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Abstract

In their seminal work Peterson and Kern (1996) reported that the system of cultural stratification in the USA was characterized by omnivorous cultural consumers in 1982, a pattern that grew stronger in 1992. Subsequent research has shown that an omnivorous consumer also existed in many other countries. In this paper we exploit a unique series of surveys on cultural participation collected in Denmark in the period 1964-2004 (1964, 1975, 1987, 1993, 1998, and 2004) to map the historical development of the omnivorous cultural consumer. In addition, we analyze how a range of social stratification variables affects the likelihood of belonging to this group relative to other cultural consumption groups. We report two major findings. First, we find that the relative size of the omnivore group in the Danish population has grown from the mid-1960s to the mid-2000s. Second, we find that social class, income, and education are strong predictors of cultural omnivorousness but furthermore that the strength of these social stratification variables has been declining over the past 40 years.

Word count: 6,101.

Introduction

Omnivorousness in cultural consumption and cultural tastes is a phenomenon that has been thoroughly studied in various societies, but trends of cultural omnivorousness over a long period of time have never been addressed before. Existing research has identified patterns of omnivorousness in data from the 1980s (Peterson 2005) but no research has considered the possibility that it could have a substantially longer history.

In this paper, we present analyses of a series of data sets that span forty years and offer a unique opportunity to ask whether omnivorousness has long been a feature characteristic of cultural consumption patterns. An answer to this question would shed light on the ongoing debate regarding the appropriate depiction of cultural consumption patterns as univorous or omnivorous and the appropriate metaphor for the association between social position and cultural resources: homology (Bourdieu 1984) or heterology (Garcia-Alvarez et al. 2007).

To address both issues we present evidence on the contours of cultural consumption in Denmark, based on a variety of indicators along a period of 40 years. Using cross-sectional data collected at six points in time during the period 1964-2004, we track the development of different clusters of cultural consumption practices. We then characterize these clusters, describe their relative sizes in the different survey years, and analyze their socio-demographic makeup.

In the context of the literature that interprets omnivorous cultural consumption as a form of distinction, exclusion, and hierarchization, we pay special attention to the omnivorous group that emerges in the analysis and we track its development over the period 1964-2004. We also investigate the extent to which cultural consumption may serve as an exclusionary tool, as expressed in the degree to

which the omnivorous cluster is associated, over time, with social class, income, and education. We propose to think of the omnivorous lifestyle as a representation of a status group in the Weberian sense, and we detect the extent to which this group is distinct over time in terms of the socio-demographic characteristics of its incumbents.

Theoretical Background

Analyses of the distribution of cultural consumption and its association with dimensions of stratification have been of prime interest to sociologists of culture as well as to scholars of other fields within the discipline. Several major works have inspired sociological thinking about the role that cultural preferences and practices play in the manufacturing of power, privilege, resources, and hierarchies (Weber 1968; Sorokin 1970; Veblen 1989; Bourdieu 1984; Levine 1998). An ensuing vast literature has developed on the mechanisms that generate cultural capital, cultural exclusion, cultural reproduction, and on their consequences. The literature on cultural stratification has been preoccupied with two broad themes. The first theme considers the appropriate way to measure and interpret cultural consumption, mainly debating the ways cultural consumption consolidates into cultural capital that affects life outcomes and different forms of attainment (e.g., in the educational system and in the labor market). A relatively recent derivative of this literature revolves around the notion of omnivorous cultural consumption that will be elaborated in the next section. The second theme within research on cultural stratification is concerned with identifying the main correlates of different patterns of cultural consumption, focusing on socio-economic and demographic correlates and

establishing the dimensions of cultural stratification. The following two sections will elaborate on these themes.

The Omnivore Thesis

In a series of articles that attracted attention and have stimulated international research, Peterson and his colleagues (Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996; Peterson 2002, 2005) argued that members of the upper class in the United States, who formerly had been defined as *cultural snobs* in terms of their preference for a limited range of highbrow cultural tastes (Levine 1998), are turning into *cultural omnivores;* namely, an upper class that experiences and appreciates a variety of cultural tastes: highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow. Peterson's work identified a transition from a snobbish taste to an omnivorous taste among high-status individuals in the 1980s and more so in the 1990s in the United States. High-status individuals are members of specific occupational groupings including professional occupations, higher managers, and higher sales workers (Peterson and Simkus 1992:160). Peterson and Simkus reported that in 1982 individuals in the higher cultural professions were likely to express a taste for the fine arts and participate in fine arts activities. They also had the other attributes found by Bourdieu, such as a higher education, substantial income, and city residence. A replication using data from 1992 (Peterson and Kern 1996) found omnivorousness again and this time more prevalent among high status individuals in 1992 than it had been in 1982. This increase receives a twofold explanation in that article. First, high status individuals were generally becoming more omnivorous. Second, younger, more omnivorous age cohorts of high-status individuals were replacing older cohorts who were more likely to have the snobbish orientation. Several

years later, Peterson (2005) reported that the size of the omnivore group in the United States in 2002 fell to the level it was in 1982 after a significant increase in 1992.

Scholars have demonstrated the applicability of the omnivore thesis and its variations in diverse cultural domains in different countries (e.g., Bryson 1997; Van Rees et al. 1999; Warde et al. 1999; Holbrook et al. 2002; López-Sintas and Garcia-Álvarez 2002; Emmison 2003; Fisher and Preece 2003; DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005; Chan and Goldthorpe 2007a, 2007b; Garcia-Álvarez et al. 2007; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro 2007). While most research has studied omnivorousness using data from the 1990s or past 2000, there are a few exceptions, such as López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro (2005) and Garcia-Álvarez et al. (2007) who employ data that span 1982-2002.

In a comprehensive review Peterson (2005) summarizes and challenges research on omnivorousness. Two of his general conclusions are relevant to the present paper: first, the need to study the development of omnivorousness over time; and second, a recommendation to break beyond the typical emphasis on musical tastes. Peterson's scholarship on the omnivore thesis has recently been both advanced and challenged by Lahire (2004) who distinguishes between dissonant and consonant cultural consumers. Lahire characterizes cultural profiles of individuals as dissonant when they combine activities and genres that are part of legitimate cultural forms (high culture) and less legitimate forms. He characterizes cultural profiles as consonant when they include activities and genres that are exclusively legitimate or illegitimate. In this regard, Lahire (2008) criticizes Peterson for not managing to entirely prove the existence of a new omnivorous aesthetic which is more eclectic than before and which is an entirely new phenomenon. Lahire (2004: 166-174) argues that the findings of surveys in the 1960s in France

suggested that *homo pluralis* already existed at the time, but that public atmosphere did not favor his becoming socially visible.

To sum, several discussions in the existing literature point to an interest in studying the contours of omnivorous consumption patterns over time. This will allow the depiction of a temporal story about omnivorousness. It will also speak to claims that *homo pluralis* existed even in Bourdieu's data. Finally, it will further our understanding of cultural stratification.

Correlates of Omnivorousness

Research that looked at the social bases of the snobbish cultural consumer has demonstrated a strong correlation between economic class and patterns of cultural consumption and lifestyle (Weber 1974; Gans 1974; Bourdieu 1984). Several studies in recent years, while acknowledging the importance of this relationship, also argued that the complexity of the connections between class location and cultural tastes should be further probed (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro 2000; Han 2003; Katz-Gerro 2002, 2004, 2006). Specifically, research on the omnivore type generally finds that younger age, higher education, higher income, and higher occupational status are strongly associated with omnivorous cultural preferences (Warde et al. 1999; Van Eijck 2001; López Sintas and Garcia Álvarez 2002; Holbrook et al. 2002; Emmison 2003). Lahire argues that every social class is involved, to one degree or another, in dissonant or omnivorous cultural profiles. In other words, omnivorousness is not exclusive to the elite.

Research Questions

Since we do not really have research that theorizes on the historical beginning of a noticeable and distinct omnivore profile, we cannot formulate hypotheses and our research is exploratory in this respect. Nevertheless, we do have research questions that focus on the long time span that we have available in our data and that generates two main interests. First, to what extent was the omnivore profile present at the beginning of the period studied and what happened to its size by the end of the period? Second, what are the socio-demographic characteristics of the omnivore group, can we think of it as a distinct status group, and has this distinctiveness strengthened or weakened over time? The latter question is relevant given that Peterson and Kern (1996) and Peterson and Simkus (1992) argue that omnivores can be thought of as a distinct status groups. Consequently, we want to provide new longitudinal evidence on the degree to which cultural omnivores represent a distinct or fading social status group.

Data

The Danish National Institute of Social Research has been collecting data on cultural consumption and participation for the Danish Ministry of Culture since the mid-1960s. Cross-sectional surveys with representative samples of the adult population (16 and older) were carried out in 1964, 1975, 1987, 1993, 1998, and 2004, thereby providing information on trends in cultural consumption and participation over a 40-year period. Response rates and sample sizes in the different surveys are as follows: 1964: 80%, N=4,397; 1975: 74%, N=3,723; 1987: 73%, N=3,606; 1993: 73%, N=1,843; 1998: 68%, N=1,566; and 2004: 65%, N=1,830.

Variables

Dependent Variables

Previous research on cultural capital and cultural resources has employed measures of taste (particularly in musical genres: Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996; Bryson 1997; Emmison 2003) or behavior (particularly leisure activities: López-Sintas and Garcia-Álvarez 2002; Holbrook et al. 2002). In this paper, we employ measures of cultural participation that we consider to be measuring actual social action (Holt 1997). Six indicators of cultural participation are available in all six surveys: frequency of going to the cinema, classical concert, opera, play, art museum/gallery, and newspaper reading. These indicators offer adequate representation of different fine arts (e.g., opera) and commercial art (cinema) and their subdivisions into visual arts (art museum/gallery, cinema), auditory arts (classical music concert), and performance arts (opera, play). The indicators also cover traditional "highbrow" activities such as opera and classical concert, and "middlebrow" (at least by Danish standards) activities such as going to art museum/gallery and play, and more popular activities such as cinema going and newspaper reading.

Question wording for all indicators is identical in the 1987-2004 surveys but differs slightly from that used in the 1964 and 1975 surveys. In the 1964 and 1975 surveys, respondents were asked if they had attended the different types of cultural activities (classical concert, opera, play, and art museum/gallery) "in the last season". From 1987 onwards respondents were asked how often they had attended the different cultural activities "within the last year". To ensure reasonable comparability across survey years we constructed dummy variables for the indicators equal to 1 if respondents had gone either "in the last season" (1964 and

1975) or “in the last year” (1987-2004) and 0 otherwise. The indicators of cinema going and newspaper reading were largely identical in all survey years. Consequently, we constructed two dummy variables to indicate if respondents had gone to the cinema in the last year and if respondents report reading at least one newspaper daily. The marginal distribution of the six indicators of cultural participation is shown in Table 1.

Independent Variables

We include a range of socioeconomic and demographic variables in the analyses. The socioeconomic variables include family income, education, social class position, and working hours. *Family income* is measured as total gross family income in Danish Kroner (DKK). We use standardized measures of family income to harmonize different ordinal scales across the surveys. *Education* is measured by years of schooling. *Social class* is measured by the Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP, see Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992) class scheme which, based on occupation, divides respondents into five class categories: managers (and professionals), routine non-manual workers, self-employed workers, skilled workers, and unskilled workers. Since only respondents who are active in the labor market were asked about their occupational position, we create a sixth category called “other/missing” which pertains to respondents with no information on occupational position (for example, the retired, students, or homemakers).[1] Finally, the variable for *working hours* measures respondents' hours of work per week. Information on work hours was not available in the 2004 survey.

[1] In the 2004 survey it was not possible to identify managers and this class category was dropped.

Life stage variables include marital status and children at home. *Marital status* is a dummy variable coded 1 for married/cohabitating and 0 otherwise. *Children at home* are coded 1 if the respondent has children living at home and 0 otherwise (it was not possible to create a more detailed measure of family size because number of children and children's age was only recorded in some of the surveys).

The demographic variables include *sex* (coded 1 for women) and *age* measured in years divided by 10 (for ease of interpretation in the empirical analyses). Finally, we also constructed dummy variables for missing values on family income, education, and work hours.

Results

Descriptive Analysis

Table 1 presents means and standard deviations of the dependent and independent variables included in the analyses. Turning first to changes in mean cultural participation over time, we see that cinema going is a very popular activity in Denmark, second only to newspaper reading. A stable 50% or more of the samples reported going to the cinema in the different survey years. Going to classical music concerts becomes a more popular activity over time. Percent of attendance is doubled between 1964 and 1975 and between 1975 and 1987. Going to an opera production is the least frequented activity on our list. In 1975 it is as low as 2% and in subsequent years it climbs to only 9% in 1993. A peculiarity with opera attendance is the high percentage of respondents who have frequented the opera in 1964. We are not certain about how to explain this outlier and nor do we have any secondary data sources against which we can check this proportion. We are able to report that this is not a coding error. However, as we discuss below,

there is empirical evidence that opera attendance is particularly non-elitist in 1964 in the sense that all the latent groups of cultural consumers have a non-zero probability of going to the opera in 1964, whereas in the later surveys only the omnivore latent class has a substantive probability of attending the opera. Consequently, there is evidence that opera going was simply more widespread across different social groups in 1964 than in subsequent years. Attendance at theatre plays shows stability between 1964 and 1975 standing at 16% but then a significant increase to 32% in 1987. Attendance drops to 23% in 1993 and remains stable in the subsequent two surveys. Attendance at art museum/gallery also exhibits volatility. The lowest rate of attendance was in 1964 at 16% and the first significant increase occurred in 1987 to 39%. A subsequent increase in 1993 to 44% was followed by a decrease in 1998 to 32% and in 2004 to 26%. Finally, newspaper reading is the most popular activity but it shows a trend of decreasing rates starting from 92% in 1964 and ending with 55% in 2004 (probably because people read the paper on the internet).

Overall, the level of participation appears to be quite high and increasing over time. There is a wide variation in respondents' patterns of engagement from one activity to another. The present study is limited by the relatively small number of empirical indicators of cultural participation that are comparable across the 1964-2004-period. Although the six indicators capture diverse types of cultural participation, more indicators are required for a comprehensive analysis of highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow culture. As a consequence, the identification of our latent groups of cultural consumers, although fairly consistent over time, could be improved.

-- Table 1 about here –

Methodological Approach

Latent Class Analysis

The aim of the empirical analysis is to identify groups of cultural consumers and analyze how the relative size and socioeconomic correlates of these groups change over the 1964-2004 period. In particular, we are interested in identifying and tracking changes in the hypothesized group of cultural omnivores. We use Latent Class Analysis (LCA) and Latent Class Regression (LCR) in the empirical analysis. Both approaches have previously been used in research on cultural consumption (e.g., Van Rees et al. 1999; Alderson et al. 2007; Chan and Goldthorpe 2007a, 2007b). LCA is a statistical method that uses respondents' dichotomous answers on the six indicators of cultural participation to identify latent groups with similar response profiles; i.e., participation patterns (Heinen 1996). The number of latent classes needed to account for the total association between the six cultural participation indicators is determined empirically. LCR extends LCA with a regression model in which explanatory variables are allowed to affect the probability of belonging to each of the different latent classes (Agresti 2002). The LCR enables us to analyze, first, the extent to which membership in the latent groups of cultural consumers depends on the socioeconomic and demographic variables and, second, the extent to which stratification patterns have changed over the period 1964-2004. The LCR model is parameterized as a multinomial logit model and can be thought of as a standard multinomial logit model in which the dependent variable (latent class membership) is indirectly observed.

Results

The results section is divided into three subsections. In the *first* subsection we discuss how many latent classes are required to account for the covariance in the cultural participation indicators in the six surveys. In the *second* subsection we offer a substantive interpretation of the different latent groups of cultural consumers. In the *third* subsection we analyze how the socioeconomic and demographic variables stratify the different latent classes and how stratification patterns have changed over the period 1964-2004.

How Many Latent Cultural Classes?

Table 2 shows fit statistics for LCA models with 2-5 latent classes. The table reports the value of the minus 2 Log-likelihood (-2LL), the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), and the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC). With all three fit statistics smaller values indicate better model fit.

-- Table 2 about here –

There is some heterogeneity across the different survey years with regards to the optimal number of latent classes. Generally, three-class models always outperform two-class models. However, the AIC and BIC provide contradictory evidence regarding whether four classes are preferable to three classes (and, to some extent, five classes to four classes). In 1964, 1975, 1998, and 2004 the BIC indicates that the four-class solution does not improve model fit, whereas the AIC indicates that the four class solution is preferable to the three class solution. In 1987 and 1993 both the BIC and AIC indicate that four classes are preferable to

three classes. Given the large number of surveys and the complexity of the LCR performed later we need a latent class structure that is as parsimonious as possible. A closer inspection of the three and four-class models suggests, with the exception of 1964, that there is little to gain from preferring the four-class model to the three-class model. As we show below, in all years the three-class model identifies a large “limited participation” group of respondents that goes to the cinema and reads newspapers (but does not engage in any of the other activities); a “moderate” group that, in addition to cinema and newspapers, also goes to art museums/galleries and plays; and finally an omnivore group that engages in all six cultural activities. In all years except 1964 the four-class models split the “moderate” group into two different groups but leaves the “limited participation” and omnivore groups almost unchanged. Since in this paper we are particularly interested in the omnivore group, there is little to be gained from preferring a more complex model, which splits the moderate group into two classes. However, in 1964 the four-class LCA model splits the omnivore group into two groups: a “complete” omnivore group and a “partial” omnivore group. This split in 1964 is important and is discussed below. However, in order to maintain parsimony in the comparative analysis we choose to present results from the three-class LCA models in the subsequent analysis.

-- Table 3 about here --

Three Types of Cultural Consumers

The profiles of the three-class models described in Table 2 are presented in Table 3, including estimated conditional probabilities of participating in each of the

six activities that serve as indicators of cultural participation and the relative sizes of the latent classes under this model in each survey year. We have labeled the three latent classes (1) the omnivore class, (2) the moderate class, and (3) the limited class (for a similar grouping see also Garcia-Álvarez et al. 2007). The three classes each have distinct patterns of cultural participation and these distinct patterns are remarkably consistent over time. Thus, the three different cultural classes can be discerned in all survey years.

The first class, the *omnivore* group, is characterized by a relatively high probability of attending all six cultural activities: cinema, classical concert, opera, play, art museum/gallery, and newspaper reading. In particular, what distinguishes the omnivore group from the other two groups throughout 1964-2004 is that, in addition to the four activities that can be considered non-highbrow, omnivores are much more likely to attend the two highbrow cultural activities: opera and classical concert. The group we label omnivore is different from Peterson and Kern's (1996) original operationalization but it is quite close to the theoretical definition. Peterson and Kern (1996) maintain that omnivorous taste does not signify that the omnivore likes everything indiscriminately. Rather, it signifies openness to appreciating everything. In that regard our *first* group is clearly omnivorous (see also Bryson 1997; Van Rees et al. 1999; Warde et al. 1999; Holbrook et al. 2002; López Sintas and Garcia Álvarez 2002; Emmison 2003; López Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005; Chan and Goldthorpe 2007a, 2007b; Garcia Álvarez et al. 2007).

The *second* group, the moderate class, is characterized by a non-zero probability of going to the cinema, play, art museum/gallery, and newspaper reading. Thus, compared to the omnivores, the moderates do not participate nearly

as much in highbrow cultural activities (opera, classical concert) but are likely to attend middlebrow activities such as going to a play or an art museum or gallery.

The third group, the limited class, is characterized by engaging only in the "lowbrow" cinema going activity and the popular newspaper reading activity. Members of this group have a low probability of attending the middlebrow activities play and art museum/gallery and the highbrow activities opera and classical concert. Consequently, the limited class is the least active cultural group in our analysis.

The general pattern of consumption groups that emerges is one that distinguishes between categories that have been reported in research in other countries. First, we have a group of individuals that engages in one or two activities from the analyzed list. This category resonates with reports on paucivores, univores, or inactives (Alderson et al. 2007; Chan and Goldthorpe 2007a, 2007b). Second, we have a group that engages in a variety of activities that do not include highbrow activities. This category resonates with reports on semi-omnivores (e.g., Garcia-Álvarez et al. 2007). Third, we have a group that engages in a variety of activities including highbrow activities. This category resonates with reports on omnivores. Another interesting observation in comparison with other studies is that in all survey years we did not find a latent class that is exclusively highbrow (for a similar finding see Katz-Gerro et al. 2008).

-- Figure 1 about here ---

-- Table 3a about here ---

Trends over Time

Table 3 shows the estimated size of each of the three latent cultural classes in all survey years. Figure 1 plots the development of the latent groups over the period 1964-2004. The omnivore cultural class is of particular interest in our analysis. In 1964, the omnivore class comprises 16% percent of all respondents; in 1975 2%; in 1987 10%; in 1993 7%; in 1998 19%; and in 2004 10%. With the exception of the high number of omnivores in 1964 which is discussed in detail below, we observe a gradual increase in the proportion of omnivores in the Danish population from the 1960s until the 1990s followed by a sudden decrease in 2004. Consequently, our analysis suggests that there has indeed been a long-term rise in omnivorous cultural participation in Denmark, but also that the trend seems to reverse after 2000. Our finding that the omnivore group was especially large in the 1990s and then decreased in size matches Peterson's (2005) result for the United States. Peterson found that the size of the omnivore group in the United States fell in 2002 to the level it had in 1982 after a significant increase in 1992. The results for Denmark suggest a similar trend in that the size of the omnivore group in 2004 returned to the level it had in the late 1980s. Together, the longitudinal data for Denmark and the United States might tentatively indicate that omnivorous cultural participation reached a zenith in the 1990s.

The figure of 16% percent omnivores for 1964 is very high and merits further investigation. As mentioned above, if we estimate the LCA model for 1964 with four latent classes we get two classes of omnivores: "complete" omnivores and "partial" omnivores. Table 3a shows the results from this four-class model. The "complete" omnivore class, which comprises 1% of the sample, is characterized by a very high probability of attending all six cultural activities. By contrast, the "partial" omnivore

class which comprises 20% of the population has a somewhat lower probability of attending the six activities and, in particular, a very low probability of going to classical concerts. Although both classes clearly have omnivore traits, we might argue that only the "complete" omnivore class is truly omnivorous in the sense that its members engage in *all* six cultural activities. Consequently, if we contend that only the "complete" omnivore class should be regarded as truly omnivorous in the 1964 data our analysis shows an almost monotonous increase in the size of the omnivore class over the period 1964-1998 followed by a decrease in 2004 (see Figure 1). However, the LCA analysis for 1964 suggests that the latent class structure might be qualitatively different in the 1960s compared to the later years. We will further discuss the uniqueness of the 1964 analyses in the discussion section, but this is a significant finding on the existence of omnivorous cultural consumers at the same time period that Bourdieu has established his theory of taste as having to do with homology.

-- Tables 4 and 5 about here --

Multivariate Analysis

We are further interested in analyzing the correlates of membership of the different latent classes to depict profiles of cultural consumers in each latent group. We introduce independent variables associated with social stratification and other more general demographic controls. As shown in Table 4, we fit LCR models presenting contrasts between the omnivore and the limited group and between the

moderate and the limited group.[2] We also present the contrast between the omnivore and the moderate group in Table 5.

In the LCR models in Table 4 the limited latent class is the reference group, and the table shows the effect of the independent variables on the probability of belonging to either the omnivore or moderate class relative to the limited class. Table 4 shows, first, that all the major socioeconomic variables (family income, education, and social class) differentiate between the three groups of cultural consumers and, second, that social stratification in cultural participation appears to have been declining over most of the 40-year period under study.

First, we find that family income is a significant correlate of omnivorous cultural consumption in all years. Furthermore, with the exception of 2004 the effect of family income declines over time (both in terms of significance and effect magnitude), thereby suggesting that income becomes gradually less important for omnivore cultural status. The stronger effect of family income on the probability of belonging to the omnivore group in 2004 can be explained by the decrease in the size of the omnivore group in this year compared to previous years which suggest that omnivorousness became more exclusive. Table 4 also shows that members of the moderate class tend to have higher incomes than members of the limited class.

Second, we find that both cultural omnivores and moderates have significantly more education than members of the limited class. Furthermore, there is evidence of a general decrease in the educational gradient in omnivore cultural status thereby suggesting that social stratification in cultural consumption has declined over time. Again, 2004 is an exception to this trend since the educational gradient

[2] We use the three-class model for the 1964 data because it was not possible to estimate the LCR with four classes and because we wanted to maintain comparability with the other survey years.

in omnivore status is stronger in 2004 than in preceding years. However, the lower number of omnivores in 2004 compared to in 1998 probably explains this finding. Moderates also tend to have more education than people in the limited group (with the exception of 1998 in which moderates appear to have *less* education than people in the limited group).

Third, we find that cultural omnivores tend to be in higher social class positions than people in the limited group. Respondents who are in managerial or other non-manual occupations are much more likely to belong to the omnivore class than respondents who are skilled or unskilled workers. Class stratification in the contrast between moderates and the limited group is less clear and no general pattern emerges from the analysis.

In summary, the analysis so far suggests that for a long period and until nowadays there has been substantial socioeconomic stratification in cultural consumption practices in Denmark. Throughout the 40-year period under observation, cultural omnivores consistently have higher family income, more education, and are in higher social class positions than other types of cultural consumers. This finding is in accordance with previous research, although our observational period is much longer. This notwithstanding, there is also strong evidence of a general decline in the socioeconomic gradient in omnivorous cultural participation until the late 1990s after which we observe a marginally increasing socioeconomic gradient.

Results for the other independent variables also convey some interesting patterns. Although omnivores have higher socioeconomic status than people in the limited group, the analysis shows that they work fewer hours per week in 1975 and 1987 but more hours in 1998. In the early observational period (1964-1987) married

or cohabitating respondents are less likely to have both omnivore and moderate cultural consumption practices. However, this difference disappears from the early 1990s (1993-) onwards (with the exception of omnivores in 2004). From 1975 onwards we consistently find that respondents with children are less likely to be omnivores than those in the limited group, and to some extent, also less likely to be moderates. Having children is time consuming and it is not surprising that respondents with children at home have less time for cultural activities. We find relatively clear gender differences in omnivorous cultural participation in that, in 1964, 1987, 1998, and 2004 women are more likely to be omnivores than men. Gender differences in the contrast between moderates and those in the limited group are less clear. Finally, evidence of age differences in cultural participation is mixed. We find that older respondents are less likely to be omnivores in 1964, 1975, and 1993 but more likely to be omnivores in 1998.[3]

In Table 5 we show results from LCR models in which the moderate rather than the limited group is the reference group. This type of analysis allows us to analyze socioeconomic differences between the moderate and omnivore class (the coefficients for the contrast between the moderate and limited class are not shown because this contrast is already reported in Table 4). Table 5 shows that, with the exception of 1975 and 1993, omnivores tend to have higher family income than moderates. Omnivores also have significantly more education than moderates (we have no immediate explanation of the negative effect of education in 1993). Finally, respondents in higher social class positions are also more likely to be omnivores than moderates. Together, these finding suggest that omnivorous cultural

[3] Health status is interrelated with age. Unfortunately, we are not able to control for the effect of health status on cultural participation.

consumers tend to be of higher socioeconomic status than moderate cultural consumers. However, as was also the trend in Table 4, there is evidence that the socioeconomic gradient in omnivorous cultural participation is declining over time.

Discussion

Our main findings can be summarized as follows. First, we show a long-term increase in the size of the omnivore consumer group from 1964 until 1998 followed by a decrease in 2004 back to the level of the late 1980s. Second, we show substantive social stratification in degree of omnivorousness. Third, we witness a decrease in cultural stratification over the first 34 years of the observational period (1964-1998) followed by a small increase in 2004.

The first research question we address in this paper concerns the contours of the trend in cultural consumption patterns that is characterized by a transition toward growing cultural omnivorousness. Our empirical analysis shows that the group of omnivorous cultural consumers has been on the rise at least from 1964 (our first point of data) and until the late 1990s. In 2004, we observe a decrease in the size of the omnivore group which may signal a trend towards less omnivorousness. Our finding that omnivorousness peaked in the 1990s and decreased thereafter corresponds with Peterson's finding for the United States. Whether the reversed trend for Denmark will continue cannot be determined at this point.[4] However, the general picture indicates that omnivorousness has become more prevalent in Denmark over the past decades. This means that the adoption of eclectic tastes and cultural participation habits did not occur through a dramatic

[4] A new survey of cultural participation in Denmark is planned for 2009.

change in the zeitgeist of Western societies. Rather, it was a slow and gradual process that had already begun in the decade in which Bourdieu collected data for the analyses reported in *Distinction*, which emphasized the exclusionary character of elite consumption. This brings up the question that was asked before, whether Bourdieu's claim for homology was based on data that was peculiar to respondents from Paris and its suburbs and cannot be easily applied in other contexts.

The second research question we address concerns the association of cultural participation patterns with dimensions of social stratification. Over the period under study, we witness a change in the effects of social stratification variables on the likelihood of being an omnivore. With the exception of 2004, these effects are attenuated to the degree that we may argue that omnivorousness serves less and less as an exclusionary cultural marker. Some explanations for the attenuation of the association between omnivorous or dissonant cultural profiles and social position are offered by Peterson (2005) and Lahire (2008). First, over time, rising socio-economic levels of living and educational attainment and educational and professional mobility translate into heterogeneity of cultural practices and preferences. In addition, over the course of the past 40 years there has been a decline in engagement in literary and artistic culture among the university-educated and the professional classes accompanied by growth of entertainment culture. Second, the wide diffusion of media coupled with geographic migration has made both elite and popular aesthetic forms more accessible to wider segments of the population. Diverse cultural repertoires are increasingly available for appropriation by elite tastemakers on one hand (Friedman and Ollivier 2002) and television and radio have been the bearers of a mass culture on the

other hand.[5] These trends make exclusion increasingly difficult to maintain and devalues cultural omnivorousness as a marker of exclusion.

The increasing accessibility of eclectic cultural consumption and the decreasing power of omnivorousness in serving as an exclusionary tool should also be understood in light of two structural developments in Danish society. First, the comprehensive Danish welfare state has expanded significantly from the 1960s onwards. These developments meant that income inequality decreased, social security coverage increased, and the educational system expanded. Together, these structural developments partially explain the decreasing socioeconomic gradients in cultural participation. Second, in Denmark (and in Scandinavia generally) both social and cultural policies have been used politically to promote social equality (Fridberg 2003). Consequently, cultural markets are strongly subsidized by the state in order to facilitate equality in social and cultural status. This subsidization means that cultural offers such as opera or classical concerts that are otherwise expensive for the individual become accessible to low-income groups. In this regard cultural policy has aided the proliferation of the omnivore cultural consumer in Denmark.

PT[5] TPLahire (2008) reports that percentage of homes with a television in France in 1960 was 13% and in 1989 96%. The available figures for Denmark are as follows: 1964: 59%; 1987: 85%; 1993: 97%. Television and other media serve to diminish the power legitimate culture.

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Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations for the Analysis Variables

	1964	1975	1987	1993	1998	2004
Cultural participation indicators						
Cinema	0.56 (0.50)	0.70 (0.46)	0.57 (0.49)	0.51 (0.50)	0.59 (0.49)	0.67 (0.47)
Classical concert	0.03 (0.18)	0.06 (0.24)	0.13 (0.34)	0.15 (0.36)	0.16 (0.37)	0.14 (0.34)
Opera	0.24 (0.43)	0.02 (0.13)	0.07 (0.26)	0.09 (0.28)	0.08 (0.26)	0.06 (0.24)
Play	0.16 (0.37)	0.16 (0.36)	0.32 (0.47)	0.23 (0.42)	0.24 (0.43)	0.21 (0.41)
Art museum/gallery	0.16 (0.37)	0.22 (0.42)	0.39 (0.49)	0.44 (0.50)	0.32 (0.47)	0.26 (0.44)
Reads newspaper	0.92 (0.27)	0.80 (0.40)	0.74 (0.44)	0.75 (0.43)	0.69 (0.46)	0.55 (0.50)
Years of schooling	7.08 (1.78)	9.66 (2.56)	10.70 (2.68)	11.13 (2.47)	11.81 (2.52)	12.49 (2.71)
Missing data on years of schooling	0.04 (0.19)	0.04 (0.20)	0.05 (0.23)	0.02 (0.15)	0.07 (0.25)	0.26 (0.44)
Family income (standardized)	0.00 (1.00)	0.00 (1.00)	0.00 (1.00)	0.00 (1.00)	0.00 (1.00)	0.00 (1.00)
Missing data on family income	0.08 (0.27)	0.16 (0.37)	0.19 (0.39)	0.26 (0.44)	0.25 (0.43)	0.15 (0.36)
Social class						
Manager	0.05 (0.22)	0.09 (0.28)	0.12 (0.33)	0.11 (0.32)	0.14 (0.35)	-
Routine non-manual	0.10 (0.31)	0.17 (0.32)	0.23 (0.42)	0.23 (0.42)	0.25 (0.43)	0.33 (0.47)
Self-employed	0.13 (0.33)	0.11 (0.32)	0.10 (0.30)	0.08 (0.27)	0.07 (0.25)	0.07 (0.26)
Skilled worker	0.10 (0.30)	0.07 (0.25)	0.07 (0.25)	0.06 (0.23)	0.09 (0.28)	0.13 (0.34)
Unskilled worker	0.16 (0.37)	0.14 (0.35)	0.13 (0.34)	0.12 (0.32)	0.12 (0.33)	0.08 (0.28)
Other/missing	0.46 (0.50)	0.42 (0.49)	0.35 (0.48)	0.40 (0.49)	0.33 (0.47)	0.39 (0.49)
Hours of work per week	47.06 (11.20)	40.27 (11.92)	38.59 (10.40)	39.01 (10.26)	38.67 (9.92)	-
Missing data on hours of work	0.48 (0.50)	0.44 (0.50)	0.39 (0.49)	0.41 (0.49)	0.32 (0.47)	-
Marital status (= married/cohabitating)	0.68 (0.46)	0.65 (0.48)	0.55 (0.50)	0.69 (0.46)	0.76 (0.43)	0.71 (0.46)
Children living at home (= yes)	0.26 (0.44)	0.39 (0.49)	0.41 (0.49)	0.43 (0.50)	0.57 (0.50)	0.58 (0.49)
Sex (= female)	0.53 (0.50)	0.50 (0.50)	0.50 (0.50)	0.48 (0.50)	0.50 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)
Age/10	4.44 (1.76)	4.46 (1.83)	4.16 (1.59)	4.32 (1.74)	4.30 (1.50)	4.53 (1.38)
Total *N*	4,397	3,723	3,606	1,843	1,566	1,830

Table 2. Model Fit for Different Latent Class Models

	1964	1975	1987	1993	1998	2004
2 latent classes						
-2LL	42,812	34,014	33,560	21,942	18,715	20,754
BIC	42,913	34,112	32,664	22,040	22,731	25,448
AIC	42,836	34,038	32,586	21,968	21,847	24,414
3 latent classes						
-2LL	42,532	33,811	32,335	21,809	18,613	20,636
BIC	42,692	33,951	32,495	21,960	23,304	26,118
AIC	42,570	33,845	32,375	21,849	21,745	24,296
4 latent classes						
-2LL	42,483	33,780	32,272	21,741	18,581	20,585
BIC	42,693	33,970	32,480	21,944	23,622	26,323
AIC	42,533	33,826	32,324	21,795	21,713	24,245
5 latent classes						
-2LL	42,457	33,757	33,137	21,733	18,556	20,568
BIC	42,717	33,996	33,377	21,959	23,934	26,530
AIC	42,519	33,815	33,197	21,793	21,688	24,228

Table 3. Conditional Response Probabilities for Three-Class LCA Models

Year	1964			1975		
	Omnivore	Moderate	Limited	Omnivore	Moderate	Limited
Cinema	0.75	1.00	0.38	0.79	0.92	0.64
Classical concert	0.19	0.02	0.00	0.37	0.23	0.01
Opera	0.77	0.10	0.15	0.82	0.00	0.00
Play	0.52	0.29	0.04	1.00	0.45	0.06
Art museum/gallery	0.59	0.15	0.06	0.62	0.71	0.09
Reads newspaper	0.97	0.83	0.94	0.85	0.89	0.78
Estimated class size	16	19	65	2	20	78

Year	1987			1993		
	Omnivore	Moderate	Limited	Omnivore	Moderate	Limited
Cinema	0.81	0.74	0.38	0.81	0.76	0.34
Classical concert	0.76	0.13	0.01	0.77	0.24	0.03
Opera	0.56	0.05	0.00	0.81	0.06	0.02
Play	0.86	0.46	0.08	0.74	0.46	0.05
Art museum/gallery	0.94	0.59	0.08	0.96	0.80	0.17
Reads newspaper	0.94	0.85	0.79	0.86	0.84	0.69
Estimated class size	10	42	48	7	34	59

Year	1998			2004		
	Omnivore	Moderate	Limited	Omnivore	Moderate	Limited
Cinema	0.81	0.76	0.46	0.83	0.92	0.55
Classical concert	0.66	0.00	0.06	0.69	0.15	0.05
Opera	0.34	0.04	0.00	0.60	0.01	0.00
Play	0.55	0.68	0.00	0.71	0.44	0.04
Art museum/gallery	0.80	0.42	0.13	0.81	0.49	0.10
Reads newspaper	0.82	0.72	0.64	0.76	0.63	0.50
Estimated class size	19	20	61	10	25	65

Table 3a. Four-Class LCA Model for the 1964 data

Year	1964			
	"Complete" Omnivore	"Partial" Omnivore	Moderate	Limited
Cinema	0.89	0.74	1.00	0.38
Classical concert	1.00	0.08	0.01	0.00
Opera	0.98	0.66	0.03	0.14
Play	0.62	0.46	0.29	0.03
Art museum/gallery	0.93	0.48	0.26	0.06
Reads newspaper	1.00	0.95	0.82	0.94
Estimated class size	1	20	17	62

Figure 1. Estimated Sizes of Latent Cultural Consumption Classes, 1964-2004

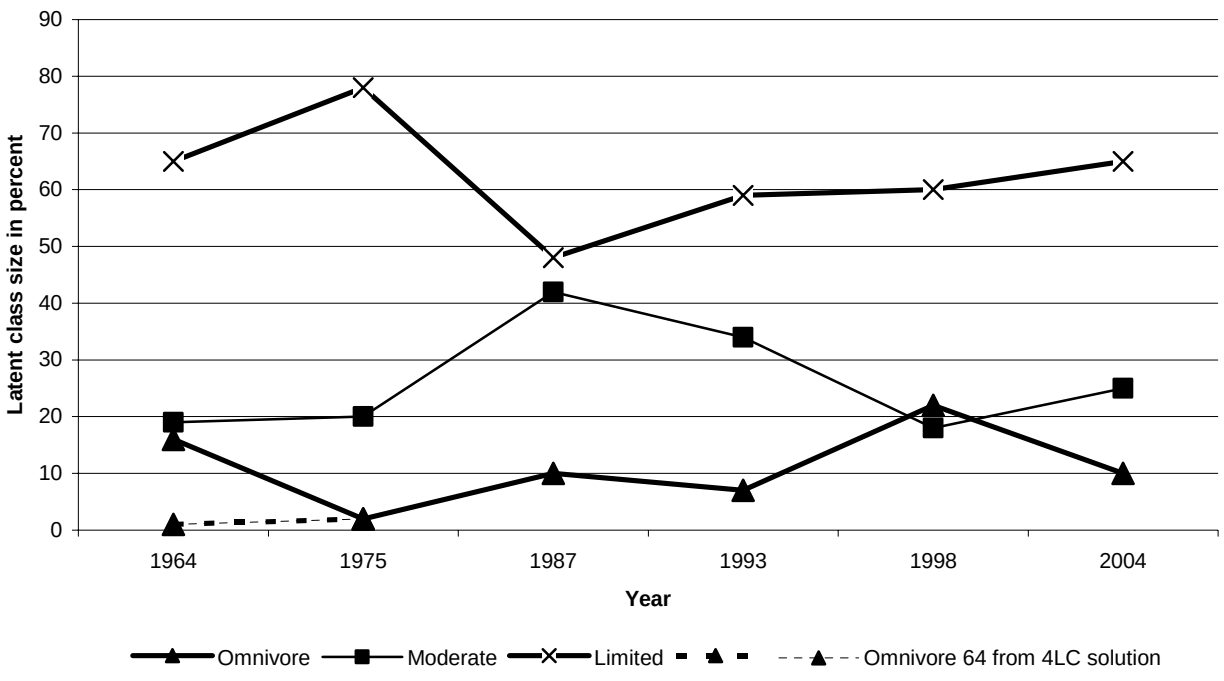

Table 4. Results from Multinominal Latent Class Regressions. Log-Odds Estimates with Standard Errors in Parenthesis. Reference Class is “Limited”.

Year	1964		1975		1987	
	Omnivore	Moderate	Omnivore	Moderate	Omnivore	Moderate
Family income	1.086	.678	.651	.602	.376	.150
	(.147)***	(.156)***	(.121)***	(.150)***	(.105)***	(.094)
Years of schooling	.832	.148	.551	.119	.457	.113
	(.059)***	(.059)*	(.047)***	(.065)†	(.034)***	(.038)**
Social class						
Manager	3.777	1.343	1.462	.359	1.691	.764**
	(.695)***	(.718)†	(.482)**	(.542)	(.396)***	(.285)
Routine non-m.	2.077	.357	.910	.183	1.322	.626
	(.412)***	(.280)	(.395)*	(.392)	(.384)***	(.253)*
Self-employed	1.367	-.883	.945	-.498	1.584	.249
	(.420)**	(.300)**	(.412)*	(.488)	(.418)***	(.311)
Skilled worker	1.281	.217	-.009	.411	-.312	.603
	(.450)**	(.261)	(.683)	(.841)	(.603)	(.298)*
Unskilled w.[a]	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hours work	.003	.027	-.031	-.005	-.022	-.011
	(.012)	(.010)**	(.011)**	(.013)	(.009)*	(.008)
Marital status	-1.950	-.933	-1.139	-.624	-.703	-.575
	(.265)***	(.252)***	(.236)***	(.329)†	(.172)***	(.183)**
Children	-.265	-.121	-.745	.217	-.870	- 585
	(.195)	(.202)	(.233)**	(.321)	(.174)***	(.165)***
Sex (= female)	.447	.520	.227	.053	.424	-.202
	(.192)*	(.183)**	(.202)	(.256)	(.157)**	(.149)
Age/10	-.121	-1.432	-.637	-1.553	.071	-.916
	(.058)*	(.154)***	(.081)***	(.177)***	(.070)	(.115)***
Constant	-7.004	3.313	-1.697	5.975	-5.716	2.861
	(.932)***	(.777)***	(.802)*	(1.036)***	(.780)***	(.615)***

Year	1993		1998		2004	
	Omnivore	Moderate	Omnivore	Moderate	Omnivore	Moderate
Family income	.242	.385	.316	-.006	.844	.194
	(.145)†	(.130)**	(.192)†	(.230)	(.174)***	(.172)
Years of schooling	.202	.445	.308	-.265	.505	.324
	(.055)***	(.043)***	(.059)***	(.087)**	(.069)***	(.059)***
Social class						
Manager	1.135	1.964	.614	-1.940	-	-
	(.525)*	(.442)***	(.640)	(.749)**		
Routine non-m.	.752	1.252	.874	-.237	1.945	.861
	(441)†	(.399)**	(.597)	(.512)	(.830)*	(.427)*
Self-employed	.241	1.178	-.765	-1.124	1.251	-.263
	(.563)	(.489)*	(.755)	(.680) †	(.845)	(.513)
Skilled worker	-.118	-1.091	-.919	-.188	.453	-.139
	(.466)	(.698)	(.734)	(.588)	(.869)	(.372)
Unskilled w.[a]	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hours work	.018	-.002	.045	.047	-	-
	(.014)	(.014)	(.017)**	(.016)**		
Marital status	-.140	-.862	-.031	.790	-.832	-.381
	(.395)	(.236)***	(.410)	(.366)*	(.276)***	(.291)
Children	-.559	-.935	-1.313	-.056	-1.385	.390
	(.261)*	(.201)***	(.331)***	(.360)	(.313)***	(.302)
Sex (= female)	-.172	.740	0.465	-.405	.959	.022
	(.242)	(.179)***	(.269)†	(.265)	(.244)***	(.249)
Age/10	-1.589	-.255	1.307	1.434	-.107	-1.076
	(.236)***	(.080)**	(.257)***	(.259)***	(.169)	(.297)***
Constant	2.480	-4.416	-10.959	-5.069	-6.782	1.119
	(.945)**	(1.103)***	(1.393)***	(1.522)**	(1.460)***	(1.211)

Notes: *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05, † p < .10, [a] reference group. Models also control for missing data on years of schooling, family income, social class, and hours of work.

Table 5. Results from Multinominal Latent Class Regression. Log-Odds Estimates with Standard Errors in Parenthesis. Reference Class is "Moderate".

	1964	1975	1987	1993	1998	2004
	Omnivore	Omnivore	Omnivore	Omnivore	Omnivore	Omnivore
Family income	.408 **	.049	.226	-.142	.322	.650
	(.132)	(.113)	(.125)†	(.187)	(.151)*	(.153)***
Years of schooling	.684	.432	.344	-.243	.573	.182
	(.056)***	(.050)***	(.043)***	(.052)***	(.080)***	(.059)***
Social class						
Manager	2.434	1.104	.926	-.829	2.553	-
	(.524)***	(.408)**	(.441)*	(.617)	(.820)**	
Routine non-m.	1.720	.727	.696	-.501	1.111	1.085
	(.429)***	(.370)*	(.437)	(.588)	(.474)*	(.865)
Self-employed	2.250	1.444	1.336	-.937	.359	1.514
	(.471)***	(.446)**	(.491)**	(.674)	(.591)	(.920)†
Skilled worker	1.064	-.419	-.915	.973	-.731	.592
	(.467)*	(.590)	(.613)	(.788)	(.674)	(.912)
Unskilled w.[a]	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hours work	-.024	-.027	-.011	.020	-.002	-
	(.013)†	(.012)*	(.011)	(.016)	(.014)	
Marital status	-1.018	-.515	-.128	.723	-.821	-.452
	(.269)***	(.246)*	(.205)	(.440)	(.289)**	(.338)
Children	-.145	-.963	-.285	.376	-1.257	-1.774
	(.227)	(.247)***	(.202)	(.261)	(.273)***	(.910)***
Sex (= female)	-. 073	.174	.622	-.912	.870	.937
	(.216)	(.188)	(.177)***	(.254)***	(.232)***	(.241)***
Age/10	1.311	.917	.987	-1.334	-.128	.968
	(.160)***	(.168)***	(.114)***	(.225)***	(.135)	(.248)***
Constant	-10.317	-7.672	-8.577	6.896	6.887	-7.902
	(.953)***	(.818)***	(.855)***	(1.278)***	(.942)***	(1.488)***

Notes: *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05, † p < .10, [a] reference group. Models also control for missing data on years of schooling, family income, social class, and hours of work. Results from contrast between Medivore and Inactive not shown because these results are reported in Table 4 above.