

Social status and cultural consumption in the United States

Arthur S. Alderson^{*}, Azamat Junisbai, Isaac Heacock

Department of Sociology, Indiana University, Ballantine Hall 744, Bloomington, IN 47405, USA

Available online 23 May 2007

Abstract

We analyze the patterns of response to a range of items fielded in the Culture Module of the 2002 *General Social Survey*. Our aim is to determine how social status – as distinct from social class, education, or income – is associated with styles of cultural consumption and to assess the magnitude of such associations relative to other factors. To this end, we are guided by three broad views of the relationship between social stratification and culture: the homology argument, the individualization argument, and the omnivore–univore thesis. Latent class analysis reveals that contemporary cultural consumers cluster into a small number of recognizable patterns. The patterns that emerge are more consistent with the omnivore–univore thesis than they are with the alternatives. Multinomial logistic regression establishes that these styles of consumption have strong roots in the stratification system, but in social status rather than in social class. Social status is found to be central to the distinction between those who are active cultural consumers (i.e., “omnivores” or “paucivores”) and those who are comparatively inactive, and to be especially relevant to the definition of omnivore and “inactive” styles.

© 2007 Elsevier B.V. All rights reserved.

For much of the last century, participants in the theoretical debate over the nature of the stratification system of the United States tended to approach social status and social class as mutually exclusive alternatives, suggesting that the U.S. stratification system should either be thought of as a graduated status continuum or a structurally or relationally defined class system, with the weight of scholarly opinion shifting roughly in tandem with, among other trends, the fortunes of Marxism. While the theoretical debate continues, most U.S. sociologists appear at present to have resolved it *in practice* by settling on a fairly loose view of stratification that either elides the status/class distinction (under the banner, for instance, of “socioeconomic status”) or, in a Bourdieuan vein, treats status as the symbolic dimension of the class system, inscribed in

^{*} Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: aralders@indiana.edu (A.S. Alderson), ajunisba@indiana.edu (A. Junisbai), iheacock@indiana.edu (I. Heacock).

lifestyles, taste cultures, and bodies. As Chan and Goldthorpe (2006a) note, in making this move, contemporary U.S. sociologists follow the lead of figures such as Lipset and Bendix (1959) and Shills (1975), who recast class in terms of status, and Duncan (1961), whose effort to impute prestige scores for occupations provided the basis for multiple generations of quantitative research on “socioeconomic status.”

Developments in the sociology of culture bring the limitations of such practical *rapprochement* into bold relief. Beginning in the late 1980s, scholars such as DiMaggio (1987), Peterson (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996), Lamont (1992), and Bryson (1996) began to document the remarkable omnivorousness of high-status Americans. In contrast to an older view of high-status individuals as exclusive “snobs” who reject middle- and low-brow cultural practices and products (e.g., Lynes, 1954; Sontag, 1966; Bourdieu, 1984; Murphy, 1988), this work demonstrates that contemporary high-status Americans not only consume more “high” culture than others, but more “middle” and “low” culture as well. Paradoxically, while this work has informed a number of quantitative studies in the last decade, and while “status” is regularly invoked as a key factor distinguishing omnivores from others, scholars working on this question have never actually employed measures of status *per se*. Instead, occupation, education, income, SES, or, even, class are used as proxies for social status.

Our argument is that the application of a proper measure of status might allow considerably more leverage on the omnivore–univore problem and on other questions in the domain of lifestyle and cultural consumption.¹ Reasserting the classic Weberian (1978) distinction between status and class, we have elsewhere created a status scale for the U.S. (Alderson et al., 2005). We start from the assumption, widely shared in the stratification literature, that occupation is central to the status order of contemporary societies. We depart from much of this literature in that we make no assumptions about the relative status of occupations, nor do we rely on variants of subjective prestige scales to deduce a “status order,” as in the Duncan (1961) SEI or Ganzeboom and Treiman (1996) SIOPS/ISEI traditions. Instead, we allow a status order to emerge from patterns of differential association in tables of occupations in which rows and columns are partner to a married or cohabiting couple. Our approach thus follows that of Laumann (e.g., Laumann and Guttman, 1966), who built on the earlier “associational approach” of Warner (e.g., Warner et al., 1949), and rests on the assumption that intimate association is an indicator of social equality and, thus, that *differential association* is an elementary and necessary feature of a status hierarchy.² Our results suggest one can readily identify a status order in the contemporary U.S., one that is remarkably similar when calculated separately for sub-populations (e.g., for black married couples, straight cohabitators, and gay cohabitators). Moreover, we find that there is a notable lack of fit between the status scale we identify and social class, indicating that a distinction between status and class can usefully be drawn in the contemporary U.S.³

¹ We share Chan and Goldthorpe’s (2006a:4–5) view that much talk of “class” these days is *really* about status. This is especially obvious in the domains of lifestyle and cultural consumption. See, for instance, Brooks (2000) pop-sociological *Bobos in Paradise*, which posits the existence of a “new upper class” of “bourgeois bohemians” that, by Brooks’s description, is neither bourgeois nor a class in any recognizable sociological sense, but a status group. Our point, however, is not to discount the effects of class in these or any other domains, but rather to distinguish analytically between status and class in a Weberian sense (cf., DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985).

² This idea, of course, also informs classic U.S. thinking on assimilation and pluralism and more contemporary work on social and cultural exclusion and “boundary work” (e.g., Lamont, 2000).

³ For instance, using the five-class version of the Goldthorpe class scheme and the GSS data discussed below, we find that 52% of the variance in our measure of status is between-class, and 48% within.

In this paper, we present the results of the first test of our argument. We analyze the patterns of response to a range of items fielded in the Culture Module of the 2002 *General Social Survey* (hereafter GSS). Our aim is to determine how social status – as distinct from social class, education, or income – is associated with styles of cultural consumption in the U.S. and to assess the magnitude of its association relative to other factors. In what follows, we discuss the general theoretical problem that guides our research. We then discuss data and methods and present the results of a latent class analysis of GSS response patterns. Finally, we model these classes or styles of cultural consumption with our status scale and a range of variables relating to social stratification in concert with a set of demographic controls.

How should students of inequality approach the study of lifestyles and cultural consumption? Bourdieu (1984:1) suggests that we can better understand cultural practices – and their role in stratification – by bringing “‘culture’ ... back into ‘culture’ in an anthropological sense,” where the “taste” for music or theatre – but also for sports utility vehicles or sub-compact cars, “McMansions” or lofts, or, even, Republicans or Democrats – is treated as of a type with the “taste for the flavours of food.” In other words, we miss something crucial when we treat such preferences as a wholly different phenomenon than the predisposition toward the foods of one’s childhood. Rather than “gifts of nature,” they are the “product of upbringing and education” (Bourdieu, 1984:1). The idea being that “behind” taste – which since Kant ([1790] 1986) we have been inclined to think of as pre-eminently subjective – lie observable relations between individuals and groups, action within and between driven in important ways by – among other factors – concerns for group affiliation, emulation, and, even invidious distinction.

In addition to underlying Bourdieu’s “vulgar sociology of taste,” this idea has informed the work of U.S. scholars, since Veblen ([1899] 1973), who have investigated the social bases of lifestyle and cultural consumption, and serves as our point of departure. While we investigate “revealed preferences” (i.e., cultural consumption) below, the root hypothesis informing our work is that matters of taste and aesthetic judgement in the contemporary U.S. are strongly conditioned by social status – as distinct from social class – and thus that social status serves as the stratificatory linchpin of contemporary “post-materialist” and “post-modern” styles of life.

In pursuing this hypothesis, we are guided by three broad views of the relationship between stratification and culture: the homology argument, the individualization argument, and the omnivore–univore thesis.⁴ The *homology argument* loosely encapsulates the findings both of historical sociologists (e.g., Baltzell, 1958; Beisel, 1990) and of more contemporary sociological analyses (e.g., Gans, 1999; Bourdieu, 1984). It suggests, very simply, that social stratification and cultural consumption map on to one another in a one-to-one fashion. People in higher social strata tend to consume “high” or “elite” culture and people in lower strata tend to consume “popular” or “mass” culture. Moreover, people in higher strata are suggested to actively reject mass culture as crude or disreputable. The *individualization argument* offers a radical alternative to the homology argument. Associated in its strongest versions with the work of scholars such as Featherstone (1987, 1991), Lash (1988) and Bauman (1988, 2000), it suggests that – while at one point more solidly grounded in “modern” social bases – lifestyles and cultural consumption have of late lost their moorings to the stratification system and to other social institutions. The image

⁴ As these are reviewed in detail elsewhere in this volume, we keep the discussion of these accounts to a minimum in the interests of space.

that emerges in this account is that of a contemporary subject who, presented with a highly commercialized, consumer society, a broad and deep aestheticization of everyday life, and increasingly fluid and flexible possibilities for the development and expression of identity, constructs her lifestyle by drawing, cafeteria-style, from a multitude of offerings, free to combine items in creative and heretofore contradictory ways. Finally, the *omnivore–univore thesis* also suggests that recent social developments have dated the homology argument, not because lifestyles and cultural consumption have lost their grounding in stratification, but because the nature of that relationship has changed. As touched on above, the omnivore–univore argument is associated most closely with the work of Peterson (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996) and suggests that, rather than mapping on to stratification in a one-to-one, high-low, elite-mass fashion, higher strata Americans now differ from those in lower strata in the *intensity* of their cultural consumption and in the *breadth* of its range. As regards social stratification, the central division is no longer that between elite and mass, but between cultural omnivore and cultural univore.

1. Data and methods

Data come from the 2002 *General Social Survey* (Davis et al., 2003). In 2002 face-to-face interviews were conducted with a national, full-probability sample of 2765 English-speaking persons, living in non-institutionalized arrangements, resident in the continental U.S., and 18 years of age and older. The response rate was 70%. We restrict our analysis persons aged 20–64. The Culture Module fielded in 2002 was administered with a split-sample design which reduces the number of observations on many items to a maximum of 1372. Owing to this feature of the GSS design, the age restriction, and to missing data on a number of explanatory variables, the regression results presented below are based on the analysis of 953 cases.

The GSS queries respondents on an array of their activities in the past year, ranging from whether they had recorded a television show for later viewing to whether they had gone camping, hiking or canoeing. As we are interested, as a starting point, in understanding the role of status and other features of the stratification system in the consumption of the sort of “cultural” products commonly referenced in the accounts reviewed above, we leave the analysis of such items for future research. The items we analyze ask whether, in the last year, the respondent had (1) gone “to a classical music or opera performance,” (2) gone “to a live ballet or dance performance,” (3) gone “to a live performance of a non-musical stage play,” (4) visited “an art museum or gallery,” (5) gone “to a live performance of popular music like rock, country, or rap,” (6) read “novels, short stories, poems, or plays,” and (7) gone “out to see a movie in a theatre.” A number of these items were qualified to explicitly exclude performances or activities taking place in the context of schools, or occurring as the result of school requirements.

The GSS also includes information on a range of respondent characteristics. In the regression models below, we estimate the effect of respondent’s educational level, measured as *BA Degree* and *Graduate Degree* (with *Less Than BA Degree* as the reference category) from the GSS variable *degree*. We form a five-class version of the Goldthorpe class scheme (*IIIa + b – routine non-manual*, *IVa + b + c – Petty Bourgeoisie/farmer*, *V + VI – skilled workers and foremen*, and *VIIa + b – non-skilled workers*, with *I + II – service class* as the reference category) from GSS variables *occ80*, *wrkstat*, and *wrkslf* using a procedure suggested by Michael Hout. *Family Income Per Capita* is expressed in thousands of dollars and is created from the GSS variables *income* and *hompop*. *GSS income* is categorical. For the eleven bounded categories, before standardizing by the number of persons in the respondent’s household, we pursue a fairly

standard practice with the GSS *income* item and set the respondent's income to the middle of the defined range (e.g., a respondent in category "\$1,000 – & \$2,999" is recoded as \$2000) and set the open-ended top category to 150% of the lower bound. *Female* is a recode of the GSS variable *sex*. *Married* is a recode of the GSS variable *marital*, coded 1 for currently married, 0 otherwise. *Child (0–5)*, *Child (6–12)*, and *Child (13–17)* code for the presence of dependent children in the household and are constructed from GSS variables *babies*, *preteen*, and *teen*. *Midwest*, *West*, and *Northeast* (with *South* as the omitted category) are constructed from the GSS variable *region*. *Population (log 10)* is the logarithm (base 10) of the population of the city, town, or other division in which the respondent was interviewed. It is constructed from the GSS variable *size*. *Foreign Born* codes for whether the respondent was born outside of the U.S. and is a recode of GSS *born*. *Age* is the respondent's age in years. Finally, *Black* and *Other (nonwhite) Race* (with *White* as the reference category) are constructed from the GSS variable *racecen1*.

Introduced above, *Social Status* is derived from the multidimensional scaling of the row-dissimilarities of a symmetrized 94×94 table of "minor occupation groups" defined by the 2000 U.S. Standard Occupational Classification in which the rows (men) and columns (women) are partners to 2,297,139 marriages. The data used to create the status scale are from the 5% Public Use Microdata Sample of the 2000 U.S. Census and the results appear in [Appendix A](#) to this paper. We restrict our analysis to persons aged 20–64, exclude those employed in military occupations (less than 0.1% of the PUMS sample aged 20–64), and introduce a category for those who were not in the labor force at the time of the Census. As detailed elsewhere ([Alderson et al., 2005](#)), this procedure produces very similar results when the row dissimilarities of married men, married women, black married couples, straight cohabitators, and gay cohabitators are analyzed separately. In broadest outlines, the results are substantively identical to what [Chan and Goldthorpe \(2004\)](#) find for the U.K. based on a similar analysis of friendship data. Occupations on the status dimension are ordered on *non-manual/manual* and *works with symbols/works with people/works with things* gradients. At the top, professionals as a group rank higher than people in the managerial category and, at the bottom, one finds unskilled manual laborers and agricultural workers. Status scores for occupations defined in the 2000 Standard Occupational Classification were assigned to GSS respondents using the GSS variable *occ80* (i.e., the 1980 Census Occupational Classification) and a cross-walk developed by the Census Bureau ([Scopp, 2003](#)).

To identify styles of cultural consumption among the GSS respondents, we subject their response patterns on the seven items above to latent class cluster analysis (hereafter LCA) (e.g., [Magidson and Vermunt, 2001](#)). Very simply, starting from the assumption that the binary responses to the seven manifest variables will exhibit some degree of association (e.g., among those GSS respondents who report that they have attended a classical music performance in the past year, 58% also report attending a dance performance, while, among those reporting that they did not attend a classical performance, just 16% report attending a dance performance), the goal of LCA is to determine the number of latent classes T – in our case, styles or types of cultural consumption – that are necessary to account for the association that exists among the manifest variables. Typically, one begins by fitting an independence model, in effect placing all observations in the same latent class (i.e., $T = 1$). Assuming that this does not fit the data (i.e., that an association exists between the manifest variables), one would proceed to fit $T = 2, \dots, n$ models until such association is accounted for by the model. Based on that solution, one typically then assigns respondents to the latent class for which they have the highest posterior membership probability (e.g., if $T = 2$ and the membership probabilities are, given the respondent's response pattern, 0.8 and 0.2, one would assign the respondent to the first class).

Table 1

Percentage of respondents who have engaged in various forms of cultural consumption in the last 12 months

Activity	%
Attended classical or opera performance	15.4
Attended ballet or dance performance	23.0
Went to live drama	28.4
Visited art museum or gallery	42.8
Went to live pop music performance	48.0
Read novels, poems, or plays	73.0
Went to movie in theatre	79.3

These latent classes serve as the dependent variable for a multinomial logistic regression analysis; that is, rather than modeling the response to the seven manifest variables, we model the types of consumers that are identified by the LCA. Our latent class analysis was performed using the program *LatentGOLD 3.0* (Statistical Innovations Inc., 2003) and our regression analysis was done using *Stata/SE 8.2* (StataCorp., 2003).

2. Results

Table 1 lists the percentage of GSS respondents who report that they have engaged in the seven activities listed in the past year. We rank the items in terms of their popularity, from least to most popular. As one can note, there is a steep gradient, with just 15% reporting attending a performance of classical music or opera in the last year and 79% reporting that they had attended a screening of a film. The items that we have selected from the GSS thus speak to more than “high brow” activities, rather they range from the widely popular (e.g., attending the cinema and reading fiction), to the middling (e.g., pop music concerts and visits to museums), to the unpopular (e.g., classical music, opera, and dance).⁵

To identify the styles of cultural consumption exhibited by the respondents, we subject their response patterns to latent class cluster analysis. Theoretically, we might expect to see at least one of three results: First, the homology argument suggests that LCA will identify “high” and “low” or “elite” and “mass,” clusters defined, respectively, by their consumption of the least and most popular activities. Second, the individualization argument would lead us to expect that LCA will not yield a manageable solution, as the breakup of any earlier pattern of coherence in consumption should generate a multitude of consumption types or styles. Third, LCA might identify omnivores and univores, a cluster that participates in all activities, and at high intensity, and clusters that have particularistic tastes and participate at low intensity.

The results are presented in Table 2. A number of findings are important to note. First, a two-class model does not fit the data, which rules out the possibility that the response patterns could be partitioned according to the simplest high/low, homological division. Second, the three-class solution reduces the L^2 by 86%, but by the usual 5% criterion, would not appear to fit the data satisfactorily. The four-class model does fit the data – which rules out the possibility that LCA will not yield a parsimonious solution owing to individualization – but it reduces the L^2 by just

⁵ Of course, we do not know exactly what sorts of films GSS respondents are viewing or what sorts of fiction they are reading. This limitation of the data is taken up below.

Table 2
Latent class models fitted to GSS cultural consumption items

Models	BIC _{LL}	L^2	d.f.	p -value	% Reduction in L^2
1. Class	8857.673	1042.166	120	0.000	0.0
2. Class	8095.804	224.331	112	0.000	78.5
3. Class	8073.779	146.341	104	0.004	86.0
4. Class	8098.212	114.807	96	0.093	89.0

Table 3
Relative size of latent classes and conditional probabilities of consuming each item in last 12 months

	Omnivore	Paucivore	Inactive
Class size	0.312	0.361	0.327
Attended classical or opera performance	0.449	0.033	0.006
Attended ballet or dance performance	0.618	0.085	0.021
Went to live drama	0.665	0.182	0.033
Visited art museum or gallery	0.824	0.387	0.095
Went to live pop music performance	0.695	0.645	0.092
Read novels, poems, or plays	0.893	0.787	0.512
Went to movie in theatre	0.916	0.922	0.533

3% over the three-class solution. However, in situations in which the data are sparse, p -values associated with the chi-square statistic L^2 must be approached with caution.⁶ The log-likelihood BIC statistic, BIC_{LL}, is an alternative. As one can note, by the BIC_{LL}, the three-class model is preferred.

Aiming to settle on a solution that is both defensible and parsimonious, we pursued two strategies. First, we investigated exactly how the four-class model differed from the three-class. Over the three-class solution, the four-class essentially splits the class that we will label “omnivores” below in two; that is, it splits a class defined by the breadth and intensity of its cultural consumption into more and less “voracious” segments. Second, in the multinomial regression context, we assessed whether the omnivore class that the four-class solution splits could be combined. We performed a Wald test for combining outcome categories in which the null hypothesis is that the tested categories can be collapsed. The result is that we cannot reject the null in the case of the split made in the four class solution ($\chi^2 = 29.816$ (21 d.f.), $p = 0.096$); the slopes do not significantly differ across these outcomes (while all other comparisons are significant at >0.000). In concert with the evidence provided by the BIC_{LL}, we model the three-class solution below.⁷

Table 3 presents the profiles of these classes and the labels that we employ to characterize them. The three-class solution divides the GSS sample into three groups of roughly equal size. Again, as in Table 1, items are presented in order of overall popularity, from least to most popular. The rationale for our labeling is revealed in examination of each class’s conditional probabilities

⁶ When data are sparse, L^2 does not follow a chi-square distribution (see Hagenaars and McCutcheon, 2002). There are 2^7 or 128 possible response patterns: 89 are observed and, of these, 66 are observed more than once.

⁷ The conclusions drawn below regarding the role of social status relative to other features of the stratification system in defining styles of cultural consumption are not affected by this decision.

of consuming the seven items. First, in terms of a possible high/low split in the response patterns, one can note that there is no evidence for the existence of a “cultural elite,” a group that would have a high probability of consuming unpopular items and a low probability of consuming popular items. Instead, the overall picture that emerges is that of three classes whose probability of consuming items generally rises with their overall popularity. Where these classes differ is in the breadth and intensity of their consumption. In the first column of Table 3, we find a group of *Omnivores*. They are distinct from others in that they have comparatively high probabilities of having “done it all” in the past year, from the unpopular (classical music) to the popular (cinema attendance). At 31% of the GSS sample, omnivores constitute a larger group than is typically observed in studies that explore styles of consumption within, rather than across, specific domains.⁸ The second column of Table 3 displays the conditional probabilities for a group that we label *Paucivores*; literally, middling cultural consumers who have neither radically eclectic nor particularistic tastes, but instead engage in “intermediate” levels of cultural consumption across a range of activities.⁹ Note, however, that this class exhibits a clear bias toward the most popular activities. While, for instance, roughly 15% and 23% of the GSS sample have attended a classical/opera or ballet/dance performance, respectively, the probabilities of doing so for this class are just 0.03 and 0.09, while, at the other extreme, members of this class are more likely than average to have read fiction or attended the cinema. We label the third class *Inactives*. They are distinct in that they have comparatively low probabilities of engaging in any of the activities under consideration, including fiction and film, which, on average, are consumed by roughly three-quarters of the GSS sample. For instance, at one extreme, the probability of Omnivores attending a classical music or opera performance is roughly 75 times greater than that of the Inactives, while, at the other, the probability of Paucivores reading fiction is 1.5 times that of the Inactives. It is important to stress, however, that, while the Inactives have very low probabilities of doing everything from classical and opera to pop music, they nonetheless have greater than even odds of reading fiction or attending cinema. Our labeling therefore should not be interpreted as implying that this is group is *literally* inactive.

Further insight into the nature of our LCA can be gained by examining the partial conditional probabilities formed from the row percentages, which we display in Fig. 1 in the form of a tri-plot

⁸ In characterizing this group as “omnivores,” we are quite conscious of the limitations of the GSS data. There are two related issues here. First, as noted above, while we know that this segment has a high probability of attending the cinema, we do not know exactly what sorts of cinema are being consumed (e.g., art house fare vs. the latest Hollywood blockbuster). In a similar vein, while we know *what* in general terms has been consumed, we do not know *how* it was consumed (e.g., the Hollywood blockbuster approached with a detached appreciation of the craft or genre vs. the blockbuster approached with the immediacy of the fan). Second, in looking *across* domains, we obviously cannot speak to the presence of omnivore consumers *within* domains, and necessarily overlook the interesting question of whether within-domain omnivores aggregate into across-domain omnivores. Chan and Goldthorpe (2006c), for instance, find that, while 39% of their U.K. samples are found to be omnivores within the domains of music, theatre, or visual arts, just 5% are omnivores in all three. We thus use the term omnivore in the minimal sense suggested by Peterson and Kern (1996:904, *emphasis in original*): an “*openness to appreciating everything*” that is antithetical to “snobbishness.” This segment is omnivorous in the sense that they are not only more likely than others to have attended a classical music or opera performance, but also more likely to have attended a rock, country, or rap performance. More generally, they are omnivorous in the sense that they are not only highly active in the least popular domains, but also the most popular. Given the nature of the GSS data, our labeling here should not be interpreted as implying within-domain omnivorousness, which is a question that we take up again below.

⁹ We borrow the term “paucivore” from Chan and Goldthorpe (2006b), who credit Paolo Crivelli with its origins.

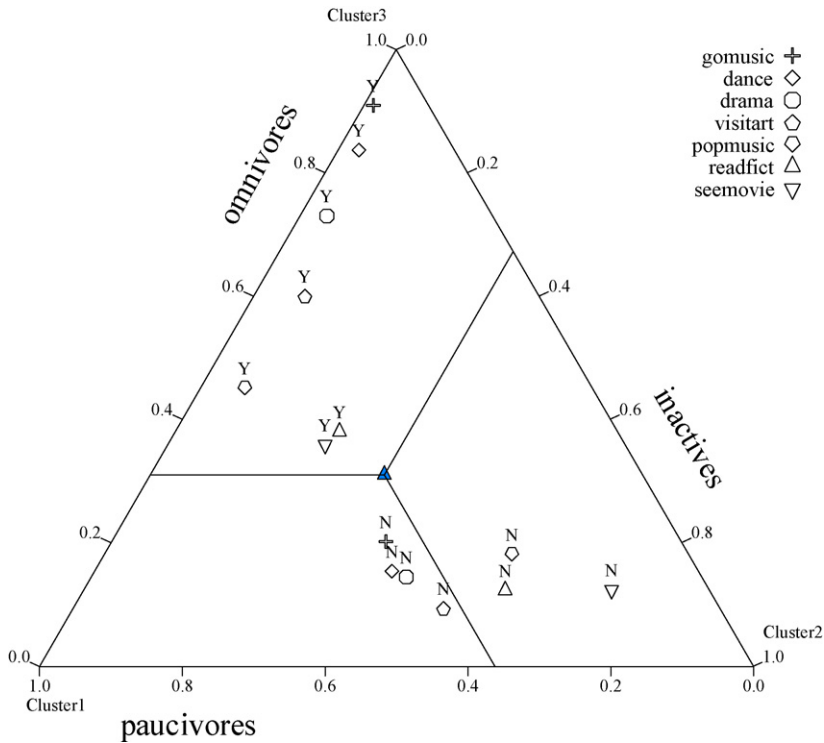


Fig. 1. Barycentric coordinate display of LCA of GSS items.

or barycentric coordinate display. The centroid, which is indicated by a filled triangle, represents the mean observation and the lines that emanate from it intersect at the corresponding class probabilities: 0.31 for the Omnivore class, 0.36 for the Paucivore, and 0.33 for the Inactive. The clustering of all of the “Ys” – all of the affirmative or “yes” responses to the items – in the upper third of the plot, nearest the Omnivore vertex, suggests that this class is appropriately labeled. These are cultural consumers who have “done it all” in the past year, including, and most distinctively, that which is least popular: 91% of those who attended a classical/opera performance (“gomusic,” indicated with a cross) and 84% of those who attended a ballet/dance performance (“dance,” indicated with a diamond) fall into this class. The Inactives are most distinctive in that they are the modal class for those who *have not* consumed the most popular items: 74% of those who did not attend the cinema (“seemovie,” inverted triangle), 59% of those who did not read fiction (“readfict,” triangle), and 57% of those who did not go to a pop music performance (“popmusic,” inverted pentagon) fall into this class. Finally, the Paucivore class is most distinctive for its relative rejection of unpopular activities, containing 41% of those who did not attend a classical/opera performance, 43% of those who did not attend a ballet/dance performance, 41% who did not attend a live drama (“drama,” circle) and 39% of those who did not visit a museum or gallery (“visitart,” pentagon).

In sum, our latent class cluster analysis identifies three classes of cultural consumers: A class of Omnivores who have done everything in the past year, a Paucivore class of middling consumers that is notable for its activity in the most popular domains and for its relative inactivity

in the least popular, and a class of Inactives who have, relative to other classes, low probabilities of engaging in any of the forms of cultural consumption under consideration, including that which is otherwise widely popular. Overall, the results are more consistent with the omnivore–univore thesis than they are with the alternatives. As regards the homology argument, while we find in the Paucivores a group that does look like the “mass” it would suggest – that is, we do find a cluster defined by their consumption of the most popular activities – we do not find a “cultural elite,” or cluster defined by consumption of the *least popular* activities and *rejection* of the most popular.¹⁰ Regarding the individualization argument, as noted above, the simple fact that we find a manageable solution with LCA argues against it, as the breakup of any earlier pattern of coherence in consumption should generate a multitude of taste fragments, not a small number of clusters of cultural consumers. As for the omnivore–univore thesis, we do indeed find a cluster of Omnivores, but we do not find univores or a set of clusters defined by more particularistic consumption patterns. Rather, in findings that are not clearly anticipated in any account, we find a sizeable class that is neither elite nor mass, omnivore nor univore – the Inactives.

We model these patterns of cultural consumption with a set of variables relating to social stratification in concert with a set of demographic controls. Prime among the former, of course, is our measure of social status, motivated by our root hypothesis that social status serves as the stratificatory linchpin of contemporary U.S. lifestyles and patterns of cultural consumption. To estimate the associations of social status – as distinct from other aspects of social stratification – with such patterns, we also include, as detailed above, measures of educational qualifications, social class, family income, race and gender. We also include indicators for marital status, in the expectation that the married will be less likely to be active cultural consumers; the presence of children in the household, by the same rationale as that for marital status; region of the country, based on the expectation that opportunities for consumption may vary by region; population, based on the same rationale as that for region, nativity, with no strong prediction; and age, in the expectation that it will be positively related to active cultural consumption.

The multinomial logistic results are presented in Table 4. Eight of the variables have significant effects on at least one of the comparisons. Before discussing these, some of the null findings are important to note. One of the more remarkable findings in this regard is that, while the coefficients are ordered in a fashion consistent with the idea that there is a class gradient to styles of cultural consumption, with, relative to the salariate (i.e., I + II – service class), the odds of Omnivore versus Inactive (hereafter O|I), Paucivore versus Inactive (P|I), and Omnivore versus Paucivore (O|P) generally declining as one moves toward the unskilled class (i.e., VIIa + b – Non-Skilled Workers), these effects are not significant. Net of social status and other factors, then, we find no evidence for class effects on patterns of cultural consumption in the contemporary United States.¹¹ We also cannot reject the null in the case

¹⁰ It is worth noting that the most popular activities, reading fiction and cinema attendance, have been interpreted as indicating very different types of “taste” in other research with these GSS items. Lizardo (2006), for instance, finds that cinema attendance scales with other items as “popular taste,” while reading fiction scales as “highbrow taste” (see also Katz-Gerro, 1999). It is thus doubtful whether those pursuing the homology argument would identify the Paucivores (or Inactives) as the expected popular or mass class.

¹¹ One might object that our measurement of social class with a set of indicator variables and social status with a single continuous variable biases the results against social class. If we transform our status scale into a series of indicators coding for each quartile of social status, and re-estimate the model presented in Table 4, the results are substantively identical.

Table 4
Multinomial logistic regression predicting latent class membership

	Omnivore vs. Inactive		Paucivore vs. Inactive		Omnivore vs. Paucivore	
	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.
Social status	1.818***	0.516	1.092*	0.496	0.726	0.470
BA degree	1.039***	0.294	0.778**	0.293	0.262	0.228
Graduate degree	1.661***	0.443	0.531	0.478	1.130***	0.335
IIIa + b routine non-manual	0.337	0.277	0.129	0.269	0.208	0.245
IVa + b + c Petty Bourgeoisie/farmer	0.231	0.392	−0.061	0.394	0.293	0.372
V + VI skilled workers and foremen	−0.632	0.409	−0.057	0.343	−0.575	0.395
VIIa + b non-skilled workers	−0.697	0.407	−0.297	0.348	−0.400	0.401
Family income per capita	0.021***	0.006	0.023***	0.006	−0.002	0.005
Female	0.203	0.204	−0.055	0.191	0.258	0.183
Married	−0.260	0.202	0.077	0.189	−0.338	0.192
Child (0–5)	0.080	0.283	−0.193	0.256	0.273	0.269
Child (6–12)	−0.040	0.276	0.298	0.242	−0.338	0.256
Child (13–17)	−0.377	0.318	0.216	0.261	−0.593	0.302
Midwest	0.325	0.245	0.422	0.224	−0.097	0.227
West	0.037	0.277	0.244	0.255	−0.207	0.252
Northeast	0.154	0.254	0.099	0.242	0.056	0.242
Population (log 10)	0.322**	0.118	0.184	0.110	0.138	0.106
Foreign born	−0.286	0.336	−0.885*	0.344	0.600	0.353
Age	−0.006	0.009	−0.041***	0.008	0.035***	0.008
Black	−0.755*	0.292	−0.734**	0.270	−0.022	0.300
Other (nonwhite) race	−0.678	0.394	−0.242	0.331	−0.436	0.371
Constant	−0.869	0.519	0.861	0.466	−1.730***	0.481

* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed test).

** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed test).

*** $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed test).

of gender. While, again, signed in a fashion that is consistent with earlier research suggesting that women are more likely than men to be high participators (e.g., [Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000](#)), these parameters are not significant. The effects of marital status, the presence of young children in the household, region, and other (non-white) race are likewise non-significant.

Among the significant associations we observe, the findings for social status are obviously central to our project. Very simply, social status does indeed play an important role in distinguishing styles of cultural consumption: higher status individuals are more likely to be Paucivores than Inactives, and are especially more likely to be Omnivores than Inactives. Interestingly, social status does not significantly distinguish between Omnivores and Paucivores. In general terms, then, social status appears most important for the distinction between those, crudely put, who have done *something* in the past year (i.e., Omnivores and Paucivores) and those who have, comparatively, done *little* (i.e., the Inactives).¹²

¹² Supplementary analyses reveal that it is the control for social class that drives our results for social status in the contrast between omnivores and paucivores. In other words, in a model in which social class is not included, status has a statistically significant effect on the omnivore-paucivore contrast, but, in this case, it is picking up class effects rather than a pure status effect.

The first panel in Fig. 2, labeled “No Degree,” presents the predicted probabilities associated with each outcome for an individual at the means and modes.¹³ For such an individual, social status is most relevant to the Omnivore and Inactive styles. At the minimum status, she has even odds of being an Inactive ($\text{pr}[\text{Inactive}] = 0.504$), while the odds of being an Omnivore are considerably lower ($\text{pr}[\text{Omnivore}] = 0.216$). At the maximum, she has even odds of being an Omnivore ($\text{pr}[\text{Omnivore}] = 0.543$) and low odds of being Inactive ($\text{pr}[\text{Inactive}] = 0.154$). The Paucivore outcome, in contrast, is comparatively unresponsive to social status for an individual at the means and modes, with the associated probabilities rising from around 0.28 at the minimum status, peaking at 0.32 at around the seventh decile of social status, and declining to 0.30 at the maximum. We investigate these findings further below.

As regards educational qualifications, we find that, relative to those with less than a BA degree, those holding a BA are more likely to be Paucivores than Inactives and that the BA is especially relevant to the O|I contrast. As with social status, degree does not have a significant effect on the O|P contrast. Holding a graduate degree also has a comparatively large effect on the O|I contrast, but rather than distinguishing, as the BA qualification does, between Paucivores and Inactives, it has instead a significant effect on the O|P contrast.

The second and third panels of Fig. 2 present the predicted probabilities of latent class membership by social status for an individual who holds a BA or graduate degree, but is otherwise at the means and modes. Note first the clear level-differences across panels, which speak to the independent effects of educational qualifications. It is also apparent that the slopes of the predicted probabilities associated with the Inactive and Omnivore outcomes are attenuated to some degree as qualifications increase. Where, for instance as noted above, across its range status raises the probability of the Omnivore outcome for the average (no degree) individual by about 33 percentage points, it is raised by 27 percentage points in the case of the individual holding a graduate degree. Note as well that the Paucivore outcome is increasingly responsive to social status with rising educational qualifications, being reduced by eight percentage points across the range of status for those holding a graduate degree.

While it is commonplace to employ education as a proxy for “status,” how should one interpret the effects of education when social status – among other features of the stratification system – is explicitly controlled? Our results are consistent with the explanation offered by Chan and Goldthorpe (2005, 2007, in press) in their work on cultural consumption in the United Kingdom: With the effects of social stratification netted out, any effect of education can be interpreted psychologically, rather than sociologically, in terms of the varying levels of information content desired by individuals in their cultural activities. Very simply, the idea is that *ceteris paribus* educational qualifications are a proxy for information processing capacity.¹⁴ Relative to those less educated, more highly educated individuals are expected to display an

¹³ The modal respondent is a white, 41 years old, unmarried woman, with no children in the household, service class, with less than a BA degree, who resides in the South.

¹⁴ The GSS contains a ten-item vocabulary test (WORDSUM) that was originally designed as a short intelligence test that could be used to census ability in the context of a social survey (Thorndike and Gallup, 1944). Setting aside the controversies that surround the measurement of “intelligence,” it would be useful to know the extent to which educational qualifications do indeed proxy for aptitude in the GSS sample. Unfortunately, WORDSUM was not fielded in the 2002 GSS. It was fielded in 2000, however, and in a supplementary analysis we found that, net of social status, social class, income, gender, and race, respondents with a BA degree scored on average one-third of a standard deviation higher than those with no degree, while those with a graduate degree scored three-quarters of a standard deviation higher than those with no degree.

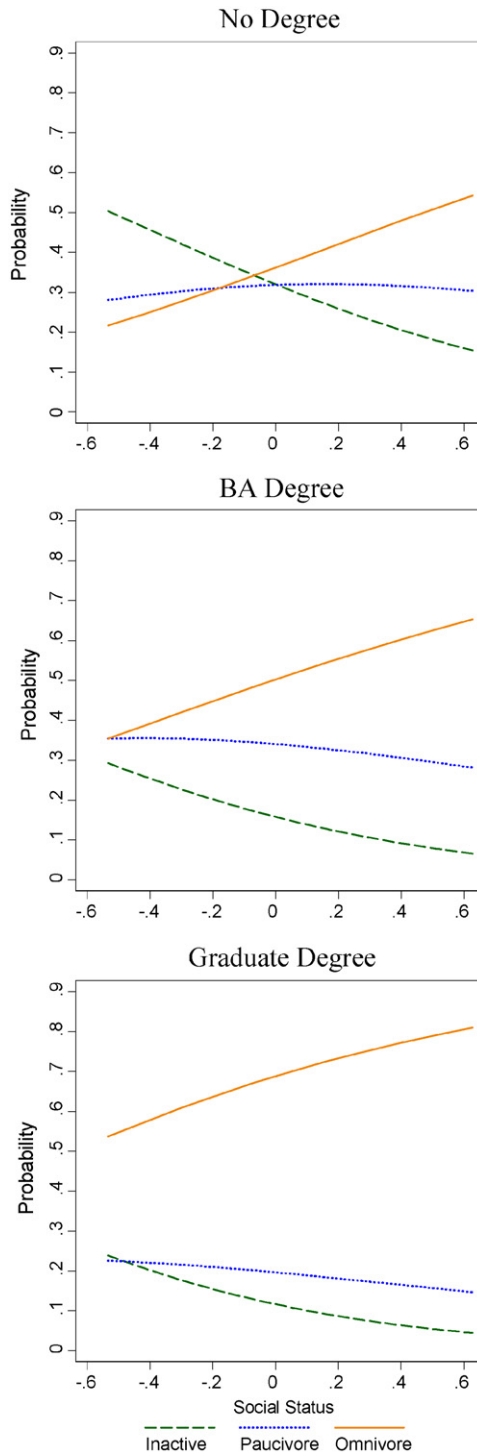


Fig. 2. Predicted probabilities of latent class membership by education and social status.

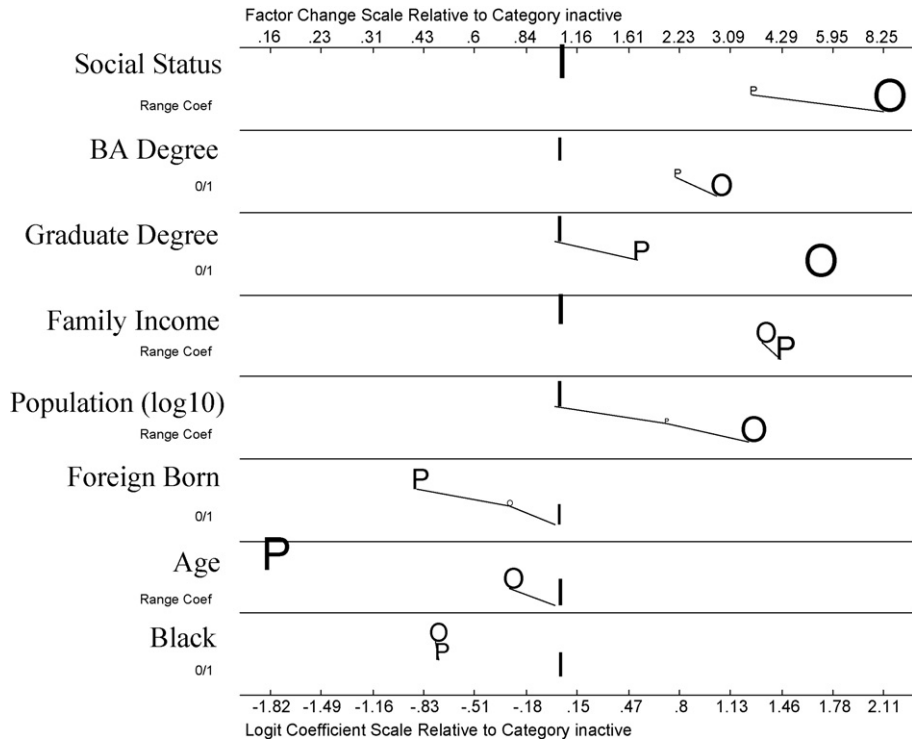


Fig. 3. Factor change/discrete change associated with significant parameters.

affinity for activities that make greater demands in terms of information content. They will do so as the exercise of such capacity is suggested to be integral to deriving satisfaction from such pursuits. In this light, the fact that respondents holding a graduate degree have better than even odds at the minimum status of exhibiting an Omnivorous style, and considerably lower odds of being Paucivores or Inactives (see the third panel of Fig. 3), can be interpreted as an affinity for an intense and broad style of consumption on the part of those respondents with greater information processing capacity.¹⁵

As one can note from Table 4, per capita family income affects styles of cultural consumption in a fashion that is consistent with a simple resource-based explanation: Those with more income are more likely to adopt *some* participatory style, but income does not distinguish between styles of

¹⁵ Chan and Goldthorpe (2006c) credit Ganzeboom (1982) with the introduction of the information processing hypothesis to the sociological analysis of cultural consumption. It is worth noting that this hypothesis should not be thought inconsistent with a view of education that stresses the role of the educational system in the *cultivation* of information processing capacity. Bryson (1996), for instance, extends research on the positive relationship between education and political tolerance to tolerance for varied genres of music, suggesting that education reduces musical exclusiveness through a similar process of “educated tolerance.” While Bryson (1996:888) views “educated tolerance” as a kind of “multicultural capital” bound up with social status, her work reminds us that the information processing hypothesis is not incommensurable with classic work that links education to the development of a “cognitive flexibility” that allows a perception of multiple perspectives and transposition of concepts across contexts relevant to political tolerance (e.g., Lipset, 1960; Hyman and Wright, 1979).

participation. That is, income has a positive effect on the O|I and P|I contrasts, but, thereafter, does not distinguish between Omnivores and Paucivores. For an individual at the means and modes, the Omnivore style dominates the Paucivore across the range of income, but only marginally so. The central finding is that she has nearly even odds of being Inactive at the minimum income, but probabilities of 0.42 and 0.40, respectively, of being an Omnivore or Paucivore at the maximum.

Population – the population of the city, town, or other division in which the respondent was interviewed – also has readily interpretable effects. People in large cities have more opportunity to pursue a broad, omnivorous style of consumption, and population has a significant effect on the O|I contrast. However, population is not as strong a constraint on access to popular culture, and we find that it does not significantly affect the P|I contrast, or the O|P contrast. For our hypothetical individual at the means and modes, she has nearly even odds of being Inactive in the smallest town, and nearly even odds of being an Omnivore in the largest city.

While we had no strong directional hypothesis, we thought it nonetheless important to control for nativity given current levels of immigration to the United States. As one can note from [Table 4](#), foreign born status is significant only for the P|I contrast, for the average individual, raising the probability of being Inactive and lowering that of being a Paucivore by nearly 14 percentage points. One additional clue to the Paucivore style, then, is that, in addition to being associated with those with less than graduate educational qualifications, it is also associated with native-born Americans.

The results for age provide additional insight into the Paucivore style. Age does not significantly affect the O|I contrast, but it does have an effect on the P|I and O|P contrasts. For our hypothetical individual at the means and modes, the Paucivore style is very much the style of the young. At age 20, she has even odds of being a Paucivore, while the probability of being an Omnivore or Inactive are, respectively, 0.27 and 0.23. These odds decline fairly steeply with age and, at 64, the predicted probability for being a Paucivore is just 0.16.

As noted above, other (non-white) groups were not significantly different from whites on any contrast. African Americans, however, are found to be more likely to be Inactive than Omnivores or Paucivores. Black is not related to the O|P contrast. The average black respondent has better than even odds of being Inactive, while the probabilities associated with the Omnivore and Paucivore outcomes are, respectively, 0.25 and 0.23. The results are thus consistent with the idea that many African Americans are, net of status, education, class, and income, disconnected in important ways from the dominant culture across a variety of domains.

3. Discussion

Returning to our central focus on social status, just how large are the effects of status relative to the other significant parameters just discussed? Long ([Long and Freese, 2006](#)) has developed an ingenious method for addressing this question that allows one to quickly and efficiently summarize the information presented in [Table 4](#). It involves presenting the factor changes (i.e., odds-ratios) and discrete changes (i.e., holding other variables at a given level) associated with each variable of interest in a graphical display. This greatly eases the interpretation of the many coefficients to be considered. We do this in [Fig. 3](#). The Omnivore class is indicated with an “O,” Paucivore with a “P,” and Inactive with an “I.” In interpreting this figure, there are a number of features that are important to note. The change in the odds ratio (factor change) for each outcome relative to the Inactive category is scaled across the top of the figure. The accompanying logit change is scaled across the bottom. For the indicator variables, this simply replicates the logits presented in [Table 4](#). For continuous variables, the factor change and accompanying logits are for a range or minimum–maximum change (rather than one unit change as in [Table 4](#)). As such, all of

the Is are positioned at 1 on the top scale and 0 on the bottom and the distance of O and P from I represents the change, on the upper scale, in the odds ratio associated with minimum–maximum change in the explanatory variables. When lines connect points, this indicates that the variable in question does not have a significant effect on the contrast. For instance, social status does not significantly distinguish between Paucivores and Omnivores, so they are connected. In the case in which a variable is non-significant for all contrasts (e.g., female) the lines would form a triangle. The vertical jittering of outcomes in each row is done simply to make this visible and is not meaningful. Finally, the elements are sized to indicate the magnitude of the discrete change (or change in predicted probability) in each outcome associated with a minimum–maximum change in the variable of interest, holding all other variables to their means and modes.

Taking each outcome in turn, we can begin with the Inactive style. As indicated by the size of the Is, social status is associated with the largest discrete change in the Inactive outcome of any of the significant variables. Behind the graphics, we find that across its range social status reduces the probability of I by 0.35 for an individual at the means and modes. Income has the second largest effect, reducing the probability of I by 0.29, followed by age (0.22), population (0.21), and graduate degree (–0.21). As regards the Omnivore style, it is clear from Fig. 3 that social status and graduate degree are especially relevant, both in terms of discrete change (indicated by the size of the elements) and in terms of factor change. Those at the highest social status are approximately 8.25 times more likely than those at the lowest to be Omnivores than Inactives, while those who hold a graduate degree are roughly 5.25 times more likely than those with no tertiary degree. In terms of the discrete change in the Omnivore outcome – and, again, behind the sizing of the elements in Fig. 3 – the effects of status and graduate degree are approximately equivalent, 0.33 vs. 0.33. Income, population, and BA degree have the third through fifth largest effects on the odds, respectively. Fig. 3 also nicely assembles the pieces of the puzzle of the Paucivore style. Those at the highest status are about 3.5 times more likely to be Paucivores than Inactives, but age clearly has the largest effect in terms of discrete change and in terms of the factor change relative to the Inactive outcome. For an individual at the means and modes, a minimum–maximum change in age lowers the probability of being a Paucivore by 0.35. Family income is associated with the second largest discrete change (0.16), followed by foreign-born (–0.14), graduate degree (–0.12) and black (–0.08). In terms of the magnitude of the factor changes, individuals at age 65 are just 16% as likely as individuals at age 20 to be Paucivores as opposed to Inactives. Individuals at the highest income are roughly 4.2 times more likely than those at the lowest. After income, social status, as detailed above, has the third largest effect, followed by nativity and race: foreign-born and black individuals are, respectively, just 41% and 48% as likely as native-born or white individuals to be Paucivores rather than Inactives. In sum, social status is key to distinguishing the one third of the GSS sample who are Omnivores. Social status is also central to distinguishing the one third who are Inactives. While social status distinguishes Paucivores from the Inactive, it is less central to the definition of the Paucivore style than a range of other factors.

4. Conclusions

Developments in the sociology of culture highlight the limitations of the tendencies in U.S. sociology to conflate social status and social class and to view social stratification in essentially one-dimensional terms. Reasserting the classic Weberian (1978) distinction between status and class, we have developed a status scale for the U.S. that departs from much of the literature on occupational prestige and socio-economic status in that we allow a status order to emerge from patterns of differential intimate association. Our argument is that the use of a proper measure of

status may allow more leverage on current questions in the domain of lifestyle and cultural consumption than other analytical alternatives. More fundamentally, we argue that matters of taste and aesthetic judgement in the contemporary U.S. are strongly conditioned by social status and, further, that social status is the stratificatory linchpin of contemporary styles of life. In this paper, we present the first results from this project.

In pursuing our argument regarding social status, we are guided by three broad views of the relationship between stratification and culture: the homology argument, the individualization argument, and the omnivore–univore thesis. Each offers a radically distinct view of the nature of contemporary lifestyles and cultural consumption and of their link with social stratification. Using the patterns of responses to a range of items fielded in the Culture Module of the 2002 *General Social Survey*, we have thus sought to identify styles of cultural consumption, to determine how social status might be associated with such styles, and to assess the magnitude of such associations relative to other aspects of the stratification system.

Latent class cluster analysis reveals that contemporary cultural consumers cluster into a small number of recognizable groups: Omnivores, who are distinct for their comparatively high probabilities of having engaged in all activities considered, from the unpopular to the popular; Paucivores, who are distinct for their middling level of engagement, displaying neither radically eclectic nor particularistic tastes, but a bias toward the most popular activities; and Inactives, who are distinct for their comparatively low probabilities of engaging in any of the activities considered, including the most popular. The styles of consumption that emerge from our LCA are more consistent with the omnivore–univore thesis than they are with the alternatives. While we identify in the Paucivores a style that exhibits features of the “mass” suggested by the homology argument, we do not identify a “cultural elite.” Our LCA is likewise inconsistent with the individualization argument’s expectation of a radical fragmentation of consumption. We find, in contrast, that the associations among manifest variables can be captured by specifying just a small number of styles of consumption. Consistent with the omnivore–univore thesis, the LCA does indeed identify an Omnivore style. However, univores, or groups defined by more particularistic consumption patterns, are not observed. Finally, in a result that is not clearly anticipated in any account, we identify in the Inactives a style that is neither elite nor mass, omnivore nor univore. These three styles are roughly equally represented in the GSS sample.

Multinomial logistic regression reveals that these styles of cultural consumption have strong roots in the stratification system, primarily in social status. Most generally, social status appears key to the distinction between those who are active in the domains of cultural consumption under study – those who are Omnivores or Paucivores – and those who are comparatively Inactive. Relative to other features of the U.S. stratification system, social status emerges as central. While our results reveal a class gradient to styles of consumption, social class is not significantly associated with any of the contrasts, indicating, perhaps surprisingly, the absence of class effects. Income has effects that are consistent with the simplest resource-based explanation: Those with income can afford to participate in cultural activities and are found to be more likely to do so, but, beyond enabling participation, income does not distinguish between styles of participation. Gender is not significantly associated with the contrasts between any of the styles we identify. African Americans are found to be more likely than whites to be Inactives than they are to be Omnivores or Paucivores, but the effects of race are modest relative to other parameters.

The role of social status in defining styles of cultural consumption is also impressive relative to other factors. Social status is associated with the largest discrete change of any of the significant variables in the Inactive outcome. It also has the largest effect on the odds in the O|I contrast and, with graduate degree, is associated with the largest discrete change in the Omnivore outcome. As

regards the Paucivore outcome, it has the third largest effect on the odds in the P|I contrast, after age and income, but the magnitude of the discrete change in the Paucivore outcome associated with status is small relative to factors such as age, nativity, and income.

In sum, the results of our initial analysis are encouraging. In future research, we will explore other forms of cultural consumption and, importantly, explore *within* specific domains (e.g., genres of music or of reading) to determine whether the styles that emerge across domains in this paper are reproduced, fractally, within. In this regard, the work of Chan and Goldthorpe on the United Kingdom is illuminating. Using similar techniques, and looking both across domains, such as theatre, dance and cinema (2005), and within domains, such as music (2006d), they have repeatedly identified styles of cultural consumption that are most consistent with the omnivore–univore thesis, in addition to identifying an important role for social status in the definition of such patterns. Our results also suggest that more work should be done in the way of investigating the Omnivore, Paucivore and Inactive styles. As noted above, the LCA suggests that a four-class solution, one that largely splits Omnivores into more and less voracious segments, could also be appropriate for these data. While, in the multinomial regression context, a test for combining alternatives suggests that the “high-” and “low-intensity” Omnivores identified in the four-class solution are indistinguishable with respect to the model as parameterized – and, thus, that more efficient estimates can be derived by combining them – the descriptives are nonetheless intriguing, hinting at a role for social status, but also for age, region, race, and gender in the high- and low-intensity Omnivore contrast. The Paucivore style also merits further investigation. Relative to the other styles identified, it is more loosely moored to the stratification system. Granting the resources necessary for participation (i.e., income), it appears very much the style of young, white, native-born Americans. As such, it is distinct from the generic “mass” or “popular” class suggested by the homology argument. Is this cohort or age, and what else might define this style? Finally, what do Inactives do? Is the Inactive style simply the default, or what people do when they do not have the resources, material or cultural, to do something – as the results for social status, educational qualifications, and income might suggest – or is it a style defined by an affinity for *other* forms of cultural consumption such as television or other new media or an active rejection, in a kind of “reverse cultural discrimination” (Lamont, 1992), of the activities considered in the paper? The answers to such questions are crucial to understanding contemporary lifestyles and patterns of cultural consumption.

Acknowledgements

This research was supported by an ESRC/AHRC grant to Tak Wing Chan under the Cultures of Consumption Research Program Phase II, award number RES-154-25-0006. The authors wish to thank Elizabeth Armstrong for comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

Appendix A. Social status scale with percentage in each category in the 5% PUMS of the 2000 U.S. Census

Minor Occupational Group: 2000 U.S. Standard Occupational Classification (SOC)	SOC code	Status	Percentage
Social scientists and related workers	193	0.6264	0.2219
Postsecondary teachers	251	0.5580	0.7267
Lawyers, judges, and related workers	231	0.5557	0.6630
Architects, surveyors, and cartographers	171	0.5086	0.1567
Media and communication workers	273	0.4846	0.4315

Appendix A (*Continued*)

Minor Occupational Group: 2000 U.S. Standard Occupational Classification (SOC)	SOC code	Status	Percentage
Life scientists	191	0.4830	0.1636
Physical scientists	192	0.4772	0.2507
Mathematical science occupations	152	0.4104	0.1030
Entertainers and performers, sports and related workers	272	0.4070	0.2864
Librarians, curators, and archivists	254	0.3980	0.1710
Primary, secondary, and special education school teachers	252	0.3949	3.6882
Advertising, marketing, promotions, public relations, and sales managers	112	0.3644	0.8544
Computer specialists	151	0.3393	1.8719
Engineers	172	0.3148	1.3059
Top executives	111	0.3012	1.6746
Other teachers and instructors	253	0.2956	0.3363
Health diagnosing and treating practitioners	291	0.2944	3.1699
Financial specialists	132	0.2912	1.9952
Counselors, social workers, and other community and social service specialists	211	0.2850	0.9065
Other healthcare practitioners and technical occupations	299	0.2781	0.0453
Art and design workers	271	0.2713	0.6383
Air transportation workers	532	0.2590	0.1551
Media and communication equipment workers	274	0.2508	0.1399
Sales representatives, services	413	0.2500	1.2392
Religious workers	212	0.2386	0.4059
Operations specialties managers	113	0.2360	1.9766
Business operations specialists	131	0.2328	1.9103
Sales representatives, wholesale and manufacturing	414	0.2221	1.0232
Other management occupations	119	0.2001	5.0021
Other sales and related workers	419	0.1872	0.8757
Legal support workers	232	0.1747	0.3068
Fire fighting and prevention workers	332	0.1613	0.2129
Transportation, tourism, and lodging attendants	396	0.1594	0.1140
First-line supervisors/managers, protective service workers	331	0.1395	0.2520
Law enforcement workers	333	0.1055	0.8553
Supervisors, office and administrative support workers	431	0.0844	1.2713
Life, physical, and social science technicians	194	0.0486	0.1916
Drafters, engineering, and mapping technicians	173	0.0332	0.5258
Supervisors, sales workers	411	0.0327	2.7498
Occupational and physical therapist assistants and aides	312	0.0327	0.0434
Supervisors, personal care and service workers	391	0.0144	0.1106
Electrical and electronic equipment mechanics, installers, and repairers	492	0.0013	0.4687
Funeral service workers	394	0.0006	0.0067
Secretaries and administrative assistants	436	−0.0060	2.8398
Supervisors of installation, maintenance, and repair workers	491	−0.0267	0.3610
Other education, training, and library occupations	259	−0.0505	0.8055
Health technologists and technicians	292	−0.0511	1.3199
Rail transportation workers	534	−0.0522	0.1034
Supervisors, construction and extraction workers	471	−0.0540	0.8271
Information and record clerks	434	−0.0578	2.6617
Other office and administrative support workers	439	−0.0612	2.0986
Supervisors, transportation and material moving workers	531	−0.0633	0.1914
Animal care and service workers	392	−0.0657	0.0881
Financial clerks	433	−0.0767	2.1622
Plant and system operators	518	−0.0795	0.2281
Water transportation workers	535	−0.0797	0.0520
Other healthcare support occupations	319	−0.1191	0.5920

Appendix A (Continued)

Minor Occupational Group: 2000 U.S. Standard Occupational Classification (SOC)	SOC code	Status	Percentage
Other protective service workers	339	−0.1276	0.4568
Supervisors, building and grounds cleaning and maintenance workers	371	−0.1434	0.2394
Other construction and related workers	474	−0.1497	0.2413
Retail sales workers	412	−0.1585	3.2678
Fishing and hunting workers	453	−0.1704	0.0419
Supervisors, farming, fishing, and forestry workers	451	−0.1734	0.0580
Other personal care and service workers	399	−0.1783	1.2481
Supervisors, production workers	511	−0.1783	1.1437
Other installation, maintenance, and repair occupations	499	−0.1791	1.6815
Personal appearance workers	395	−0.1839	0.6302
Entertainment attendants and related workers	393	−0.1884	0.1011
Not in labor force	–	−0.1890	9.8903
Material recording, scheduling, dispatching, and distributing workers	435	−0.2001	2.0980
Printing workers	515	−0.2008	0.2795
Vehicle and mobile equipment mechanics, installers, and repairers	493	−0.2124	1.5422
Construction trades workers	472	−0.2137	4.0852
Communications equipment operators	432	−0.2242	0.0877
Supervisors, food preparation and serving workers	351	−0.2262	0.4339
Extraction workers	475	−0.2348	0.1218
Other transportation workers	536	−0.2656	0.1132
Motor vehicle operators	533	−0.2924	2.9926
Woodworkers	517	−0.2977	0.1968
Grounds maintenance workers	373	−0.3048	0.4938
Forest, conservation, and logging workers	454	−0.3366	0.1122
Metal workers and plastic workers	514	−0.3486	1.8663
Other production occupations	519	−0.3588	2.5004
Food and beverage serving workers	353	−0.3880	0.9875
Helpers, construction trades	473	−0.3926	0.0294
Agricultural workers	452	−0.3947	0.6118
Assemblers and fabricators	512	−0.3974	1.0835
Material moving workers	537	−0.4050	1.9866
Food processing workers	513	−0.4092	0.3670
Building cleaning and pest control workers	372	−0.4470	2.0080
Nursing, psychiatric, and home health aides	311	−0.4515	1.0380
Other food preparation and serving related workers	359	−0.4780	0.2180
Cooks and food preparation workers	352	−0.5263	1.0649
Textile, apparel, and furnishings workers	516	−0.5342	0.8532

References

- Alderson, Arthur S., Heacock, Isaac, Junisbai, Azamat, 2005. Is there a status order in the contemporary United States? Evidence from the occupational structure of marriage. Presented at the 37th World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology, Stockholm, Sweden, July.
- Baltzell, E. Digby, 1958. *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class*.
- Bauman, Zygmunt, 1988. *Freedom*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Bauman, Zygmunt, 2000. *Liquid Modernity*. Blackwell, Malden, MA.
- Beisel, Nicola, 1990. Class, culture, and campaigns against vice in three American cities, 1872–1892. *American Sociological Review* 55, 44–62.
- Bihagen, Erik, Katz-Gerro, Tally, 2000. Culture participation in Sweden: the stability of the gender differences. *Poetics* 27, 327–349.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

- Brooks, David, 2000. *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There*. Simon and Schuster, New York.
- Bryson, Bethany, 1996. 'Anything but heavy metal': symbolic exclusion and musical dislikes. *American Sociological Review* 61, 884–899.
- Chan, Tak Wing, Goldthorpe, John H., 2004. Is there a status order in contemporary British society? Evidence from the occupational structure of friendship. *European Sociological Review* 20, 383–401.
- Chan, Tak Wing, Goldthorpe, John H., 2005. The social stratification of theatre, dance, and cinema attendance. *Cultural Trends* 14, 193–212.
- Chan, Tak Wing, Goldthorpe, John H., 2006a. Class and Status: The Conceptual Distinction and its Empirical Relevance, Unpublished manuscript. Department of Sociology, University of Oxford.
- Chan, Tak Wing, Goldthorpe, John H., 2006b. Social Stratification of Cultural Participation: Theatre and Cinema, the Visual Arts and Reading, Unpublished manuscript. Department of Sociology, University of Oxford.
- Chan, Tak Wing, Goldthorpe, John H., 2006c. Social Stratification of Cultural Consumption Across Three Domains: Music, Theater, Dance and Cinema, and the Visual Arts, Unpublished manuscript. Department of Sociology, University of Oxford.
- Chan, Tak Wing, Goldthorpe, John, H., 2007. Social status and newspaper readership. *American Journal of Sociology* 112, 1095–1134.
- Chan, Tak Wing, Goldthorpe, John H., in press. Social stratification and cultural consumption: music in England. *European Sociological Review*.
- Davis, James A., Smith, Tom W., Marsden, Peter V., 2003. *General Social Surveys, 1972–2002: [CUMULATIVE FILE] [Computer file]*. 2nd ICPSR version. National Opinion Research Center [producer], Chicago, IL. Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT/Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, Ann Arbor, MI [distributors].
- DiMaggio, Paul, 1987. Classification in art. *American Sociological Review* 52, 440–455.
- DiMaggio, Paul, Mohr, John, 1985. Cultural capital, educational attainment, and marital selection. *American Journal of Sociology* 90, 1231–1261.
- Duncan, Otis D., 1961. A socioeconomic index for all occupations. In: Reiss, A. (Ed.), *Occupations and Social Status*. Free Press, New York, pp. 109–138.
- Featherstone, Mike, 1987. Lifestyle and consumer culture. *Theory, Culture, and Society* 4, 55–70.
- Featherstone, Mike, 1991. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. Sage, London.
- Gans, Herbert J., 1999. *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*. Basic Books, New York.
- Ganzeboom, Harry B.G., 1982. Explaining differential participation in high-cultural activities: a confrontation of information-processing and status-seeking theories. In: Raub, W. (Ed.), *Theoretical Models and Empirical Analyses: Contributions to the Explanation of Individual Actions and Collective Phenomena*. E.S.-Publications, Utrecht, pp. 186–205.
- Ganzeboom, Harry B.G., Treiman S Donald, J., 1996. Internationally comparable measures of occupational status for the 1988 international standard classification of occupations. *Social Science Research* 25, 201–239.
- Hagenaars, Jacques A., McCutcheon, Allan L., 2002. *Applied Latent Class Analysis*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Hyman, Herbert H., Wright, Charles R., 1979. *Education's Lasting Influence on Values*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Kant, Immanuel, [1790] 1986. *The Critique of Judgement*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Katz-Gerro, Tally, 1999. Cultural consumption and social stratification: leisure activities, musical tastes, and social location. *Sociological Perspectives* 42, 627–646.
- Lamont, Michèle, 1992. *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Lamont, Michèle, 2000. *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Lash, Scott, 1988. Discourse or figure? Postmodernism as a regime of signification. *Theory, Culture, and Society* 5, 311–335.
- Laumann, Edward O., Guttman, Louis, 1966. The relative associational contiguity of occupations in an urban setting. *American Sociological Review* 31, 169–178.
- Lipset, Seymour M., Bendix, Reinhard, 1959. *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Lipset, Seymour M., 1960. *Political Man*. Anchor, Garden City, NJ.
- Lizardo, Omar, 2006. How cultural tastes shape personal networks. *American Sociological Review* 71, 778–807.

- Long, J. Scott, Freese, Jeremy, 2006. *Regression Models for Categorical Dependent Variables Using Stata*, second ed. Statacorp LP, College Station, TX.
- Lynes, Russell, 1954. *The Tastemakers: The Shaping of American Popular Taste*. Harper, New York.
- Magidson, Jay, Vermunt, Jeroen K., 2001. Latent class factor and cluster models. *Bi-plots and related graphical displays. Sociological Methodology* 31, 223–264.
- Murphy, Raymond, 1988. *Social Closure: The Theory of Monopolization and Exclusion*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Peterson, Richard A., 1992. Understanding audience segmentation: from elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics* 21, 243–258.
- Peterson, Richard A., Simkus, Albert, 1992. How musical tastes mark occupational status groups. In: Lamont, Michèle, Fournier, Marcel (Eds.), *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 152–186.
- Peterson, Richard A., Kern, Roger M., 1996. Changing highbrow taste: from snob to omnivore. *American Sociological Review* 61, 900–907.
- Scopp, Thomas S., 2003. *The Relationship Between the 1990 Census and 2000 Census Industry and Occupation Classification Systems. Technical Paper #65*. U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC.
- Shills, Edward, 1975. *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Sontag, Susan, 1966. *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*. Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, New York.
- StataCorp., 2003. *Stata Statistical Software: Release 8.0*. Stata Corporation, College Station, TX.
- Statistical Innovations Inc., 2003. *LatentGold 3.0*. Statistical Innovations, Belmont, MA.
- Thorndike, Robert L., Gallup, George H., 1944. Verbal intelligence of the American adult. *Journal of General Psychology* 30, 75–85.
- Veblen, Thorsten, [1899] 1973. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston.
- Warner, W. Lloyd, Meeker, Marchia, Ellis, Kenneth, 1949. *Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status*. Science Research Associates, Chicago.
- Weber, Max, 1978. *Economy and Society*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Arthur S. Alderson is Associate Professor of Sociology at Indiana University, Bloomington. His research interests line in the general areas of social stratification, economic and political sociology, comparative and historical sociology, and international development. In addition to his work on cultural consumption, he is currently doing research on income distribution, the world city system, the globalization of production, and comparative post-industrialism.

Azamat Junisbai is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at Indiana University, Bloomington. He has recently completed fieldwork for a dissertation that investigates the norms of economic justice and welfare state attitudes in post-Soviet Central Asia. He has published papers on the class consciousness of workers in Indiana and the causes and effects of elite fragmentation in Central Asia.

Isaac Heacock is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at Indiana University, Bloomington. His dissertation investigates cultural differences across welfare state regimes, with an emphasis on the causal role of culture in policy outcomes. He is also involved in projects investigating occupational prestige and gender inequality, and state-level factors contributing rates of welfare access.