

**THE STRATIFICATION OF ATTENDANCE AT CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN
CANADA**

by

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Abstract

Scholars have debated the relative applicability of homology and omnivorousness, two theories of cultural stratification, for explaining links between socioeconomic position and cultural repertoires. However, the discussion has mostly focused on musical tastes rather than attendance at cultural activities. Using data from the 2005 and 2010 Canadian General Social Survey on Time Use, I examine how measures of socioeconomic position predict attendance at twelve different kinds of cultural activities. I apply three analytical techniques to these datasets: (1) binary logistic regressions to investigate the socioeconomic bases of attendance at each cultural activity, (2) ordered logistic regressions to assess the nature of the relationship between socioeconomic position and omnivorous attendance, and (3) latent class analyses to inductively identify patterns of attendance and the socioeconomic bases thereof. Controlling for demographic factors, I find that education and income are both positively associated with attendance at each activity and with omnivorous cultural engagement. The latent class models reveal three distinct groups of attendees: highbrow omnivores, selective omnivores, and inactive people. Education and income predict membership in the two omnivorous groups, with stronger effects for highbrow omnivores. I confirm that omnivorousness is associated with cultural and economic elites but also reveal different gradations of omnivorousness, thus suggesting that the two theoretical frameworks are to a degree entangled with one another.

Lay Summary

Cultural sociologists have studied how people's tastes and habits are related to their socioeconomic position in society. I examine how income and education, two key components of social stratification, predict attendance at twelve cultural activities in Canada (e.g. movies, classical music concerts, museums). Controlling for demographic factors, I find that income and education are positively associated with attendance at each kind of activity and with a greater volume of activities attended. I also identify three distinct groups of attendees: highbrow omnivores (people who are more likely to frequently attend all activities), selective omnivores (people who have neither a broad nor a narrow set of preferences and who attend activities at an intermediate frequency), and inactive people who rarely partake in any activity. My findings show that cultural omnivorousness is linked to socioeconomic position: the higher one's income and, especially, education, the more extensive one's repertoire of cultural attendance.

Preface

This thesis presents original, unpublished, independent work by the author, A.P. Vanzella Yang.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Sociologists have long been interested in the relationships between socioeconomic position and cultural consumption (Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1987; Gans, 1999 [1974]; Erickson, 1996; Lamont, 1992; Veblen, 1953 [1899]). In recent decades, the standoff between the theories of homology and omnivorousness has been a central component of this discussion (see Alderson, Junisbai, & Heacock, 2007; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005, 2007; Hazir & Warde, 2015; Veenstra, 2015). Homology contends that socioeconomic position and cultural repertoires largely overlap (Atkinson, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984) whereas omnivorousness claims that social groups are differentiated by the quantity and range of tastes (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996). This debate, however, has mostly focused on musical tastes rather than participation in cultural activities. In the present study I therefore ask the following: *How does socioeconomic position predict attendance at different kinds of cultural activities in Canada?* Using data from the 2005 and 2010 Canadian General Social Surveys on Time-Use, I investigate the relative applicability of these two theories to cultural participation in the Canadian context.

Since attendance is a “mode of consumption” (Rössel, 2011) that requires significant amounts of time and money, it is an important aspect of cultural repertoires that deserves investigation. Moreover, Canada is a largely unexamined context in respect to the social stratification of cultural repertoires (exceptions include Ollivier, Gauthier, & Truong, 2009; Veenstra, 2010). Most studies on socioeconomic position and cultural participation using these two frameworks are located in Europe or in the United States. I thus highlight a frequently overlooked dimension of cultural lifestyles and provide insights about a relatively uninvestigated milieu. By identifying patterns of attendance and their socioeconomic determinants, I indicate how existing theoretical frameworks can explain participation in cultural activities in Canada,

thereby contributing to the existing literature in cultural sociology. Further, my findings could inform decisions in the realm of cultural policy and public funding for the arts, thus potentially contributing towards making cultural activities more accessible.

Chapter 2. Homology and Omnivorousness: Overviewing the Debate

Homology and omnivorousness provide the cornerstones of the discussion on socioeconomic position and cultural repertoires. Homology states that social stratification and cultural stratification are closely correlated wherein social groups (e.g. social class) are differentiated by their distinct set of cultural preferences (Atkinson, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984; Coulangeon & Lemel, 2007; Veenstra, 2015). The theory thus posits that wealthy, educated, higher status segments of society have specific highbrow tastes and that lower social strata, possessing less economic and cultural capital, have specific popular or lowbrow tastes. In Bourdieu's (1984) original formulation of the argument, cultural repertoires promote aesthetic distancing and function as delineators of group boundaries. In order to express higher social standing, elites disdain mass culture while proclaiming their own cultural tastes as legitimate.

Central to Bourdieu's theory are the notions of *habitus* and *capital*. Habitus is defined as a system of internalized dispositions which structures behaviours, beliefs, thoughts, and lifestyles that correspond to one's position in society (Bourdieu, 1984; Coulangeon & Lemel, 2009). The habitus serves a double function: it produces practices and behaviours associated with one's social standing as well as judgments and classifications of the lifestyles of others (Lizardo, 2014a). Frequency or patterns of attendance to specific cultural activities, therefore, could be interpreted as practices or behaviours that are part of a class habitus. Due to the costs and meanings associated with participation in different cultural activities, specific attendance habits might be embodied reflections of socioeconomic position.

In the Bourdieusian framework, socioeconomic position is determined by the different amounts of economic capital and cultural capital a person possesses. Economic capital refers to

an individual's control over and access to economic resources (e.g. income). Cultural capital refers to the overall knowledge and skills a person possesses, in large part acquired through education but also as a result of exposure to arts and culture (Bourdieu, 1984). For Bourdieu, different amounts of economic and cultural capitals determine an individual's position in society, which in turn is associated with a specific set of cultural tastes, lifestyles, and corresponding habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). Consistent with Bourdieu's homology thesis, Veenstra (2015) finds that the odds of liking classical music in English-speaking Canada are more than three times higher for postgraduates than for people without a high school degree, while postgraduates also tend to manifest dislike for lowbrow genres such as country, easy listening, and golden oldies. In parallel, respondents with lower levels of education were also relatively likely to report disliking classical music. Similarly, Savage (2006) suggests the existence of clear "musical taste communities" in the UK which are marked by intense dislikes of certain genres.

In contrast, omnivorousness contests the idea of a clear association between socioeconomic position and specific cultural repertoires. This theory affirms that highbrow culture in itself is not a symbol of prestige in society and that snobbism is outdated (DiMaggio & Mukhtar, 2004; Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005). Omnivorousness stresses that cultural openness and taste eclecticism are the new symbols of higher social standing (Peterson & Kern, 1996). Scholars thus associate omnivorousness with cultural elites who manifest appreciation for a broader array of genres (Alderson, Junisbai, & Heacock, 2007; Bryson 1996; Chan & Goldthorpe 2005, 2007; López-Sintas & Katz-Gerro, 2005). In its earliest version, omnivorousness occurs in tandem with the phenomenon of "univormism" (Peterson, 1992), which stresses that lower segments of society remain characterized by their preference for popular/lowbrow cultural forms.

Cultural stratification thus assumes the form of an inverted pyramid in which higher segments possess wide-ranging tastes and lower segments have restricted cultural repertoires.

In their seminal study, Peterson and Kern (1996) analyzed data from the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts to find that the average number of lowbrow genres liked by people whose favorite genre was classical music or opera increased from 1.74 in 1982 to 2.23 in 1992. Similarly, in her highly cited article “Anything But Heavy Metal,” Bryson (1997) finds support for what she calls the “educated tolerance hypothesis.” Using General Social Survey data from 1993, she finds that education is significantly associated with fewer musical genres *disliked* after controlling for a range of socio-demographic factors including political intolerance. Alderson et al. (2007) identify three distinct groups of cultural consumers: omnivores who are likely to attend a variety of cultural activities, “paucivores” who are likely to attend some but not all activities, and “inactives” who are unlikely to consume any activity. Their model shows that social status, education, and income predict membership in the omnivores and paucivores group relative to the inactives. Tanner, Asbridge and Wortley (2008), analyzing musical taste among teenagers in Toronto, quantify cultural capital by creating an additive index using participation scores in traditionally highbrow activities; they find that it has a significant and substantial effect in predicting membership in the group of musical omnivores. Also in Canada, Veenstra (2010) finds that economic resources and educational attainment are linked to participation in a diverse assortment of cultural practices while lower class members partake in a more limited number of activities, likely as a result of financial and time constraints. Though omnivorousness has become the predominant framework in cultural sociology since the late 90s, other studies continue to find at least weak associations between socioeconomic position and specific cultural

lifestyles (e.g. Coulangeon & Lemel, 2007; Van Eijck, 2005; Veenstra, 2015), thus supporting Bourdieusian homology as the theory that partially explains cultural stratification.

The conversation between homology and omnivorousness continues to guide studies in cultural sociology, but the debate itself has been criticized on several grounds. First, the stark distinction between the two theories might be overdrawn, as they both have in common the idea that culture is socially stratified (Coulangeon & Lemel, 2007). While the nature of stratification may have changed, cultural repertoires remain associated with socioeconomic position after the omnivorous shift delineated by Peterson (1992) and Peterson and Kern (1996). This enduring effect of socioeconomic position on cultural tastes contrasts with the radical view of some postmodern scholars who have suggested that people are increasingly free of class constraints and able to establish their own unique cultural repertoires independent of class influences (e.g. Bauman, 1988).

Second, critics contend that there is great diversity amongst omnivores and that the concept does not fully capture important differences (Warde, Wright & Gayo-Cal, 2007) and hierarchies (Tampubolon, 2010) within this group. In attempts to unravel the meaning of omnivorousness, scholars have noted the difference between omnivorousness “by volume” and “by composition.” Omnivorousness by volume refers to the overall *quantity* of one’s cultural consumption, independent of highbrow/lowbrow distinctions, whereas omnivorousness by *composition* is related to the symbolic crossing of highbrow and lowbrow boundaries (Lizardo, 2014a; Warde et al., 2007; Warde & Gayo-Cal, 2009). For example, preferences for rap, hip-hop, and R&B, on the one hand, and for rap, classical music, and heavy metal, on the other, are equally omnivorous by volume. However, as the latter genres do not have “overlapping audiences” (Lizardo, 2014a), this set of tastes is more omnivorous by composition. As I further

elaborate in the next section, I use a measure of “omnivorousness by volume” which despite its drawbacks remains useful and widely used in the literature due to its ordinal simplicity and ease of replicability across different studies or datasets (Lizardo, 2014b).

To further map out nuances in omnivorous consumption, Warde et al. (2007) identify four distinct types of omnivores: the professional, the dissident, the apprentice, and the unassuming. Professionals are open to all genres along the highbrow-lowbrow spectrum and seem indifferent to the possibility of conveying distinction through arts and culture. Dissidents also favour eclectic repertoires but are more aware of the symbolic qualities of cultural forms and their potential for delineating group boundaries. Apprentices believe that there is virtue in “trying everything,” suggesting they are following prescribed social norms on how to engage with arts and culture. Unassuming people demonstrate preference for a variety of genres excepting the fine arts; these are “lowbrow omnivores” guided neither by the desire for high culture aesthetic experiences or norms on how to engage in culture. Similarly, Ollivier (2008) suggests that “openness to cultural diversity” can be manifested in multiple ways which remain hierarchized along class (and gender) lines. These studies support the idea that cultural omnivores, often presented as a uniform group, are actually quite diverse.

Third, some scholars question the phenomenon of omnivorousness on the basis of measurement biases (see Peterson 2005 for a comprehensive discussion of the challenges in comparative research on omnivorousness). Atkinson (2011) suggests that people claiming to be appreciative of many musical genres are in reality able to fluently discuss only a few of them. In large-scale surveys, he argues, people can easily claim to like many genres, but their true tastes only emerge when asked to describe their preferences in detail through qualitative interviews. Atkinson questions the extent to which findings in support of omnivorousness are simply derived

from oversimplification problems related to quantitative methodological approaches. Though an extensive interview-based project investigating lifestyles in Bristol (UK), he finds that musical taste and aesthetic preferences continue to map on to socioeconomic position in a similar way as described by Bourdieu's homology argument.

Finally, the homology vs. omnivorousness debate can be criticized for its often simplistic categorization of cultural genres whose boundaries are both fuzzy and ever changing. Lena and Peterson (2008) note that cultural genres themselves are socially constructed and fluid constructs, not fixed taxonomies or market categories as they are often portrayed. Further, there is substantial internal variation in supposedly well-defined genres. For example, it is relevant whether a person only watches Hollywood blockbusters or international independent films. Such nuances are often lost, especially in large-scale surveys. Bourdieu (1984) recognizes that important variations occur within musical taste, noting a greater preference for Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* among upper classes and Strauss's *Blue Danube* among middle/lower classes, even though both pieces are traditionally considered classical music. However, most studies in the area do not account for within-genre variation.

Despite these drawbacks, the two frameworks are useful guides for studying cultural stratification, providing researchers with concepts and methodological approaches that can be used in similar ways across different contexts and thereby yield comparative insights on cultural stratification. In this thesis I investigate the relative applicability of these two theories for explicating cultural participation using Canadian data. I attend to economic capital and cultural capital separately as the magnitude of their effects, though likely in the same direction, might differ substantially in the degree to which they predict cultural attendance.

Chapter 3. Data and Methods

I apply binary logistic regression, ordered logistic regression, and latent class models to data from the Canadian General Social Surveys of 2005 and 2010 on Time Use. The samples are nationally representative of non-institutionalized individuals over the age of 15 residing in the ten Canadian provinces (territories excluded). Along with socioeconomic and demographic variables, the surveys inquired about attendance at different kinds of cultural activities such as movies, theatrical performances, popular music concerts, classical music concerts, cultural or heritage performances, artistic festivals, museums, historic sites, zoos or aquariums or botanical gardens, and conservation areas. Respondents were asked about frequency of attendance at these activities in the 12 months prior to the survey with response options of never, 1 to 4 times, 5 to 12 times, and more than 12 times. I also created a measure of omnivorousness by summing attendance scores for the twelve cultural activity variables based on whether they attended an activity at least once in the year prior to the survey, a scale that therefore ranged from 0 to 12. This simple additive scale measures omnivorousness by volume, a widely used measure in studies of this kind (see Lizardo, 2014b). Attendance at specific cultural activities and omnivorous attendance are the dependent variables in my analyses.

I use measures of economic capital and cultural capital to operationalize socioeconomic position. For economic capital I use respondent's household income. Income measures are coded as follows: low-income (<\$20,000), lower middle-income (\$20,000 to \$49,999), higher middle-income (\$50,000 to \$99,999), and high income (\geq \$100,000). The low-income group is used as the referent category. For cultural capital I use respondent's highest educational attainment. Education is coded as less than high school, high school, some university or college, and university. "Less than high school" is used as the referent group.

I control for the following demographic factors: marital status (married or not married), gender (female or male), children (yes or no), residence (urban or non-urban), age (young adults aged 25-44, middle aged people aged 45-64, and seniors aged 65+), and race/ethnicity. As the surveys did not explicitly inquire on ethnic identity, I use place of birth (born in Canada or outside of Canada) and first language (English or not English) as proxies for ethnicity. I exclude individuals less than 25 years of age from the samples to avoid confounding lack of education with younger age, producing a working sample of N=2,675 in 2005 and N=5,464 in 2010.

I apply three stages of analysis to each of the datasets. The first stage assesses the socioeconomic bases of attendance at the twelve activities individually. The primary independent variables in these logistic regression models are respondents' education and household income. Marital status, gender, age, place of residence, children, place of birth, and first language are used as demographic controls. Using binary logistic regressions, I identify the extent to which education and income predict attendance at each individual event, allowing me to see which of the activities can be tentatively labeled highbrow, middlebrow, or lowbrow. I find that both education and income positively predict attendance at each of the twelve activities but with varying strengths. This provides preliminary evidence that elites are omnivorous.

The second stage of the analysis concerns the investigation of the degree to which the indicators of socioeconomic position predict the number of different activities attended. This stage assesses more directly whether education and income are associated with omnivorous cultural consumption. The outcome variable is the omnivorousness scale divided into four groups: none (score of zero), few (scores ranging from 1-4), several (scores ranging from 5-8), and many (scores ranging from 9-12) activities attended in the previous 12 months. The primary independent variables in these ordered logistic regression models are respondents' education and

household income and marital status, gender, age, place of residence, children, place of birth, and first language are again used as demographic controls. In order to corroborate the findings of these ordered logistic models, I also run a multivariate OLS regression in the 2005 data using the square root of the omnivorousness scale as the dependent variable. These models confirm that income and to a greater extent education have significant effects on omnivorous attendance in the expected directions. Possessing a university degree in particular is a potent predictor of engagement in a wide range of cultural activities.

The third stage entails the identification of distinct patterns of responses to the cultural activities questions by way of latent class analysis. The objective here is to identify clusters of attendance and to assess whether indicators of socioeconomic position predict membership in the identified groupings. Answers to questions on cultural practices tend to possess some degree of association (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005). Theatregoers, for example, might also be classical music concert attendees and people who do not visit museums might also not visit historic sites. Latent class analysis identifies clusters of responses to the different question on cultural attendance; each latent class is thus a grouping with a distinct set of responses to the twelve questions on attendance at cultural activities. To accomplish this I collapsed the attendance responses into three categories: never attended in the previous 12 months, sometimes attended (1 to 4 times in the previous 12 months), and frequently attended (5 or more times in the previous 12 months). The initial category of more than 12 times did not have many data points and was thus incorporated into the “frequently attended” category. I find three distinct groups of participation, which I label as highbrow omnivores, selective omnivores, and inactive people. This stage also involves assessment of the effects of different covariates on latent class membership. Using the group of least culturally active as the referent category, multinomial logistic regressions allow

for testing the effects of income and education in predicting membership in the latent classes. In line with the previous models, I find that income and education predict membership in the two omnivorous groups, with stronger effects for membership in the group of highbrow omnivores.

Chapter 4. Results

The binary logistic models reveal that income and education both predict attendance at individual cultural activities. Table 1, Table 2, Table 3 and Table 4 document the odds ratios for participation in each cultural activity in both years. For example, in 2005 a university graduate was 7 times as likely to have attended a classical music concert compared to someone who had not completed high school; in 2010 a university graduate was more than 10 times as likely to have attended a classical music concert. High-income earners were more than 3 times as likely to have attended a movie compared to low-income earners in 2005; this relationship too was stronger in 2010. Overall, for all activities except popular music the effects of income and education were significant and in the same direction. In addition, the effects of education were consistently greater than those of income across all activities in the two datasets. Furthermore, the effects increased in strength for a majority of the activities from 2005 to 2010. These findings suggest that none of the twelve activities can be considered lowbrow, providing indirect support for the idea that elites tend to be cultural omnivores (at least in the context of the cultural activities investigated here).

Table 1 Odds ratios for attended vs. not attended

	Classical Music		Museum		Other Cultural Perf.	
	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005	2010
University	6.97***	10.10***	8.20***	6.13***	4.43***	5.19***
Some University	3.05***	3.85***	3.24***	3.15***	3.19***	2.67***
High School	1.80*	1.65*	1.93***	1.74***	1.61*	1.47
<High School	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
>\$100,000	1.37	2.07***	2.77***	3.15***	1.78**	1.90***
\$50,000-\$99,999	1.16	1.58	2.02***	2.15***	1.49*	1.64
\$20,000-\$49,999	1.03	1.40	1.64***	1.76***	1.37*	1.40
<20,000	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

*p<0.05,**p<0.01,***p<0.001

Table 2 Odds ratios for attended vs. not attended

	Arts/Cultural Fest.		Other Museum		Theatre	
	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005	2010
University	5.11***	5.40***	4.16***	6.13***	2.56***	4.90***
Some University	3.02***	2.76***	2.52***	3.15***	1.57**	3.04***
High School	1.64**	1.74***	1.59**	1.74***	1.23	2.05***
<High School	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
>\$100,000	2.17***	2.23***	2.32***	3.15***	2.10***	4.79***
\$50,00-\$99,999	1.98***	1.70***	1.92***	2.16***	1.46*	2.99***
\$20,000-\$49,999	1.74***	1.42**	1.42**	1.76***	1.33	2.16***
<20,000	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 3 Odds ratios for attended vs. not attended

	Cultural Perf.		Historic Site		Pop Music	
	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005	2010
University	3.90***	4.45***	3.37***	3.71***	0.96	2.37***
Some University	2.51***	2.65***	2.07***	2.42***	1.12	1.87***
High School	1.39*	1.83***	1.38**	1.45**	1.17	1.22
<High School	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
>\$100,000	1.58**	1.27	2.86***	2.47***	1.41	3.90***
\$50,00-\$99,999	1.58**	1.29	2.36***	2.03***	1.34	2.64***
\$20,000-\$49,999	1.66***	1.07	1.69***	1.53***	1.18	1.81***
<20,000	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 4 Odds ratios for attended vs. not attended

	Movies		Nature		Zoo/Aquarium	
	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005	2010
University	4.41***	3.95***	3.88***	3.34***	2.89***	2.51***
Some University	2.46***	2.59***	2.53***	2.12***	1.94***	2.03***
High School	1.83***	1.69***	1.67***	1.53***	1.52***	1.63***
<High School	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
>\$100,000	3.38***	3.55***	2.31***	2.23***	2.30***	2.43***
\$50,000-\$99,999	2.83***	2.80***	1.94***	1.88***	2.09***	2.24***
\$20,000-\$49,999	1.66***	1.80***	1.50***	1.51***	1.66***	1.62***
<20,000	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

The ordered logistic regressions offer further evidence of a link between omnivorousness and social standing. The outcome variable in these models is the omnivorousness scale (which ranges from 0 to 12) re-categorized into four groups: none, few, several, and many activities

attended in the 12 months prior to the survey. In 2005, a university degree was associated with an increase of 1.91 in the ordered log-odds of belonging to a higher attendance category. In 2010 this figure jumped to 2.03. High income was associated with an increase of 0.87 in the ordered log-odds of higher attendance in 2005. Five years later this figure jumped to 1.50. These results indicate that income and education have substantial effects on the quantity of activities people participate in. Moreover, the effects increased in strength from 2005 and 2010, suggesting a polarization of attendance at such activities: wealthier and better educated people are increasingly more likely to have broader repertoires of cultural attendance (see Table 5 and Table 6). The multivariate OLS regression carried out to verify the ordered logistic model shows effects in the same direction (Table 7), confirming that greater levels of income and education are associated with a greater diversity of cultural activities attended.

Table 5 Ordered logistic regression assessing omnivorousness (2005)

	Coef.	SE	95% confidence interval	
University	1.91***	0.177	1.56	2.26
Some University	1.15***	0.170	1.82	1.49
High School	0.72***	0.191	0.34	1.09
>\$100k	0.87***	0.182	0.52	1.23
\$50k to \$100k	0.62***	0.164	0.29	0.94
\$20k to \$50k	0.53**	0.160	0.22	0.85
Child	0.19	0.099	0.00	0.39
Female	0.01	0.078	-0.14	0.17
Marital status	-0.27**	0.090	-0.44	-0.09
Urban	0.31**	0.098	0.12	0.50
Senior	0.15	0.132	-0.11	0.40
Middle age	0.28	0.089	0.11	0.46
Foreign born	0.31**	0.111	0.10	0.53
Other language	-0.25**	0.082	-0.41	-0.09

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; N=2,675

Table 6 Ordered logistic regression assessing omnivorousness (2010)

	Coef.	SE	95% confidence interval	
University	2.03***	0.100	1.84	2.23
Some University	1.26***	0.089	1.09	1.44
High School	0.58**	0.104	0.38	0.79

	Coef.	SE	95% confidence interval	
>\$100k	1.50***	0.116	1.28	1.73
\$50k to \$100k	1.12***	0.106	0.91	1.32
\$20k to \$50k	0.65**	0.010	0.46	0.85
Child	-0.13	0.074	-0.27	0.02
Female	0.19***	0.053	0.01	0.30
Marital status	-0.11	0.063	-0.23	-0.01
Urban	0.42***	0.061	0.30	0.54
Senior	-0.42***	0.087	-0.59	-0.25
Middle age	-0.25***	0.069	-0.38	-0.11
Foreign born	0.17*	0.075	0.02	0.32
Other language	-0.16**	0.059	-0.28	-0.05

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; N=5,464

Table 7 Multivariate OLS regression assessing omnivorousness (2005)

	Coef.	SE	95% confidence interval	
University	0.59 ***	0.046	0.50	0.68
Some University	0.37***	0.044	0.28	0.45
High School	0.19***	0.051	0.09	0.29
>\$100k	0.29***	0.050	0.19	0.39
\$50k to \$100k	0.23***	0.045	0.14	0.32
\$20k to \$50k	0.16***	0.044	0.07	0.24
Child	0.06*	0.028	0.01	0.12
Female	0.00	0.022	-0.04	0.05
Marital status	-0.10***	0.025	-0.15	-0.05
Urban	0.11***	0.027	0.05	0.16
Senior	0.04	0.036	0.02	0.11
Middle age	0.06*	0.023	-0.38	-0.11
Foreign born	0.08*	0.031	0.02	0.14
Other language	-0.06*	0.059	-0.10	-0.01

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; N=2,675

The latent class procedure allowed me to inductively identify three distinct clusters of attendance patterns and assess the effects of income and education in predicting membership in these groupings. When comparing the datasets from 2005 and 2010, the groups are largely similar. Class 3 stands out as a highly inactive group. In 2005, the probabilities of a member of Class 3 not having attended the cultural activities are quite high (e.g. 0.86 for classical music; 0.97 for art/cultural festivals, cultural performance, and other cultural performance; 0.95 for museum; and 0.98 for other museum). Even in regard to movies or nature where their

probabilities of inactivity are relatively lower, members of Class 3 were much more unlikely to be active in comparison to the other two groups, as shown in Table 8. In 2010, Class 3 was also highly inactive, despite minor changes in the probabilities of attendance in the activities in question; most individuals in Class 3 were still highly unlikely to participate in any of the cultural activities.

Table 8 Probabilities of never attending activities for each latent class (2005)

Activity	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Movies	0.189	0.267	0.695
Theatre	0.218	0.528	0.554
Classical Music	0.538	0.885	0.864
Popular Music	0.434	0.409	0.570
Arts/Cultural Festival	0.395	0.735	0.966
Cultural Performance	0.578	0.855	0.967
Other Cultural Performance	0.743	0.875	0.971
Museum	0.198	0.749	0.958
Other Museum	0.411	0.765	0.980
Historic Site	0.248	0.558	0.938
Zoo/Aquarium	0.364	0.524	0.926
Nature/Conservation Area	0.206	0.361	0.820

Design effect = 1.73; Log likelihood = -45,199.16; df=531366; Iteration = 418

Table 9 Probabilities of occasionally attending activities for each latent class (2005)

Activity	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Movies	0.333	0.400	0.184
Theatre	0.531	0.408	0.385
Classical Music	0.362	0.110	0.103
Popular Music	0.437	0.508	0.403
Arts/Cultural Festival	0.525	0.256	0.032
Cultural Performance	0.377	0.139	0.029
Other Cultural Performance	0.217	0.120	0.024
Museum	0.621	0.244	0.035
Other Museum	0.484	0.230	0.018
Historic Site	0.571	0.413	0.054
Zoo/Aquarium	0.551	0.444	0.070
Nature/Conservation Area	0.460	0.451	0.119

Design effect = 1.73; Log likelihood = -45,199.16; df=531366; Iteration = 418

Table 10 Probabilities of frequently attending activities for each latent class (2005)

Activity	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Movies	0.478	0.333	0.121
Theatre	0.251	0.063	0.061

Activity	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Classical Music	0.100	0.005	0.033
Popular Music	0.129	0.084	0.027
Arts/Cultural Festival	0.080	0.010	0.002
Cultural Performance	0.045	0.006	0.004
Other Cultural Performance	0.040	0.006	0.005
Museum	0.181	0.008	0.006
Other Museum	0.105	0.005	0.002
Historic Site	0.181	0.028	0.008
Zoo/Aquarium	0.085	0.032	0.005
Nature/Conservation Area	0.333	0.188	0.061

Design effect = 1.73; Log likelihood = -45,199.16; df=531366; Iteration = 418

Table 9 illuminates the differences between Class 1 and Class 2. In 2005, members of Class 1 had a higher probability of *occasional* attendance than the members of Class 2 in all but two of the activities (movies and popular music). For nature/conservation area, the probabilities of attendance were quite similar in these two classes. In 2010, Class 1 had higher probabilities of *occasional* attendance at every activity except movies and conservation area (see Table 12). In some activities, the participation probabilities for Classes 1 and 2 were very similar (historic site, popular music, and zoo/aquarium). However, in other activities (classical music, arts/cultural festival, cultural performance, other cultural performance, museum, and other museum) Class 1 members had much greater probabilities of *occasional* attendance than Class 2. This suggests that Class 2 is a group of mid-level consumers: they are people who *occasionally* attend specific activities almost as much as or more than Class 1 but with substantially smaller probabilities of attending activities that are traditionally considered as highbrow.

Table 10 shows probabilities of *frequent* attendance at each activity for the three identified groups and further details the difference between the three classes. It reveals a group (Class 1) that has considerably higher probabilities of *frequent* participation across all activities relative to Classes 2 and 3. Class 1 in 2010 possessed even higher probabilities of *frequent* attendance at all these activities in comparison to 2005 (see Table 13). I therefore label the

members of Class 1 as “highbrow omnivores,” that is, people who are more likely to consume the traditionally highbrow set of activities as well as others activities not necessarily associated with cultural elites. I label the members of Class 2 as “selective omnivores,” that is, people that have neither a broad nor narrow set of preferences for cultural activities and who attend activities at an intermediate frequency. Finally, Class 3 consists of inactive individuals who rarely partake in any cultural activity with any frequency, what I categorize as an “inactive” class.

The three classes, though mostly similar in 2005 and 2010, had a few notable differences across the two datasets. In 2005, for Class 3 members, the probabilities of not attending a theatrical performance and popular music concert were considerably lower at 0.554 and 0.570, respectively. In 2010, in contrast, the probabilities of non-participation for these two activities were, respectively, 0.852 and 0.883. For classical concert attendance, though the probability of non-participation was already high in 2005 for members of this class (0.870), it further underwent a considerable increase after 5 years (0.982). The inactivity of Class 3 thus became clearer from 2005 to 2010. While in 2005 Class 3 members were somewhat more likely to attend theatre and popular music concerts, their chances of doing so considerably decreased in 2010. Even attendance to movies, for which the probabilities of inactivity were the lowest, underwent a decline in these 5 years for members of Class 3.

Table 11 Probabilities of never attending activities for each latent class (2010)

Activity	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Movies	0.128	0.235	0.648
Theatre	0.159	0.523	0.852
Classical Music	0.612	0.924	0.982
Popular Music	0.327	0.562	0.883
Arts/Cultural Festival	0.207	0.617	0.933
Cultural Performance	0.480	0.786	0.965
Other Cultural Performance	0.559	0.860	0.949
Museum	0.175	0.642	0.961
Other Museum	0.312	0.648	0.963
Historic Site	0.190	0.442	0.900

Activity	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Zoo/Aquarium	0.363	0.444	0.895
Nature/Conservation Area	0.164	0.295	0.755

Design effect = 1.83; Log likelihood = -46,793.48; df=531366; Iteration = 223

Table 12 Probabilities of occasionally attending activities for each latent class (2010)

Activity	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Movies	0.370	0.474	0.256
Theatre	0.559	0.422	0.135
Classical Music	0.306	0.073	0.016
Popular Music	0.483	0.390	0.102
Arts/Cultural Festival	0.663	0.368	0.061
Cultural Performance	0.447	0.204	0.027
Other Cultural Performance	0.379	0.135	0.041
Museum	0.626	0.351	0.031
Other Museum	0.557	0.346	0.037
Historic Site	0.556	0.509	0.079
Zoo/Aquarium	0.543	0.518	0.101
Nature/Conservation Area	0.441	0.489	0.161

Design effect = 1.83; Log likelihood = -46,793.48; df=531366; Iteration = 223

Table 13 Probabilities of frequently attending activities for each latent class (2010)

Activity	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Movies	0.502	0.291	0.096
Theatre	0.282	0.055	0.013
Classical Music	0.082	0.003	0.002
Popular Music	0.191	0.049	0.016
Arts/Cultural Festival	0.130	0.015	0.006
Cultural Performance	0.073	0.010	0.008
Other Cultural Performance	0.062	0.005	0.010
Museum	0.200	0.008	0.008
Other Museum	0.131	0.006	0.001
Historic Site	0.250	0.049	0.021
Zoo/Aquarium	0.094	0.038	0.004
Nature/Conservation Area	0.395	0.217	0.084

Design effect = 1.83; Log likelihood = -46,793.48; df=531366; Iteration = 223

When looking at both the *occasional* and *frequent* attendance tables, Class 1 members have higher probabilities of participation in 2010 in most activities (with the exception of historic site, zoo/aquarium, and conservation areas, which retained very similar probabilities). Class 2 also experienced an increase in likelihood of participation in all activities but classical and popular music performances. The three classes are therefore more distinct and clearly defined in 2010 than in 2005: Class 1 was even more culturally active in 2010; Class 3 was even less

culturally active in 2010; and Class 2 was overall more active but nonetheless still not as active as Class 1 in 2010.

A concomitant step in latent class analysis is the implementation of a multinomial logistic model to assess effects of covariates in probabilities of class membership. Using Class 3 (the culturally inactive group) as a referent category, the model evaluates whether economic and cultural capitals (measured by household income and education), as well as other demographic variables, predict membership in one class versus another. As shown in Table 14 and Table 15, the effects of income and education in both 2005 and 2010 are in the expected directions. The higher the income and the higher the education level the greater the odds of being a highbrow omnivore rather than an inactive. The same could be said of selective omnivores in relation to the inactive group though the odds are lower than for highbrow omnivores. In addition, the effects of education are greater than those of household income.

Table 14 Effects of covariates in predicting latent class membership (2005)

	Highbrow Omnivores		Selective Omnivores	
	Log-odds	SE	Log-odds	SE
University	3.52	0.62	1.67	0.27
Some University	2.12	0.46	1.45	0.20
High School	1.07	0.43	0.76	0.22
>\$100,000	1.61	0.27	1.83	0.26
\$50k to \$100k	1.07	0.26	1.63	0.25
\$20k to \$50k	0.43	0.22	0.94	0.22

Table 15 Effects of covariates in predicting latent class membership (2010)

	Highbrow Omnivores		Selective Omnivores	
	Log-odds	SE	Log-odds	SE
University	3.75	0.34	2.08	0.26
Some University	2.19	0.31	1.49	0.20
High School	1.03	0.38	0.83	0.22
>\$100,000	2.29	0.32	1.40	0.26
\$50k to \$100k	1.38	0.30	1.10	0.23
\$20k to \$50k	1.00	0.28	0.50	0.22

The results corroborate the notion that membership in these groupings is a reflection of social-economic position. Further, the odds of being a highbrow omnivore or a selective omnivore relative to being culturally inactive increased from 2005 to 2010 for measures of economic capital and cultural capital. These findings support suggest increasing socioeconomic inequalities in cultural consumption. After five years, the three classes of cultural participation became more clearly defined, and the effects of income and education in predicting membership in the omnivorous classes increased in magnitude.

Chapter 5. Discussion

In its earliest formulation and in subsequent studies (Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson, 1997; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005, 2007), elites are portrayed by the omnivorousness perspective as being well-versed in a wide variety of different musical genres, including highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow genres. In this literature, “the masses” are sometimes described as univores, familiar with a restricted number of lowbrow styles. The findings in this study provide evidence in support of a version of omnivorousness, albeit one of a slightly different kind than originally described.

One contrast is the existence of a group of individuals that is unlikely to participate in *any* form of cultural activity; lower levels of education and household income characterize this group. More importantly, the group of selective omnivores points to the existence of a middle ground between homology and omnivorousness. This group is less likely to *frequently* engage in all cultural activities compared to highbrow omnivores but they are just as likely or more to *occasionally* attend some activities. Selective omnivores have a relatively broad set of attendance practices but are not fully omnivorous as they tend to avoid traditionally highbrow activities such as classical music concerts and museums. They are characterized by the *occasional* attendance at some activities but have a relatively lower likelihood of being *frequent* attendees in any cultural activity. Education and income predict membership in this group, but not to the same extent as it predicts membership in the group of highbrow omnivores, for which the effects of these variables are greater.

My study thus shows that cultural consumption is not split between omnivorous elites and univorous masses, as once hypothesized. Rather, cultural attendance is organized into three groups: a highbrow omnivorous elite, a selective omnivorous middle class, and an inactive group

marked by lower amounts of capitals. These findings somewhat resemble the classes identified by Alderson et al. (2007) in the United States: omnivores who tend to participate more in all activities, paucivores who engage in the consumption of some activities, and an inactive group in which people are unlikely to participate in all activities except going to the movies.

Despite highlighting the existence of different groups of omnivores, these results should not be interpreted as evidence against the homology framework, for two reasons. First, a correspondence between socioeconomic position and cultural repertoires remains present. Education and income predict membership in both omnivore groups, and with greater odds for highbrow omnivores. Thus, highbrow omnivores are associated with a higher social stratum, selective omnivores with a middle class, and the inactive group with a lower class. Highbrow omnivores and selective omnivores correspond to upper and middle classes of omnivorousness which are stylistically distinct. Cultural repertoires, therefore, remain socially stratified. My results therefore allow for a reading of homology as entangled with omnivorousness, suggesting that the two are not necessarily contrary arguments.

Second, the portrayal of a person's cultural tastes and practices as diverse could be a somewhat disguised form of distinction work, especially when accompanied by a selective appropriation of cultural practices that are not traditionally highbrow (Warde, Wright, & Gayo-Cal, 2008). Omnivorousness, in the sense discussed here, can be interpreted as a specific version of homology in which the marker of social standing is comprised of a wider array of cultural repertoires. Diversity of cultural tastes and practices can itself be a form of snobbism or aesthetic distancing, especially in a world marked by ubiquitous information where it is increasingly difficult to know about or appreciate everything. The ability to navigate different cultural worlds and incorporate them into one's repertoire may thus be a form of distinction work in a post-

modern, globalized, and multicultural (in the Canadian case) society (Erickson, 1996). Snobbism and exclusiveness, which are central to the homology argument, can potentially be manifested through more eclectic repertoires as well (Tampubolon, 2008; Warde, Wright, & Gayo-Cal, 2008) especially considering that broader cultural repertoires require more resources.

By revealing two different kinds of omnivorousness, I show that quantitative studies do have some potential in identifying differences among omnivores. Scholars have criticized the categorization of omnivores as a unified group with common tastes (Atkinson, 2011; Warde et al., 2007), which they consider a product of measurement bias associated with large-scale survey-based methodologies. Their concern is surely valid and the qualitative studies such as the ones they provide are essential for a comprehensive understanding of the meanings and rationales behind cultural preferences. Though the present study does not fully dismiss the issue raised by these scholars, I show that survey-based research can provide nuanced insights on cultural stratification and move beyond the omnivore/univore dichotomy.

As mentioned at the outset, the debate between homology and omnivorousness has also been criticized for its simplistic categorization of cultural genres. Musical genres, for example, are often discussed as static or fixed concepts but are actually socially constructed and constantly changing (Lena & Peterson, 2008). The problem with defining genres might be germane here as well in regards to cultural activities. Though the General Social Survey provides brief descriptions of the cultural activities in question, it remains unclear whether these activities mean the same thing to different people. For example, a respondent might consider a musical performance in a festival as either attendance to popular music concert or a cultural festival. Further, the cultural activity categories utilized in this study are sometimes broad and do not capture internal variations, e.g., “movies” encompasses indie films and Hollywood productions.

An investigation of how different kinds of movies are consumed would likely also reveal patterns of stratification (e.g., more educated people might tend to consume more foreign films).

These issues, however, do not diminish the relevance of the present study. The homology and omnivorousness frameworks are accompanied by caveats but still facilitate insights on cultural stratification, as long as empirical findings are accompanied by discussions of their limitations. In this context, the existence of a class of inactive individuals revealed by this study is especially telling considering the range of sub-genres within each cultural activity. The popular music category in the two surveys also includes jazz, blues, rock, folk, and country, sub-genres that many people would consider as categorically quite distinct and actual genres themselves. This means that despite the breadth of many of these activities, there are still many people who are not participating in any of them. Moreover, there are many people selectively choosing to participate in these activities: patterns of participation are identifiable even though the activities categories are broad and vague.

The three different models utilized offer evidence that income and education predict attendance at cultural activities. Using binary logistic models, I found that indicators of economic and cultural capital are positively associated with likelihood of attendance at each cultural activity. Next, using ordered regression models, I found that the higher the household income and (especially) education the greater the odds of having an extensive repertoire of attendance. Moreover, using latent class models, I found that household income and education increase the odds of belonging to a group of highbrow omnivores (Class 1) and, to a lesser extent, a group of selective omnivores (Class 2) relative to a group of culturally inactive individuals (Class 3). I show that omnivorousness is socially stratified and that homology and

omnivorousness are to a degree entangled, thus supporting the idea that the stark distinction between the two theoretical arguments may be overdrawn.

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