The Effects of Class, Age, Gender and Race on Musical Preferences: An Examination of the Omnivore/Univore Framework

By

Christine G. White

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic and State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
SOCIOLOGY

APPROVED:

Skip Fuhrman	**Peggy de Wolf**

Michael Hughes, CHAIR

September 5, 2001

Blacksburg, Virginia

Key words: music preferences, cultural capital, omnivorousness, highbrow/lowbrow, and alienation

The Effects of Class, Age, Gender and Race on Musical Preferences: An Examination of the Omnivore/Univore Framework

Christine G. White

Using data from the 1982, 1985, 1992, and 1997 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA), this thesis tests the effects of class, age, gender and race on the breadth of musical preferences that respondents report to liking. Specifically, the omnivore/univore framework developed by Peterson (1992) is examined.

It is hypothesized that age and social class are positively related to musical omnivorousness (liking a wide variety of music). That is, older people and people higher in social economic standing will be more omnivorousness in musical preferences. The underlying theory here is that in today's society, being omnivorous is a form of cultural capital. Cultural exclusivity is no longer valued as it may have been in the past and is more often a sign of ignorance rather than status. Hence, the hypothesis is that people today will use a wide knowledge of musical forms to help them network and "get ahead." This should be more important for people as they age because the need to network as a way of moving higher in the social economic hierarchy should be more important.

Additionally, it is hypothesized that women and whites will be more omnivorousness because they may feel less alienated in general from mainstream society, especially at younger ages. Hence, blacks and men will gravitate towards fewer genres of musical as a symbolic rejection of the values of mainstream society. This should also be more salient when people are younger.

Overall, the findings presented support the contention the omnivorousness is replacing exclusiveness as a sign of status. Indeed, the findings show that class is positively related to omnivorousness, age is positively related to omnivorousness, being female is positively related to omnivorousness, and that whites are more omnivorous than blacks.

Perhaps most interesting, however, is that the relationship between age and omnivorousness was determined to be a curvilinear relationship. No other analysts have

reported this. Moreover, the findings present evidence that age may indeed be a more important determinant of musical omnivorousness than social class. Hence, it is concluded that no longer should musical preferences be examined simply as varying by social class but also as changing across the life cycle.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my committee, Michael Hughes, Skip Fuhrman, and Peggy de Wolf for all their help and feedback. Dr. Hughes, especially, with his numerous ideas and recommendations, has been a major driving force behind this project. The statistical analyses would have seemed near impossible without his guidance!

I would also like to thank my friends and family for supporting me throughout this project, although at times it may have seemed that the end was nowhere in sight! I would especially like to thank my mom, dad, and boyfriend David for their continuous support and encouragement. Thank you all!

Table of Contents

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The consumption of music is a highly social form of activity. Musical and other cultural events integrate individuals into groups (Gurvitch 1971), and at the same time express and reinforce social values (Dalhaus 1982). The musical choices individuals make both influence and are themselves actively shaped by one's place in society, and not based simply on aesthetic values of any particular musical genre. As Silbermann (1963) stated, "musical taste is a social phenomenon, it is socially conditioned, it is born and dies within the social life to which it belongs and is (p.25)." I specifically examine musical choices because in terms of creating a social identity, one's musical choices seem more important than whether or not one enjoyed a film, television program, or a particular art exhibit (Frith 1987).* People use music to create for themselves an identification- with the music they like, with the performers of that music, and particularly, with other people who enjoy the same types of music. As Simon Frith (1987) stated, "Music can stand for, symbolize *and* offer the immediate experience of collective identity. Other cultural forms, - painting, literature, design- can articulate and show off shared values and pride, but only music can make you *feel* them (p.140)."

In the United States today, music is more widely available than in the past, where it could be argued that some types of music were only available to those with the financial means to attend performances and later to own a radio. Today, however, almost everyone has access to music. Because music is so widely available, something else besides financial means must account for differences in preferences.

An underlying theme of this paper is that culture (especially music) is a form of social capital. To a large degree, the greater the variety of music that one can relate to, the greater the amount of cultural capital that person has at their disposal. Furthermore, music links people with others in an increasingly diverse society and at the same time helps to provide an identity for those who may feel alienated or oppressed. According to Simon Frith (1987), the primary function of music is that it creates for us a particular self-definition, a particular place in society. However, not only do people use music to create an identity but they also use music to create a non-identity. By non-identity I mean

*Musical preference seems to be a valid measure of arts participation in general (Peterson & Simkus 1992). The validity of music preference as an indicator of cultural taste is confirmed by Peterson and Simkus by simultaneously

ranking occupations and tastes and by correlating musical taste with other cultural activities.
that by purposely shunning certain types of music, people create symbolic boundaries between themselves who don't, and others who do like that type of music. Here is where the process of inclusion and exclusion comes into play. In fact, people use the expressed *dis*likes for specific kinds of music as much as they do shared musical preferences in defining group boundaries (Bryson 1996).

Specifically, this paper will address the variables leading to, and underlying causes determining the breadth of musical preferences respondents report to liking, varying from being very exclusive in preference (univores), to liking a broad range of musical types (omnivores) [this univore/omnivore dichotomy was developed by Peterson 1992]. Whether one is a cultural univore or omnivore will vary depending on one'ssocial class, age, gender and race. I predict that degree of omnivorousness will increase with age and class standing, will be higher for females than males, and will be higher for whites than blacks. In addition, I predict that the effect of class on omnivorousness increases with age and is greater for men, the effect of age on omnivorousness is greater for men, the effect of class on omnivorousness is greater for blacks, and that the strength of the race and class interaction increases with age. The data set I will use to examine this is the National Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA), which was a supplementary interview to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1982, 1985, and 1992, and, in 1997, collected as a "stand-alone" survey by Westat.

CHAPTER 1: CULTURAL BACKGROUND ISSUES

Class

Throughout history, theorists of popular culture have agreed upon the contention that one's position in society determines one's musical consumption patterns. However, the sociological mechanisms at work here have been debated. Originally, many scholars believed that there was a musical snobbishness associated with the upper classes in our society, and that everyone else was simply a mass group of indiscriminate listeners. According to this mass culture theory, the combination of democracy and industrialization has weakened ethnic, class, and regional identification resulting in the homogenization of culture and the corruption of standards (Adorno 1941; MacDonald 1957 [1955]). This theory, derived from observations made during the 1930s, presumed that popular culture was an aberration born of commercial greed and public ignorance and in essence, criticized popular culture as having harmful effects on high culture, individual consumers, and even society as a whole (Gans 1974). In this theory, then, mass is seen as pejorative, suggesting an undifferentiated collectivity, while high culture refers not only to art, music, literature etc. preferred by well-educated elite, but also to "cultured" styles of thought and feelings.

A major influence in the foundation of this "massification" school was the work of social critic Ortega y Gasset (1957). His conceptualization cites the increasingly homogeneity of the "social mass" and he even went as far as to say that "the mass crushes beneath it everything that is different, everything that is excellent, individual, qualified, and select" (18). Bloom (1987) shared this sentiment in his *Closing of the American Mind (1987)* when he stated that "there is no relation between popular and high culture," and that "the former is all that is now influential on our scene." Moreover, classical music, which, according to Bloom, once existed as the only recognizable class distinction between educated and uneducated America, is "dead among the young," having been replaced by rock music which contains "nothing noble, sublime, profound, delicate, tasteful, or even decent," and even went as far as to label the new popular music "junk food for the soul." Although it may be true to a certain degree that many cultural

differences have been destroyed with the onset of the mass media, the assertion that most people (except for the elite) are now homogenous in preference is simply untrue. In fact, over the years there has been an ever-increasing diversity of musical material produced and consumed. This can be illustrated by simply examining the extraordinary variety of musical products offered in record stores, where musical genres are by no means sectioned off simply into "elite" and "mass" categories.

I further critique the massification theory in that many cultural products, although not the classical music that, throughout history has been associated with the upper class, do have value, both socially as well as aesthetically. Who is to say that mass necessarily means mediocrity or even vulgarity? Moreover, I believe that high culture has not declined but merely become more widely available. Today, there is no such thing as mass music being developed for the average taste of an undifferentiated audience. In fact, as Peterson and Kern (1996) found, even within one specific genre of music, country music, there was a range of different kinds of music fans. In today's society, therefore, *mass* music is definitely diverse rather than undifferentiated.

Many researchers have refuted this massification thesis as well. Glenn (1967), for one, demonstrated continuing diversity, not massification. Additionally, Denisoff and Levine (1972), in their study of over 900 college students in LA, reported that the respondents did not have definitive preferences for popular music. Rather, a diversification of interests based on such variables as age, social class, and especially race was present. Furthermore, Reisman (1950) suggested the existence of two listening categories within the popular music audience, which he designated as the majority and minority groups. Although he found that teenagers in the majority group, "have an undiscriminating taste in popular music," and that "they seldom express articulate preferences" (1957:411), he also found a small, more active group of listeners with higher standards of listening**.** This evidence would suggest that even within the popular music audience, there is a plurality of tastes.

Herbert Gans (1974) also wrote a powerful critique of the above *massification* approach to the arts. He indicated that aesthetic values were heterogeneous rather than homogeneous. Although accepting that the distinction between high culture and popular culture has not fully disappeared, Gans (1974) believed that differences between high

culture and popular culture have been exaggerated; and the similarities, underestimated. All classes, not simply the upper classes, use music as a form of cultural capital. Gans (1974) coined the term *taste cultures* which, as defined:

> "Consist of values, the cultural forms which express these values: music, art, design, literature, drama, comedy, poetry, criticism, news, and the media in which these are expressed-books, magazines, newspapers, records, films and television programs, paintings and sculpture, architecture, and, insofar as ordinary consumer goods also express aesthetic values or functions, furnishings, clothes, appliances, and automobiles as well" (p.11).

These *taste cultures*, according to Gans, function to entertain, inform, and beautify life, while at the same time expressing values and standards of taste and aesthetics.

For him, popular culture, like high culture, is a taste culture (chosen by people who lack the economic and educational opportunities of the highbrows) which reflects and expresses the aesthetic and other wants of many people. In essence, popular culture serves the needs of its audience and can therefore be viewed as cultural capital. Gans' analysis differs from the earlier analyses of highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow in that it does not view the latter two as any better or worse than the first (in terms of cultural importance), but rather, they simply serve different purposes for different groups of people in society. As Gans (1974) states: "Because taste cultures reflect the class and particularly educational attributes of their publics, low culture is as valid for poorly educated Americans as high culture is for well-educated ones, even if the higher cultures are, in the abstract, better or more comprehensive than the lower cultures" (p.xi). Different taste cultures and taste publics (the people who make similar choices for similar reasons) exist because of the diversity and disagreement about aesthetic standards and values. In essence, Gans rejects the dichotomy of high and popular culture and the idea that the former maintains aesthetic standards while the latter exists for nonaesthetic reasons (aesthetic refers to beauty as opposed to vulgarity). Moreover, instead of assuming a single popular culture, Gans (1974) proposes that the number of cultures is, in his words, "an empirical and a conceptual problem, to be determined in part by studies of who chooses what content and what relationships exist among content choices" (p.69). In this paper, I agree with Gans that culture serves as capital for all classes and that all people do in fact use music for specific purposes. These purposes include, but perhaps are not limited to, aesthetic enjoyment (enjoying the music simply for its tonal properties), the alleviation of feelings of alienation, and enhanced social networking

capabilities (as I will discuss later).

Bourdieu also discussed this notion of capital. For him, the term *cultural capital* refers to knowledge and appreciation of highbrow (highbrow being operationalized as liking both classical music and opera, music typically associated with the upper classes of society) culture and the arts, "good" taste, and appropriate manners (Van Eijck 2001). In his *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984) Bourdieu contends that, in France, cultural consumption is part of the class structure, serving to reinforce as well as reproduce economic and political class relationships. In his view, aesthetic taste and cultural consumption are closely related to parental and individual socioeconomic status. He did not postulate, as the massification thesis does, that cultural groups are withering away. Rather, he believed that society was composed of a multitude of distinct cultural groups. These groups distinguished themselves by what and how they consume different types of culture and assigned a certain amount of "prestige" or capital to the goods they consume. In line with Gans (1974), the musical choices one made, according to Bourdieu, would be used as "cultural capital," with the higher-status groups having more cultural capital at their disposal (in terms of status) than the lower-status groups. The notion of cultural capital refers to good taste, appropriate manners, cognitive sophistication, and knowledge of, and receptivity to, legitimate cultural products (such as art, classical music, theater, and literature) (Koen Van Eijck 1997). Initially, this capital is acquired through primary socialization in the family of origin. Cultural capital is also argued to be a key to educational success (Bourdieu 1977, 1984; DiMaggio & Useem 1982).

In essence, class differences in tastes, for Bourdieu, lead to social reproduction (Holt 1997). Relating his findings to social stratification, he showed that there was a musical snobbishness associated with the upper class in society. He found that the audience for high culture is grossly over represented by the politically powerful and economically advantaged. Cultural taste, then, would be one way for the privileged to recognize one another, while at the same time excluding others from their circles. Although Bourdieu's thesis was based on his study of the audience for high culture in France, in my opinion, these insights can be applied to class culture in the early history of the United States as well.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Some of Bourdieu's above ideas concerning class and culture seem to be supported by empirical research. As Van Eijck (2001) discussed, studies have shown that people with higher educational levels and higher occupational status are, in fact, the most frequent visitors of museums, classical concerts, the theater, etc. (DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Ganzeboom 1989; Kirchberg 1996). Additionally, as Skipper (1973) found, the higher the social class, the higher the percentage of respondents preferring classical music. This seems logical as classical music has historically been associated with the upper classes. However, although upper class individuals may prefer classical music more than lower class individuals, this does not mean that they *only* like classical music. Over the years, there has been a shift from "*snob"* (a term coined by Peterson) to *omnivore* among the upper classes (Peterson & Kern 1996). The days when the economically distinguished tended to have solely highbrow tastes are now gone.

Furthermore, Bourdieu's analysis of class and culture is problematic in that, although he did argue that culture *is* a form of capital as worthy of analytic attention as economic capital, he neglected to discuss the importance of personal networks and work relationships (Erickson 1996). Personal networks are a major source of cultural resources, perhaps even more so than class itself (Erickson 1996). In fact, in today's society, the most widely used form of cultural resource may be *cultural variety.* Familiarity with a number of musical genres is useful in creating social networks and in order to relate to a wide variety of people in a wide variety of settings. For the upwardly mobile then, it would follow that being omnivorous in musical taste would definitely be an advantage. For instance, as Bonnie Erickson (1996) discussed, managers and heads of companies must "coordinate and motivate the efforts of all ranks in the company, and this calls for shared culture to smooth relationships across class boundaries" (p.221). Those who interact with a wider variety of people must respond to a wider variety of culture shown by others, hence developing a wider repertoire of culture themselves (DiMaggio 1987). In fact, Robinson (1993) shows that those with higher education do indeed express greater preference for all types of music (with the exception of country music).

Furthermore, in his study of college students, Skipper (1973) found that the higher the social class, the more likely the respondents were to indicate a likeness for music. This may be a further indication that in today's society, familiarity with many musical forms is an indicator of social status.

There are many plausible reasons for these findings. First of all, over time class-based cultures and ways of life have weakened (Roberts 1999). Mass affluence has reduced the number of leisure activities that are exclusive to privileged elite (Roberts 1999). Additionally, the number of upwardly mobile people who bring with them "lowbrow" tastes has increased. Interestingly, it has even been determined that the economically privileged spend more money on popular music than on the classics (Longhurst 1996). Hence, the higher strata are no longer distinguished by their exclusive tastes so much as by their sheer variety (Erickson 1996). The earlier distinction between "high" and "low" culture may, in today's society, be more or less meaningless. Rather, a new, more open way of looking at the world should be reflected in the choices that people make with regard to music. As Susan Sontag, in her essay "One Culture and the New Sensibility" attempted to sum up, "The new sensibility is defiantly pluralistic" (p.209).

Univore/Omnivore Framework

In light of these findings, Peterson and Simkus (1992) introduced the term 'omnivore' to characterize the broad taste pattern of the members of the higher status groups and 'univore' to characterize the narrow tastes of the lower status groups, finding that high-status Americans are more likely to be involved in a wider range of low-status activities then in previous decades. Similarly, Roberts (1999) found that members of the higher status groups are more ambitious in their leisure behavior in the sense that they have a broader range of tastes and activities. This, according to Peterson and Kern (1996), "flies in the face of years of historical research showing that high-status persons shun cultural expressions that are not seen as elevated." Their data show that, between 1982 and 1992, individuals with a taste for classical music genres have indeed learned to appreciate more middlebrow and lowbrow genres as well (Peterson and Kern 1996). Because of this contradiction, Peterson and Simkus (1992) suggest that a historical shift from "highbrow snobbery" to musical omnivorousness has taken place. Additionally,

Peterson and Kern (1996) found that highbrows in later generations liked significantly more lowbrow forms than did older highbrows. The findings of their study support the assertion that omnivorousness is replacing snobbishness among Americans of highbrow status. They speculate that this change is occurring mostly because highbrows of all ages are becoming more omnivorous. They no longer need to shun lowbrow forms of musical expression as a way of symbolically separating themselves from the rest of society. Likewise, Hughes' and Peterson's (1999, paper presented at the 1996 annual meeting of the ASA) findings supported the omnivorous framework rather than the arts elitism framework. They looked at the characteristics of those who like “black music” and found that there was no evidence of exclusive tastes among those who liked black music.

Of note however is Koen Van Eijck's (2001) study. Although he too found that members from higher-status groups tend to be more omnivorous than those from lower-status groups, he concluded that these new omnivores were really only a specific fraction of the higher-status groups known as the new middle class. This argument would seem to further validate the contention that the move to omnivorousness in the upper classes is indeed occurring, even if a fairly recent phenomena. A primary reason for its occurrence could, in large part, be due to upward mobility of the lower and middle classes. These groups may, to some degree bring their earlier cultural products with them as they move up the social ladder. They realize that in today's society, being eclectic in musical preference is now often a status symbol. As Erickson (1996) stated, "From the individual's point of view, it follows that the most useful cultural resource is a little working knowledge of a lot of cultural genres combined with a good understanding of which culture to use in which context. Equipped with cultural variety and the rules of relevance, a person can navigate successfully in many settings" (p.224).

Peterson and Kern (1996), discussed some other reasons for this shift from "snob" "to "omnivore". First of all, geographic migration and social class mobility have mixed people holding different tastes. This has allowed musical tastes to be expressed and shared across social groups. Simply by nature of today's diverse society, people are almost forced to interact with others unlike themselves economically and even socially. Because of the different job market, people change jobs and hence locations more than they did in the past. In addition, immigration and with it new cultural forms increase

every year.

Additionally, mass media has made most art forms accessible to be consumed by everyone, perhaps devaluing the exclusivity of previous highbrow art forms (Peterson & Kern 1996). If everyone can now listen to classical music, it may cease to become a status symbol. Until a few centuries ago, the only way individuals or groups could utilize music was either to produce it themselves or be within the hearing range of those who could (Dees & Vera 1978). Since the inventions of first the music box (which broke peoples dependence on the performer) the phonograph (which enabled music to be recorded and then played back), and now the CD player and even the computer, music is now readily accessible to almost anyone. Social actors now have a choice as to what, when, and how much music they wish to listen to.

This wide availability of music can be seen simply by looking at music industry and radio statistics. For instance since 1946, the number of FM radio stations has grown from 55 to approximately 8000 in the year 2000 (Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook 2000). In Virginia alone, there are 182 FM and 145 AM stations on the air. Also, in almost any radio market, consumers now have wide choices as to what they listen to. For example, in Virginia there are 83 country music stations, 44 adult contemporary, 35 religious, 30 oldies, 27 gospel, 22 news/talk, 7 bluegrass, 5 black, 14 classical, 10 jazz, 7 big band stations, etc. The list goes on and on. Although based on the geographic location of various radio markets the choices will vary to some degree (for example, there are 83 country music stations to choose from in VA, while in Alaska there are only 21), many consumers can now access radio stations from all over the country and even overseas as a result of the internet. In fact, VA alone has almost 100 radio stations that are broadcast online. In addition, cable television now broadcasts music daily (e.g. VH1, MTV, CMT, and TNN), and the new digital cable offers listeners a number of different radio station formats. Since the majority of US households own a TV, radio and many now have computers (in 1998, the percentage of people with computers in the home was 42.1 percent- U.S. Dept. of Commerce) which can now access radio stations around the globe, most people in the United States today have access to most types of music. In fact, in a 2000 survey (Mediamark Research) it was reported that, in the week prior to the survey, 71.3% of the respondents viewed cable television, 84% listened to the radio, and

45.4% accessed the Internet, each media type having musical programs. Given this, something besides availability must be responsible for the shift that is occurring. In today's society, virtually any and every type of music is accessible in one form or another to everyone.

Another explanation of the shift from "snob" to omnivore is that it is partially a result of value changes in our society. In the nineteenth century, both scientific theory as well as society-wide laws of exclusion sanctioned group-prejudice (Peterson and Kern 1996). Today, however, it is more often a sign of ignorance rather than status to be prejudiced. This may indeed be carrying over into musical preferences, stressing musical omnivorousness and open mindedness to be an indicator of status. Today, to be tolerant of individual values and differences is more often associated with intelligence and education than it has been in the past. Moreover, "omnivorous inclusion seems better adapted to an increasingly global world managed by those who make their way, in part, by showing respect for the cultural expressions of others" (Peterson & Kern 1996). [Bryson (1996) labeled this *multi*cultural capital]. It seems then, that the emergence of the cultural omnivore is a cultural expression of personal qualities that are highly valued in today's society (Van Eijck 1997).

The music industry, to a large degree, has jumped on this trend towards omnivorousness and even begun to profit from it. Artists such as Peter Gabriel and Paul Simon have incorporated previously non-mainstream music from outside their musical identities into their songs and have still remained powerful artists in the field of mainstream pop (Nexica 1997). Music typically thought of as ethnic or even "marginal" in the past, (such as the African music incorporated by Paul Simon) is now respected, enjoyed, and consumed by a significant proportion of the musical audience and consumers. Another example is Latin music, which has recently invaded the mainstream music scene with great force. Latin artists such as Ricky Martin, Enrique Iglesias, and Marc Anthony, to name a few, have seen unprecedented stardom in recent years. Furthermore, these artists' records are selling better than anyone would have imagined! In fact, the first Latin Music Emmy Award Ceremony was held in 2000, an unprecedented occurrence. Today, people in general are no longer as exclusive in preferences, but rather are more willing to accept and listen to a broad range of musical

types.

However, as Peterson and Simkus (1992) stress, social status is not the only determinant of taste. Age, gender, and race are important determinants as well.

Age

As people age, they move through different social settings in which different kinds of culture, including music, are more familiar and salient. Karl Schuessler (1948) found that the appeal of music goes up with increasing familiarity and that familiarity and preference for music was positively correlated. Isolation, in his study, usually led to a negative judgment of music. If familiarity leads to acceptance and even possibly liking, it would make logical sense, then, that people would be more omnivorous in musical preferences as they age and become more familiar with a broad range of music. Furthermore, as people age the need to utilize music for social networking (e.g. to create more social networks) also occurs.

The majority of studies looking at age and musical preferences, however, have been focused on adolescent musical preferences. As youth, a reaction against the established power structures may lead one to question and reject the value system of their elders (including artistic values). Additionally, many youth are not yet exposed to the variety of musical genres that adults may be. Furthermore, they may actively reject many musical genres in order to alleviate the alienation that is present throughout adolescence. A number of studies have shown that feelings of alienation are more prevalent in adolescence (Roszak 1969; Slater 1970), which may be true for a number of reasons. In many ways, youth are the most silenced population in intellectual, social, and especially political terms. Because of this, many youth feel powerless. This notion of powerlessness refers to the "feeling of an inability to influence the forces that effect the individual's life chances" (Mackey 1974). Adolescents are basically at a standstill. They can no longer claim themselves as children, but at the same time they do not have the rights that the adult population has, and hence do not have the political or social power to control their own life through adult means or channels. This feeling of powerless and alienation may leave them feeling "lost" so to speak. To remedy this, adolescents may seek control elsewhere, by finding their own niche. In this case, I am speaking of musical choices, a facet of their life where most do in fact have control. Music helps to tie peer groups

together, making them more resistant to legitimate adult authority, thereby strengthening their unique value systems (Leming 1987). [Values, in this context denotes strong underlying socio-cultural convictions that people in a group or society hold, most of which would be considered of an ethical or philosophical nature (Dolfsma 1999). These include matters of justice, beauty, love, freedom of the will, social standing and behavior, and perhaps most important for this analysis, personal identity (Dolfsma 1999)]. One example of this can be seen if one looks at the adolescent fans of the 1990s band Phish. These "phish-heads" as they have been called, follow the band from city to city and in many ways, create for themselves a surrogate "family" with other fans on tour. Although the fans all profess to loving the music, I believe that another major reason for this liking is that the fans share a particular value system with one another. This leads to a shared sense of identity and place for these adolescents.

Along the above lines, Grossberg (1990) also argued that musical preference contributes to the creation of subcultural identity, an important way of dealing with feelings of alienation. In this way, what one does or does not listen to partially defines who one is. Adolescents, in particular, will use music to help define themselves. Whereas adults, in highly developed societies, are likely to enjoy music from a distance, many young people give music a central place in their life. In essence, they use music to create their own subculture, distinguished by "the distinct values, beliefs, symbols, and actions which certain youth employ to attend to, and cope with, their shared cultural experience" (Epstein 1994). This subcultural expression is generally in opposition to, and often in direct contradiction with, societal values, norms, and expectations (Epstein 1994). Hence, adolescents (particularly male adolescents, as I will elaborate on next) may adhere to one or few musical genres (rock almost surely included here), while shunning others, in an attempt to separate them from the rest of society, and to symbolize their distinctiveness and independence in relation to older people. However, the degree of musical exclusiveness found in adolescence is very likely affected by one's gender.

Gender

Christenson and Peterson (1988) found that even with a relatively homogenous youth audience (college students) there were really two distinct cultures, a male and a female. They found that males and females use and respond to music in different ways.

In fact, Dees and Vera (1978) found that the music and its characteristics appropriate for an all male or an all female gathering differed. They found that compared to the background use of music for an all-female gathering, the music in the all-male gathering seemed to be less a screen for outside interference and more of a common source of unity and participation (Dees & Vera 1978). Additionally, females were more likely to use music as secondary gratification (e.g., to improve mood, feel less alone) and as a general background activity, while males' allegiance to music is central and personal (Christenson & Peterson 1988). Furthermore, females generally indicate more liking than males of "pop hits" or mainstream popular music (Fox &Wince 1975), while for males the label mainstream is essentially negative (Christenson & Peterson 1988). Rather than preferring pop music, males tend to prefer musical genres such as heavy metal and rap, which confront and often reject the values of mainstream society (Christenson & Peterson 1988). These findings can be partially explained by looking at traditional gender roles, which are very much still alive in the United States. Girls are raised to be feminine, nurturing, and to put family before work, whereas males are raised to be independent, competitive, and to put personal goals ahead of social and family considerations (Lott 1987). Hence, for males (especially young males), music is often personal and of central importance in their lives. Music, in essence, defines their "being" more than it may for females.

Simon Frith (1981) also discussed gender differences in popular music. He noted that it is usually the boys that are less integrated into the home and family life. Hence, they are the one'smore able to go out alone and to participate in the leisure culture (in this case music). Thus, they may be more "involved" in their music so to speak. Frith also concluded that music, for them, might be more meaningful than it is for females of the same age. Although the role of music is usually related to youth and youth culture, it is equally important to examine the ways in which ethnic groups have used music to forge particular cultural identities (Frith 1987). As Frith (1987) stated, "Music can stand for, symbolize *and* offer the immediate experience of collective identity. Other cultural forms,- painting, literature, design- can articulate and show off shared values and pride, but only music can make you *feel* them" (p.140).

Race

Many studies have determined that race is related to musical preference (Epstein, Pratto & Skipper 1990). Music often serves to emphasize ethnic identity, and has often been used by groups of oppressed individuals to facilitate both formal and informal organization. Folk music, for example, continues to be used to mark the boundaries of ethnic identity, even amidst migration and cultural change (Frith 1987). In this way, music becomes an expression of group identity. It is no doubt that throughout history blacks have been denied the privileges that whites have, and throughout a large part of history, have been alienated from mainstream society. For them, music has often been a way of building and maintaining group identity, of erecting boundaries separating one group from others and in turn strengthening the solidarity within a particular group. Numerous studies have validated their claim. In Skipper's (1973) study, race was the most important variable. Overwhelmingly, the preference of blacks was hard rock and rhythm and blues (this study was conducted before the influx of rap on the pop scene). Classical and folk music received no mention at all. Additionally, Skipper (1973) found that black college students were more likely to pick a musical artist of their own race as their favorite than whites were. Furthermore, Denisoff and Levine (1972) found this strong association between race and musical preference. They observed that blacks were overwhelmingly placed into the soul and jazz categories. This finding is not surprising, as jazz and rural blues have historically been part of black culture. Recently, rhythm and blues, hard rock, and rap have been used for the same purpose. These musical types express black attitudes towards life and towards a white dominated society.

DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990) explored the applicability of Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "cultural capital" in their examination of the differences between black and white participation in Euro-American and Afro-American art. In general, they found that blacks participate in Euro-American high-culture at somewhat lower rates than whites, but participate in historically Afro-American art forms substantially more than whites (DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990). This finding makes logical sense and is most likely due to the fact that black Americans have historically experienced exclusion from Euro-American high-culture arts organizations, both directly and indirectly. In fact, racial exclusion at public performances and exhibitions did not formally abate until the 1960s (DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990). Additionally, because blacks are still less likely than

whites to be highly educated, work in white-collar occupations, or have middle-class parents, we will most likely continue to find that blacks in general exclude historically white musical genres from their liking. However, in accordance with Bonnie Erickson's concept of personal networks, this may be less so with upwardly mobile blacks, as DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990) demonstrated.

For one, higher rates of schooling, especially college attendance, has exposed many black Americans to socializing experiences similar to those encountered by middle-class whites (DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990). Furthermore, artistic taste and consumption may serve as a means of establishing social membership as well as constructing and maintaining social networks that provide access to material and symbolic goods (DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990). Upwardly mobile blacks, then, would seem to benefit from acculturation. That is, having a wide variety of musical knowledge would help blacks relate to others outside of their race, which could facilitate the growth of larger social networks, and in turn could help them move higher up the social and economic ladder. This is what the cultural convergence model would predict. With increasing education, blacks would tend to participate in more Euro-American high-culture activities. DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990) tested the *cultural-convergence* model, which views differences in taste and participation between blacks and whites as residues of juridical, caste-like exclusion of blacks from educational and occupational opportunities. This model would posit that such differences would decline with increased interracial peer contact among blacks who are younger, have more education, or work in prestigious occupations. Although they did not find systematic support for this model in their study, it does sound plausible. I will test this theory again using updated data. It may be the case that this will be the most salient with upwardly mobile blacks as a result of their need to maintain credible claims to membership in both dominant and minority cultures (DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990).

These works suggest that not only social class, but also factors such as age, sex, race are significant in determining the type of music people liked and purchased. This being the case, what do we expect as far as degree of omnivorousness with regards to these variables?

CHAPTER 3: FORMATION OF OBJECTIVES

This paper will integrate the previous research in that I will examine the effect of class on the breadth of musical genres that one reports to liking (e.g. whether one is a musical "univore" or "omnivore"). However, my research differs in that not only do I look at how class is related to musical taste, but also how age, gender, and race are related to musical taste. These variables have already been examined with regard to their effects on musical preferences. However, the results have been inconclusive and have not been systematically examined with regard to their effects on musical omnivorousness.

Additionally, I analyzed data at four different points of time, which allows me to uncover trends over time. No other researchers have done this. This said, my hypotheses with regards to the variables, class, age, gender, and race are as follows:

Class

As mentioned, music is often used by social actors to symbolize class distinctions, and many studies have indeed looked at the relationship between class and musical preferences (Denisoff & Bridges 1983; Gans 1974; Frith 1981; Peterson & Simkus 1992; Robinson 1993). Although studies have found that higher class respondents do listen to "highbrow" art forms more than those of the lower class, this does not necessarily imply that they shun other types of music. In fact, in 1964, Wilensky already observed that nearly all highly educated persons in the U. S. regularly enjoyed forms of mass culture. As I have mentioned, studies on high culture show a declining connection between schooling level and highbrow culture participation, suggesting that such activities are becoming less elitist (Robinson 1993). Moreover, because most social mobility that took place during the last decades has been upward, there may be a greater degree of sociocultural heterogeneity in the higher status groups than in the past, which would facilitate increasingly omnivorous tastes. Equally important, however, is that in today's society, the emergence of the cultural omnivore is a cultural expression of personal qualities that are highly valued and thus rewarded (Peterson & Simkus 1992). As Hughes (1999) stated, "having omnivorous tastes can symbolize membership in the upper classes and function to exclude those from other classes, thus creating boundaries between social levels" (p.13). In view of the previous literature, then, my first hypothesis is as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Class is positively related to omnivorousness. *People located higher in the class hierarchy are more omnivorous in their musical preferences.*

[This hypothesis, as mentioned, has been confirmed by the previous literature (Peterson & Simkus 1992; Robinson 1993) but will be tested again here using a newer data set].

Age

Of course musical styles are undeniably linked to specific age groups. However, this paper argues that age should determine not only the style of music that one prefers, but also the breadth of music that one reports to liking. Since musical exclusiveness may be a way to deal with youth feelings of alienation, we should find that as people age they feel less alienated, no longer needing to use music as much as a means of securing their location in an unknown society (i.e. they will be more omnivorous).* Thus, my second hypothesis is as follows:

Hypothesis 2*:* Age is positively related to omnivorousness: *Older people will be more omnivorous than younger people.*

This hypothesis seems self-evident in that older people will know more than younger people because of years of experience and familiarity. However, given that the omnivorous taste pattern is *emerging,* it may be the case that we will find differentiation between generations within the higher status groups. Using data collected at four different points in time will allow me to test for this. It may be the case that the shift from snob to omnivore may also be due to the replacement of older more snobbish cohorts by later more omnivorous ones. It would follow, then that we will also find:

Hypothesis 2 (a): The effect of class on omnivorousness increases with age. *As people age, the effect of class should be stronger.*

Gender

Although I have discussed my reasoning behind the hypothesis that age is positively related to omnivorousness, studies have shown that the youth audience as a whole does not describe a coherent taste culture (Christenson & Peterson 1988), and that

*Although the fact that my data only includes adults over the age of 18 will not allow me to test my earlier ideas concerning adolescence, alienation, and musical exclusiveness, I feel that the basic pattern that musical omnivorousness increases with age will still be found. Perhaps in future research one will look at youth alienation and musical choices more in depth.

gender is a significant predictor of musical preference. Young males may feel more alienated from the greater society than females, and thus may gravitate towards fewer types of music than females as a way to secure their unique place in society. Females, according to this argument, will be more eclectic in their musical preferences, because they will not necessarily define themselves as much by their musical preferences. It has already been reported that more women than men responded favorably to all types of music with the exception of "hill-billy" music (Schuessler 1948). The implications of this study (although an old study), as well as common sense and the aforementioned logic, would lead me to believe that being a female should be positively related to omnivorousness. Thus, my third hypothesis will be as follows:

> ***Hypothesis 3:*** **Being female is positively related to omnivorousness.** *Women will be more omnivorous than men.*

If this is true, both the effect of age on omnivorousness and the effect of class on omnivorousness should be greater for men. Male adolescents typically "rebel" more than females and tend to prefer musical genres such as heavy metal and rap, which confront and often reject the values of mainstreams society (Christenson & Peterson 1988), whereas females often prefer mainstream pop (Fox & Wince 1975). Hence, as men age and move up in the class hierarchy they have "farther to go" so to speak because they will start out as more musically exclusive than females. From this, I will examine the following secondary hypotheses:

> *Hypothesis 3 (a):* **The effect of class on omnivorousness is greater for men**.

> *Hypothesis 3 (b):* **The effect of age on omnivorousness is greater for men**.

If women are generally more omnivorous than men to begin with, what else could be the result but for the men to "catch up" as they age, therefore showing a greater response to age and class.

Race

As mentioned, many studies have determined that race is related to musical preference (Denisoff & Levine 1972; Skipper 1973; DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990; Epstein, Pratto & Skipper 1990). To the extent that blacks continue to suffer

discrimination not only in the musical field but also in a host of other walks of life, the differences in musical preferences between blacks and whites are likely to continue to exist (Skipper 1973). I predict that, in general, blacks will more likely gravitate towards fewer genres of music than whites as a symbolic resistance to a culture that has oppressed them throughout time. Hence, my fourth hypothesis is as follows:

> ***Hypothesis 4:*** **Race is related to omnivorousness*:*** *Whites will be more omnivorous than blacks.*

However, to what extent have black tastes in music changed with more equal status with whites? Will upper class blacks be more omnivorous than lower class blacks? I hypothesize that they will. As mentioned earlier, higher income blacks may become more omnivorous because it helps them get into the upper class circles, thus boosting their standing in the class hierarchy. This can be called enculturation. This movement towards enculturation will be more pervasive as blacks move up in the class hierarchy. For upwardly mobile blacks, exposure to other genres of music would better allow them to identify with and hence facilitate associations with other members of the upper-class (who are still predominantly white). As Hughes (1999) stated, " People who have broad cultural experiences can create advantages for themselves by connecting with a wide range of people at many social levels and in many social situations. In addition, people who know more and can appreciate more kinds of music can be distinguished from those who appreciate less. Since knowing and appreciating more kinds of music is more common in the upper classes, and because it is time-consuming and difficult to internalize, having omnivorous tastes can symbolize membership in the upper classes and function to exclude those from other classes, thus creating boundaries between social levels. Thus, a secondary hypothesis will be as follows:

> ***Hypothesis 4 (a):*** **The effect of class on omnivorousness is greater for blacks.** *There is a greater difference between the black lower and upper class than the white lower and upper classes*.

In addition to the four main hypotheses, I will also examine the following three-way interaction hypotheses:

> ***Hypothesis 5:*** **The strength of the race and class interaction increases with age**. *Class should have a bigger effect on African Americans aging than on whites*.

We should find that since blacks in general are less omnivorous than whites, when blacks age, the effect of class should be stronger (i.e. since whites are already ahead by virtue of their class advantage, they will increase more slowly with age-comparatively).

CHAPTER 4: DESCRIPTION OF METHODS

Sample and Data

The data set to be used is the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA) which, in 1982, 1985, and 1992 was collected for the National Endowment for the Arts by the U.S. Census Bureau and in 1997 collected as a stand alone survey by Westat. The SPPA data is advantageous to use over earlier surveys for a number of reasons including its broad national scope, the large number of respondents, pretesting and careful question design, and closely supervised administration (usually face-to-face)

The three earlier data sets that I will examine, 1982, 1985 and 1992 were supplementary interviews to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), which is a sample survey based on a sample of housing units and other living quarters (approximately 60,000 addresses) scattered throughout the nation. These addresses are scientifically selected so that characteristics of the sample are representative of the entire population. The NCS sample is a stratified, multi-stage, cluster sample, and is designed for the sole purpose of producing national estimates. The rate of sampling within each primary sampling unit (PSU) was determined in such a way that the overall sampling rate for each household is the same. The sample size consisted of approximately 72,000 units.

The 1997 SPPA, however, was conducted a bit differently. Instead of being a supplementary interview, the 1997 SPPA was the first to be conducted as a "stand-alone" survey by Westat. In addition, the methods used to select households and adults to be interviewed for the study differed between the 1997 SPPA and earlier SPPA's. In particular, the 1997 SPPA used a random sample of telephone numbers to select households, while the past SPPA's used samples of both telephone and non-telephone households. Furthermore, a single adult from each household was selected for the 1997 SPPA interview by using what is called the "birthday method," instead of using the past method of interviewing all adults in the household. However, even with these differences, there is good reason to believe that the bias introduced is insignificant, which I will elaborate on in my discussion.

For all four years, data was gathered from a sample of respondents from the American population representing all non-institutionalized Americans 18 years of age and over.

Independent Variables

The independent variables examined were *gender, age, class* and *race*. *Gender* was coded 1= female, 0= male. *Race* was coded 1= black, 0= non-Hispanic white.*

Age was examined as a string variable. To facilitate our regression analysis, we computed age as follows: age = age-18 (The youngest respondent in our survey was 18 years of age. Hence, 0 is now meaningful data). Respondents were also categorized by age groups (under 20, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, and 70 and over). Grouping respondents by age group facilitated the presentation of some findings.

The *class* variable was arrived at by combining both income and education. [I left out occupation from the measure because it was too difficult to operationalize given the data. However, Van Eijck (2001) determined that education was a better predictor of musical tastes than occupational status] For income, I estimated the midpoint of each income category, estimating the top category by looking at historical income tables from the census. [This estimation, however, should only introduce a minimal amount of error into my analysis, as the percentage of people in the sample who fall into the upper income category are a small percentage of people in each survey]. I have combined household (1997) with family income (first 3 years). Although this may introduce a certain degree of measurement error into income for each person sampled I do not believe that it will introduce enough error for my conclusions to be obsolete. Once we arrived at comparable measures for both education and income we combined the variables and standardized them using z-scores to arrive at a comparable measure of class (SES) across the years.

*Respondents who reported Hispanic ethnicity and those whose race was coded "other" were excluded from this analyses. Comparable analyses for Hispanic Americans (reported in DiMaggio & Ostrower 1987) indicated that Hispanic rates of participation were similar to those of non-Hispanic whites after controlling for educational attainment and other sociodemographic factors, except with respect to activities involving materials (e.g., literature, plays) that are most readily available in English (reported in DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990).

Dependent Variables

The primary dependent variable will be *degree of omnivorousness*. There are two measures of this. First, I will examine the number of *core likes* that a respondent reported to liking. The number of core likes is the number of musical categories a respondent reports to liking out of the 12 musical categories that were included in all four years of the survey. These are as follows: classical, opera, musicals, jazz, soul/rhythm and blues, bog band, country/western, bluegrass, rock & roll, mood/easy listening, folk, and gospel. However, since doing this leaves out a number of musical categories that are now salient, I also examined the percentage of total likes that a respondent chose. In 1982, respondents were shown a list of fourteen kinds of music (classical/chamber, opera, musical theater, jazz, soul, big band, country and western, bluegrass, rock and roll, mood/easy listening, folk, barbershop, gospel, and ethnic). In 1985, respondents were queried on only thirteen types of music, with ethnic music excluded for one reason or another. Starting in 1992 and then also in 1997, there were additional types of music added to the list. For instance, in both 1992 as well as 1997, ethnic music was included as was choral, newage, parade/marching music, salsa/latin music, blues/rb music, reggae, and rap. These new categories were included in order to update the survey with the kinds of music that had arrived on the scene by then. Additionally, we combined soul with blues/r &b for both 1992 and 1997 because soul and blues/r &b were not listed as separate music categories in the first two years of the study. * After asking respondents the general question: "which of these types of music do you like to listen to?", respondents were also asked to chose the one type of music that they liked the "best."

Analysis

To examine the data, I used methods developed by the Firebaugh analysis of repeated surveys to analyze four distinct years of data. Using data from four different time periods allows me to control for the cohort effect somewhat. Multiple regression techniques were used for each year's data. Specifically, a regression equation was used to

*Looking at the percent of musical categories that respondents report to like should minimize any bias introduced here. Also, even though the analysis of preferences within the field of music depends a great deal on the categories used, it is more likely to render results that are comparable between samples than broad lifestyle analysis, because the choice of relevant categories is more likely to be similar among studies. I fact, we did find 12 "core categories" that were similar across years of the survey.

detect the relative effects of each independent variable (class, age, gender, and race) on the dependent variable (omnivorousness). This dependent variable, as mentioned above, is measured by looking at the total number of core likes (out of twelve musical categories that were included in each year of the study) and the percent of total genres that respondents reported to liking.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

Introduction

Based on my review of the literature, I expected class, race, gender and age to be related to the number of musical types that respondents reported to liking (degree of omnivorousness). Specifically, I hypothesized that class and age were positively related to omnivorousness and that women and whites would be more omnivorous than men and blacks. In addition, I expected to find that the effect of class increases with age, the effect of class is greater for men, the effect of age is greater for men, the effect of class is greater for blacks, and that the strength of the race and class interaction increases with age.

My findings are presented as below. I will first present descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) for my musical liking variables. Next I will discuss the correlation matrices for all variables for each year and also overall, and finally I will present a series of regression analyses to evaluate the hypotheses that I was testing. These regressions will be presented for each year separately and then for all the years together. In addition, I have included 4 figures that show the difference in omnivorousness between men and women and whites and blacks and two figures that present the effect of age on omnivorousness for both men and women and blacks and whites.

Findings

Means/Standard Deviations for Musical Liking Variables

It is suggested from Table 1 that people in general are becoming more omnivorous. The mean number of core likes were as follows: 3.73, 4.00, 4.26, and 6.32 for 1982, 1985, 1992, and 1997 respectively. * The standard deviations ranged from a low of 2.61 to a high of 2.97 for all years together. For the percent of total likes variable, the pattern was very similar, with respondents in 1982 liking the smallest percent overall and respondents in 1997 liking the greatest percent of musical types. These percentages

ranged from 19.88% in 1982 to a high of 42.81% in 1997. Overall, the mean number of core likes was 5.57 and the mean percent of total likes was 32.08%. As hypothesized, these means did indeed vary by class, age, gender, and race.

Correlation Matrixes

In support of Hypotheses 1, the results show that at the zero-order level, there is indeed a significant correlation between class and omnivorousness (See Tables 2-6). This correlation is significant ($p<.001$) for all four years of data. For all four years together, the correlation of class with the number of core likes is .260 ($p<.001$) and the correlation of class with the percent of total likes is .249 ($p<.001$). Hence, people located higher in the class hierarchy like a greater number of musical genres. These results thus support the notion that class is positively related to omnivorousness. This finding replicates earlier studies such as Peterson and Simkus (1992) and Van Eijck (2001). Peterson and Simkus, however, only looked at occupation as an indicator of class. My results show that education and income combined are good predictors as well. In preliminary data analysis (not shown) it was ascertained that both income and education independently predict omnivorousness. Taken together, however, they are an even stronger predictor.

As for race, the findings in Tables 2-6 show consistent, although moderately small, support for the hypothesis that race is related to omnivorousness. African Americans do in fact report to liking a fewer number of musical genres that do whites (See Figures 1 and 2). The correlation is significant for all four years of data and also for all four years combined. As for gender, the findings report mixed results. For each year with the exception of 1985 there is a positive correlation between being female and being omnivorous (See Figures 3 and 4). This is true for all the years combined. Table 6 shows that the correlation between gender and the number of core likes for the years together is

* From Table 1 we can see that the 1997 numbers are significantly higher than the numbers reported in the earlier studies. This may be a result of the differences in the way that the surveys were conducted. (as I will elaborate on later) which may have inflated the overall number and percent of total likes a bit. However, even if there is some bias, I believe that the trend towards an overall increase in omnivorousness is supported by these results nonetheless.

.047 ($p<.001$) and the correlation of gender and the percent of total likes is also .047 ($p<.001$). The mean number of core likes for men and women is 5.41 and 5.69 respectively and the mean percent of total likes for men and women is 30.94% and 32.98% respectively.

Regression Models

Table 7 shows support for the hypothesis that the number of musical choices does indeed increase with age. However, contrary to my original prediction, preliminary analyses (not shown) suggested that the relationship is not linear (see Figures 5 and 6). Hence, I entered age squared into the model. Since both age and age squared are statistically significant ($p<.001$) in my model (see Table 7), I determined that the relationship between age and omnivorousness is indeed a curvilinear relationship (this is true across race and gender). This is an interesting finding as no other analysts have shown this, and suggests that although musical choices do in fact increase with age up to a certain point, somewhere between 45-55, the number of genres people like levels off and then eventually starts to decline. For instance, for all years together, respondents under the age of 20 liked an average of 4.53 categories of music, and respondents between the ages of 40-49 liked an average of 6.06 categories of music. However, respondents between the ages of 50-59 only liked an average of 5.98. This decline continues. Between the ages of 60-69, respondents liked an average of 5.84 types of music, and respondents over age 70 only liked 5.19 musical genres. This trend was the same for all four years of the survey, although the exact age at which the number levels off and then drops varies slightly from one year of the survey to the next.

The age hypothesis (hypothesis 2) as well as hypothesis 1, that class is positively related to musical omnivorousness, are further supported by the findings presented in Table 8. Both class and age have independent effects on musical omnivorousness. Hence, even when age is controlled for you still get a class effect and vice versa. The findings here also provide additional support that the age relationship is indeed curvilinear. These effects are significant ($p<.001$) for all four years of the survey (except for age and the number of core likes is 1985 where $p<.05$) and for all years together.

The findings presented in Table 9 (except for 1982) support hypothesis 2 (a), that the effect of class increases with age. For all four years combined, this relationship was significant at the .001 level. However, in accordance with the finding that age is curvilinear, this effect is only significant on the rise, not the drop off. This means that initially as people age, the number of choices increase faster for the upper class than for the lower class. However, beyond the point at which the relationship between age and the number of musical preferences levels and then drops off, the interaction of class with age is no longer significant. Hence, there is no interaction term with age squared in my model because the age squared term was not significant. Table 10 also presents evidence for the effect of age. When controlling for gender, the effect of age is significant for all four years ($p<.001$). Additionally, the results in Table 10 present some evidence for my third hypothesis that women are more omnivorous than men. Although this relationship is neither consistent nor strong, it is nonetheless supported by the findings.

The interaction between gender and age, contrary to my predictions, was not supported by the data (see Table 11). In fact, the findings presented in Table 11 show weak support for the opposite. In 1982 and overall, the findings suggest that the effect of age on omnivorousness is actually stronger for women than men up to a certain point. For instance, at age 18, the effect of age for males is .531 while the effect of age for females is .573. This suggests that the use of music as a way of securing an identity may not drop off as men age as was predicted. Rather, men continue, even as they age, to like fewer genres of music. Otherwise put, up to a certain point, the number of genres that females chose increases faster with age than the number that males chose. However, when age squared is entered into the equation one can see that although the effect of age on omnivorousness is initially stronger for women, after a certain age, between 50 and 60, the number of musical preferences for both groups level off and then eventually decrease. After the number of choices level off, we no longer see any significant interaction between gender and age as far as respondents musical preferences.

The model presented in Table 12 shows further support for the hypothesis that whites are more omnivorous than blacks. The effect of race on musical preference holds up even when age and age squared are controlled for. Hence, even though blacks in the general population are younger than whites (due to higher mortality rates), there is still a

strong relationship between race and musical omnivorousness. Blacks of all ages are less omnivorous than whites based on these findings (See Figure 5). This relationship is significant ($p<.001$) for both the number of core likes and the percent of total likes for all four years (except for the percent of total likes in 1997) and overall ($p<.001$) (See also Figures 1 and 2).

Contrary to my prediction, the results presented in Table 13 show that the effect of class is basically the same for whites and blacks. The only year in which class has a greater effect on blacks (in terms of the number of core likes as well as the percent of total likes) is in 1997 ($p<.05$). However, this relationship is not significant overall. Hence, it would suggest that there is no real interaction between class and race. The findings in Table 13 also show that, contrary to my original prediction, the interaction between race and age is actually weaker for blacks. Hence, as blacks age, they actually chose fewer musical genres. This result was surprising. However, the findings presented in Table 14 show that when class is entered into the model, there is indeed a significant relationship between race and age.

With age, although the effect of class for both races becomes more important, this effect ($p<.001$) is even more important for blacks than for whites, which supports my theory. It is more important for older, upper class blacks to consume a wide variety of musical choices than it is for whites.

And finally, the findings reported in Table 15 show that when all of the significant variables are entered into the regression model the main findings discussed above are supported. These results are as follows: older people are more omnivorous than younger people ($p<.001$) but this relationship is curvilinear rather than linear, being female is positively related to omnivorousness ($p<.001$), people located higher in the class hierarchy are more omnivorous ($p<.001$), whites are more omnivorous than blacks ($p<.001$ for core likes), the effect of class is more important with increased age ($p<.001$), the effect of class is less important for blacks ($p<.001$), the effect of age is less for blacks, the effect of the class x age interaction is more important for blacks ($p<.001$), and over time (i.e. which each year of the study), the number of musical preferences people choose has increased ($p<.001$).

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Brief Summary of Findings

To summarize, the findings presented above show support for the following hypotheses:

- Class is positively related to omnivorousness ($p<.001$): People located higher in the class hierarchy are indeed more omnivorous than those located lower in the class hierarchy.
- Age is positively related to omnivorousness ($p<.001$): This hypothesis was supported by the data. However, the relationship is curvilinear rather than linear. The effect levels off and then diminishes after a given age.
- The effect of class on omnivorousness increases with age ($p<.001$): Class is more important with regards to the breadth of musical preferences for older people.
- Being female is positively related to omnivorousness ($p<.001$): Women, as predicted, are more omnivorous than men.
- Whites are more omnivorous than blacks ($p<.001$): This relationship, although not particularly strong, was significant across all four years of the study with the exception of the percent of total likes in 1997.
- The strength of the race and class interaction increases with age ($p<.001$): There is a significant three way interaction here. The data show that with age, although the effect of class for both races becomes more important, it is even more important for blacks than for whites. For older blacks then, the effect of class is even more important than for older whites.

The following hypotheses were not supported by the data:

- The effect of class on omnivorousness is greater for men: The data show the opposite to be true, although the relationship is mixed and very weak.
- The effect of age on omnivorousness is greater for men: The data show that the effect of age on omnivorousness is actually stronger for women up to a certain point. However, after a certain age (around 50-60) the effect ceases to exist as the number of musical preferences drops off at the same rate for both genders.

- The effect of class on omnivorousness is greater for blacks: This hypothesis was not supported by our data. The class effect is basically the same for whites and blacks. There is no real interaction here.

Implications of findings

The findings support the general assertion that over time people in general are becoming more omnivorous in their musical preferences. There could be a number of plausible explanations for this finding. At the most basic level, it could be due in part to the fact that today there are simply more choices available to people. As the music industry and radio statistic data that I presented earlier shows, music is more widely available today than it has ever been in the past. Now, almost every type of music is generally available to everyone, not simply available to those producing or in close proximity to those producing the music (such as was the case with folk and ethnic music in early Europe and then the United States before the Industrial Revolution), or to the economically privileged (as was the case with the audience for classical music in the past). Before the development of electronic reproduction of music, the distinction between music for the elite and music for the masses was probably unavoidable, since opportunities for hearing music were limited. This is no longer the case in society today. Due to this wide availability of a wide range of music on tapes and compact discs, attitudes of elitism concerning music need not persist.

Being musically exclusive is no longer functional like it may have been in the past. In most cases, it is today more of a sign of ignorance rather than status to be prejudiced and exclusive, and this may indeed be carrying over to musical preferences. It is very likely that people use musical tastes and knowledge of a variety of musical styles as a form of cultural capital. As Hughes (1999) stated, today, "instead of being in the narrow world of high art, the basis of musical cultural capital is knowledge of, and the ability to appreciate, a wide variety of musical forms. This is a new form of cultural capital that is adapted to a world that emphasizes diversity and is dominated by a global economy" (p.13). In short, a knowledge of and consumption of numerous musical types (i.e. being musically omnivorous) is now more functional than ever before.

In fact, this cultural capital argument is supported by the findings, which show

that the argument does indeed hold up with regards to social class, age, and race. First of all, as reported by earlier analysts (Peterson & Simkus 1992, Van Eijck 2001), those higher in social class do indeed prefer more types of music. However, although many researchers in the past have focused mainly on social class when predicting cultural choices, my findings suggest that other variables besides social class are important in terms of cultural choices.

Age, in particular, tends to be a stronger predictor than does social class. In fact, the findings report that the effect of social class is dependent on age. The implication of this is that we now need to look at omnivorousness as it changes across the life cycle, not simply as it varies by social class. The findings also show, however, that the effect of age on the number of musical preferences is curvilinear rather than linear. To my knowledge no other researchers have reported this. In short, this means that initially as people age their musical preferences increase, around middle age, however, the number of preferences level off and then eventually decrease. This finding, although initially surprising, supports the cultural capital argument by suggesting that initially as people age cultural capital (in this case musical knowledge and variety) is very important for them in terms of networking, etc. However, after they have secured their niche in the societal hierarchy, this type of cultural capital becomes less important for everyone.

I see at least three plausible explanations for this finding. First, once people are settled into their careers social networking, such as that discussed by Bonnie Erickson (1996), may no longer be as necessary. Generally speaking, many people have already moved up as far as they will move (in terms of class and occupational standing) and thus may no longer need to utilize social capital (in this case musical knowledge) to help them "get ahead" so to speak. Additionally, the consumption of music, like the consumption of other types of leisure, is time consuming and can even be physically exhausting to some degree. Perhaps older people no longer want to waste the energy consuming so many different types of music. And finally, this could be due to a cohort effect. Older people in this study were perhaps not socialized with such a large spectrum of musical choices as they were growing up. They may be holding onto (and hence liking) only the musical choices that were available to them when they were in their active stage of cultural consumption. [One limitation of this study, as I will present later, is that we are unable at

this point to determine whether this age effect is a result of cohort or actual aging effects]. The initial age effect, however, is even more important for the upper class which further supports the cultural capital argument. It may very well be the case, as I argued earlier, that the upper class need to network even more than the lower class in order to "get ahead" so to speak.

Further support for the cultural capital argument is in the support and significance of the three way interaction hypothesis. The findings show that there is indeed a race effect in the class x age interaction. This means that with age, the effect of class, although important for both races, is even more important for blacks. Basically, with age, upper class African Americans must adopt even more cultural choices than do whites. This supports both the cultural capital argument as well as the acculturation argument presented by (DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990, Hughes 1999). The acculturation argument, to refresh the reader, would suggest that having a wide variety of musical knowledge would help blacks relate to others outside of their race, thus facilitating the growth of larger social networks, and in turn facilitating movement up the social economic ladder. The findings do in fact suggest that it is even more important for blacks than whites to show their cultural knowledge as a means of networking.

Contrary to my predictions, the gender identity argument does not seem to be supported by the results. Although there is support that females are generally more omnivorous than males, this support is weak and inconsistent. Additionally, the prediction that the effects of both class and age on omnivorousness would be stronger for men was not supported by the data. This was surprising to me. However, it may simply be due to the fact that women are generally more omnivorous and this is true across social class and age. Since the youngest respondent in this survey was 18, it may be the case that the "identity crisis" that many young men may face would be over by that age. It would be interesting to see, as I will elaborate on further, what the results would look like if one were to examine younger respondents such as high-school students. I predict that the gender identity argument would indeed hold up with a sample of respondents under the age of 18.

Initially it was also surprising to me that the results failed to support the prediction that the effect of class on omnivorousness is greater for blacks. However, that

finding is no longer as surprising when you take into the account that the three way interaction between race, class, and age was supported. Upon looking at the finding that age is indeed a more important predictor of musical omnivorousness than class, it seems perfectly logical that class alone would not have a significant effect. This effect is only significant when age is entered into the equation. Hence, at younger ages, there is no real effect on omnivorousness. Not until blacks age is it important for them to acquire the necessary cultural capital facilitating upward mobility. This finding, that with age, the effect of class although important for both races, is even more important for blacks, strongly supports both the cultural capital argument as well as the acculturation argument.

Limitations of Present Study and Implications for Further Research

Unfortunately, as with any study, this study has its limitations. At a very basic level, there may be a problem with comparability between the three earlier years of data and the data collected in 1997. Many of the 1997 music preference estimates are high compared to the earlier studies. This occurs across all types of music categories. This could be due to the methodological differences between the 1997 SPPA and the three earlier SPPAs (See Loomis & Collins 1998). For one, the 1997 SPPA was the first to be conducted as a "stand-alone" survey conducted by Westat rather than as a supplementary interview to the National Crime Victimization Survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. In addition, the methods used to select households differed. In particular, the 1997 SPPA used a random sample of telephone numbers, while the past SPPAs used samples of both telephone and nontelephone households. Also, a single adult was selected for the 1997 SPPA interview by using what is called the "birthday method," instead of using the past method of interviewing all adults in the household. Also different were the response rates for the surveys. The response rate for the 1997 survey (55%) was quite a bit lower than those obtained before (from a low of 75 percent in 1992 to a high of 89 percent in 1982). The extent to which these methodological differences contributed to higher estimates is difficult to quantify, or even estimate.

Higher 1997 arts participation estimates could be due to a number of factors. For one, excluding nontelephone households could have introduced "coverage" bias because

telephone households seem to be of higher socioeconomic status. However, since only about 6 percent of adults live in households without telephones, there is little potential for introducing substantial coverage bias. A more important methodological difference in terms of the differences in estimates was that the 1997 SPPA survey was conducted a s a stand alone survey while the earlier SPPAs were supplementary interviews, which are often viewed as less important for both researchers and respondents. If interviewers place less importance on that portion of the study, respondents may put forth less effort in their responses, which may have decreased the estimates. Also, "respondent fatigue" may have come into play. In addition, better interviewer training may also have played a role in the higher 1997 estimates.

And finally, there is the issue of whether or not the differences in survey response rates may have contributed to differences in arts participation rates between 1997 and the previous years. It is reasonable to expect that the arts participation rates of people who refuse would be lower on average than the arts participation rates of those who willingly cooperate, if interest in the arts is related to interest in responding to the SPPA. However, this issue was explored as part of a separate report for the NEA (dated January 13, 1998), and no consistent evidence was found of significant differences in arts participation between willing and reluctant respondents. Furthermore, since the 1997 SPPA estimates are closely comparable to those obtained by the 1993 GSS, this could indicate that rather than the 1997 SPPA estimates being unusually high, estimates from the earlier SPPAs may have been unduly low (Loomis & Collins 1998). Nevertheless, since one of the goals of this study was to produce estimates of changing musical omnivorousness over time, it is necessary to keep these issues in mind when conducting time-series analyses of these data sets.

Along similar lines, the categories of music included in each survey differed slightly. Most importantly, there were many additional categories of music included in the 1992 and 1997 surveys. This could be problematic because the mere number of categories could bias the results. However, since I examined both the percent of total likes as well as the total number of core likes I believe I was able to arrive at an adequate measure of musical omnivorousness.

Additionally problematic was that the questionnaire only asked the respondents

whether or not they liked a particular genre. A better measure, although more difficult logistically speaking, would be a measure that would rate the degree that the respondent liked each type of music. Whether or not one "likes" a particular genre of music could mean a different thing for different respondents. Additionally, it would be interesting to have a survey instrument that would get at listening behavior at a deeper level. The general patterns that I found do not tell us much about actual differences in individual patterns of taste. To further support my conclusions, then, I would recommend research questions aimed at uncovering the reasons that people chose different musical genres. For instance: Why do people prefer certain types of music? How were they first exposed to this music? Do they feel that an understanding of a number of types of music has helped them to "get ahead" so to speak? Other questions could try to test the notion that cultural choices help with networking. For instance, respondents could be asked whether or not they discuss music with colleagues, whether or not they consume or go to performing arts with colleagues, and even whether or not their musical preferences have changed as they have changed jobs, moved up in social standing, aged, etc.

Furthermore, I recommend that a longitudinal study of this sort be conducted starting when students are in high school and then following them through college, initial workforce participation and throughout the lifecycle. Although this type of study would be time-consuming and costly, it would allow for the researcher to better understand the mechanisms at work with regards to changing musical preferences. The identity issue that I spoke of earlier, in my opinion, would be more prevalent with high school students than with those over the age of 18.

Additionally, since we were unable in this study to determine whether some effects were cohort effects or actual aging effects because we did not have enough people who were teenagers in, for instance, the 1960 and 70s that are now 65+ years of age (i.e. the cohorts that we do have are not really meaningful for the sake of this study at this time), it would be interesting to do this study in 10 years of so, when the cohorts would be more meaningful for these purposes.

Moreover, although the gender hypothesis was not strongly supported with regards to the sheer number of musical preferences, it would be interesting to look at the different types of music than men and women chose. I believe, in accordance with the

identity notion, that men, specifically young men, would choose "non-mainstream" music while females would lean towards the more mainstream musical types. Would men, therefore, like different music as they age, and what is the reason for this? I believe that as people age, the genres that men and women choose would be more similar. Along these same lines, it would be interesting to do a study of delinquents and non-delinquents to see how their musical choices differ. In accordance with the alienation argument, I would predict that "delinquents" would be more exclusive in preferences than "non-delinquents." For delinquents, gravitating towards a few genres of music would be a way for them to reject the mainstream values of society and also to find their own identity so to speak. Here, it would be helpful to have a measure of the degree of alienation of respondents to see if alienation is indeed correlated with musical exclusiveness.

It would also be interesting to look at the differences in types of music that blacks and whites choose. Studies in the past have indeed showed that blacks and whites choose different types of (DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990) but it would be interesting to see if these differences change with age and more importantly if they are smaller for the upper classes. DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990) have already determined that blacks of all levels choose jazz and soul/blues more often than whites in order to show their identification with black heritage and culture. At the same time, high-status whites choose jazz and soul/blues, while virtually all lower-status groups shun this music. They suggested that higher-status whites choose jazz as a form of what they called "art music." The utility of this "art music" as they put it would, in my opinion is yet another expression of cultural capital that higher-class people strive to possess. To get deeper into the mechanisms behind these findings, future research, such as cluster analysis studies, could be conducted to see what types of musical choices are salient by age, class, race and gender.

Additionally, as the omnivore/univore framework has little to say about the way in which consumers combine cultural products (for instance, even though the findings presented show that musical omnivorousness is indeed a characteristic of members of the higher-status groups, it seems they still focus on a limited number of musical genres), it would be interesting to follow this study of who likes *how many* genres with a study of who likes *which* genres.

Also interesting would be a study concerning the types of music that people

actually *consume*. As mentioned above, one limitation of this study was that we only have a measure of what people profess to "liking" as opposed to what they actually consume, which could be very different. It could be the case that even though upper class blacks, for instance, may not "like" certain types of music, they may consume those musical forms in order to network. It is very easy to imagine people consuming music that they may not "like" per se (On a personal note, it is hard to imagine that every adolescent male who consumed heavy metal music in the 80's and 90's actually "liked" that music!), and vice versa. It may be the case that people like music that they are unwilling to consume (i.e. purchase, attend concerts, etc.) Hence, it would be interesting to ask questions both about consumption as well as liking. These types of analyses were beyond the scope of this study, where I was more interested in general trends, but should be examined in future research.

In conclusion, although it seems almost self evident that people do prefer certain types of music simply for intrinsic or personal reasons, this can not account for the differences in the trends I found based on gender, age, race, and class. As mentioned, the findings show that people in general are becoming more omnivorous in their musical preferences, and that those located higher in the class hierarchy are indeed more omnivorous in their musical preferences, supporting the theoretical shift from "snob" to omnivore presented by Peterson and Kern (1997). It is no longer functional for those wishing to move up in the class hierarchy or for those already located high in the class hierarchy to be musically exclusive, as it once may have been in the past.

However, the findings presented here strongly support the notion that musical preferences are not simply based on social class alone, but should also be examined as changing over the life cycle. The finding that the effect of age on musical omnivorousness is curvilinear rather than a linear relationship suggests that the effect of age does in fact change over the life cycle. Musical omnivorousness as a form of cultural capital may only be functional up until around middle age, after which the number of musical preferences for all genders, races, and social classes decline at the same rate. This presents strong support for the use of music as cultural capital. Perhaps when people have already moved up the social economic ladder it is no longer utilitarian for them to consume so many varied types of cultural (it is also time consuming and can be

exhausting). This suggestion could be validated by a longitudinal study (as I mentioned earlier) that would examine a respondents' musical consumption behavior as it changes across the life cycle. Nonetheless, there is strong support from this study alone that music can indeed serve as cultural capital, and the degree at which it is used so varies by one's social class, gender, race, and perhaps most importantly, one's age.

REFERENCES

Adorno, T. 1941. "On Popular Music." *Studies in Philosophy and Social Sciences* 9: 17-48.

Bloom, Allan. 1987. *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 185-188.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Bryson, Bethany. 1996. "Anything But Heavy Metal: Symbolic Exclusion and Musical Dislikes." *American Sociological Review* 61:884-889.

Christenson, P. and Peterson, J.B. 1988. "Genre and Gender in the Structure of Music Preferences." *Communication Research* 15 (3):282-301.

Dalhaus, Carl. 1982. *Aesthetics of Music*. Trans. William W. Austin. Cambridge University Press.

Dees, David R. and Vera, Hernan. 1978. "Soundtracking Everyday Life: The Use of Music in Redefining Situations." Soc*iological Inquiry* 48 (2):133-141.

Denisoff, R. Serge and Levine, Mark H. 1972. "Youth and Popular Music: A Test of the Taste Culture Hypothesis." *Youth and Society* 4 (Dec.):237-255.

Denisoff, R. Serge and Bridges, John. 1983. "The Sociology of Popular Music: A Review." *Popular Music and Society* 9:51-55.

DiMaggio, P. and J. Mohr. 1985. "Cultural Capital, Educational Attainment, and Marital Selection." *American Journal of Sociology* 90:1231-61.

DiMaggio, P. and Ostrower, F. 1990. "Participation in the Arts by Black and White Americans." *Social Forces* 68 (3):753-778.

DiMaggio, P. and M. Useem. 1982. "The Arts in Class Reproduction." pp.181-201 in *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education: Essays on Class, Ideology, and the State*, edited by M. W. Apple. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Dolfsma, Wilfred. 1999. "The Consumption of Music and the Expression of VALUES: A Social Economic Explanation for the Advent of Pop Music." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 58 (4):1019-1046.

Epstein, J., Pratto, D. & Skipper, J. 1990. "Teenagers, Behavioral Problems, and Preferences for Heavy Metal and Rap Music: A Case Study of a Southern Middle School. *Dev*iant *Behavior* 11:381-394.

Erickson, B.H. 1996. "Culture, Class and Connections." *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (1):217-251.

Frith, Simon. 1981. *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock n'Roll*. New York: Pantheon.

Frith, Simon. 1987. "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music." In *Music and Society:The Politics of Consumption, Performance, and Reception* (eds. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fox, W. & Wince, M. 1975. "Musical Taste Cultures and Taste Publics." *Youth and Society* 15:13-32.

Gans, Herbert. 1974. *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*: New York: Basic Books.

Ganzeboom, Harry. 1989. *Cultuurdeelname in Nederland* [cultural participation in the Netherlands]. Van Gorcum.

Glenn, N. D. 1967. "Massification Versus Differentiation: Some Trend Data from National Surveys." *Social Forces* 46:172-180.

Grabe, Maria Elizabeth. 1997. "Massification Revisited." *Popular Music and Culture*, 24 (4):63-84.

Gurvitch, Georges. 1971. *The Social Frameworks of Knowledge.* Trans. Margaret A. Thompson and Kenneth A. Thompson. Harper & Row.

Hakanen, Ernest A. & Wells, Alan. 1993. "Music Preference and Taste Cultures Among Adolescents." *Popular Music and Society* 17:55-69.

Hughes, Michael, & Peterson, Richard A. 1996. "White Audiences for Black Music." Paper presented in a session on popular culture at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, NY, August 19, 1996.

Hughes, Michael. 1999. "The White Audience for Black Music." *Readings in Sociology*, ed. Michael Hughes. McGraw-Hill.

Holt, Douglas B. 1997. "Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu's Theory of Tastes from its Critics." *Poetics* 25:93-120.

Kirchberg, Volker. 1996. "Museum Visitors and Non-visitors in Germany: A Representative Survey." *Poetics* 24:239-258.

Leming, James S. 1987. "Rock Music and the Socialization of Moral Values in Early Adolescence." *Youth and Society* 18(4):363-383.

Longhurst, B. 1996. *Popular Music and Society.* Polity Press: Cambridge.

Loomis, Laura and Collins, Mary. 1998. "Changes in Survey Procedures and Their Potential Effects on Estimates of Arts Participation; 1997 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts." Paper presented by Westat.

Lott, B. 1987. *Women's Lives: Themes and Variation in Gender Learning*. Monterey: CA Brooks/Cole.

MacDonald, D. 1957[1955]. "A Theory of Mass Culture." Pp. 59-73 in B. Rosenberg and D. M. White (eds.), *Mass Culture*. Glencoe, IL.: The Free Press.

Mackey, James A. 1974. *The Dimensions of Adolescent Alienation.*

Mediamark Research, Inc. 2000 "Multimedia Audiences." New York, NY.

Nexica, Irene J. 1997. "Music Marketing: Tropes of Hybrids, Crossovers, and Cultural Dialogue Through Music." *Popular Music and Society* 21(3):61-82.

Ortega y Gasset, Jose. *Revolt of the Masses*. New York: Norton, 1957.

Peterson, Richard A. 1992. 'Understanding Audience Segmentation: From Elite and Mass to Omnivore and Univore." *Poetics* 21:243-58.

------. 1997. "The Rise and Fall of Highbrow Snobbery as a Status Marker." *Poetics* 25: 75-92.

Peterson, Richard A. and Kern, Roger M. 1996. "Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore." *American Sociological Review* 61:900-907.

Peterson, Richard A. and DiMaggio, Paul. 1975. "From Region to Class, The Changing Locus of Country Music: A Test of the Massification Hypothesis." *Social Forces* 53 (3):497-506.

Peterson, Richard A. and Simkus, Albert. 1992. "How Musical Tastes Mark Occupational Status Groups." In *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Reisman, David. 1950. "Listening to Popular Music." *American Quarterly* 2:359-71.

Roberts, Kenneth. 1999. *Leisure in Contemporary Society*. New York: CABI Publishing.

Robinson, J.P. 1993. *Arts Participation in America*: 1982-1992. National Endowment for the Arts.

Roszak, Theodore. 1969. *The Making of a Counterculture*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.

Silbermann, Alphons. 1963. *The Sociology of Music*. Westport, Conn.:Greenwood Press.

Skipper, James K., Jr. 1973. "How Popular is Popular Music?: Youth and Diversification of Musical Preferences. *Popular Music and Society* 2(3):145-154.

Schuessler, Karl F. 1948. "Social Background and Musical Taste." *American Sociological Review* 13(3):330-335.

Slater, Philip. 1970. The *Pursuit of Loneliness*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Sontag, Susan. 1987. The New York Times. Dec.31, 1987 *Against Interpretation* 302-304.

U. S. Department of Commerce, National Telecommunications and Information Administration. 1999. "Falling Through the Net: Defining the Digital Divide."

Van Eijck, Koen. 1997. "The Impact of Family Background and Educational Attainment on Cultural Consumption: A Sibling Analysis." *Poetics* 25:195-224.

------. 2001. "Social Differentiation in Musical Taste Patterns." *Social Forces* 79(3):1163-1184.

Wilensky, Harold L. 1964. "Mass Society and Mass Culture: Interdependence or Dependence?" *American Sociological Review* 29:173-197.

Christine G. White
1719 Chesterbrook Vale Ct.
McLean, Virginia 22101
703 790-5832
christine_white@hotmail.com

EDUCATION Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, VA

M.S., Sociology, 9/01
G.P.A: 4.0/4.0
Thesis: "The Effects of Class, Age, Gender, and Race on Musical Preferences: An Examination of the Omnivore/Univore Framework."

B.S., Sociology, Cum Laude, 12/96
2nd major; Psychology
G.P.A: Major: 3.7/4.0 2nd Major: 3.7/4.0
Overall: 3.6/4.0

Hamilton College, Clinton , NY 9/92-6/93

HONORS/ AWARDS

Deans List
Gamma Beta Phi
Golden Key Honor Society
Psi Chi (Psych.)
Kappa Delta Alpha
Phi Kappa Alpha
Garnet and Gold
Alpha Kappa Delta

PROFESSIONAL AFILIATIONS

American Sociological Association
Southern Sociological Association

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Graduate teaching assistant, VA Tech, 8/98-5/00

CURRENT RESEARCH INTERESTS

Sociology of Culture, specifically focussing on music
Environmental Sociology

EMPLOYMENT

Imaging Department: VTLS Corporation, Blacksburg, VA
9/00-12/00

- Helped with the construction and implementation of a searchable web-based interface for library documents.
- Online data entry

Insurance Clerk: Medical Associates of Southwest Virginia, Blacksburg, VA,1/97-6/97

- Filed claims and handled most insurance and billing matters.
- Responsible for customer inquiries and complaints regarding outstanding accounts
- Responsible for the distribution and care of medical records

PERSONAL Extensive Travel Experience

- Europe: Norway, Sweden, Ireland, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Czech Republic.
- Egypt
- Costa Rica
- Japan, China, Hong Kong, Singapore
- Bermuda, Hawaii, Virgin Islands
- Canada

Some Spanish: 4 years instruction
Skiing, Hiking, Backpacking

Single White Female
United States Citizen

Appendix A:
Tables and Figures

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations of Musical Liking Variables

Year	Number of Core Likes*	Percent of Total Likes
1982		
Mean	3.73	27.77
Standard Deviation	2.61	19.88
1985		
Mean	4	31.95
Standard Deviation	2.7	22.08
1992		
Mean	4.26	28.26
Standard Deviation	2.95	20.98
1997		
Mean	6.32	42.81
Standard Deviation	2.82	21.21
All years		
Mean	5.57	32.08
Standard Deviation	2.97	21.74

*The number of core likes is the total number of musical types that respondents reported to liking out of the following twelve categories: classical, opera, musicals, jazz, rhythm and blues, big band, country/western, bluegrass, mood/easy listening, folk, and gospel. These twelve categories were included in all four years of the survey.

Table 2: Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables

1982	Number of Core Likes	Percent of Total Likes	Class	Age	Age squared	Gender	Race
Number of Core Likes	1						
Percent of Total Likes	0.993**	1					
Class	.303**	.290**	1				
Age	-.033*	-.005	-.233**	1			
Age squared	-.067**	-.039**	-.282**	.957**	1		
Gender (1=female)	.039**	.039**	-.088**	.054**	.059**	1	
Race (1=black)	-.071**	-.075**	-.052**	-.070**	-.068**	0.015*	1

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 3: Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables

1985	Number of Core Likes	Percent of Total Likes	Class	Age	Age squared	Gender	Race
Number of Core Likes	1						
Percent of Total Likes	.994**	1					
Class	.310**	.298**	1				
Age	-.061**	-.027	-.212**	1			
Age squared	-.088**	-.055*	-.265**	.959**	1		
Gender (1=female)	-.018	-.017	-.090**	.040**	.048**	1	
Race (1=black)	-.073**	-.081**	-.097**	-.069**	-.069**	.020*	1

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 4: Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables

1992	Number of Core Likes	Percent of Total Likes	Class	Age	Age squared	Gender	Race
Number of Core Likes	1						
Percent of Total Likes	.955**	1					
Class	.303**	.294**	1				
Age	.045**	0.002	-.172**	1			
Age squared	-.006	-.038**	-.225**	.960**	1		
Gender (1=female)	0.012	0.015	-.057**	.053**	.061**	1	
Race (1=black)	-.117**	-.061**	-.051**	-.083**	-.077**	.017*	1

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 5: Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables

1997	Number of Core Likes	Percent of Total Likes	Class	Age	Age squared	Gender	Race
Number of Core Likes	1						
Percent of Total Likes	.933**	1					
Class	.196**	.167**	1				
Age	.174**	.144**	-.101**	1			
Age squared	.126**	.117**	-.161**	.961**	1		
Gender (1=female)	.105**	.111**	-.093**	.075**	.078**	1	
Race (1=black)	-.068**	0.015	-.125**	-.062**	-.059**	.042**	1

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 6: Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables

All years	Number of Core Likes	Percent of Total Likes	Class	Age	Age squared	Gender	Race	Year
Number of Core Likes	1							
Percent of Total Likes	.962**	1						
Class	.260**	.249**	1					
Age	.054**	.039**	-.188**	1				
Age squared	0.010	0.003	-.240**	.959**	1			
Gender (1=female)	.047**	.047**	-.081**	.056**	.061**	1		
Race (1=black)	-.096	-.068**	-.070**	-.074**	-.070**	0.017**	1	
Year	.297**	.206**	0	.066**	.048**	.026**	-.014**	1

** p<.01

Table 7: Regression Coefficients

Age & Age squared

Number of Core Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Age	.057***	.045***	.113***	.114***	0.0792***
Age squared	-.00106***	-.000881***	-.00168***	-.00131***	-.00119***
Year	-	-	-	-	0.142***
Intercept	4.299	4.726	3.933	5.551	3.641
R squared	0.017	0.015	0.034	0.053	0.105
Percent of Total Likes	**1982**	**1985**	**1992**	**1997**	**All years**
Age	.460***	.397***	.615***	0.508***	0.478***
Age squared	-.00797***	-.00706***	-.00971***	-.00506***	-.00722***
Year	-	-	-	-	.713***
Intercept	23.788	28.719	21.665	34.141	21.569
R squared	0.015	0.011	0.021	0.027	0.054

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 8: Regression Coefficients (*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001)

Class, Age & Age squared

Number of Core Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Class	.796***	.843***	.884***	.538***	.759***
Age	.0329***	.0281*	.0834***	.0897***	.0557***
Age Squared	-.000463***	-.000430*	-.00104***	-.000853***	-.000683***
Year	-	-	-	-	.138***
Intercept	4.358	4.751	4.044	5.788	3.778
R squared	0.096	0.099	0.115	0.089	0.163

Percent of Total Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Class	5.965***	6.810***	6.060***	3.682***	5.405***
Age	.277***	.268**	.413***	.348***	.318***
Age squared	-.00347***	-.00352*	-.00540***	-.00199	-.00374***
Year	-	-	-	-	.685***
Intercept	24.228	28.887	22.331	35.662	22.441
R squared	0.092	0.093	0.097	0.057	0.108

Table 9: Regression Coefficients (*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001)

Class, Age, Age squared, Class x Age					
Number of Core Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Class	.692***	.602***	.619***	.340***	.557***
Age	.0307***	.0239*	.0783***	.0885***	.0525***
Age squared	-.000406***	-.000309	-.000929***	-.000797***	-.000596***
Class x Age	0.00398	.00909*	.00956***	.00694*	.00741***
Year	-	-	-	-	.137***
Intercept	4.373	4.777	4.093	5.778	3.806
R squared	0.097	0.102	0.117	0.09	0.165
Percent of Total Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Class	4.935***	4.453***	4.137***	1.347	3.642***
Age	.256***	.228*	.376***	.333***	.290***
Age squared	-.00290**	-.00235	-.00456***	-.00132	-.00297***
Class x Age	.0394*	.0889**	.0694***	.0822***	.0647***
Year	-	-	-	-	.676***
Intercept	24.374	29.134	22.688	35.545	22.69
R squared	0.093	0.097	0.099	0.061	0.111

Table 10: Regression Coefficients (*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001)

Gender, Age, Age Squared					
Number of Core Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Gender (female=1)	.214**	-.0528	0.101	.558***	.228***
Age	.0568***	.0445***	.113***	.113***	.0792***
Age squared	-.00106***	-.000877***	-.00168***	-.00131***	-.00119***
Year	-	-	-	-	.141***
Intercept	4.191	4.754	3.876	5.258	3.523
R squared	0.018	0.015	0.034	0.062	0.107
Percent of Total Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Gender (female=1)	1.596**	-.469	0.855	4.516***	1.779***
Age	.457***	.397***	.617***	.498***	.478***
Age squared	-.00797***	-.00703***	-.00976***	-.00505***	-.00727***
Year	-	-	-	-	.709***
Intercept	22.989	28.968	21.179	31.778	20.653
R squared	0.017	0.011	0.022	0.038	0.055

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 11: Regression Coefficients (*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001)

Gender, Age, Age squared, Gender x Age					
Number of Core Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Gender (female=1)	-.0127	-.278	0.128	.585***	0.0852
Age	.0534***	.0411***	.114***	.113***	.0770***
Age squared	-.00109***	-.000902***	-.00168***	-.00131***	-.00121***
Gender x Age	.00907*	0.0087	-.00101	-.00101	.00542*
Year	-	-	-	-	.141***
Intercept	3.299	3.864	2.861	4.245	3.594
R squared	0.019	0.016	0.034	0.062	0.107
Percent of Total Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Gender (female=1)	-.117	-2.099	1.185	4.103***	0.71
Age	.431***	.372***	.623***	.492***	.461***
Age squared	-.00818***	-.00721***	-.00974***	-.00509***	-.00738***
Gender x Age	.0684*	0.063	-.0122	0.0151	.0406*
Year	-	-	-	-	.708***
Intercept	23.799	29.763	21.003	31.983	21.186
R squared	0.018	0.012	0.022	0.038	0.056

Table 12: Regression Coefficients (*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001)

Race, Age & Age squared					
Number of Core Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Race (black=1)	-.395***	-.473***	-.549***	-.547***	-.554***
Age	.0573***	.0444***	.110***	.108***	.0759***
Age squared	-.00107***	-.000892***	-.00164***	-.00122***	-.00116***
Year	-	-	-	-	.142***
Intercept	4.367	4.802	4.105	5.753	3.783
R squared	0.022	0.021	0.046	0.051	0.111
Percent of Total Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Race (black=1)	-3.125***	-4.170***	-2.054***	1.504	-2.862***
Age	.461***	.396***	.601***	.503***	.469***
Age squared	-.00805***	-.00716***	-.00959***	-.00463***	-.00712***
Year	-	-	-	-	.680***
Intercept	24.327	29.382	22.308	33.627	0.054
R squared	0.021	0.019	0.025	0.03	22.223

Table 13: Regression Coefficients (*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001)

Race, Age, Age squared, Class, Class x Race, Class x Age, Race x Age					
Number of Core Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Race (black=1)	-.0530	-.290	-.212	-.0547	-.261***
Age	.0334***	.0249*	.0796***	.0881***	.0529***
Age squared	-.000439***	-.000355	-.000953***	-.000776***	-.000604***
Class	.724***	.600***	.663***	.392***	.599***
Class x Race	-.112	-.0593	-.105	.403*	-.0536
Class x Age	0.00294	.00874*	.00787**	0.00359	.00607***
Race x Age	-.0111*	-.00459	-.00984*	-.00342	-.00781**
Year	-	-	-	-	.135***
Intercept	4.378	4.825	4.157	5.845	3.869
R squared	0.101	0.106	0.125	0.092	0.17

Table 13 continued: Regression Coefficients

Race, Age, Age squared, Class, Class x Race, Class x Age, & Race x Age					
Percent of Total Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Race (black=1)	-.170	-2.221	0.821	7.390**	-.153
Age	.280***	.241*	.399***	.361***	.310***
Age squared	-.00319***	-.00262	-.00481***	-.00118	-.00313***
Class	5.185***	4.435***	4.537***	2.482**	4.184***
Class x Race	-.754	-.484	-.957*	2.926*	-.588
Class x Age	0.0302	.0851**	.0584***	0.0491	.0521***
Race x Age	-.103**	-.0610	-.0849**	-.0946	-.0797***
Year	-	-	-	-	.627***
Intercept	24.374	29.505	22.471	33.95	22.697***
R squared	0.098	0.102	0.102	0.076	0.113

Table 14: Regression Coefficients

Race, Age, Age squared, Class, Class x Race, Class x Age, Age x Race & Age x Race x Class

Number of Core Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Race	-.0576	-.347	-.263*	-.505	-.320***
Age	.0334***	.0248*	.0784***	.0851***	.0521***
Age squared	-.000439***	-.000339	-.000937***	-.000740***	-.000593***
Class	.728***	.642***	.687***	.471***	.629***
Class x Race	-.132	-.388	-.240*	-.515	-.244**
Class x Age	0.00282	0.00696	.00703**	0.00104	.00501***
Age x Race	-.0107*	0.00124	-.00603	0.0167	-.00345
Age x Race x Class	0.000805	0.0161	0.00611	.0306**	.00813**
Year	-	-	-	-	.135***
Intercept	4.378	4.824	4.168	5.884	3.875
R squared	0.101	0.107	0.125	0.094	0.17

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 14 continued: Regression Coefficients

Race, Age, Age squared, Class, Class x Race, Class x Age, Age x Race & Age x Race x Class					
Percent of Total Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Race	-.170	-2.642	0.276	4.121	-.670
Age	.280***	.240*	0.387***	.342***	.303***
Age squared	-.00319***	-.00265	-.00464***	-.000961	-.00304***
Class	5.185***	4.743***	4.801***	3.060***	4.445***
Class x Race	-.753	-2.892	-2.397**	-4.011	-2.273***
Class x Age	0.0302	.0721*	.0495**	0.0303	.0428***
Age x Race	-.103**	-.0183	-.0442	0.0513	-.0415
Age x Race x Class	-.0000464	0.118	.0652*	.233*	.0718***
Year	-	-	-	-	.628***
Intercept	24.374	29.496	22.584	34.207	22.748
R squared	0.098	0.104	0.102	0.078	0.114

Table 15: Regression Coefficients

Age, Age squared, Gender, Class, Race, Class x Age, Class x Race, Race x Age, Class x Race x Age & Year

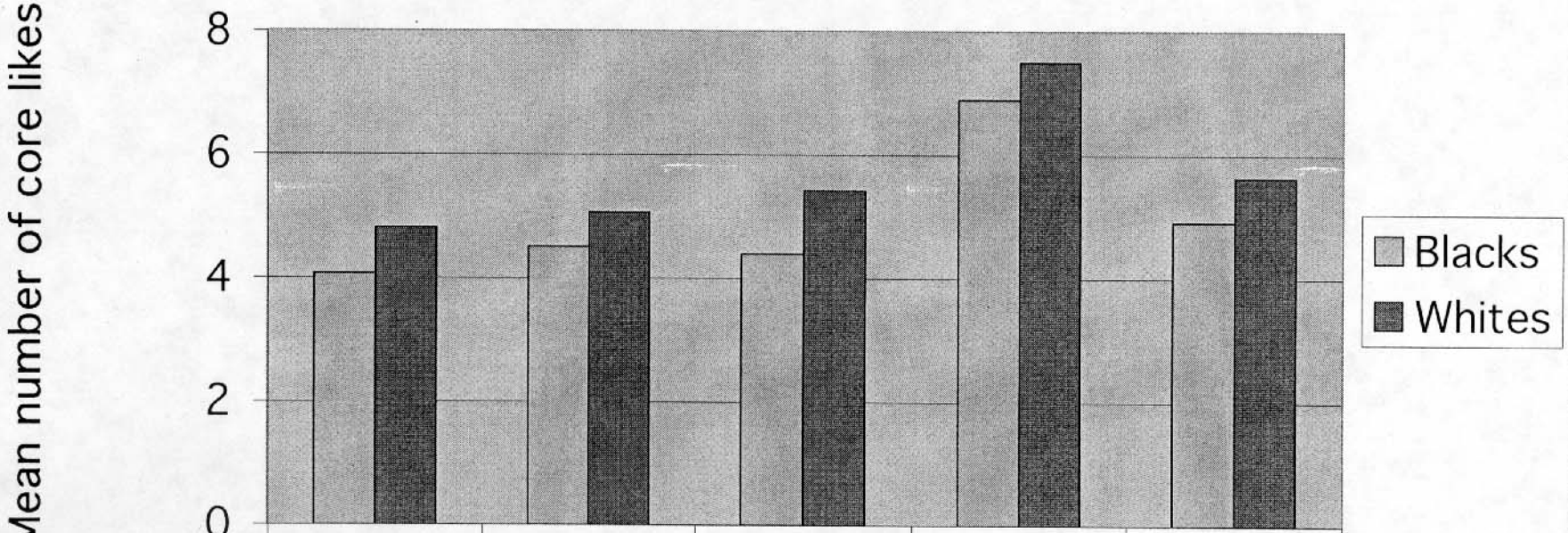
Number of Core Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Age	.0323***	.02477*	.0781***	.0834***	.0515***
Age squared	-.000427***	-.000340	-.000936***	-.000721***	-.000588***
Gender (Female =1)	.321***	0.0772	.295***	.631***	.335***
Class	.740***	.649***	.684***	.435***	.630***
Race (Black=1)	-.07421	-.352	-.283*	-.604	-.342***
Class x Age	0.00289	0.0069	.00760**	0.00295	.00545***
Class x Race	-.127	-.390	-.241*	-.515	-.242**
Race x Age	-.0105*	0.00145	-.00549	0.0185	-.00296
Class x Race x Age	0.000616	0.0162	0.00622	0.0299	.00804**
Year	-	-	-	-	.134***
Intercept	4.223	4.785	4.011	5.558	3.71
R squared	0.105	0.108	0.128	0.106	0.174

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 15 continued: Regression Coefficients

Age, Age squared, Gender, Class, Race, Class xAge, Class x Race, Race x Age, Class x Race x Age & Year					
Percent of Total Likes	1982	1985	1992	1997	All years
Age	.272***	.240*	.385***	.327***	.298***
Age squared	-.00310***	-.00266	-.00463***	-.000774	-.00300***
Gender (Female =1)	2.415***	0.591	2.196***	4.882***	2.542***
Class	5.280***	4.798***	4.773***	2.787**	4.457***
Race (Black=1)	-.295	-2.680	0.124	3.319	-.839
Class x Age	0.0307	.0716*	.0537**	0.0452	.0462***
Class x Race	-.718	-2.905	-2.404**	-3.971	-2.250***
Race x Age	-.101**	-.0167	-.0402	0.068	-.0377
Class x Race x Age	-.00147	0.119	.0660*	.226*	.0711**
Year	-	-	-	-	.622***
Intercept	23.21	29.198	21.415	31.71	21.493
R squared	0.102	0.104	0.105	0.091	0.117

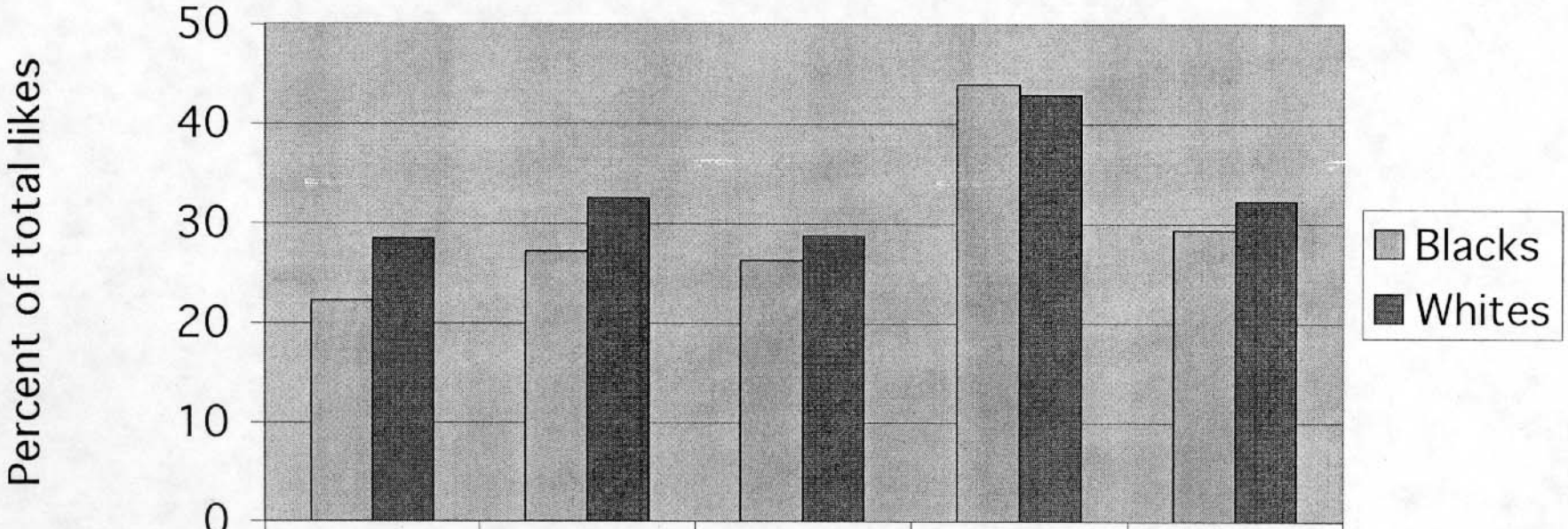
Figure 1: Mean Number of Core Likes of Blacks and Whites by Year



	1982	1985	1992	1997	Overall
Blacks	4.06	4.5	4.39	6.89	4.91
Whites	4.81	5.06	5.41	7.5	5.63

Year

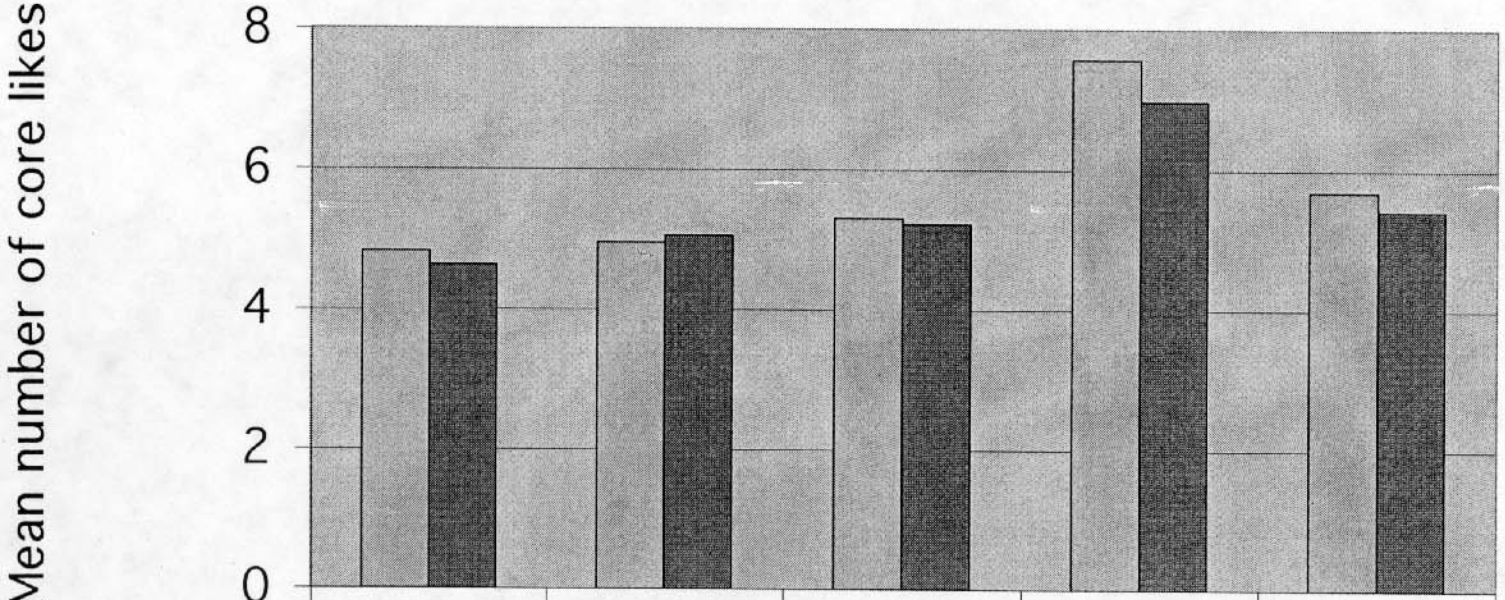
Figure 2: Percent of Total Likes of Blacks and Whites by Year



	1982	1985	1992	1997	Overall
Blacks	22.23	27.19	26.23	43.95	29.3
Whites	28.46	32.52	28.7	42.91	32.21

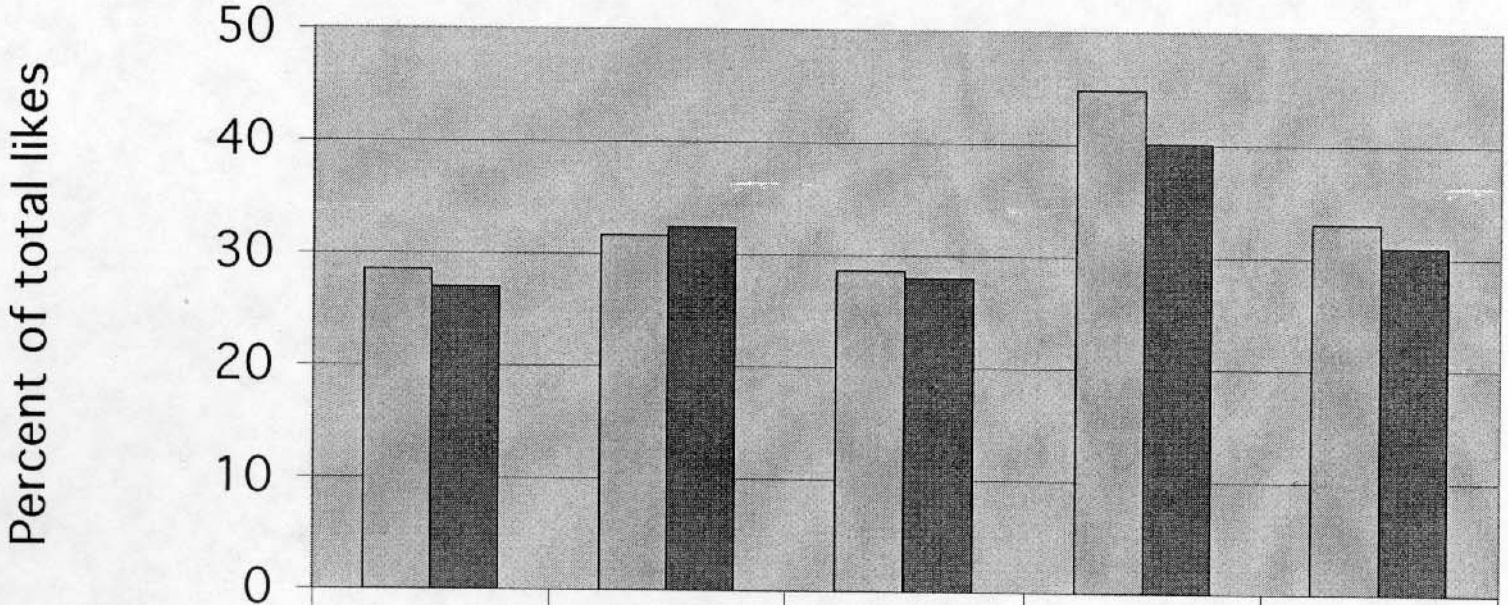
Year

Figure 3: Mean Number of Core Likes of Men and Women by Year



	1982	1985	1992	1997	Overall
Women	4.82	4.95	5.3	7.57	5.69
Men	4.62	5.05	5.22	6.97	5.41

Figure 4: Percent of Total Likes of Men and Women by Year



	1982	1985	1992	1997	Overall
Women	28.49	31.61	28.53	44.8	32.98
Men	26.92	32.36	27.91	40.03	30.94

Figure 5: Change in Mean Number of Core Likes by Age Group for Blacks and Whites

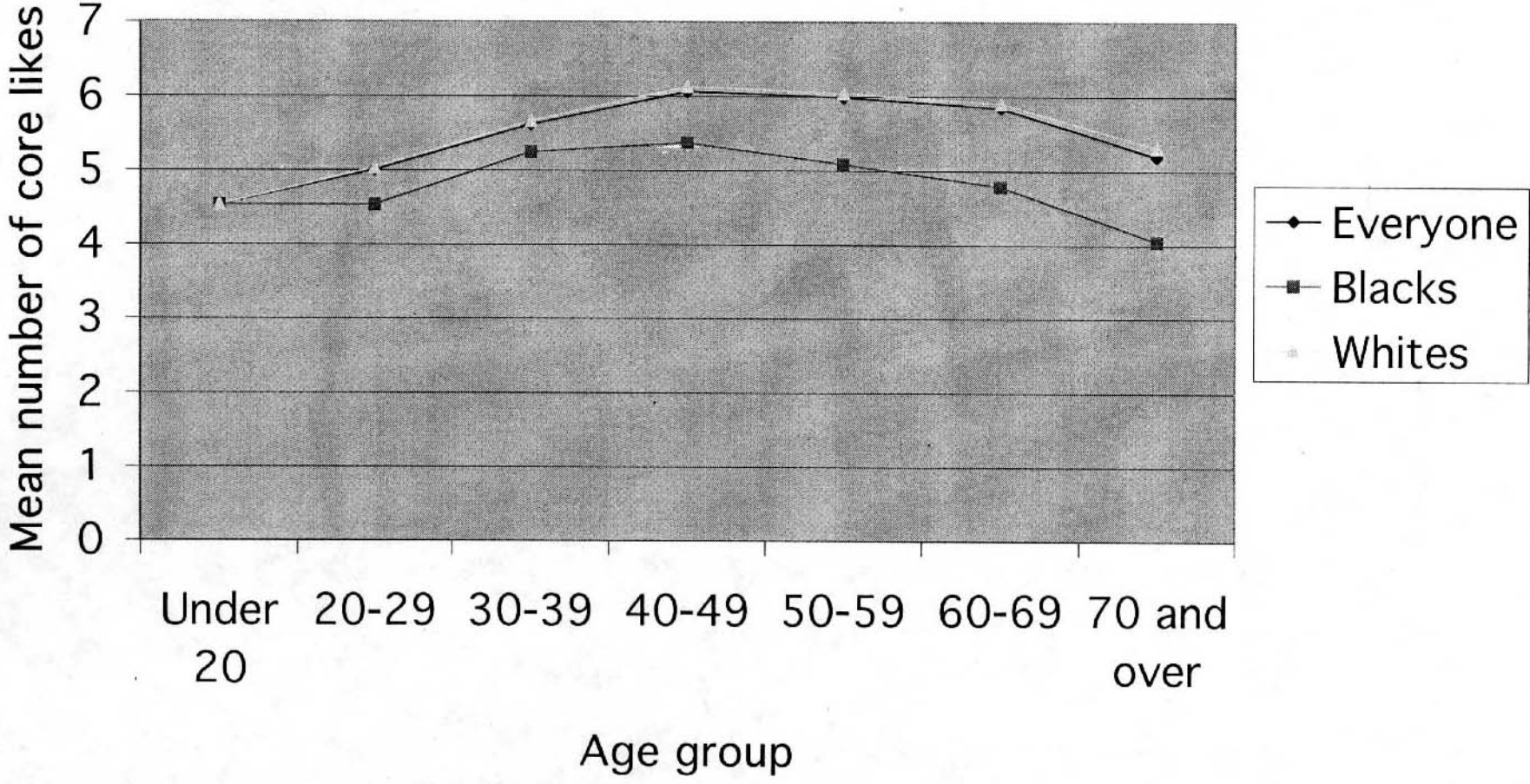


Figure 6: Change in Mean Number of Core Likes by Age Group for Men and Women