***	***	***	**	***	***	***	***	***	**	***
Type of community	*	**		*											
Income			*						**			*			
Marital status					*								*		
Gender			*				*	*							
Age		***		*		**	*	*	*	***	***	*		***	*
SES			***				**	**				**	***		
Pseudo R^2 x 100	19.8	16.5	12.9	20.7	14.4	18.3	21.5	17.4	20.9	18.8	29.4	24.3	16.2	10.5	13.7

[a]) indicates the share of respondents included in the logistic regression analyses. In some cases the number of omnivore cases per country is somewhat decreased due to subpopulation overlaps in the logistic regression models. Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$.

6.3 Summary of and discussion on the associations between the patterns

As articulated earlier, the purpose of this study was to study cultural consumption from angles the research has neglected to use before. Thus dimensions such as quality and variety of taste were brought together and added to the less studied dimension of the intensity of cultural consumption. A brief overview on the associations between those three patterns is provided next and after that conclusions are drawn based on the results presented in Chapters 6.2.1 and 6.2.3 concerning the three cultural consumption patterns.

Since a correlation coefficient such as Pearson's product-moment correlation is not to be used with anything other than continuous variables an equivalent was needed in order to determine the association between the patterns. The coefficient for the association between the dichotomous variables was measured by the φ-coefficient[43] (*phi*) (See Table 49). (Tabachnick – Fidell 2007, 914–915.) The direction of association can not be deduced from the φ-coefficient, but needs to be derived by some other method of analysis of the data. (Nummenmaa et al. 1997, 157–158.) Here, we do not wish to explain one pattern by reference to the others but instead aim to see to what extent the patterns cut across each other. Thus a causal relationship was not sought.

Table 49 below implies the relations between the taste patterns. For example, a third of the omnivores are highbrows as well as heavy-users. Furthermore, over a half of the heavy-users are highbrows and two-thirds are omnivores. When it comes to highbrows a similar pattern occurs: almost 70% of highbrows are also omnivores and almost 55% are heavy-users. It thus seems that being an omnivore is a realm of its own as it does not have as remarkable an association with the other two patterns. The omnivores are allegedly a motley group with a variety of cultural tastes bundled under one concept. The correspondence between the highbrow pattern and the heavy-user pattern is not totally explained by the measurement method as the items included in these patterns diverge significantly. A heavy-user pattern mainly consists of participation items, whereas in the highbrow pattern concert types and Internet items are emphasized. This further underlines the similarity of the mechanisms between the highbrow consumer and the heavy-user, and the

[43] The φ-coefficient is an equivalent for correlation coefficient, but it enables the calculation of association between variables that are dichotomous. The equation is $\varphi = \sqrt{(\chi^2 / N)}$. The maximum value for 2-by-2 tables is 1. (Nummenmaa et al. 1996.)

deviant mechanism reflected by the omnivore pattern. The fact that only approximately one-third of the omnivores are heavy-users suggests voraciousness. When one has limited time resources, the intensity of consumption remains mostly shallow. In such a situation it is more important to place more emphasis on the broad "toolkit" of potential status markers (which is a status marker *per se*) than to truly devote time to one particular practice. Consumers with a heavy-user or highbrow orientation, on the other hand, are more likely to pursue similar functions, and put a high premium on other factors than a broad range of taste.

As we can see, there is a statistically significant ($p \leq 0.001$) relationship between the patterns, even though the φ-coefficients imply that the *linear* association between all the two-way combinations is only mild[44] (Nummenmaa 2004, 278). Based on the information in the table, however, we cannot tell how large a share of the highbrow-omnivores are, in fact, also heavy-user omnivores. This association is therefore depicted by Figure 19.

Table 49. Interrelationships of the taste patterns, %, associations measured with φ-coefficient (*in italics*)

	…highbrows (n = 2601)	…omnivores (n = 2151)	…heavy-users (n = 2594)
Highbrows who are	–	69.2 *0.342**	54.9 *0.359**
Omnivores who are	31.0 *0.342**	–	30.4 *0.325**
Heavy-users who are	53.7 *0.359**	66.3 *0.325**	–

* Approximated significance 0.000

The cultural consumption patterns were analyzed in three distinct forms: highbrow, heavy-user and omnivore. These patterns addressed the quality and type of the cultural item consumed, the intensity and volume of consumption and the variety of the taste repertoire. Similar standards were applied cross-nationally which allowed for comparisons between the countries. There were in total 1067 respondents (6.6%) who are along with being highbrows, also heavy-users and omnivores (see Figure 19). The largest shares are found in

[44] Nummenmaa (2004, 278) states that coefficient ~ 1 equals a complete linear association, coefficient ~ .9 equals a strong linear association, coefficient ~ .7 equals a rather strong linear association, coefficient ~ .5 equals a medium linear association, coefficient ~ .3 equals a mild linear association and coefficient ~ 0 equals no linear association.

Sweden, Denmark and Finland. On the whole, this three-way pattern concurs to a large degree with earlier observations on the patterns – the countries appear in a very similar order except for Germany, which now holds fourth place. The differences between the countries are somewhat similar level to the analyses above. The case of Germany is rather peculiar, though. In the cross-country comparison, Germany is placed below average both in terms of highbrow and heavy-user patterns (and also in light of individual items within these patterns). In terms of the omnivore pattern, the Germans appear in the middle of the rankings. Still, when all three-way dimensions are considered, the share of them in Germany seems to deviate from the patterns previously discussed. It is plausible that in Germany, cultural consumption in any form is the realm of the same people and it adheres to similar mechanisms, whereas elsewhere the mechanisms between the patterns differ.

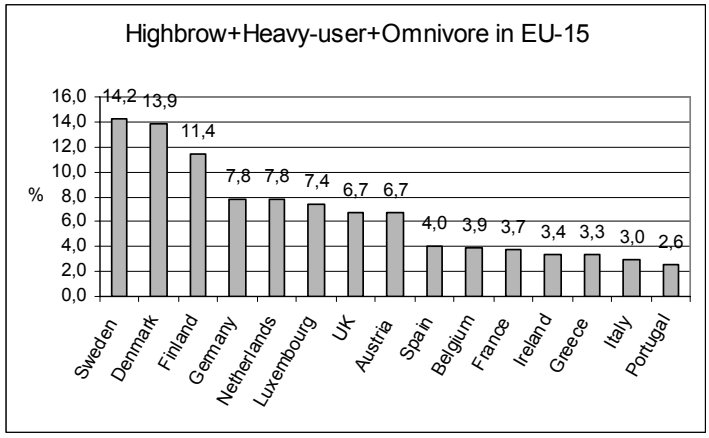

Figure 19. Highbrow-heavy-user-omnivores in the EU, % (n = 1067)

What this procedure does not allow, however, is the determination of the internal dynamics of cultural consumption within each country. In other words, in order to truly capture the essence of the patterns in each country, we would need to define the patterns suited for each nation individually. This would have rendered fifteen versions of a pattern, which was not seen as being within the limits of this study. In this sense, the comparisons tend to put some countries in the spotlight while repeatedly dwarfing other countries at the same time. However, it is interesting to view the amounts of these types of consumers existing in each country and figure out why the shares fluctuate so greatly. For example, at best 34 percent of the population is characterized as omnivores as is the case in Sweden (where there is also a mass of highbrows, 27%, and heavy-users, 29%), whereas in Portugal the percentage of omnivores remains as low as 5.7 (8% for highbrows and 6% for heavy-users).

Luxembourg boasts the greatest share of highbrows in the EU, 29.2%, whereas the heavy-users are most abundant in Denmark (28.6%). There is clearly something very different occurring in these countries, as these patterns recur at both ends of the continuum with all the cultural consumption patterns. Is exposure to cultural events and objects greater in those countries where consumption seemingly flourishes? Or does the educational system encourage cultural engagement more in some countries than others?

Country of residence seems to have impact on several patterns as well as individual items, such as living in a North European country is related to a "positive" pattern behavior. Residents of the northern parts of the Union have "excelled" in previous studies (Katz-Gerro 1999, Virtanen 2005a). The results presented here in terms of the Nordic countries and the Netherlands resemble those presented in previous studies on highbrow patterns. In the Netherlands Van Eijck and Knulst (2005) found a very small group of respondents who were not active cultural consumers. The results show that the volume of cultural consumption is rather smaller in size in southern European countries than elsewhere around the EU, which was also reported by López-Sintas and García Álvarez (2004) for Spain. Several conclusions and explanations for this have been given for this ranging from the patriarchal social order, the influence of the Catholic Church (or religion in general) to the smaller value placed on education, as opposed to the meritocratic ideal and thus illiteracy (e.g. Katz-Gerro 2002; Kraaykamp – Nieuwbeerta 2000; Toivonen 2005; Van Eijck – Van Oosterhout 2005, 284).

An alternative proposal lies in the small size of all the most active cultural consumer countries. It is likely that these things together in concert with political, social and economic factors at the national and governmental level have an influence on the shaping of cultural patterns within those countries. The countries represented in a good light (the "big five" of Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Finland) are sometimes also suggested as having a similar set of values with regard to their welfare state politicies (Esping-Andersen 1999, 79; 86).[45] Potentially the (social) democratic ideology of equality and universal welfare is a beneficial environment for cultural consumption.

When the three patterns are examined individually, some general conclusions can be drawn. First, the patterns were very similarly affected by the social structures. Education seems to be best predictor across the patterns

[45] Country-specific analyses reveal that the mechanisms for Luxembourg deviate from the other "big five" countries, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and the Netherlands. For example, in Luxembourg income proved to be more powerful in explaining consumption than in the other four counties. Although, Esping-Andersen has not included Luxembourg in his analyses, and to this degree the welfare explanation is suggested as being shared only by the Netherlands and the Nordic countries.

and across the EU. Secondly, the same countries appeared first and last in the analysis of pattern distributions and penetration across the EU. Some institutional level mechanisms, such as the welfare regime referred to above, seem to hold the differences rather constant no matter which cultural consumption pattern is in question.

What is though more interesting, is the way the patterns are affected differently by the social structure's within the countries. Even in the countries, which resemble each other in being prone to the given pattern, for example the Nordic countries, different factors play different roles when the analysis is at country level. By looking at the cultural milieus of these countries it would, at first glance, seem likely that their cultural consumption patterns were rather similarly formed.

The factors having most effect in the models are education and socio-economic status. They alone explain most of the variations for most of the models, both at the EU level and in the national models. Country, as already obvious in the conclusions above, proves to be a valid predictor in terms of cultural consumption. Age is a significant factor especially in highbrow patterns but also in predicting omnivorousness. Income has less effect, even though in some national patterns it it is more important than other dependent variables.

A class-based division seems to still fit the browship ideology; there appears to be a clear gap between the highbrow taste of the managerial, non-manual and entrepreneurial workforce and the other (perhaps lowbrow) taste of manual workers and the unemployed.

An interesting detail on national heavy-user patterns has emerged. The level of education played an most important role for most of the countries as was expected, but in countries such as Sweden and Denmark, which are described as less class-based societies (cf. the social democratic regime, Esping-Andersen 1999) the heavy-user pattern is foremost explained by socio economic status. Also, another "classless", Nordic society, Finland, broke the general pattern as it had gender as its main determinant for heavy-users, rather than education.

What is striking is the lack of significance gender provides. Gender seems to play little if no role at all in the elaborated patterns, even though gender's role has been explicated in several studies before (e.g. Erickson 1996; Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000; Kane 2004). Traditionally gender is found to affect cultural taste matters, but it seems that the particular method of measurement used here does not highlight gender differences that much. At least at the cross-national level this is true. This might result from the fact that single items were not examined further. Thus the quality of the items that the cultural repertoires of men and women consists of might still differ to a great degree,

although this wasn't revealed by the methodology used. Previous findings have shown that even though gender differences for engaging in cultural activities are not very large, the content of consumption (e.g. literature genres, TV programs and theatre) varies to some extent. Women are for example found to be more highbrow in their cultural tastes than men (Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000, 331). Men and women seem to be quite alike when the uppermost layers of "good" taste are considered, at least according to present results. There is fluctuation in tastes between genders, but we cannot say that clear inequality would be facilitated by gender. Women are slightly more likely to be heavy-users than men. With regard to the other two patterns gender seems not to show any difference.

When all the taste patterns are examined, a significant boundary is found to exist between low-status occupations (lower level SES) and those working in non-manual or managerial ("service class") positions. In addition, residents in urban areas tend to engage in cultural consumption more than others, this feature is shared in all the patterns. In terms of the heavy-user pattern an interesting finding was that non-manual workers do not significantly differ from the unemployed and entrepreneurs.

Income and age have rather straightforward impacts. Whereas the increase in income also increases the likelihood of one to form a pattern of consumption, the effect of age is to a large degree the opposite. Thereby this finding does not confirm the rearguard argument presented in context with the highbrow assumptions (Van Eijck – Bargeman 2004). The elitist rearguard argument may be effective in explaining what is happening in realms traditionally conceived of as highbrow, but the pattern constructed here reflects more recent boundaries and different qualities than the highbrow patterns have addressed in previous literature. The linearity of the age-effect is breached only in the case of the heavy-user pattern, where the second youngest age-group (aged 26 to 35) were the least likely to pursue the pattern. This probably suggests time-budgeting differences; as it is adults with no children living at home that potentially have the leisure time to be voracious consumers.

It is likely that the nature of a heavy-user pattern requires the most of a consumer, but people in their thirties are most home-bound time-wise. The activities included for example in the omnivore pattern may require less effort as many of them include alternatives that can be engaged in at home (surfing on the Internet, listening to music, watching TV etc.) and thus they would also be more readily available for families with small children. In terms of income, it should be noted that income seldom had a very large impact on patterns. It served more as an additional explanation, and we can expect that its effect

was very much interrelated to other mechanisms (such as SES or level of education).

Young adults are clearly the most omnivorous age group, and this category stands out more also with respect to two other taste patterns. The findings lend support to assumption that the young would be even more omnivorous if their level of income would allow it. It is possible that the young have a broad range of tastes for several kinds of reasons. Probably, their wide educational base is one explanation. They are also more adjusted to the diversification of cultural products that has occurred in society, and the young know how to sample from a great array of items. It may also be that several factors relate to each other. For example, being young and still in education, or young, well-educated and in a good class position. In this respect the results partly corroborate those presented by Van Eijck (2000, 215). According to him, younger members of higher status groups are likely to be more omnivorous, whereas the older cohorts tend to draw more sharp boundaries between highbrow and lowbrow forms of culture (ibid.) Here however, a young age also predicted a respondent's categorization as highbrow consumer, which is a finding reported also by Katz-Gerro (2002) in terms of the young Swedes' greater inclination towards highbrow consumption. The explanation for this in my study may lie in the composition of the highbrow pattern, which heavily emphasizes cultural items related to either Internet use or attending concerts of marginal music genres. These forms may appeal more to a younger audience.

7 UNITED TASTES OF EUROPE?[46] – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

> *"[…] the form and direction of change [of the legitimate forms of culture] depend not only on the 'state of the system', i.e. the 'repertoire' of the possibilities which it offers, but also on the balance of forces between social agents who have entirely real interests in the different possibilities available to them as stakes and who deploy every sort of strategy to make one set or the other to prevail."*
>
> Bourdieu 1993, 34

This study examined cultural consumption and taste both theoretically and empirically. The overall theoretical strength of this study can be seen as its ability to unify the views presented by previous literature and take into account several aspects of taste, cultural consumption and boundaries and hierarchies between cultural fields. For this study, cultural consumption patterns were constructed based on both the quality and quantity of a consumer's repertoire. Foremost the quantity aspect was emphasized here, but the nuances of quality were also referred to by the construction of a pattern that took into account the relative browship of cultural consumption items. Explanations were sought and provided in order to discern the changes occurring in the forms and proportions of fluctuating taste patterns.

The purpose of this study was to study cultural consumption from angles and points of view previously neglected. A grasp of the field of cultural consumption can be broadened to involve aspects of lifestyle, leisure consumption and the division of resources in the larger sense as well. Even though the field has been studied for several decades, mysteries still remain. The sphere of culture is an interesting and everlasting source for new findings and innovations for researchers and marketers alike. The varied tastes of groups and peoples never fails to stimulate researchers in the sociology of the arts in a fast paced "experience" society. Several questions were posed in the course of this study besides the original aims and empirical research questions in order to deepen the understanding of the phenomenon of cultural

[46] I have reproduced the title of this chapter by paraphrasing Bennett and colleagues' (1999) book "Accounting for Tastes" where they have a chapter called "United Tastes of Australia". I thank them cordially for the inspiration.

consumption. Questions were raised on the universality of taste in Europe as well as on various cultural resources' association with socio-demographic variables. Is taste globalized or Europeanized with respect to shared cultural values mediated by the mass media? We now know that some national distinctions exist, but the causes of those differences are many.

This study aimed at providing additional information on cultural consumption patterns firstly, by focusing on several dimensions of cultural consumption patterns, as well as on several cultural domains. Secondly, gaining additional information was achieved by making comparative assumptions and analyzing those assumptions on the cross-national level of the European Union.

Measurements for the field of cultural consumption are rather hard to use cross-nationally due to the nature of the phenomenon itself and its close cohesion with the structures, hierarchies and power relations of the society in question. Since the values and tastes we place upon certain objects, especially in the field on cultural products, vary greatly according to the meaning systems of a society they can not be considered universal and comparable, at least not easily comparable. Moreover, the fluctuations within a pattern's content over time and according to the society in question has proven to be a difficult task to overcome. This was found to be an extremely challenging task in the present study as well.

This study has aimed in enhancing the comparability of status markers in certain period (year 2001) in given cultural milieus (the EU). Individual cultural forms were put into perspective in order to understand the shifting logic of the browship boundaries. This also led to a research strategy that separated the three aspects of assessment from each other.

First, the aspect of quality was assessed based on the exclusivity (or rarity) of consumption, instead of predetermined suggestions, which had been the standard method in most of the previous literature. That is to say, that some cultural items have been regarded *a priori* as high quality, in brief; they have been seen as representatives of high culture. Quality alone was difficult to assess. Thus, in order to state an item's quality we must be aware of the qualities against which it is being compared. On the other hand, the discussion over browship has been on-going ever since the emergence of snobbery. Many empirical attempts have strived to define a thin line between the brows and this study served as an attempt to produce a definition that can be seen as providing more up-to-date information on the legitimation process.

Secondly, the aspect of volume or intensity was also considered important and assessed in heavy-user pattern. This orientation was considered as being able to reveal not only a person's taste for certain objects but also the strength of that taste. As a consequence the relevance of the consumption pattern

produced by the taste becomes stronger. For example, we are able to construct a more coherent pattern, if we are aware that a consumer often visits a given place or venue to consume culture. Additionally, if we are able to combine that information with the knowledge of how much that person consumes and engages in an interest. we are very close to creating a richer view of a pattern.

Thirdly, the variety of taste was considered and analyzed. The concept of omnivorousness was addressed and applied in this study in a rather straightforward manner. The essence of omnivorousness was assumed to be revealed only if the phenomenon was treated as one-dimensional so this was done and then other dimensions were added in order to draw broader conclusions. Thus, the omnivores here are one-dimensional, omnivorousness refers to the breadth of one's taste by taking into account the status of the compilation of one's taste pattern only indirectly by contrasting the other one-dimensional patterns with the omnivorous one. The variable measuring cross-domain cultural omnivorousness, essentially the pure essence of a truly omnivorous pattern, takes into account several realms of culture, both preferences and practices/activities. This is why the cross-domain omnivore can be seen as a melting pot of omnivores. That, on one hand, should reflect the patterns of domain-specific omnivores. On the other hand, cross-domain omnivorousness can be regarded as an independent phenomenon, a pure type of one social mechanism. (The domain-specific omnivores are studied in greater detail elsewhere, see Virtanen 2006a.) It includes very blurred boundaries as well as pluralist views on norms and tolerance. Also, it can be stated that it can be seen as an embodiment of inequality, if its possession reasserts one's position in the competition for social status as highbrow pattern has been found to do.

What are the benefits of applying the current operationalization instead of one which relies on the *a priori* determination of what constitutes the highbrow? The new conceptualization based on the rarity measure helps to provide the tools to isolate the shape of the future highbrow. Even though the emergent highbrow pattern did not include items traditionally perceived as highbrow, e.g. a preference for ballet, opera and classical music, we can suggest that the forms of elite consumption patterns may be changing in tow with changes at the societal level of the consumer society. What the emergent highbrow pattern allows us to do, however, is to separate out predetermined and probably out-dated definitions of elite taste. In addition to this, the cultural items that are included in the emergent patterns may also be conceived of as having qualities that are often used to describe the highbrow; they too can be regarded as complex and their appreciation may require special skills.

A limitation lies in the logic of reasoning when legitimacy is automatically assumed to take similar cultural forms time and time again. The hallmark of

the highbrow has been that it is consumed by the cultural elite, and the cultural elite is often considered to consist of people who have a taste for things regarded as highbrow. By applying a new set of items that potentially have the capacity to be included in the elite taste repertoire as a legitimate form of culture, we can try to break the circular reasoning of the highbrow definition.

If we try a method that is data-driven, i.e. we isolate the dimensions from the space of cultural items in terms of their relative proximity or difference, we might come up with a solution that maps cultural items in terms of their legitimacy. This was striven for in the example in which traditional highbrow patterns based on a factor analysis were constructed. However, when naming the dimensions produced by the method that positions items in relation to each other, we face the problem of the *a priori* assumption of a legitimate form of culture. If for example a set of cultural items are to form a space consisting of two or more dimensions and on one extreme we find liking classical music, visiting ballet performances and going to theatre, we are to be expected to name this end of the dimension highbrow because of the legacy of the previous literature. What occurs though, if the items are not ordered along the lines we expect? Can we not assume there exists emerging new highbrow dimensions, which consist of items that are being legitimated even though they have not yet been explicitly and commonly assessed in this way by the previous research? If the solution emphasizes that the emerging new highbrow items would have had a similar effect to that which the prevailing highbrow items had on previous studies, can we not consider that this dimension is worthy of scrutiny? If high levels of education and other reflections of distinction were also to be attached to the emerging highbrow items, we could therefore permit reference to those potential and emerging highbrow items.

The challenging task of the study in considering the shifting logic of browship boundaries became also concrete when the concept of an omnivore was approached empirically. Omnivorousness is to an extent a theoretical ideal hard to capture empirically. It seems, that in reality there are a very limited amount of individuals that actually possess the qualities inscribed with omnivorism, and thus it is a very delicate concept to operationalize, in order to be both theoretically and empirically valid.

Omnivore is used in the literature in various ways but mainly refers to the theoretical idea that an omnivorous individual likes cultural forms irrespective of their browship, general status or appreciation in the society. The concept applied in the studies refers quite adequately to the essence of the range of one's taste, but another vital account is cast aside, namely; how we determine the status of the examined cultural forms? *A priori* assumptions and benchmarked values frequently occur in the literature considering the omnivores: status markers are assumed to be stable over decades, even though

the base of many a theoretical work has been claimed to be found in the works of Simmel and Veblen, or similar strands of thought. The dynamic of taste has been assumed to be generated by the mechanism of trickle-down, chase-and-flight or a wish to distinguish oneself from other social groupings. Cultural objects have been the means of making such a social distinction and they have been subjected to the uniform logic of being a sign of social superiority. The shape of these objects is however acknowledged to be in a state of flux because of the imitative nature of the taste structure. This flux creates the assumption of variation in status markers, which in turn suggests that the browships are also indeterminate and subject to change over time. That raises the question: Why haven't researchers and theorists questioned the superiority of institutionalized forms of art as status markers?

Since this study was not able to go into more detail about the relationship between the new, emergent highbrow patterns being constructed and the patterns traditionally regarded as representing highbrow taste, the consideration of how these two patterns diverge and converge would make a fruitful subject for future research. Legitimacy and prestige with regard to cultural items are extremely challenging to determine based on data which measures cultural tastes and cultural participation at such a general level as the data used here and in most of the other studies. In order to grasp the prevailing legitimacy another, more elaborate method would be required. For example, it would be interesting to apply a two-stage method, in which first a panel consisting of experts of many kinds (critics, reviewers, scholars) would determine the level of legitimacy based on a wide range of cultural items from several domains. Then, based on the panel's views the collection of the data could be carried out. This procedure would require great effort especially if implemented cross-nationally. The legitimacy of the cultural items would most likely be perceived somewhat differentely in each country.

The findings suggest that the constructed consumption patterns are diffused into a variety of cultural domains but to fluctuating degrees. Status display and distinction can be operated only within the domains (or *fields*) in which there are some (clear) boundaries or other elements that form barriers. Cultural consumption adheres, at least to some extent, to laws similar to other forms of consumption. Newly introduced or otherwise interesting goods tend to be regarded and consumed first by the avant-garde, which might sometimes serve as the basis of a highbrow boundary drawing. After a while, the goods start to lose their uniqueness and become more widely embraced i.e. popular, but they also become less appreciated as status markers. On some occasions goods never penetrate through all the strata of society, and thus they may remain as a hallmark for high status, and even gain in economic value and social importance. On some occassions, though, a narrow audience may reflect other

qualities than just the highbrow, such as a sub-culture or a minority form of consumption, or it may even suggest that an item is at the end of its life cycle as a cultural product. It seems, that TV clearly represents a realm that has become as popular as it can get. The measure of omnivorousness used here (and for the most part in other studies as well) does not account for legitimacy, though, i.e. it only indicates the breadth, or more importantly the variety, of one's taste and does not provide information on the styles, forms, genres or the quality of the culture that is included in the cultural repertoire. In addition, it could be of interest for future research to thoroughly test the legitimacy of the emergent highbrow pattern suggested here with an elaborate comparative research design. Nonetheless, some theorists (DiMaggio – Useem 1978, 444; Noah 2003) have maintained that the rate of inclusion serves per se as an indicator of social stratification and probably even better than the comparative measures of highbrow or lowbrow. The results the highbrow pattern comparisons indicate that some level of legitimacy is attached to the the items included in the emergent highbrow patterns.

In parallel with the levelling out of cultural differences brought about by educational equality and increased mobility, the importance of a class position may start to evaporate. Major changes both on the level of society's level and individually are facilitating a new range of choices, and the possibility to mould one's preferences to some degree or perhaps into something completely new. In sum, the characteristics that are beneficial for a cultural consumer are youth, a high level of education, and a good socio-economic status position. One group that can be specifically pointed to is that of students. They seem to emerge in a positive light in many analyses. We can suggest that studying and exploring their consumer patterns will be of interest in the future. They seem to form the current avant-garde, but that has always tended to have been the case throughout the course of history, as Gans (1999, 94) notes, "in every changing society". The contradiction between a student's presumed lack of economic resources and willingness and ability to be interested in a vast array of cultural events is what makes this peculiarity interesting. The reason why young people tend to be more omnivorous than other age groups may be in their unstable cultural identity. It may be that the young are still in search of their own taste, and thus they do not feel limited to one kind of cultural menu. (Gans 1999).

7.1 Several countries, several cultural realms?

It is inevitable that each country has their own taste cultures and forms of taste publics. Also, the number of taste cultures varies tremendously between the

European countries, since each one has a very particular cultural and political history. National characteristics and peculiarities were reported and discussed above. However, this study is not able to give an exhaustive description of the historical turning points that are behind the differing emphases in the tastes that prevail. As a social scientist one is deeply embedded in the society one is socialized into and thus contains the values and viewpoints that are inescapably those of their home society. As for this study, the notions and conclusions that were drawn are most likely to be accurate for the case of Finland, and also to some extent for other Nordic countries. But other than that, the assumptions are just educated guesses and systematically analyzed and thence pondered, at the best.

Cultural taste patterns (whether based on quality, intensity or variety) and the social phenomena they represent are very highly related to one's culture. This means that e.g. omnivores across Europe, measured by similar standards, are not similar and homogenous groups. On the other hand, if we shift the cut-off point and define omnivorousness (or another feature) in each country separately and only after that compare the structural elements of the omnivores in various countries we might end up with another set of results. For example, according to the present results, what is considered omnivorous in Portugal is very univorous in Sweden. The relative distance between the univores and omnivores may vary hugely between countries, but there are still visible differences between groups within a country, we can talk of social forces that seem to work through similar kinds of mechanism, even though they are not equivalent in absolute measures. Also, the forms of highbrow culture, if popularity is considered, tend to fluctuate between countries.

The information as to what extent a certain consumption pattern is present in each country tells us first of all about the pattern's potential to act as a means of explanation of social stratification. We need to also consider the importance of the fluctuating degree of the given pattern between the countries. Cultural consumption may serve as a tool of distinction but other kinds of social and symbolic struggles and boundary drawings in some societies may work better than others. If broad cultural inclusion, in the case of an omnivore pattern, is very common in one country it might also lose its uniqueness and other forms of symbolic power may come to replace it. On the other hand, we can suggest, that if a society is very equal in terms of its cultural consumption it also shows a high rate of omnivorousness (or whatever is the currency of social superiority during that time). The more widely distributed a society's resources are and the more these resources are available to all its members in each class, the less inequality we can assume to prevail in that society.

On the other hand, in countries where less consumers engage consumption patterns, a pattern is able to provide more distinctive power. Hence for example, status can be attached rather tightly to an omnivorous pattern in sparsely populated omnivore countries (i.e. countries with thinner omnivore strata). Thus, in these latter countries these patterns are indeed a means of distinction, a status marker in a new form, potentially replacing an older form of elitism.

As the results presented above suggest, the different amounts of items consumed by one consumer are applicable in each different cultural context. In other words, some cultural domains require a greater devotion of time than others, and thus the scope becomes limited and not as many items can be included in that one consumer's repertoire as in other, less time-consuming domains. What remains to be studied then, is whether there are some distinctive items that make a substantial difference, i.e. is the consumption of a given item a good predictor of belonging to a particular group. This question partly arises from the reality that there is a vast repertoire of cultural items from which consumers can choose in the contemporary commodity culture (Warde et al. 1999, 106).

7.2 Varying status of cultural domains

There are cultural domains, which are more powerful in creating distinction than others. Fridman and Ollivier (2004) state that the problem research on cultural consumption patterns faces is the issue of the varying status of cultural items or even cultural domains. The status of a cultural consumption item can vary from domain to domain. In addition, a status can differ cross-nationally. Cultural taste is displayed in multiple forms, as the examinations on taste patterns above showed. Some cultural domains stress more engagement in out-of-home activities while others find active cultural consumers at home. Throughout the course of history, some categories have been found to be more likely to be a source for social competition or a means for status differentiation. It thus seems, that varying status is given to the cultural domains and cultural items in particular. In essence, some cultural practices are valued more than others.

This is not however controversial when a variety of cultural consumption is analyzed, since many studies have shown that indeed the variety of consumption serves as an indicator of a person's potential social status as well as the quality of their consumption pattern. This still does not undermine Fridman and Ollivier's (2004) view addressing the importance of taking into account the composition of a pattern and its breadth. Even though the quality

aspect was studied separately from the variety aspect, addressing both in one construct is vital for future research.

Still, great effort is required in order to thoroughly study the patterns that were introduced here. This would also mean that the patterns that were suggested here but not further analyzed, such as lowbrow or light-user, would be analyzed. Also, it would be interesting to reflect on the composition of the patterns, i.e. which items are typically included in the pattern constellations. The procedure of isolating the patterns allows for a great variation of cultural items within the highbrow, omnivore and heavy-user patterns. It would be interesting to see, which socio-demographic factors have an effect on the construction of certain kinds of patterns, say a highbrow pattern comprising Internet items for example. This could further increase the understanding of the internal hierarchy of cultural items and cultural domains.

One fact that has to be taken into account is the scattering and variety of leisure activities. Today cultural consumption has many rivals when it comes to budgeting time. This has been seen as a consequence of post-modern consumption society, but this broadening of opportunities can also be argued to be the cause of several other phenomena. According to the results, cultural consumption is indeed a varied field of consumption. In some of the countries studied a wide range of cultural consumption is embraced. In general, many cultural interests and activities are embedded in daily routines. Warde and colleagues (1999, 105) present the argument that in Western societies there is no longer a recognizable order of hierarchy regarding modes of consumption. Instead, several manners of equivalent aesthetical value have replaced the old order. This has become visible among the Europeans examined in this study.

7.3 Post-omnivorous differentiation?

Some of the results lend support to the suggestion that omnivorous cultural taste has diffused into, at least in some European Union countries, broad layers of social strata resulting in the omnivorous strategy not bringing about any visible social advantage. Can we talk about post-omnivorous differentiation in these countries? At the very least we can interpret omnivorous cultural taste as being more or less a strategy that is a part of various lifestyle choices in the wide variety of cultural forms. In some societies, though, omnivorousness, as well as highbrow and heavy-user, still stems from the critical stratification elements of class and status, and simultaneously the omnivore strata is thinner in these cases. The same qualities that have been proposed as applying to highbrow consumption and omnivorous cultural taste, also seem to lend support to the third consumption pattern studied here; heavy-user. They are

also subsumed under a similar kind of logic that clearly draws boundaries between groups with differing socio-economic and demographic qualities. It seems that a taste for cultural consumption is quite segmented in the European Union. Social and cultural boundaries still seem to exist. They are upheld by institutional factors, among others, that divide opportunities, or at least orientation and strategies towards consumption in a manner that is reflected in the consumption patterns.

In some countries (e.g. Portugal and Greece) the share of each cultural pattern consumed remained very low, whereas in other countries (the "big five") the same share was almost a third of the population. Also, in countries where the patterns were represented to a greater extent the socio-demographic determinants seemed to explain this tendency only a little. This naturally leads to a very divergent set of results and interpretations. In countries where the rate of cultural consumption is lower a lesser amount would probably suffice to make social distinction and thus we could predict those consumers as being more socially accentuated than in the countries where cultural consumption is more abundant. This on the other hand suggests a higher level of inequality, if the tools for distinction are more abundant and effective. Thus all the cultural patterns constructed here can be regarded as carrying some elements for the maintenance of social reproduction, at least in some countries (mainly southern European countries). What needs to considered, are the countries where cultural consumption patterns seem to be embraced rather widely. In these countries, the distinction either does not occur through the mechanisms provided by cultural consumption (patterns), or distinction uses other methods than those isolated here. If in fact cultural consumption is a means for social boundary drawing and an arena for status display in these countries then we would need more elaborate forms or stricter standards, when defining consumption patterns.

Another potential explanation lies in a weak class consciousness and the inexistence of sharp class boundaries and thus class taste. These qualities are common to all the northern European countries. These countries are also, mostly, relatively small and their cultural field is potentially less varied or abundant than in highly populated countries, and thus no clear class taste can be expressed through fine-grained distinctions. Rather a broad equality in terms of well-being and education might have lead to a situation where cultural consumption has never been regarded as a field of distinction, even though lifestyle differences between different socio-economic groups do exist. Again, it may well be that taste and status expression is displayed in other arenas than those of culture.

This study was not able to cover the field of cultural consumption across 15 nations thoroughly. A more in-depth view on each nation's distinctive

characteristics was sometimes overshadowed by the fact that this study aimed at describing consumption patterns across such a multitude of cultural domains. Each of the study's 15 nations would be worthy of separate study.

Quantitative research designs are often criticized for having stable categories. Also, the lack of data with regard to more detailed categories was also a slight shortcoming of this study, as more nuanced views on the actual content of individual taste repertoires were limited to broad categories such as going to the cinema (instead of information on what kind of movie one went to see). This is a task, which hopefully will be taken up by the future attempts to analyse the subject. Another issue to be taken into consideration in this regard is the lack of categories in the surveys when it comes to lowbrow entertainment forms. The data often covers very specific categories in order to study cultural participation, but TV programs are often lumped together in a broad category of "other entertainment" even though there is much variability within them. Of course, very detailed nuances can be attached to all of the categories included in the surveys under very broad categories.

There are also trends visible to a sociologist's eye that were not yet highlighted in the data (of 2001). For example, during the last couple of years we have witnessed the emergence of music distribution via the Internet. Nowadays, the distribution and consumption of music is rather clearly shifting into digital forms and online with e.g. Apple's digital media player *iTunes* and its *iTunes Store*. The *iTunes Store* alone sells over 5 million songs a day world wide (Playlist 2007). This trend was not yet visible in the present results. In addition it is presumed that data on Internet consumption patterns would look very different today. When it comes to digital technology and its adaptation, it seems that its pace of progress significantly exceeds previous forms of technological development.

How many of the studied consumption patterns were in fact related to choice and to what extent did structures dictate the outcomes of consumption? It seems that the results were consistent in terms of structural determinants, mainly the level of education. Hence, even today, societal structures play an important role in shaping personal preferences. The cultural milieus, i.e. the way in which cultural consumption patterns were distinct in each country, seemed to differ quite extensively across the EU. This strengthens the notion that macro-level elements still play a significant role in creating socially stratified consumption.

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APPENDIX 1 – APPENDIX TABLES

Appendix Table 1. School entry ages for each EU member country applied in construction of education variable

School entry age	4 years	5 years	6 years	7 years
Belgium			X[47]	
Denmark				X
Germany			X	
Greece				X
Spain			X	
France			X	
Ireland		X[48]		
Italy			X	
Luxembourg			X	
Netherlands	X			
Portugal			X	
UK		X[49]		
Austria			X	
Sweden				X
Finland				X

Source: Eurybase (2006)

[47] In Belgium schooling systems are governed separately in French speaking, German speaking and Dutch speaking communities. In the German speaking schools the school entry age varies from 5 to 6 years, but in the study's operationalization 6 years' entry age is applied.

[48] In Ireland the official compulsory school entry age is 6 years of age. Still, due to the absence of a pre-school system many 4 year olds and most of the 5 year olds are enrolled in school. Thus, in the study's operationalization 5 years is applied.

[49] In the UK, schooling systems vary between England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. In Scotland, school entry age is 5, even though children aged 4 are entitled to enroll in England and Wales, the statutory school age is from 5 to 16 years. Thus, for the UK a school entry age of 5 is applied.

Appendix Table 2. Occupational categories: variable transformation into 7 class schema

Original definition	Specification	% (n)	New definition	% (n)
Employed professional		1.3 (204)	Managerial	10.7 (1728)
General management	director or top management (managing director)	1.5 (238)		
Middle management	other management, department head	6.8 (1102)		
Supervisor		1.1 (184)		
Farmer		1.3 (210)	Entrepreneur	8.0 (1296)
Fisherman		0.1 (17)		
Professional	Lawyer, medical practioner, accountant, architecture	1.4 (229)		
Self-employed	or owner of a shop, craftsmen.	3.6 (584)		
Business proprietor	owner (full or partner) of a company	1.6 (256)		
Employed, mainly at desk		7.9 (1284)	Employed non-manual workers	17.5 (2831)
Employed	not at desk but travelling	2.7 (445)		
Employed in service job	in hospital… healthcare	6.8 (1102)		
Skilled manual worker		9.4 (1530)	Employed manual workers	14.4 (2332)
Other unskilled manual worker	or servant	5.0 (802)		
Responsible for ordinary shopping	and looking after home	11.9 (1933)	Homemaker	11.9 (1933)
Student		10.5 (1707)	Student	1707 (10.5)
Unemployed	or temporarily not working	5.6 (913)	Retired or unemployed	27.0 (4373)
Retired	or unemployed through illness	21.4 (3460)		
Total		100 (16200)		100 (16200)

Appendix Table 3. Population and density in the EU15-countries

	Population	Area (km²)	Density (Pop per km²)
Netherlands	16,299,170	41,528	392
Belgium	10,419,050	30,528	341
UK	59,667,840	242,900	246
Germany	82,689,210	357,022	232
Italy	58,092,740	301,318	193
Luxembourg	464,904	2,586	180
Denmark	5,430,590	43,094	126
Portugal	10,494,500	91,982	114
France (Metropolitan)	60,495,540	551,500	110
Austria	8,189,444	83,858	98
Spain	43,064,190	505,992	85
Greece	11,119,890	131,957	84
(Republic of) Ireland	4,147,901	70,273	59
Sweden	9,041,262	449,964	20
Finland	5,249,060	338,145	16

Source: United Nations World Population Prospects (2004 revision). Data is for 2005.

Appendix Table 4. Cultural participation items, countries, % (n = 16200)

	Cinema	Historical sites	Library	Concert	Museums	Theatre	Museums abroad	Archaeo-logical sites	Ballet
Belgium	54.0	36.5	30.7	29.3	27.6	27.2	25.6	16.9	14.9
Denmark	63.1	68.2	66.7	48.9	53.7	37.7	32.6	26.1	16.3
Germany	51.4	50.8	29.2	34.0	35.5	33.8	20.7	12.3	10.9
Greece	39.8	28.3	9.8	20.5	15.0	21.2	7.5	21.4	10.0
Italy	58.9	46.9	21.7	27.7	33.8	27.7	15.4	16.3	10.5
Spain	65.6	38.8	26.3	31.6	25.8	20.3	8.4	17.0	10.2
France	61.3	41.4	26.8	26.7	27.1	17.5	12.5	13.1	13.5
Ireland	63.5	36.4	33.5	34.3	25.7	28.3	18.6	17.9	12.4
Luxembourg	60.1	56.3	22.3	47.9	36.5	35.1	41.7	25.1	13.8
Netherlands	54.1	51.9	48.6	35.9	37.3	39.2	29.4	22.1	17.6
Portugal	36.4	26.1	17.1	20.1	16.5	10.0	4.7	8.6	5.8
UK	57.5	48.0	42.6	31.9	34.0	32.2	18.9	13.4	11.7
Finland	50.5	47.1	71.7	38.1	40.5	42.1	20.3	14.6	15.5
Sweden	70.0	70.7	69.8	47.5	56.1	46.5	30.3	15.2	14.1
Austria	52.1	42.0	20.9	32.1	32.2	32.4	18.2	15.4	14.6
EU-15	55.5	46.0	35.9	33.4	33.3	30.3	19.8	16.4	12.7

Appendix Table 5. Artistic activities items, countries, % (n = 16200)

	Photo-graphing	Dancing	Singing	Writing	Other	Playing an instru-ment	Acting
Belgium	21.2	14.4	8.0	7.2	9.5	8.1	2.3
Denmark	42.9	23.1	23.1	17.3	22.0	19.7	10.2
Germany	39.9	21.3	19.3	17.8	13.1	9.5	2.4
Greece	34.8	28.8	24.8	9.1	10.4	7.2	2.0
Italy	31.9	20.6	16.2	14.4	12.2	9.9	4.6
Spain	29.0	23.9	18.1	11.8	14.8	11.0	6.6
France	20.7	19.4	16.0	15.0	14.6	9.2	1.9
Ireland	6.2	18.3	17.6	10.0	8.1	11.2	4.1
Luxembourg	39.6	21.8	26.9	14.3	17.1	21.0	4.9
Netherlands	50.1	24.0	26.1	23.9	28.1	16.8	6.4
Portugal	5.6	10.3	9.3	5.8	3.4	6.8	3.8
UK	17.1	16.9	15.3	12.4	15.7	13.2	4.3
Finland	34.7	24.2	29.4	27.8	24.0	17.7	6.7
Sweden	59.6	34.7	34.8	31.8	28.7	24.8	8.5
Austria	40.7	31.4	29.2	21.9	21.0	17.1	4.1
EU-15	31.7	22.1	20.6	16.2	16.0	13.1	4.7

Appendix Table 6. Music type preferences, 6 genres, countries, % (n = 16200)

	Pop/rock	Easy list	Folk/ traditional	Classical	Dance/ house	World
Belgium	64.3	39.2	22.3	29.0	17.2	21.9
Denmark	71.5	49.0	33.2	44.6	20.5	17.0
Germany	51.0	22.3	41.9	28.4	19.7	30.3
Greece	27.1	20.4	62.3	16.0	17.5	12.2
Italy	46.2	27.4	18.5	25.7	23.9	14.1
Spain	57.3	31.1	38.0	23.2	13.6	9.2
France	69.7	32.6	17.1	30.0	18.3	26.2
Ireland	46.3	41.8	36.2	18.9	12.9	7.5
Luxembourg	62.6	40.3	22.6	47.4	24.5	30.7
Netherlands	56.6	43.2	23.6	39.2	26.5	20.6
Portugal	36.2	25.0	63.5	21.0	11.8	28.5
UK	59.3	54.0	20.0	32.8	23.7	9.0
Finland	42.0	70.6	28.3	29.2	40.2	21.2
Sweden	60.9	46.2	43.0	43.5	27.3	17.7
Austria	46.3	8.5	42.3	28.3	13.1	34.3
EU-15	53.0	36.2	34.7	30.1	20.7	20.4

Appendix Table 7. Music type preferences, 6 genres, countries, % (n = 16200)

	Jazz/blues	Opera/ Operetta	Techno	Hard rock/ heavy metal	Other type	Rap
Belgium	14.8	9.2	13.2	7.8	2.6	9.4
Denmark	31.4	23.3	9.5	10.5	3.4	8.3
Germany	12.0	18.0	13.0	10.7	10.7	9.4
Greece	13.6	4.6	4.4	4.9	32.0	3.8
Italy	20.5	9.5	6.7	6.4	26.4	9.6
Spain	12.6	3.7	10.9	8.3	9.0	5.4
France	24.4	10.3	20.7	9.1	5.5	14.0
Ireland	11.8	6.4	2.6	9.5	7.8	6.2
Luxembourg	30.0	17.5	19.4	18.2	1.9	15.9
Netherlands	23.0	14.3	9.6	13.0	11.6	13.5
Portugal	7.7	5.3	8.0	8.2	6.7	7.7
UK	15.4	8.5	6.1	10.8	8.7	9.8
Finland	18.9	11.2	13.5	12.9	6.0	9.1
Sweden	29.7	15.6	12.3	17.1	5.3	10.4
Austria	20.0	18.7	11.7	12.2	7.2	11.0
EU-15	18.3	12.1	10.6	10.5	9.8	9.4

Appendix Table 8. Concert types attended, 6 genres, countries, % (n = 16200)

	Pop/rock	Classical	Folk/ traditional	Opera/ operetta	Jazz/blues	Easy list
Belgium	13.5	5.5	3.6	1.8	3.2	2.9
Denmark	31.3	10.5	7.1	7.3	8.6	1.9
Germany	11.6	10.1	5.3	6.0	1.9	1.3
Greece	6.6	3.5	7.1	1.1	1.1	1.2
Italy	14.1	5.2	3.0	1.5	2.5	1.5
Spain	20.5	3.7	6.4	1.2	2.0	1.1
France	13.2	5.7	2.8	1.6	4.4	1.1
Ireland	18.7	3.3	3.8	2.8	2.0	3.9
Luxembourg	20.4	19.5	5.6	5.1	7.2	7.9
Netherlands	15.8	12.6	3.2	3.5	3.7	2.7
Portugal	11.0	2.3	6.9	0.5	0.9	0.6
UK	16.9	6.5	2.2	2.3	1.9	3.6
Finland	12.8	9.4	6.5	4.6	4.4	10.4
Sweden	25.5	11.9	9.5	5.5	7.7	3.2
Austria	10.1	12.2	7.7	8.1	4.8	0.2
EU-15	15.7	8.0	5.3	3.6	3.5	2.7

Appendix Table 9. Concert types attended, 6 genres, countries, % (n = 16200)

	Hard rock/ heavy metal	World	Other type	Dance/ house	Techno	Rap
Belgium	1.8	2.2	0.7	2.0	1.4	1.0
Denmark	2.9	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.3	1.0
Germany	2.1	2.3	1.7	1.1	0.9	0.5
Greece	1.1	1.6	3.5	1.6	0.2	0.2
Italy	1.1	1.6	3.6	0.6	0.1	0.2
Spain	2.2	1.9	1.1	1.5	1.0	0.1
France	1.7	3.2	2.1	1.0	1.9	1.7
Ireland	1.3	1.1	1.6	1.8	0.2	1.1
Luxembourg	5.9	6.6	1.6	3.0	1.8	0.5
Netherlands	2.3	3.0	4.1	3.8	1.6	1.2
Portugal	1.8	1.3	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.4
UK	1.6	0.8	2.7	2.2	0.2	0.4
Finland	2.4	2.3	2.9	3.0	1.2	1.0
Sweden	3.3	1.0	1.7	1.6	0.5	1.7
Austria	2.7	3.7	1.6	0.5	0.6	0.8
EU-15	2.2	2.2	2.1	1.7	0.9	0.8

Appendix Table 10. Cultural Internet items, countries, % (n = 16200)

	Museum website	Buying CD's	Buying books	Reading newspapers	Listen radio or music	Watch TV
Belgium	1.7	1.2	1.2	5.5	3.4	1.3
Denmark	6.6	4.9	6.6	20.9	7.4	3.2
Germany	1.3	4.3	5.8	6.0	3.7	2.0
Greece	0.8	1.1	1.5	4.0	4.5	0.9
Italy	2.2	1.1	0.7	8.1	5.4	1.1
Spain	1.0	1.0	0.5	7.2	3.8	0.3
France	2.6	1.5	0.9	7.1	3.3	0.9
Ireland	0.6	1.9	2.0	5.7	4.1	0.4
Luxembourg	3.3	4.6	9.5	14.1	9.9	1.1
Netherlands	4.3	4.9	5.8	13.1	8.9	3.1
Portugal	1.0	0.9	0.9	5.6	2.7	1.1
UK	2.1	5.1	5.1	7.7	4.7	0.7
Finland	1.7	2.4	2.3	18.5	6.0	1.1
Sweden	4.8	12.4	8.1	30.8	13.3	3.6
Austria	1.6	2.3	3.7	9.0	5.3	1.8
EU-15	2.3	3.4	3.7	10.4	5.5	1.5

Appendix Table 11. TV items, countries, % (n = 16200)

	News	Soaps	Music	Films	Documents	Talk shows	Other entertainment
Belgium	86.3	61.8	44.1	77.3	57.5	44.3	44.9
Denmark	93.1	28.4	39.1	84.7	79.9	24.1	48.2
Germany	88.1	27.6	57.4	86.0	56.1	43.3	37.6
Greece	90.4	43.7	29.7	75.5	45.3	35.8	33.1
Italy	93.9	29.1	41.6	87.8	57.7	44.3	31.2
Spain	87.6	33.9	31.5	83.4	55.3	29.1	48.8
France	84.2	49.2	27.8	85.6	67.4	36.3	39.0
Ireland	78.8	64.6	36.8	64.0	46.6	40.4	34.3
Luxembourg	92.4	46.6	47.1	81.3	70.6	45.3	35.8
Netherlands	90.9	43.4	50.7	78.0	74.7	45.7	49.5
Portugal	93.4	60.0	31.6	55.7	42.1	42.0	42.9
UK	76.9	63.2	41.2	77.6	69.3	41.5	42.0
Finland	91.3	50.2	50.9	75.6	69.1	53.7	61.4
Sweden	94.0	48.3	53.3	83.6	77.4	26.8	54.1
Austria	86.6	30.0	42.6	75.1	63.9	36.0	29.8
EU-15	88.2	44.5	42.6	78.5	61.8	39.4	42.0

Appendix Table 12. Radio items, countries, % (n = 16200)

	Music	Documentaries, plays and cultural affairs	Entertainment
Belgium	89.2	5.5	15.2
Denmark	88.8	19.6	21.0
Germany	93.7	9.3	4.9
Greece	90.5	1.9	7.7
Italy	86.7	2.4	5.0
Spain	69.8	2.3	6.3
France	85.3	7.2	14.9
Ireland	73.7	7.6	4.8
Luxembourg	83.3	13.5	15.4
Netherlands	90.6	3.9	5.0
Portugal	88.2	4.2	4.3
UK	85.0	8.5	6.7
Finland	87.2	25.8	15.9
Sweden	84.7	17.7	14.7
Austria	92.9	9.3	4.6
EU-15	86.6	9.3	9.3

Appendix Table 13. The number of books read yearly for leisure purposes, countries, % (n = 16200)

	None	1-3 books	4–7 books	8–12 books	13+ books
Belgium	75.6	7.4	7.5	4.0	5.5
Denmark	37.2	19.7	15.6	9.7	17.7
Germany	63.0	15.3	12.0	5.3	4.3
Greece	61.1	19.2	10.3	5.2	4.1
Italy	48.9	19.7	17.3	7.9	6.2
Spain	53.5	22.5	13.4	5.4	5.2
France	57.7	10.6	11.4	10.5	9.7
Ireland	58.3	11.0	11.6	7.5	11.6
Luxembourg	39.3	21.0	16.9	9.4	13.4
Netherlands	43.3	15.8	13.6	10.4	16.9
Portugal	83.8	10.9	2.9	1.3	1.1
UK	42.7	14.8	13.3	10.5	18.8
Finland	31.3	20.8	15.6	11.7	20.6
Sweden	25.2	19.3	21.0	12.2	22.3
Austria	55.4	16.7	15.2	6.3	6.4
EU-15	52.6	16.1	13.0	7.7	10.6

Appendix Table 14. Highbrow patterns across the countries. Summary of the results by multinomial regression analysis, significant unadjusted main effects with pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke) coefficients. Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$.

	BE		DK		DE		EL		IT		ES		FR		IE	
% of highbrows	12.8		26.7		12.7		12.0		11.8		11.5		12.8		13.3	
		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2
Education	***	10.0	***	7.9	***	6.7	***	14.9	***	11.4	***	16.1	***	8.5	***	6.5
Type of community	**	1.9	**	1.9	-	-	*	1.7	**	1.8	-	-	*	1.4	-	-
Income	-	-	-	-	*	1.0	***	5.5	-	-	*	2.0	*	2.4	-	-
Marital status	*	0.9	*	0.6	-	-	***	3.0	***	3.8	***	4.5	**	1.5	***	3.9
Gender	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age	***	12.8	***	13.6	***	5.5	***	13.2	***	11.1	***	16.0	***	5.4	***	6.2
Class	***	9.5	***	14.3	***	5.8	***	13.2	***	8.8	***	15.8	***	8.4	***	5.5

	LU		NL		PT		UK		FI		SE		AT	
% of highbrows	29.2		18.2		7.9		14.9		24.7		27.2		14.3	
		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2
Education	***	6.8	***	5.7	***	22.6	***	7.0	***	7.0	***	3.1	***	6.4
Type of community	*	1.5	-	-	-	-	*	0.8	**	1.6	-	-	-	-
Income	***	4.4	**	2.1	***	9.3	***	4.3	-	-	-	-	***	3.7
Marital status	-	-	***	1.7	***	11.1	-	-	-	-	**	1.1	-	-
Gender	*	1.5	-	-	***	3.2	-	-	**	1.1	-	-	-	-
Age	-	-	***	7.7	***	28.2	***	4.2	***	4.7	***	9.5	***	5.9
Class	**	4.5	***	5.0	***	18.2	***	8.5	***	7.9	***	3.1	***	6.1

Appendix Table 15. Heavy-user patterns across the countries. Summary of the results by multinomial regression analysis, significant unadjusted main effects with pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke) coefficients. Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$.

	BE		DK		DE		EL		IT		ES		FR		IE	
% of heavy-users	10.7		28.6		9.8		8.9		14.8		14.6		14.9		14.0	
		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2
Education	***	9.5	***	3.3	***	11.3	***	14.3	***	13.6	***	15.8	***	15.2	***	10.4
Type of community	***	4.8	***	3.3	***	2.3	***	5.7	***	2.8	-	-	***	5.7	***	3.2
Income	**	3.1	-	-	***	2.5	***	6.4	*	2.2	***	3.4	**	2.8	-	-
Marital status	-	-	-	-	-	-	***	3.4	*	0.8	***	3.5	-	-	*	0.9
Gender	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age	*	2.9	**	2.2	-	-	***	8.9	-	-	***	7.6	-	-	**	2.9
Class	***	4.6	***	5.4	***	4.9	***	10.4	***	8.6	***	11.2	***	7.3	***	8.4

	LU		NL		PT		UK		FI		SE		AT	
% of heavy-users	22.5		24.5		6.0		17.8		24.7		25.7		11.2	
		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2
Education	***	11.1	***	5.3	***	20.6	***	5.4	**	2.4	***	5.3	***	10.5
Type of community	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1.1	*	1.3
Income	***	12.6	***	2.7	**	3.7	***	3.8	-	-	*	1.6	**	2.6
Marital status	-	-	-	-	***	3.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender	-	-	**	0.9	-	-	*	0.6	***	2.0	-	-	-	-
Age	-	-	-	-	***	12.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Class	***	6.9	***	4.1	***	15.3	***	5.1	**	2.2	***	6.2	***	6.1

Appendix Table 16. Omnivore patterns across the countries. Summary of the results by multinomial regression analysis, significant unadjusted main effects with pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke) coefficients. Note: *** = $p \leq 0.001$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$; * = $p \leq 0.05$.

	BE		DK		DE		EL		IT		ES		FR		IE	
% of omnivores	8.8		23.8		10.6		7.3		8.2		6.7		8.7		7.0	
		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2
Education	***	16.6	***	7.7	***	7.9	***	14.7	***	12.6	***	14.3	***	13.0	***	7.8
Type of community	*	2.1	***	3.5	-	-	***	5.2	-	-	-	-	***	3.7	-	-
Income	**	3.4	-	-	***	4.2	**	3.9	-	-	*	2.8	**	3.7	*	2.4
Marital status	-	-	-	-	-	-	***	5.1	***	5.4	***	3.6	-	-	**	2.6
Gender	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age	***	10.6	***	10.7	***	4.1	***	12.2	***	8.9	***	12.8	***	7.0	***	7.2
Class	***	14.9	***	10.7	***	7.5	***	14.1	***	13.4	***	14.2	***	13.3	***	9.0

	LU		NL		PT		UK		FI		SE		AT	
% of omnivores	21.3		18.0		5.7		10.6		23.2		34.0		15.0	
		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2		R^2
Education	***	12.0	***	14.6	***	23.4	***	15.7	***	11.1	***	4.8	***	11.0
Type of community	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1.9	*	0.9	-	-
Income	***	7.9	-	-	***	10.7	***	7.9	*	1.8	-	-	**	2.2
Marital status	**	1.6	***	4.1	***	10.5	-	-	*	0.7	-	-	*	0.7
Gender	**	1.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1.0	-	-
Age	***	9.5	***	11.6	***	21.7	***	7.4	***	5.6	***	8.5	***	6.2
Class	***	10.9	***	10.8	***	17.2	***	14.1	***	12.0	***	4.6	***	8.3

APPENDIX 2 – LIST OF CULTURAL CONSUMPTION STUDIES BY COUNTRY

Cultural consumption studies seem to concentrate on few countries. The literature on cultural tastes in *the US* is vast and in many respects one of the most influential within the field (e.g. DiMaggio – Useem 1978; DiMaggio 1982; DiMaggio 1987; DiMaggio 1992; Bryson 1996; 1997; DiMaggio – Ostrower 1990; DiMaggio – Mukhtar 2004; Peterson 1983; Peterson – Simkus 1992; Peterson – Kern 1996; Peterson 2004; Rossman – Peterson 2005; Holt 1997a; 1997b; Katz-Gerro 2002; 2006; Kane 2003; 2004; López Sintas – Katz-Gerro 2005; Lizardo 2006; Alderson et al. 2007). Besides the US, cultural consumption studies are most notably carried out in *the UK* (e.g. Warde et al. 1999; Sullivan – Katz-Gerro 2007; Chan – Goldthorpe 2005; 2007a; 2007b; 2007c), and *the Netherlands* (e.g. Knulst – Kraaykamp 1998; Kraaykamp 2003; Kraaykamp – Nieuwbeerta 2000; Kraaykamp –Van Eijck 2005; Kraaykamp et al. 2007; Van Eijck 1997; 2001; Van Eijck – Bargeman 2004; Van Eijck – Knulst 2005; Van Eijck – Oosterhout 2005; Van Rees – Van Eijck 2003; Van Wel et al. 2006; Vander Stichele – Laermans 2006). Also several studies in *Spain* (e.g. López Sintas – García Álvarez 2002a; 2002b; 2004; 2006), *France* (e.g. Bourdieu 1984; Lamont 1992; Coulangeon – Roharik 2005; Coulangeon – Lemel 2007) and *Israel* (Katz-Gerro – Shavit 1998; Katz-Gerro 2002, 2006; Katz-Gerro et al. 2007) exist.

There are some sporadic mentions for research carried out in other EU–15 countries, for example in *Belgium* (Vander Stichele – Laermans 2006), *Greece* (Katsillis – Rubinson 1990), *Germany* (Rössel – Beckert-Ziegelschmid 2002; Katz-Gerro 2002; 2006), *Finland* (Eskola 1976; Alasuutari 1997; Virtanen 2004; 2005a; 2006b), *Sweden* (Bihagen – Katz-Gerro 2000; Katz-Gerro 2002; Katz-Gerro 2006) and *Italy* (Katz-Gerro 2002). *Hungary* (Kraaykamp – Nieuwbeerta 2000; Bukodi 2007), *Russia* (Zavisca 2005) and the former Soviet-bloc countries *Bulgaria*, *the Czech Republic*, *Poland* and *Slovakia* (Kraaykamp – Nieuwbeerta 2000) have been studied even less frequently. There have been some studies on cultural taste and cultural capital also outside Europe, for example in *Australia* (e.g. Lamb 1989; Bennett et al. 1999; Emmison 2003), *Chile* (Torche 2007) and *Canada* (Erickson 1996; Ollivier 2006).

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